PGPS S1 02

Western Political Thought

SEMESTER - I

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 2

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 2

This is the second block of the second course titled “Western Political Thought” of the MA First Semester Programme in Political Science of KKHSOU. The block contains eight units (units 8-15).

The eighth unit discusses Utopian Socialism with reference to Robert Owen. The ninth unit discusses Karl Marx’s concepts of Historical Materialism and Class Struggle . The tenth unit discusses the Evolutionary Socialism with reference to Eduard Bernstein. The eleventh unit discusses Fabianism with reference to Henry George . The twelfth unit discusses Anarchism with reference to Joseph Proudhan and Peter Kropotkin. The thirteenth unit discusses Fascism. The fourteenth unit discusses New Leftism. The fifteenth unit discuss the views of Michel Foucault and Noam Chomsky.

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. 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 8 : UTOPIAN SOCIALISM- ROBERT OWEN

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Robert Owen and Utopian Socialism

8.3.1 Concept of Utopian Socialism

8.3.2 Robert Owen's views

8.4 Let Us Sum Up

8.5 Further Reading

8.6 Answers to Check Your Progress.

8.7 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain the concept of utopian socialism
- discuss Robert Owen's views with regard to the question of establishing a more equal and just society

8.2 INTRODUCTION

The post industrialization period in Eastern Europe and Great Britain was the beginning of the new concept called socialism. However, the concept was too moral and hence in later period it was termed as utopian. Two of the best known utopian socialists during this period in history were Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. Whereas in France utopian socialism is associated with thinkers such as Saint Simon, Charles Fourier and Pierre Leroux, in Great Britain it is associated with Robert Owen.

8.3 ROBERT OWEN AND UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

8.3.1 Concept of Utopian Socialism

The basic concepts of Utopian Socialism are a direct result of the then contemporary age in which they were formed. The age

is the beginning of urbanization that took place during the industrial revolution and its response to it. A large number of the lower class people moving from rural areas to urban centres led to increased levels of poverty and the immoral behavior that poverty creates. In addition, housing and sanitation conditions were pathetic; those outcomes of industrialization could hardly be ignored.

With increasing industrialization in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, reformers came to provide alternative models of societies. In the harsh industrial labour practices driven by greed and profit motive, the utopian socialists argued that society could be both industrial and humane at the same time.

An important part of this was the utopian socialists' suggestion of planned communities, where individual competition would be replaced with a communal society where no one was found to be wanting or lacking in his or her basic needs and there was equality in the society. Though critics termed these projects 'utopian', many such communal societies were attempted in both Britain and the United States. Ultimately all of those societies were proved to be a failed attempt.

The works of utopian socialists such as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Saint Simon and Pierre Leroux led to the idea that proper education is the means by which we can increase the contentment of all humankind and the goal of education for the masses should be the enhancement of happiness for all classes of people.

8.3.2 Robert Owen's views

Robert Owen spoke for that class of people that could not speak for themselves with the hope of increasing happiness for all humanity. Robert Owen, was a British social reformer, community builder, factory manager, early socialist, and a self-described social scientist. Owen was involved in a multitude of theoretical and practical activities, like: industrial cotton spinning, poor relief, community

building, trade unionism, cooperativism, education, feminism, secularism, socialism, social science, etc.

- **Mass Reformation of Character**

According to Robert Owen, we can shape the behaviour of the youth. Owen was of the view that charcter is shaped by the environment. We are therefore responsible if bad traits are acquired by the youth. Therefore it is in our interest to educate the masses to alleviate all occurrences of this destructive cycle. He suggests an important role for education in the reshaping of society. According to him, the lower class people, which need the most intervention, can be modelled appropriately so as to avoid situations resulting in decreased happiness for all humankind.

Owen believed that it is the responsibility of all to undertake the mass reformation of character. All of us should desire better moral education because the pursuit would increase the happiness of all people (Owen 1816). Owen advocated improving the level of happiness for all classes through reformation, rather than revolution. That shows that Owen supports working within the established framework of government for a better society. That is why Robert Owen has been termed as utopian by successive socialists like Marx and Engels.

- **New Lanark Experiment**

In 1792, Owen became a manager in a spinning mill in Manchester, by which he got first-hand experience about the socio-economic consequences of the Industrial Revolution on the working classes. Realizing that people were shaped by their environment, he wished to reform factory life in order to improve the workers' plight. In 1800, he took up his father-in-law's spinning factory at New Lanark, Scotland, and made the industrial village as his testing ground about his philosophy, with living and working conditions far superior to the average of the contemporary period. He also initiated a number of reforming campaigns, and progressively developed a social theory based on communitarian principles. Robert Owen

stressed the role and importance of education in the formation of character. Owen advocated that children should go to school instead of working. He believed that education implied much more that teaching the 3R's. He felt that education also meant learning natural history, music, dance and games which should become an important part of school life. In New Lanark, Owen established the Institute for the Formation of Character and a School for Children. In the New Lanark school, Robert Owen introduced new methods of teaching where teaching became an enjoyable exercise. Both day and evening classes were held. Apart from reading, writing and arithmetic, there were music and dancing lessons too.

- **Critic of unbridled Industrialization: "Doctrine of Circumstances"**

In 1813 he wrote a series of essays entitled *A New View of Society*. In 1817 he was requested by a Parliamentary Committee (Britain) to prepare a report on the poor working in the manufacturing sector. In the report he analysed the socio economic conditions of the poor and he proposed plans to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. In his writing, *A New View of Society* (1813), he shows the feeling of uneasiness towards the Industrial Revolution. To him industrialization had widened social divisions – between employer and worker, town and country, men and women – and he identified those divisions as the source of our misery. Owen thought that man's character is formed for him and not by him. This "doctrine of circumstances" is the cornerstone of his theories. Owen was of the view that to eliminate divisions in a society, it is necessary to create a more favourable environment founded on principle of justice where we can live in a state of order. Accordingly he gave particular importance to the idea of reason and to education as a means of achieving social change. The very exercise may be termed as the beginning of a new thinking of Owen although he was not a theoretical socialist.

Robert Owen implemented his ideas through programmes. For example, he reduced working hours to eight, stopped child labour, introduced free primary education, hygienic conditions for work, old age pension, eliminated drunkenness and theft by persuasion and so on.

He showed that by improving the physical conditions, the overall health and mental conditions of the workers could be changed and production of the mill could be increased. He was instrumental in passing the Factory Act of 1819, the first law in England to limit child working hours in the textile industry.

Owen was against the Church as to him it was misguiding the common people. To him both the church and the capitalist continue to exploit people. Later on, Owen's assessment of church and religion was accepted by Marx.

- **New Harmony Experiment**

In 1825, he left Britain and went to US for his next experiment in New Harmony, Indiana. With his experience as an industrialist, he applied the factory as the ideal testing ground for his assumptions. However, he did not oppose industrialisation, which he saw as a vehicle of human progress, but opposed to the irrational, immoral way in which it was functioned for making profit. For example, at New Lanark, he progressively cut the day's work to ten hours and developed the New Lanark School where ethical ideas were introduced well beyond the educational practices of that time.

Later on Owen introduced the "villages of cooperation". In line of New Lanark, the concept meant to combine industrial and agricultural activities to counter unemployment and rural emigration. But Owen's career also underwent changes in the latter part of his life with a rejection of all traditional means of political action, private property, and the search for profit as an end in itself. This set of doctrines, which Owen called " social science " or " science of society ".

➢ **Opposed to the revolutionary principles of Communists**

In 1828, Owen went back to England, where he had a few followers. Till the end of his life, he vehemently opposed the revolutionary principles of Communists, and retained the belief that the human race would convert itself to his doctrines of socialism. However, history shows that in the subsequent period his ideas failed to transform into an organised political movement.

The Marxists in the *Communist Manifesto* termed the utopian socialists – especially Owen as the pioneers of 'scientific' socialism although they view them as bourgeois, idealistic and anti-revolutionary socialists. Although Owen was opposed for his radical ideas but till date some of his ideas are still found to be relevant and accepted in British societies. He saw the labouring as more than mere 'hands'. That is why he is being hailed for his anti-capitalist stance and patronizing attitude. Today he is regarded as the earliest representatives of a specifically British branch of socialism and cooperative movement which emerged prior to Marxism.

The ideas of Robert Owen show that in fact there are two Owens – as New Lanark's pioneer of socialism and secondly as New Harmony's utopian. Although his ideas and social philosophy may seem to belong to a different era, yet the practical success of his experiments as a model employer and of social intuition made a source of inspiration. In fact, even to this day, the social relevance of his ideas could is widely acknowledged. For example, the experiment of Owen i.e., the New Lanark model was listed by the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2001.

Although being a controversial figure for his thinking, there is no denying that Owen was a pioneer and a point of reference. He has been celebrated less as a political thinker than as a social reformer. Socialists around the world celebrate Owen's pioneering work in the field of popular education and as the originator of modern kindergartens, primary schools and urban planning.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Write what Robert Owen meant by mass reformation of character.

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Q 2 : Write about Robert Owen's concept of "villages of cooperation".

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Q 3 : Robert Owen was instrumental in passing which act in 1819 ?

.....

Q 4 : Mention a few programmes through which Robert Owen implemented his ideas.

.....

.....



8.4 LET US SUM UP

- The basic concepts of Utopian Socialism are a direct result of the then contemporary age in which they were formed. The age is the beginning of urbanization that took place during the industrial revolution and their response to it.
- Large numbers of the lower class people moving from rural areas to urban centers which led to an increased awareness of poverty and the immoral behavior that poverty creates. In addition, housing and sanitation conditions were pathetic; those outcomes of industrialization could hardly be ignored.

- With increasing industrialization in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, reformers came to provide alternative models of societies. In the harsh industrial labour practices driven by greed and profit motive, the utopian socialists argued that society could be both industrial and humane at the same time.
- An important part of this was the utopian socialists' suggestion of planned communities, where individual competition would be replaced with a communal society where no one was found to be wanting or lacking in his or her basic needs and there was equality in the society.
- Though critics termed these projects 'utopian', many such communal societies were attempted in both Britain and the United States. Ultimately all of those societies were proved to be a failed attempt.
- The works of utopian socialists such as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Saint Simon, Charles Fourier and Pierre Leroux led to the idea that proper education is the means by which we can increase the contentment of all humankind and the goal of education for the masses should be the enhancement of happiness for all classes of people.
- Robert Owen spoke for that class of people who could not speak for themselves with the hopes of increasing happiness for all humanity. Robert Owen, was a British social reformer, community builder, factory manager, early socialist, and a self-described social scientist.
- Owen was involved in a multitude of theoretical and practical activities, like: industrial cotton spinning, poor relief, community building, trade unionism, cooperativism, education, feminism, secularism, socialism, social science, etc.
- According to Robert Owen, we can shape the behaviour of the youth. Owen was of the view that charcter is shaped by the environment. We are therefore responsible if bad traits are acquired by the youth. Therefore it is in our interest to educate the masses to alleviate all

occurrences of this destructive cycle. He suggests an important role for education in the reshaping of society. .

- Owen believed that it is the responsibility of all to undertake the mass reformation of character. All of us should desire better moral education because the pursuit would increase the happiness of all people.
- Robert Owen stressed the role and importance of education in the formation of character. Owen advocated that children should go to school instead of working. He believed that education implied much more that teaching the 3R's. He felt that education also meant learning natural history, music, dance and games which should become an important part of school life.
- In New Lanark, Owen established the Institute for the Formation of Character and a School for Children. In the New Lanark school, Robert Owen introduced new methods of teaching where teaching became an enjoyable exercise. Both day and evening classes were held. Apart from reading, writing and arithmetic, there were music and dancing lessons too.
- In 1813 he wrote a series of essays entitled *A New View of Society*. In 1817 he was requested by a Parliamentary Committee (Britain) to prepare a report on the poor working in the manufacturing sector. In the report he analysed the socio economic conditions of the poor and he proposed plans to alleviate the sufferings of the poor.
- Robert Owen implemented his ideas through programmes. For example, he reduced working hours to eight, stopped child labour, introduced free primary education, hygienic conditions for work, old age pension, eliminated drunkenness and theft by persuasion and so on.
- In 1825, he left Britain and went to US for his next experiment in New Harmony, Indiana. With his experience as an industrialist, he applied the factory as the ideal testing ground for his assumptions. However, he did not oppose industrialisation, which he saw as a vehicle of

human progress, but opposed to the irrational, immoral way in which it was functioned for making profit.

- Later on Owen introduced the "villages of cooperation". In line of New Lanark, the concept meant to combine industrial and agricultural activities to counter unemployment and rural emigration.
- In 1828, Owen went back to England, where he had a few followers. Till the end of his life, he vehemently opposed the revolutionary principles of Communists, and retained the belief that the human race would convert itself to his doctrines of socialism.
- Although being a controversial figure for his thinking, there is no denying that Owen was a pioneer and a point of reference. He has been celebrated less as a political thinker than as a social reformer. Socialists around the world celebrate Owen's pioneering work in the field of popular education and as the originator of modern kindergartens, primary schools and urban planning.



8.5 FURTHER READING

1) Coker, Francis William. *Readings in Political Philosophy* . Nabu Press

2) Nelson, Brian R. (2006). *Western Political Thought* (Second Edition). New Delhi: Pearson Education.

3) Sabine G.H. (1973). History of Political Thought. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH.

4) Sharma, S.K. and Sharma, Urmila. (2003). *Western Political Thought-From Plato to Burke*. Atlantic.



8.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Owen believed that it is the responsibility of all to undertake the mass reformation of character. All of us should desire better moral education because the pursuit would increase the happiness

of all people (Owen 1816). Owen advocated improving the level of happiness for all classes through reformation, rather than revolution. That shows that Owen supports working within the established framework of government for a better society. That is why Robert Owen has been termed as utopian by successive socialists like Marx and Engels.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : In 1792, Owen became a manager in a spinning mill in Manchester, by which he got first-hand experience about the socio-economic consequences of the Industrial Revolution on the working classes. Realizing that people were shaped by their environment, he wished to reform factory life in order to improve the workers' plight. In 1800, he took up his father-in-law's spinning factory at New Lanark, Scotland, and made the industrial village as his testing ground about his philosophy, with living and working conditions far superior to the average of the contemporary period. He also initiated a number of reforming campaigns, and progressively developed a social theory based on communitarian principles. Robert Owen stressed the role and importance of education in the formation of character. Owen advocated that children should go to school instead of working. He believed that education implied much more that teaching the 3R's. He felt that education also meant learning natural history, music, dance and games which should become an important part of school life. In New Lanark, Owen established the Institute for the Formation of Character and a School for Children. In the New Lanark school, Robert Owen introduced new methods of teaching where teaching became an enjoyable exercise. Both day and evening classes were held. Apart from reading, writing and arithmetic, there were music and dancing lessons too.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Factory Act

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Reducing working hours to eight, stopping child labour, introducing free primary education, hygienic conditions for work, etc.

8.7 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of Utopian Socialsm.

Q 2 : Briefly write about Robert Owen's utopian socialism.

Q 3 : Write about Robert Owen's New Harmony experiment.

Q 4 : According to Robert Owen, how can we shape the behaviour of the youth ?

Q 5 : Discuss Robert Owen as a Critic of unbridled Industrialization.

UNIT 9 : KARL MARX-HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Historical Materialism

9.4 Class-struggle

9.5 Marxist perspective of State

9.6 Let Us Sum Up

9.7 Further Readings

9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.9 Possible Question

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- describe the Marxian ideology
- discuss the Marxist notion on Historical Materialismand Class-Struggle
- explain the Marxian Perspective of State

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Marxism is a philosophy based on the writings of Karl Marx. This theory is also known as conflict-theory. It is a political and economic philosophy that discusses the class relations and conflict based on socio-economic analysis using the method of dialectical materialism as a means of social transformation with the ultimate aim of establishing a fair society.

9.3 HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

The economic interpretation of history (Historical Materialism) was illustrated by the German thinker and revolutionist Karl Marx. Historical

materialism is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the development of the society. In fact, it is an economic interpretation of history, according to which all the mass phenomena of history are determined by economic conditions.

According to this approach, a change in history is the result of changes in the mode of production i.e. change in the economic sphere has great impact on the course of future history. In the Marxist Approach, Marx argues about five stages of evolution of human societies. They 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 and establish a stateless society. In Marxism, as change from one stage to another is automatic as it is inherent because the economic structure is not static consequently, change in the means of production it will automatically bring change in the relations of production. In other words, the superstructure of the society is created on the foundation of the productive forces.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: By what other name is the Marxist theory known as?

.....

.....

Q 2: Change in the means of production will automatically bring a change in the…….of production.

Q 3: What are the five stages in Marxism?

.....

.....

9.4 CLASS STRUGGLE

According to Marxism, history is not about wars between different people rather it is a progression of struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed classes. In every stage, the society gets divided into two major classes the rich (haves) and the poor (have-nots). In the stage of primitive communism, everything was shared collectively and there was no concept of ownership. This stage includes the hunters and gatherers with no private property.

But subsequently, with the development of the institution of private property, the concept of "mine and thine" emerged leading to the concept of ownership. The society henceforth came to be divided between two classes- the "have" who owned all private property and means of production and the "have-nots" or those who did not hold private property. The have-nots are constantly exploited by the haves. Because of antagonism between the two classes, the Marxian approach predicted that once the have-nots realized their constant exploitation at the hands of the haves, they will go for class-struggle against the rich oppressors. Thus, in the slave owning society, the struggle is between the slaves and the slave owners; in the feudal society, between the serfs and the feudal lords; in the capitalist system the struggle is between the workers and the capitalists. Marx spoke of the concept of "surplus value" in the capitalist system. In the process of production, the workers are made to put in extra effort beyond what they are paid for. The worker produces a surplus value but it is appropriated by the capitalist. The excess value produced by the workers over the wages they are paid is called the surplus value.

Marx 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 also argues that in all stages of human civilization the state has always been a friend of the rich.

Hence, In Marxism, human history is a history of class-struggle between the exploiters and the exploited. In all these stages, till the capitalist

stage, class struggle would be dominated by the capitalists. It may be mentioned here that Marx talked of the concept of surplus value In the process of production the labour produces a surplus value but it is appropriated by the capitalist. The excess value produced by the workers over the wages they are paid is called the surplus value.Marx predicted that in the highest stage of capitalism, there would be a revolution. In this violent revolution, the capitalist class would be overthrown by the working class and there would be established what is known as “dictatorship of the proletariat”. It would be establish a socialist order dominated by one single class, namely the working class or the proletariat. In the post-revolutionary period class-struggle would come to an end. Subsequently, the state will wither away and there would emerge a stateless and classless society in the form of communism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : In Marxism, the institution of state is considered as the institution of exploitation. (True/False)

……

Q 5 : Name the two classes that Marx stressed on.

……

Q 6 : Write the meaning of Primitive Communism. (within 50 words).

……

……

……

……

Q 7 : Explain the concept of Surplus value. (within 50 words).

……

……

……

……

9.5 MARXIST PERSPECTIVE OF STATE

This theoretical approach is based on the concept of historical materialism. It is based on the ideology of Marx that has considered the institution of state as an institution of exploitation. The Marxist view on the institution of state may be summarized by way of the following points-

(a) State as a Class Institution: This theory believes that state is a class institution. It is a product of class society. In each stage of human history the state is divided into two main classes the rich and the poor, where the rich exploits the poor. It is primarily because of this contradiction the human history moves on.

(b) State as a man-made Institution: It is an artificial institution. It came into existence when it was in need in the slave owning society. When the exploitation of the slave owners crossed the limit, the slaves revolted against the masters and out of this struggle the slave owners created a number of institutions including the state to maintain control over the slaves.

(c) State belongs to the economically dominant class: when the state came into existence it was the state of the master and the same continued in the feudal and capitalist states i.e. the state was dominated by the feudal lords and the capitalist class. It is in this way that the state belongs to the economically dominant class who have been exploiting the poor classes in the various stages of human history.

(d) State as a means: Marxism believes that State is not an end in itself. In fact it is a means for securing the socio-eco development of a country. Marx gave the slogan "Workers of the world Unite". He wanted to lay the foundation of a state that would cater to the needs of the common people. However, it was only in the stage of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (have-nots) that the nature of the state would be changed in the post- revolutionary period.

(e) State as a temporary and coercive institution: Marxism regards state to be a temporary institution because once communism is established in the post-revolutionary period, the institution of the state

would gradually disappear. The Marxists also believed that power is connected with the existence of classes and that it is an instrument in the hands of ruling class, i.e. the basis of the state is force and not the will of the people. This reveals that the coercive dimension of the institution of the state.

➢ **Criticisms :**

Critics have put forward certain criticisms of the Marxist perspective of the state**:**

(a) The critics have challenged the very premises of this approach towards the very understanding of the origin and the nature of the state.

(b) The critics have also stated that it would be wrong to discard the Marxist approach totally but at the same time it cannot be said that the state alwys sides with the economically dominant classes and is based on force.

(c) Finally, the critics state that the institution of State has a certain definite existence. To say that the institution of the state would disappear once communism is established is an utopian view.

Despite the limitations, the Marxist Approach has contributed towards the emergence of an economic institution of state having political relevance as well.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 8 : According to the Marxian perspective, State belongs to the economically dominant class. (True/False)

……

Q 9 : "State is a class institution"- Justify the statement

……

……

……



9.6 LET US SUM UP

- The economic interpretation of history (Historical Materialism) was illustrated by the German thinker and revolutionist Karl Marx. Historical materialism is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the development of the society.
- In fact, it is an economic interpretation of history, according to which all the mass phenomena of history are determined by economic conditions.
- According to this approach, a change in history is the result of changes in the mode of production i.e. change in the economic sphere has great impact on the course of future history.
- In the Marxist Approach, Marx argues about five stages of evolution of human societies. They are namely, Primitive Communism, Slave System, Feudal System, Capitalist System and Socialist System.
- According to Marxism, history is not about wars between different people rather it is a progression of struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed classes.
- In every stage, the society gets divided into two major classes the rich (haves) and the poor (have-nots).
- In the stage of primitive communism, everything was shared collectively and there was no concept of ownership. This stage includes the hunters and gatherers with no private property.
- But subsequently, with the development of the institution of private property, the concept of “mine and thine” emerged leading to the concept of ownership.
- The society henceforth came to be divided between two classes- the “have” who owned all private property and means of production and the “have-nots” or those who did not hold private property. The have-nots are constantly exploited by the haves.

- Because of antagonism between the two classes, the Marxian approach predicted that once the have-nots realized their constant exploitation at the hands of the haves, they will go for class- struggle against the rich oppressors.
- Thus, in the slave owning society, the struggle is between the slaves and the slave owners; in the feudal society, between the serfs and the feudal lords; in the capitalist system the struggle is between the workers and the capitalists.
- Marx spoke of the concept of "surplus value" in the capitalist system.The worker produces a surplus value but it is appropriated by the capitalist. The excess value produced by the workers over the wages they are paid is called the surplus value.
- Marx 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.
- Hence, In Marxism, human history is a history of class-struggle between the exploiters and the exploited. In all these stages, till the capitalist stage, class struggle would be dominated by the capitalists.
- Marx predicted that in the highest stage of capitalism, there would be a revolution. In this violent revolution, the capitalist class would be overthrown by the working class and there would be established what is known as "dictatorship of the proletariat". It would be establish a socialist order dominated by one single class, namely the working class or the proletariat.
- In the post-revolutionary period class-struggle would come to an end. Subsequently, the state will wither away and there would emerge a stateless and classless society in the form of communism.
- The Marxist view on the institution of state include the following - State as a Class Institution, State as a man-made Institution, State belongs to the economically dominant class, State as a means, State as a temporary and coercive institution.
- Critics have put forward certain criticisms of the Marxist perspective of the state.

- The critics have challenged the very premises of this approach towards the very understanding of the origin and the nature of the state.
- The critics have also stated that it would be wrong to discard the Marxist approach totally but at the same time it cannot be said that the state alwys sides with the economically dominant classes and is based on force.
- Finally, the critics state that the institution of State has a certain definite existence. To say that the institution of the state would disappear once communism is established is an utopian view.



9.7 FURTHER READING

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3) Harvey David (1982):*The Limits to Capital.* University of California: Verso

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9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Conflict theory

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Relations

Ans to Q. No. 3 : 19th Century

Ans to Q. No. 4 : In the theory, Materialistic interpretation of History Karl Marx states that, Primitive Communism is the first stage of human history. This stage includes the hunters and gatherers with no private property.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Haves and Have-nots

Ans to Q. No. 7 : In the process of production, the workers are made to put in extra effort beyond what they are paid for. The worker produces a surplus value but it is appropriated by the capitalist. The excess value produced by the workers over the wages they are paid is called the surplus value.

Ans to Q. No. 8 : True

Ans to Q. No. 9 : The state is a class institution. It is a product of class society. In each stage of human history, the state is divided into two main classes the rich and the poor, where the rich exploits the poor. It is primarily because of this contradiction the human history moves on.

9.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : In which stage of human history the institution of state emerged?

Q 2 : Mention any two major works of Karl Marx?

Q 3 : Write a brief note on the concept of Historical Materialism.

Q 4 : Write short notes on (a) Commodity (b) Proletarian Revolution

Q 5 : State belongs to the economically dominant class. Justify the statement.

Q 6 : Explain the five stages of the human history in Marxism.

Q 7 : How does Marx interpret the activities of a state?

UNIT 10 : EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM- EDUARD BERNSTEIN

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction: Bernstein and Revisionism

10.3 Eduard Bernstein and Revisionism

10.4 Bernstein on 'Theory of Breakdown'

10.5 Bernstein on Class Structure and Class War

10.6 Bernstein on Dialectical and Historical Materialism

10.7 Bernstein on Surplus Value

10.8 Critical Evaluation

10.9 Let Us Sum Up

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- understand the concept of evolutionary socialism and revisionism
- comprehend Bernstein's criticism of Karl Marx
- explain the philosophy of Eduard Bernstein
- critically evaluate Bernstein's ideas

10.2 INTRODUCTION

The scientific socialism of Karl Marx faced various challenges after his demise, as its revolutionary character was unacceptable to many. Foremost amongst these challengers were-the Fabian Socialists andthe German Revisionists. A common thread running between these two philosophies is that both supported evolutionary method of attaining socialism as against Karl Marx's revolutionary method.

10.3 EDUARD BERNSTEIN AND REVISIONISM

Evolutionary socialism eschews revolution and supports peaceful ways to achieve socialism. They believe that social change can be brought

about through parliamentary democracy and elections and thus there is no need for violent revolution. They support gradual transformation of a class divided society into a classless one and therefore do not endorse Marx's dictatorship of the proletariat and sudden overthrow of the capitalists. Thus, the evolutionary socialism belives in a policy of revision of Marxiam.

Eduard Bernstein subscribed to these views as he talked about the absence of class struggle while supporting the possibility of a peaceful democratic transition to a classless society in his famous work, *Evolutionary Socialism: A Criticism and Affirmation, 1899.* Hebelonged to the school of German Revisionists. But before discussing Bernstein's revisionism, let us have a look at his background.

Born in 1850 to a poor Jewish family in Berlin, Eduard Bernstein could not get proper education due to poverty. He was forced out of school at the age of sixteen and thereby he went on to get training in banking services. He later joined a Bank as a clerk and served there till the age of 28. During this period, he came across literature on socialism which influenced him to later on join the German Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDP).In 1878, the year when the anti-socialist laws were passed by Bismarck, Bernstein left for Switzerland to work as a private secretary to Karl Hochberg, a rich businessman and philanthropist. The anti-socialist laws of Bismarck sought to curb the socialist activities and therefore it declared the SDP as well as other socialist organisations in Germany, illegal.Thus, in order to continue to work towards the goal of socialism, Marx and Engels along with the German Social Democrats decided to publish a paper abroad in Zurich, Switzerland. However, since the editorial board of this paper comprised of Höchberg- a bourgeoisie, Marx decided to part away from this paper. The other members in the editorial board was Bernstein and Karl August Schramm.

In the mean time, Bernstein had to move to London as he was expelled from Switzerland. In London he got acquainted with Fabian socialism with which he shared a lot of ideas. Here, he also developed close ties with Engels who was, on the contrary, sceptical of fabianism. Thus, till the time Bernstein was in the company of Engels, his political philosophy did not

develop much. His individual views saw the light of the day only after Engels' death in 1895.

Bernstein is often called a 'revisionist' and his philosophy, revisionism. In Marxist literature, revisionism basically implies a deviation or a departure from the philosophy laid down by Karl Marx. Marxism has been variously interpreted and reinterpreted by scholars over the period of time. While some scholars laid down their interpretations broadly in agreement with orthodox Marxism, some others had problems with it and therefore formulated their own philosophies which was in contradiction to certain Marxian principles. However, this does not imply that they were completely contradictory to Marxism as there was broad agreement regarding the goal to achieve socialist society. They only argue that situation has changed since Karl Marx had formulated his theory and therefore Marxian philosophy has to be adapted in accordance with the changing times. Bernstein belonged to this category of revisionists as he questioned certain principles of Marxism, viz scientific socialism, revolution to achieve communism, dialectical and historical materialism, and class struggle and existence of only two classes in society. While Bernstein appreciated the theoretical underpinnings of Marxism, he could not see its connection with the real world.Marxism, for Bernstein lacked praxis due to its utopian character. In short, it lost touch with real world wherein the workers' movement has undergone several changes and hardly is in line with the methods suggested by Karl Marx. Thus, it was time to rework Marxism to make it operable.

10.4 BERNSTEIN ON 'THEORY OF BREAKDOWN'

Bernstein's 'Theory of Breakdown' is basically a criticism of Marx's argument in his work 'Capital' (Volume-1, Chapter-32), about the inevitability of collapse of capitalism. Marx had reasoned that the seed of the collapse of capitalism lied within the capitalist system itself. As the contradictions within the capitalist system became more and more acute, a crisis would follow, ultimately paving the way for socialism. The advance of capitalism is characterised by increased competition among the capitalists, in which the small and petty capitalists lose out and are either forced to merge with the

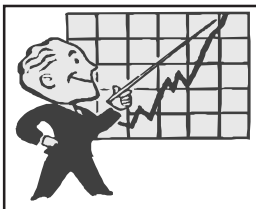
bigger capitalists or to shut down their units and join the proletariat. This leads to 'concentration of capital' amongst the few, which also meant more number of impoverished masses.Also with improved technology, there would arise the need for more specialised skills among the labours, skills which many would lack, and hence would be thrown out of job. At the same time, machines would start to replace human beings, thus rendering the workers, jobless.

Even in agriculture, small farmers would be replaced by corporate farms which would not only exploit the worker but also destroy the natural fertility of the land. Finally, at a point of time, capitalism creates a working class which is completely antagonistic to the capitalist class. These workers, thrown out of their traditional means of livelihood and mode of production and left with no other option, start to work together in factories with whatever minimum skills they haveor after receiving some training. By being in touch with fellow workers they realise the extent of exploitation each one of them had faced under the capitalists. Thus, they develop the consciousness of the capitalists' exploitation. An incompatibility is created between the capitalist and the working class when the needs of the poor masses are not being met by the profit-driven capitalists. This leads the workers to rise in revolution to overthrow the capitalist rule and establish their own rule- rule of the workers or dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, according to Marx's prediction, accumulation of wealth by the capitalists lead to their own collapse.

The above assertion of Karl Marx is completely rejected by Bernstein. According to Bernstein, capitalism has its own self-regulatory mechanism which prevents any kind of collapse as predicted by Karl Marx. The concentration of capital assumed by Marx also does not happen in reality, as petty capitalists can co-exist with the big industrialists. In fact, rather than concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, more and more people become rich leading to an increase in the number of property owners. In other words, the number of affluent people increase as against concentration of property amongst a few.

The working class, also do not rise in revolution as anticipated by Marx. Rather, the workers, through their trade unions, resort to collective bargaining in order to resolve their problems with the capitalists.Bernstein

had immense faith in democracy within the capitalist system which would address the problems of the working class and lead towards socialism gradually. His suggestion to the party, therefore, is to work towards securing rights of the people. More specifically, the political rights of the workers have to be ensured so that they can express their grievances at the appropriate forum. Along with political rights, their participation in economic decision making would also go a long way to ensure their economic rights. Thus, parties representing the workers' interests have to look into these issues rather than initiating a revolution. Bernstein had more faith on peaceful means of attaining socialism. Like the Fabian socialists, he believed in gradualism, rather than revolution. Socialismwould not emerge out of revolution but out of a realisation about it intrinsic goodness. It would be voluntarily adopted, once people recognise that socialism is better than any other form of system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : According to Bernstrein, the number of affluent people increases as against concentration of property amongst a few. (True/False)

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Q 2 : Briefly write about Bernstein's views on the "theory of breakdown". (within 50 words)

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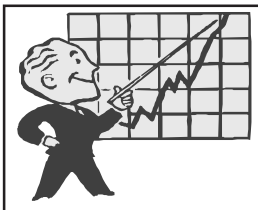
10.5 BERNSTEIN ON CLASS STRUCTURE AND CLASS WAR

Marx and Engels have maintained that society is basically divided into two classes- the ruling class and the ruled- who share an antagonistic relationship between them. Bernstein opposes this contention and asserts

that this is too simplistic a depiction of society, as it does not take into consideration the existence of other classes in society.Most importantly, Marx fails to recognise the role of middle class. Bernstein opines that instead of an increase in the number of more poor people which would add to the number of working class/proletariat, the middle class have been increasing as the workers accrue wealth via collective bargaining, enabling them to move to the section of the middle class.

Bernstein also contests Marx's theory of class struggle, as the mere existence of classes in society does not entail in overthrow of one by the other. Historically, there might have been class war between the ruling class and the ruled, but based on what happened in the past, one cannot predict that there would be such class war in the future as well. For Bernstein, one reason which prevents class war is the diversity amongst the proletariat which prevents them to revolt against the capitalist/ bourgeoisie. Different attitudes, culture and interest among the working class fail to create a revolutionary working class.

Secondly, the workers have realised the importance of cooperation in ensuring their well-being. They have recognised the importance of those bourgeoisie who would support their cause, in case they (proletariat) do not upset them by their hostile attitude towards the all the bourgeoisie in general. The workers would make an exception here and cooperate with these benevolent bourgeoisies in order to prevent the exploitative conditions of the capitalist system. Third, democracy have toned down the antagonistic attitude between the classes. In democracy, the opinion of the majority has to heard and heeded to. This would prevent revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class as power could be transferred from one class to the otherthrough peaceful parliamentary methods. Thus, as against class war of Marx, Bernstein talks about class collaboration in achieving a socialist society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Write briefly about Bernstein's views on Marx's theory of class struggle.

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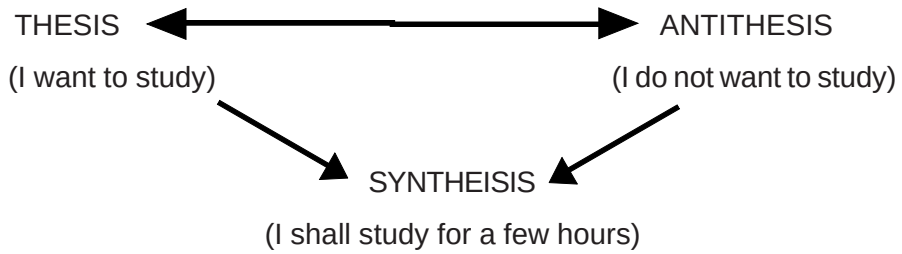
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10.6 BERNSTEIN ON DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Dialectical Materialism is a concept put forward by Marx, whereby he seeks to explain the way society develops and progresses towards perfection. According to the concept of dialectics, which was originally refined by Hegel, every society comprises of two oppositeforces- a thesis and an anti-thesis; the contradiction between them gives rise to a synthesis, which is a new social reality. The synthesis, after a certain period of time becomes a thesis to which another anti-thesis also emerges. This process continues till the time a perfect reality emerges,and then the entire process comes to a halt. The following example will help us understand Hegel's dialectic :

HEGEL'S DIALECTIC

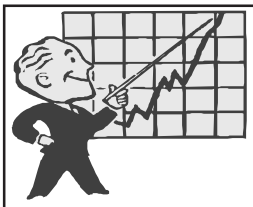


While Hegel depicted *ideas* as the driving force behind the struggle between the thesis and the anti-thesis, Marx considered the material forces (matter) or the mode of production behind the struggle between thesis and anti-thesis. The perfect reality, for Marx, is communism.

Bernstein contested Marx's proposition and argued that society does not progress through the dialectical method, as suggested above, to attain perfection. For him, socialism (which is a stage preceding communism) would not be established through struggle/contradiction or revolution but through a democratic process. Dialectical materialism creates an illusion that in capitalist society, the classes are contradictory to each other and this would lead to revolution in order to overthrow the capitalist class and find a new synthesis in communism.

Bernstein also criticises Marx's historical materialism or materialistic interpretation of history. Marx had applied the concept of dialectical materialism toshow how in the past, society progressed. He argued that the progress of society from primitive communism (classless) to the slavery system (master and slave), to feudalism (feudal lords and peasants) and ultimately capitalism (bourgeoisie and proletariat), is all based on the mode of production (matter).A change in the mode of production led to emergence of antagonistic classes in each stage of society, which fought against themselves and led to a new reality every time. Bernstein contradicted this proposition on the ground that Marx ignored the importance of human intelligence and rationality in the historical progression of society, and attributed mode of production or matter more importance in his analysis. Bernstein, on the contrary, held that human intellect function along with economic forces in shaping the society and its progress. In short, he acknowledged the importance of non-economic factors and asserted the autonomy of ideology and reason in democratic society.He asserted that reason should be applied to analyse and judge a scenario rather than holding on to a doctrine (here Marxism) to interpret the world. This obstructs one's vision to decipher a situation impartially.

However, it has to reiterated, that even Bernstein agreed with Marx on the existence of exploitative conditions in capitalist society and that this would result in socialism. What he disagreed was that capitalism would be overthrown and socialism achieved through the method of revolution. For Bernstein, achievement of socialism is a moral and ethical goal, which would be adopted by the people once they realise its inherent goodness.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Write briefly about Bernstein's contestation of Marx's proposition of dialectical materialism. (within 50 words)

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10.7 BERNSTEIN ON THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE

The Theory of Surplus Value is actually Marx's analysis ofhow the capitalist exploits the worker by paying much less than what he actually deserves. Bernstein saw inconsistency in this theory of Surplus Value. He pointed out that Marx in his work *Capital,* Vol. III, calculated the market value of a product as total cost incurred in production which also included the average profit, i.e., Market Value = Production cost including the average profit. However, in another of his earlier works, Marx assumed the market value of a product to be equal to the amount of labour that went into producing a commodity, i.e., Market Value = Amount of labour used in production.

Contrary to this, Bernstein argued that the value of a product depended on demand and supply as well as the utility of the product. Also, he believed that the notion of Value is a mental construct and does not stand any scientific basis. In his own words, 'The theory of value gives a norm for the justice or injustice of the partition of the product of labour just as little as does the atomic theory for the beauty or ugliness of a piece of sculpture. We meet, indeed, to-day the best placed workers, members of the "aristocracy of labour," just in those trades with a very high rate of surplus value, the most infamously ground-down workers in others with a very low rate. A scientific basis for socialism or communism cannot be supported on the fact only that the wage worker does not receive the full value of the product of his work.' (Bernstein, 1899). However, Bernstein in line with other

revisionists, does agree on the existence of surplus value which is accumulated by the capitalists and which is responsible for the workers' exploitation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Write briefly about Bernstein's views on surplus value. (within 50 words)

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10.8 CRITICAL EVALUATION

Bernstein has been severely criticised for his revisionist views as well as his support for evolutionary means of attaining socialism. Critics consider Bernstein's revisionism as a complete negation of Marxism. According to Colletti, by contradicting Marx's views on the inevitability of collapse of capitalism, Bernstein has called into question the very core of Marxist theory. He further pointed out that the Great Depression had already proved the validity of Marxist proposition: 'the tendency of the rate of profit to fall due to the organic composition of capital, stagnation and partial saturation of outlets for investment, unimpeded action of competition, which apart from affecting profit margins, resulted in spectacular fall in prices'(Colletti, 1974, p.56). Economic crisis such as the Great Depression show that the self-regulatory mechanism of capitalism, on which Bernstein had immense faith, is not efficient enough to save it from its collapse.

Bernstein's contention that Marxist theory suffers from economic determinism is questioned by Karl Kautsky. According to him neither Marx nor Engels never overlooked the role of the human factor in history. Attainment of socialism by overthrowing capitalism is not possible through economic

means alone, argued Marx. Even Engels in his letter to J Bloch (1890) categorically stated that 'according to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Other than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure ..... also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*..... We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one.' (Engels, 1890).This clearly shows that Bernstein's contention that Marxism is shrouded in economic determinism is erroneous.

Bernstein has also been criticised for his belief that the workers would be able to secure their rights within the capitalist framework through sustained agitations and bargaining.Critics argue that if rights of workers can be ascertained within the democratic environment of a capitalist system, then what is the need for a socialist society. This shows contradiction in Bernstein's own philosophy whereby he supported democracy and parliamentary form of government within a capitalist system while also envisioning a socialist society.

However, Bernstein's philosophy is not without any merit. For instance, even Engels in his later days accepted the efficacy of peaceful and democratic ways of agitation. In fact, in the late 19th century, Europe had seen workers' participation in elections, peaceful movements as well as cooperation with the capitalists, which led Bernstein to argue in favour of revisionism. Bernstein cannot be written off so easily given the present day scenario, when communism could not hold Soviet Union together and could not deter China from embracing a capitalist liberal economy. The working class, having realised the futility of revolution to overthrow capitalism, have

accepted parliamentary means and reforms to realise their demands. All this trends only point towards the relevance of Bernstein's philosophy.



10.9 LET US SUM UP

- Overall, we have seen that Bernstein refuted Marxist theory and called for revisiting and revising its strategies in the changed circumstances, to achieve socialism. Unlike Karl Marx, Bernstein did not believethat capitalism itself is endowed with the reasons for its demise and that the collapse of capitalism is inevitable.
- Bernstein also rejected the Marxist notion of the existence of class conflict throughout history until socialism is achieved. He believed that the sharpness of class conflict has lessened as the working class is way better off than in the past and is able to secure their rights through parliamentary and democratic means. The possibility and importance of cooperation between classes and not conflict is highlighted by Bernstein.
- Contrary to Marx's prediction, Bernstein also points towards a surge in number of middle class population rather than the middle class becoming poorer and siding with the working class in a struggle against the capitalists. Further, he believed in diffusion of ownership of industries and capital as against concentration of capital as argued by Karl Marx. All this would reduce the sharpness of class conflict,making it difficult to revolt and overthrow the capitalist system.
- For Bernstein, socialism is a process or a movement and thus has to be attained gradually. In his own words, 'what is generally called the ultimate goal of socialism is nothing to me, the movement is everything'.
- Thus, Bernstein favoured democratic ways to attain socialism. Bernstein did not abandon socialism as is believed by many of his critics. Rather, he suggested that under changed circumstances, revolution is not necessary and thus the methods provided by Marx needs to be modified in order to achieve socialism.



10.10 FURTHER READING

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10.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : True

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Bernstein's 'Theory of Breakdown' is basically a criticism of Marx's argument in his work 'Capital' (Volume-1, Chapter-32), about the inevitability of collapse of capitalism. Marx had reasoned that the seed of the collapse of capitalism lied within the capitalist system itself. As the contradictions within the capitalist system became more and more acute, a crisis would follow, ultimately paving the way for socialism.

The above assertion of Karl Marx is completely rejected by Bernstein. According to Bernstein, capitalism has its own self-regulatory mechanism which prevents any kind of collapse as predicted by Karl Marx. The concentration of capital assumed by Marx also does not happen in reality, as petty capitalists can co-exist with the big industrialists. In fact, rather than concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, more and more people become rich leading to an increase in the number of property owners. In other

words, the number of affluent people increases as against concentration of property amongst a few.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Marx and Engels have maintained that society is basically divided into two classes- the ruling class and the ruled- who share an antagonistic relationship between them. Bernstein opposes this contention and asserts that this is too simplistic a depiction of society, as it does not take into consideration the existence of other classes in society.Most importantly, Marx fails to recognise the role of middle class. Bernstein opines that instead of an increase in the number of more poor people which would add to the number of working class/proletariat, the middle class have been increasing as the workers accrue wealth via collective bargaining, enabling them to move to the section of the middle class. Bernstein also contests Marx's theory of class struggle, as the mere existence of classes in society does not entail in overthrow of one by the other. Historically, there might have been class war between the ruling class and the ruled, but based on what happened in the past, one cannot predict that there would be such class war in the future as well. For Bernstein, one reason which prevents class war is the diversity amongst the proletariat which prevents them to revolt against the capitalist/ bourgeoisie. Different attitudes, culture and interest among the working class fail to create a revolutionary working class. Secondly, the workers have realised the importance of cooperation in ensuring their well-being. They have recognised the importance of those bourgeoisie who would support their cause, in case they (proletariat) do not upset them by their hostile attitude towards the all the bourgeoisie in general. The workers would make an exception here and cooperate with these benevolent bourgeoisies in order to prevent the exploitative conditions of the capitalist system. Third, democracy have toned down the antagonistic attitude between the classes. In democracy, the opinion of the majority has to heard and heeded to. This would prevent revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class as power could be transferred from one class to the

otherthrough peaceful parliamentary methods. Thus, as against class war of Marx, Bernstein talks about class collaboration in achieving a socialist society.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Bernstein contested Marx's proposition and argued that society does not progress through the dialectical method, as suggested above, to attain perfection. For him, socialism (which is a stage preceding communism) would not be established through struggle/contradiction or revolution but through a democratic process. Dialectical materialism creates an illusion that in capitalist society, the classes are contradictory to each other and this would lead to revolution in order to overthrow the capitalist class and find a new synthesis in communism.

Bernstein also criticises Marx's historical materialism or materialistic interpretation of history. Marx had applied the concept of dialectical materialism toshow how in the past, society progressed. He argued that the progress of society from primitive communism (classless) to the slavery system (master and slave), to feudalism (feudal lords and peasants) and ultimately capitalism (bourgeoisie and proletariat), is all based on the mode of production (matter).A change in the mode of production led to emergence of antagonistic classes in each stage of society, which fought against themselves and led to a new reality every time. Bernstein contradicted this proposition on the ground that Marx ignored the importance of human intelligence and rationality in the historical progression of society, and attributed mode of production or matter more importance in his analysis. Bernstein, on the contrary, held that human intellect function along with economic forces in shaping the society and its progress. In short, he acknowledged the importance of non-economic factors and asserted the autonomy of ideology and reason in democratic society.He asserted that reason should be applied to analyse and judge a scenario rather than holding on to a doctrine (here Marxism) to interpret the world. This obstructs one's vision to decipher a

situation impartially. However, it has to reiterated, that even Bernstein agreed with Marx on the existence of exploitative conditions in capitalist society and that this would result in socialism. What he disagreed was that capitalism would be overthrown and socialism achieved through the method of revolution. For Bernstein, achievement of socialism is a moral and ethical goal, which would be adopted by the people once they realise its inherent goodness.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : The Theory of Surplus Value is actually Marx's analysis of how the capitalist exploits the worker by paying much less than what he actually deserves. Bernstein saw inconsistency in this theory of Surplus Value. He pointed out that Marx in his work *Capital,* Vol. III, calculated the market value of a product as total cost incurred in production which also included the average profit, i.e., Market Value = Production cost including the average profit. However, in another of his earlier work, Marx assumed the market value of a product to be equal to the amount of labour that went into producing a commodity, i.e., Market Value = Amount of labour used in production. Contrary to this, Bernstein argued that the value of a product depended on demand and supply as well as the utility of the product. Also, he believed that the notion of Value is a mental construct and does not stand any scientific basis. In his own words, 'The theory of value gives a norm for the justice or injustice of the partition of the product of labour just as little as does the atomic theory for the beauty or ugliness of a piece of sculpture. We meet, indeed, to-day the best placed workers, members of the "aristocracy of labour," just in those trades with a very high rate of surplus value, the most infamously ground-down workers in others with a very low rate. A scientific basis for socialism or communism cannot be supported on the fact only that the wage worker does not receive the full value of the product of his work.' (Bernstein, 1899). However, Bernstein in line with other revisionists, does agree on the existence of surplus value which is accumulated by the capitalists and which is responsible for the workers' exploitation.

13.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss Bernstein's views on 'Theory of Breakdown'

Q 2 : Discuss Bernstein's views on Class Structure and Class War

Q 3 : Explain Bernstein views on Dialectical and Historical Materialism

Q 4 : Explain Bernstein's views on the Marxian concept of Surplus Value

Q 5 : Present a critical evaluation of Bernstein's revisionism.



UNIT 11 : FABIANISM - HENRY GEORGE

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Meaning of Fabianism

11.4 Henry George as a Prominent Source of Influence of Fabianism

11.5 Henry George's Theory of Distribution

- 11.5.1 Theory of Single Taxation
- 11.5.2 Law of Human Progress
- 11.5.3 An Estimate of Henry George's views

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.9 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of fabianism
- discuss Henry George's notable works
- discuss Henry George's theory of distribution
- describe Henry George's theory of single taxation
- explain Henry George's Law of human progress

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Socialism is one of the leading ideologies of the world which can be largely defined as a theory of social organization which aims to secure an equal distribution of wealth by a central but democratic authority trying to build an egalitarian society based on collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Over the years it has assumed many forms and as such many variants of socialism have been available in different forms at different stages all over the world like Utopian Socialism, Revisionism

or Evolutionary socialism, Fabianism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Guild Socialism, Democratic Socialism, Marxism, Scientific Socialism, communism etc. In this unit, we shall discuss the ideology of Fabianism.

11.3 MEANING OF FABIANISM

Fabianism is English socialism. It developed in England during 18th and 19th century as a reaction to Marxists, revisionists and utopian influences. It was organized by leading intellectuals of that time in England. They were influenced by Henry George, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill in terms of their leading theories on society and economy. Fabians are practical theorists whose aim was to establish an egalitarian non-exploitative society. The ultimate goal of fabianism is democratic socialism. Their means to achieve the end is always peaceful and democratic. They emphasized the adoption of gradual and reformist means to establish socialism rather than the adoption of revolutionary means. The leading exponents of fabianism included G.B.Shaw, Graham Wallas, H.G.Wales, G.D.H.Cole. The main ideas of Fabianism was published in the form of a book “Fabian Essays” edited by G.B.Shaw.

Fabianism believes in the following:

- To promote greater equality of power, wealth and opportunity.
- Collective action and public service.
- An active democracy based on tolerance and accountability.
- Citizenship, Liberty and human rights.
- Sustainable development.
- Multilateral international cooperation .

One of the most prominent thinkers who influenced the Fabian school of thought was Henry George. He was an American thinker who was immensely popular in England.

The Fabian Society was established on January 4, 1884 in London. The Fabian Society was named in honour of the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus who adopted delaying tactics and achieved gradual victory against the strong Carthaginian army under the renowned general Hannibal.

The strategy was to wait for the opportune moment and strike hard when the right moment comes.

11.4 HENRY GEORGE AS A PROMINENT SOURCE OF INFLUENCE OF FABIANISM

Henry George (September 02 – October 29, 1897) was an American political scientist, economist and a renowned journalist. He emerged as a popular reformer of 19th century Progressive era. His writings inspired the economic philosophy known as Georgism (based on the belief that people should own the value that they produce themselves, but that economic value derived from land should belong equally to all).

Most of the important ideas of Henry George were available in his famous work "Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth: The Remedy". His ideas revolved around the period of industrialization and effects in England. He was opposed to model of development that England adopted and tried to come up with the theory of distribution, land value system, system of single taxation, anti monopoly reform, concept of unearned income, etc. In order to address the problem of poverty in the face of growing industrialization, he forwarded the concept of cyclic nature of industrial economies which actually keeps poverty alive in the economies. This ideas of George is available with different explanations in his works such as "Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth: The Remedy" (1879), "The Irish Land Question – what it involves and how alone it can be settled" (1881), "Social Problems" (1884), "Justice The Object, Taxation The Means" (1887), "The Condition of Labour: An open letter to Pope XIII" (1891), "Blood and Coal".

Henry George followed two basic principles in theorizing his concepts. These are:

i. To tax natural resources rents at as close to 100 percent as possible.

ii. To tax activities that generate externalities such as carbon emission.

Based on these principles he holds that all men have equal rights to share the natural abundance of the earth. When land monopolists block access to these land, they make man virtual slaves. The large population cannot get the benefits of population growth and development of technologies due to large scale land withholding.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : What is fabianism?

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Q 2 : Mention the name of one of the supporters of Fabian ideology.

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Q 3 : Write two characteristics of fabianism.

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Q 4 : Mention two notable works of Henry George.

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11.5 HENRY GOEROGE'S THEORY OF DISTRIBUTION

Henry Geroge put forward his theory of distribution in his work *Progress and Poverty- An inquiry into the cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth: The Remedy*. In developing this theory George followed David Ricardo's theory that population growth pushes the margin onto inferior land, channeling more and more rent to the land lords, leaving less and less interest and wages. He however adds his own flavor based on his observation of the frontiers of American Settlements where large land holders called land monopolies would buy land in

anticipation of large price increase. The speculative advance in land values tends to press the margin of cultivation, or production beyond its normal limits, thus compelling labour and capital to accept a smaller return, or to lease products.

George is against the prevailing theory of the wages fund—— the idea that wages depend on the ratio between the funds advanced by capitalists and the number of workers. He also attacks the Malthusian hypothesis that the working class breeds itself into poverty. Instead, George proposes that wages depend upon the margin of production or upon the produce which labour can obtain at the highest point of natural productiveness open to it without the payment of rent. What it implies is that the wage of the worker must correspond to the extent to which he or she produces. The wages paid to the worker must exclude the rent on land incurred by the capitalist. In developing the theory, Henry George provides his own definition of all the common factors of production. They are summarized as follows:

- **Capital** —— Wealth used to produce more wealth or wealth in course of exchange. It refers to all products used to produce more products for the market ,including those in the course of exchange
- **Wealth** — All material things produced by labour for the satisfaction of human needs. Wealth have the following characteristics – a) They satisfy human desire b) They are made by human exertion c) They are made out of natural materials d) They have a value in exchange. Wealth exchanges equally with other products requiring similar efforts to acquire.
- **Rent** — That part of wealth which is the return for the use of the land.
- **Wages** — That part of wealth which is the return to labour.
- **Land** — It is a passive factor of production that includes everything that exists in nature , except people and their products. It includes oil in ground, air, oceans and the electromagnetic spectrum.
- **Labour** — It includes all human exertion (mental and physical) used in production of wealth. It includes the work of managers, entrepreneurs and slaves.

Next, he answers whether population increases poverty. He held that there is no correlation between poverty and density of population. High standards of living prevails in most densely populated areas, whereas less populated areas also may have low level of living standards. Here Malthusian theory is taken help of. The Malthusian theory held that the tendency of population was to increase faster than subsistence. It hypothesized that population increased in a mathematical ratio like 2,4,6,8,16, and so on , while the tendency of food was to increase in an arithmetic progression like 1, 2,3,4, and so on . Therefore population will always tend to increase faster than food, and hunger would always be present. However, Henry George argues that in a state of equality marked by absence of injustice, population increase will only lead to increased per capita production and the standard of living of the people would go up. He cites the example of the United States. According to Henry George rather than overpopulation it is the injustice of society, not the shortages in nature which is the cause of want and poverty.

11.5.1 Theory of Single Taxation

According to Henry George the consequences of dire economic policies were moral issues. So he posed moral questions to get answers to the unsolved problems of economy. He asked – why should a man benefit merely from the act of ownership, when he may render no services to the community in exchange? What gives the wealthy the right to become rich not for service rendered to the community but from the good fortune to possess advantageously situated land? So he was sure that economic problems arise due to unavailability of land. Those who get access to land actually get access to be wealthy. So accessibility to land is the main cause behind economic problems including poverty.

The rent incurred from land robbed the working man of his wages and wild speculations of land value leads to poverty. Therefore as a remedy to this problem he forwarded the concept of a “single tax” on land. Such a single tax on land would eliminate the need for all other taxes. theory.

The main **features** of the single tax theory of Henry George are:

- Henry George held that since the value of land depends on natural qualities like location and the economic activity of communities, the best source of tax revenues was the economic rent of land. By collecting the rent from the value of land for the community, a common ownership of the land can be gained.
- Land and the natural resources that are inherent in a plot of the land were not created by human labour or capital. It should be the common property of the whole community. A small section of society should not be allowed impose its monopoly over a natural resource. However, whatever value is added to the land by way of human labour and capital investment, (for example buildings and other infrastructure) should not be taxed. Tax should only be levied on the land and the income generated from the tax should be distributed equitably.
- It absorbs all rents with no tax whatsoever on wages and interest. A single tax would eventually lead to the ownership of land as common property, rather than as individual property.
- It would raise wages, absorb poverty, give employment, and relieve other economic ills, through massive redistribution of wealth.
- Businesses which were monopolies in their nature must be owned and regulated by government for the benefit of all.
- George is of the view that if land is treated as an absolute property then it becomes impossible to claim it if it is necessary to use the land for common purposes. So it is better to be a common property. There would be no incentive to prevent others from using land that was not currently in use.
- To make land a common property it would be purchased from those who legally own it. The community could confiscate land from those who legally own it. But in doing so it must be kept in mind that individual right is not violated. Treating land as

common property requires that only the potential rent of the land is collected.

- The practical method that Henry adopted in collecting single tax is to appropriate the potential rent by taxation. Land titles will be retained and kept untouched. Some of the rent will be collected in the form of real estate tax exempting the cost of building and appropriating full rental value of land.
- All other taxes will be abolished. Under the current system of taxing income, revenue is collected out of what would go to the owner as unearned income. However, those taxes do not discourage people from holding unused or under used land.

11.5.2 Law of Human Progress

Different civilizations are at different levels of development because the traditions, beliefs, customs and laws of different civilizations have an effective role to play in either the development of a particular civilization or in its decay. Henry George's Law of Human Progress explains why past civilizations arose and why they decayed. It explains which social arrangements tend to advance and which retard the progress of societies.

The inherent desires in human nature are the incentives to progress. It is the human mind which acts as the instrument of progress and metal power helps us satisfy our physical , mental and social wants.

Progress can be attained if the mental power is devoted provided non progressive forces like conflicts are avoided. To utilize the mental power in an effective way, the formation of 'Association' is a must. As people associate in communities, the division of labour becomes possible. This increases productivity and frees mental power for higher pursuits.

After association another important attribute for progress is 'equality'- a combined condition of equality, freedom and justice. A condition of equality will lessen the wasteful expenditure of mental

power in conflict. This leads to mutual support and co-operations rather than one group expanding their power in forcing another group to work for them or to perpetuate conflict in claiming control over natural opportunities.

Therefore law of progress according to George is 'Association in Equality'. Association frees mental power for improvements while equality prevents dissipation of this power in fruitless struggles.

Henry George also talks of the causes for decline of human progress. He argues that the disassociation of people tends to check progress. The prejudices and animosities that grow up between separated communities may become barriers to the exchange of goods and ideas. These barriers may also leads to destructive warfare. As societies become complex conditions arise which may lead to inequalities. The concentration of political power in one person or small group creates privileged classes such as the military, judges and politicians ; and the increasing value of land, which leads to greater power and wealth for those who have monopolized it. Such inequalities are not the results of social growth; they can be prevented by making proper social adjustments as new condition arise. The inequitable distribution of wealth and power tends to come in the way of progress. The have-nots are compelled to expand their mental power in merely maintaining existence, while the have-nots expand power in keeping up and intensifying the system of inequality. Therefore the law of progress(association of equality) accounts for the rise and fall of civilizations. It explains all diversities, all advances, all halts, and retrogressions. Progress goes on as societies tend towards closer association and greater equality. Progress is halted by inequality and disassociation. Political equality alone does not assure the equitable distribution of wealth and power. It does not prevent the tendency to inequality in the ownership of land, which leads to the unequal distribution wealth and power. There are social conditions existing today which if not checked may lead to decline in the current civilizations also. These includes crimes, worse city slums, civil disturbances, war and preparations of war , increasing

taxes and prices of essential commodities, land speculations and rising prices of land, etc. However by applying the remedy proposed by George, poverty and its related evils can be solved .

He claimed that liberty meant justice, and justice was the central law. Liberty is the true source of progress. Liberty is a condition wherein rights and freedom are respected. He ultimately holds that behind the problem of social life lies the problem of individual life. As such the problems of individual life has to be solved to get a problem free society.

11.5.3 Estimate of Henry George's Views

Henry George's theory faced criticism from Karl Marx, Eugen Von Bohm Bawerk and Milton Friedman. Some of the criticisms of the Henry George's views are as follows:

- Single Tax works as a platform for moving backwards to communism.
- British biologist Huxley in his essay "Capital – The mother of Labour" (1890) used energy science to claim that labour is energetically unproductive.
- Separation of value of land into improved and unimproved is problematic because once construction has taken place not only the land on which such improvements were affected but the value of neighbouring as yet unimproved land also gets affected. While construction, the value of land may increase but the real value will be determined depending on the location of the land. For example, if it is located near a nuclear plant than its valuation will decrease irrespective of the cost incurred on it.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Write two features of Single taxation system of Henry George?

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Q 6 : What is 'Association in Equality'?

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Q 7 : 'Liberty means justice and justice is the central law' , who said this?

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Q 8 : Mention two points of criticism of Henry George?

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11.6 LET US SUM UP

- Socialism has many variants and are available in different forms all over the world like Utopian Socialism, Revisionism or Evolutionary socialism, Fabianism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Guild Socialism, Democratic Socialism, Marxism, Scientific Socialism, communism etc. Fabianism is English socialism.
- Henry George , a popular Fabian socialist was an American and a renowned journalist. He emerged as a popular reformer of 19th century Progressive era. His writings inspired the economic philosophy known as Georgism.
- The two basic principles of Henry George on which his ideas are based are:
- To tax natural resources rents at as close to 100 percent as possible.
- To tax activities that generate externalities such as carbon emission.

- The theory of Distribution as forwarded in his work Progress and Poverty- An inquiry into the cause of Industrial Depression and of increase of want with increase of wealth: the remedy. In developing this theory George followed David Ricardo's theory that population growth pushes the margin onto inferior land, channeling more and more rent to the land lords, leaving less and less interest and wages.
- According to him single taxation is the only remedy to get rid of poverty irrespective of a nation being poor or developed.
- Henry George law of progress explains why past civilizations arose and decay. It explains which social adjustments tend to advance and which to retard. The incentive to progress is to gratify the physical ,mental and social wants. Progress can be attained if the mental power is devoted provided non progressive pursuits(conflicts) are maintained. To utilize the mental power the effective way is the formation of 'Association'.
- His theory faced criticism from Karl Marx, Eugen Von Bohm Bawerk and Milton Friedman.



11.7 FURTHER READING

1) Coker, Francis William. *Readings in Political Philosophy* . Nabu Press

2) Nelson, Brian R. (2006). *Western Political Thought* (Second Edition). New Delhi: Pearson Education.

3) Sabine G.H. (1973). History of Political Thought. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH.

4) Sharma, S.K. and Sharma, Urmila. (2003). *Western Political Thought-From Plato to Burke*. Atlantic.



11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Fabianism is English socialism. It developed in England during 18th and 19th century as a reaction to Marxist ,revisionist and

utopian influence. It was organized by leading intellectuals of that time in England. They were influenced by Henry George, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill and their leading theories on society and economy. Fabians are practical theorist whose aim was to establish an equaitarian non-exploitative society. Their means to achieve the end is always peaceful and democratic.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : G.B .Shaw.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : a) Ownership of land is far more important than land and industrial society.

b) Capitalism in any form is to be abolished

Ans to Q. No. 4 : a) "Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth: The Remedy"" (1879)

b) "The Irish Land Question – what it involves and how alone it can be settled "(1881)

Ans to Q No 5: Two important features of single taxation are.

a) Henry George held that since the value of land depends on natural qualities like location and the economic activity of communities, the best source of tax revenues was the economic rent of land. By collecting the rent from the value of land for the community, a common ownership of the land can be gained.

b) Land and the natural resources that are inherent in a plot of the land were not created by human labour or capital. It should be the common property of the whole community. A small section of society should not be allowed impose its monopoly over a natural resource. However, whatever value is added to the land by way of human labour and capital investment, (for example buildings and other infrastructure) should not be taxed. Tax should only be levied on the land and the income generated from the tax should be distributed equitably.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Association frees mental power for improvements while equality prevents dissipation of this power in fruitless struggles.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Henry George

Ans to Q. No. 8 : Two important criticisms levelled against Henry George's theories are.

a) Single Tax works as a platform for moving backwards to communism.

b) British biologist Huxley in his essay "Capital – The mother of Labour" (1890) used energy science to claim that labour is energetically unproductive.

11.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of fabianism.

Q 2 : Discuss Henry George's theory of distribution.

Q 3 : Discuss the Henry George's theory of single taxation.

Q 4 : Explain Henry George's law of human progress.



UNIT 12 : ANARCHISM- JOSEPH PROUDHON AND PETER KROPOTKIN

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning and Definitions

12.4 Features of Anarchism; Features of the Anarchist Society

12.4.1 Features of Anarchism

12.4.2 Features of the Anarchist Society

12.5 Joseph Proudhon and Peter Kropotkin

12.6. Criticism of Anarchism

12.7 Let Us Sum Up

12.8 Further Readings

12.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.10 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of anarchism
- discuss the features of anarchism
- discuss the features of the anarchist society
- explain the views of Joseph Proudhon and Peter Kropotkin on anarchism
- Present a critical estimate of anarchism

12. 2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall learn about the theory of anarchism. Anarchism is a philosophy which opposes state authority and believes that the society should be organizes without the state in order to achieve an equal and free society. According to the Anarchists it should be left to the individuals to

join or not to join the state. No association has any right or authority to rule over the individuals without their approval.

12.3 MEANING AND DEFINITIONS

The term "Anarchism" has been derived from the Greek word "anarkhia" which literally means "no rule". Anarchism is the political philosophy which rejects (and supports the elimination of) compulsory government or compulsory rule, and holds that society can and should be organized without a coercive state.

Anarchists believe that government is both harmful and unnecessary. Anarchists believe in complete abolition of state authority. It is to be abolished all at once.

Anarchists believe that as long as the institutions of state and private property exist there is exploitation in society.

Let us look at some important definitions of anarchism:

- In the words of Coker, " Anarchism is the doctrine that political authority, in any of its forms, is unnecessary and undesirable. In recent anarchism, theoretical opposition to the state has usually been associated with opposition to the institution of private property and also with hostility to organized religious authority."
- Anarchism has been defined by Kropotkin as, "a principle of theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government- harmony in such a society being obtained not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free arguments concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being."
- According to Russel, "Anarcism is the theory which is opposed to every kind of forcible government. Liberty is the supreme goal to the Anarchist creed, and Liberty is sought by the direct road of abolishing

all forcible control over the individual by the community." Thus Anarchism is opposed to political authority in any and every form.

Anarchism is a revolt against every type of authority, be it political, social, religious and economic. Its aim is to free man politically from the tyranny of the state, economically from the tyranny of the capitalist and morally from the tyranny of the priest of the church.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : What do you understand by the term anarchism?

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Q 2 : Elaborate anarchism with certain definitions.

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12.4 FEATURES OF ANARCHISM : FEATURES OF THE ANARCHIST SOCIETY

12 4.1 Features of Anarchism

The features of anarchism are discussed below:

a) Condemnation of the State:

According to the Anarchists, the present society is class ridden and class-divided. There is a constant struggle between the 'haves' and 'haves-nots'. The state always seems to take the side of the 'haves' who have the capacity to suppress the poor. The evils of the state as identified by the anarchists are listed below-

- The State refuses freedom of the individual :

The State is based on force. The record of the state in guaranteeing security to the individual is no better. It refuses the freedom of the individual in many aspects.

- Superflous :

The State is superflous because it is responsible for crushing individual freedom. According to the anarchists, if the state is abolished no harm will be done to the society and community. State's authority is unnecessary.

- Abolition of State Authority :

One of the features of anarchism is the abolition of state authority. Anarchists have borrowed the ideas from socialists and individualists . From individualists, anarchists have derived the idea of individual initiative. From socialists they borrowed the idea that private property was an evil and root cause of exploitation by the rich of the poor.

According to the Anarchists, it should be left to the individuals to join or not to join the state. No association has any right or authority to rule over the individuals without their approval.

b) Elimination of the State by force:

As the state has been in existence since ages and privileged classes are there to protect it, it cannot be overthrown by peaceful means but only by violence or force. There are different types/forms of anarchism. One is **Revolutionary anarchism**. The aim of revolutionary anarchists is complete destruction of the state. The other is **Philosophical anarchism**. The philosophical anarchists believe that state should be gradually weakened and finally got rid of by peaceful means. While the philosophical anarchists are evolutionary, the revolutionaries are radical and extremist.

c) Alternatives to state authority:

As an alternative to state authority, anarchists favour the idea of formulation of free societies and associations to deal with various aspects of life. Individuals should join these associations or free societies on their own free will and should have absolute freedom to withdraw at any stage because in these associations there is no coercive authority and people's obedience is not based on force

d) Opposition to Representative System:

In an electoral system the people are represented by the representatives. The people send certain representatives to speak on their behalf. The representatives are the authority of the state.

One of the characteristics of the anarchists is that they oppose the representative system. According to the anarchists it is a defective system because none can represent the other. It is a fallacy that whatever the representatives do should be treated as correct and imposed on the electorates as expression of their will.

e) Opposition to Religion:

The Anarchists believe that religion is a great hindrance in the progrees of society. Kropotkin strongly opposes religion and believed that religion promotes evil institution. Anarchist argue that the relogion should be dispensed with because it acts as an opium to people. It provides them unnecessary and undesirable escape from struggle of life. Its inculcates in them the spirit of following things blindly. Its helps in the exploitation of the poor by the rich. Religion also preaches the philosophy of contentment and thus discourages the poor from struggling against the rich.

f) Opposition to private property:

To the anarchists the institution of private property is the root cause of many social evils. It is a great weapon to the capitalist against the workers. Private property promotes the selfish interests of the capitalist whose aim is to gain maximum profit. Needs of the society are ignored for earning more and more profits and only a small sections of the society takes advantage of means of production. Thus the anarchists believe that private property is an agency for the exploitation of the many by the few and hence should be abolished for the sake of common welfare.

12.4.2 Features of the Anarchist Society

The Anarchist Society has the following characteristics:

a) Stateless society:

To the anarchists the best society will be one which will be stateless . In it the means of production and distribution shall not be in the hands of only a few persons but under collective control. It shall be used for the sake of welfare of all and not in the interests of only a few. Classes like wage-earners and employees will disappear. There will be no class struggle.

b) No coercive authority:

In an anarchist society, there will be no coercive authority. The majority, i.e. the consumers shall be free from the yoke of the producers. There will be no mystical authority of religion. It will be an atmosphere of freedom in which the individual will be given maximum liberty to develop his potentialities. There will be no compulsion and command. Everybody will work on his or her own accord.

c) Mutual Trust and Cooperation:

In an anarchist society, there will be mutual trust and cooperation. Banking associations will advance credit for increasing production where economically, everybody will be economically quite well-off in an anarchist society. All means of production will be utilized for social good and welfare.

d) Provision for arbitration:

In an anarchist society there shall be no courts of justice and all shall be decided by arbitration. Arbitration means settlement of disputes outside the court.

e) Utilization of Human Energies:

In an anarchist society, there will be maximum scope for utilisation of human energies. Each trade and industry will have its system of administration and recruitment provided such a system doesnot interfere with the overall social order.

f) Equality for all:

In an anarchist society, the associations replacing the state will do every work. The society will have no privileged class. All shall be equal and such a system will run on a cooperative basis.

g) Methods of struggle:

The anarchists are not very clear and unanimous on the method of their struggle against the existing political system. Following methods have been supported -

- Evolutionary method :

A group headed by Tolstoy believes in evolutionary method such as persuasion and spreading of education of the type in which the people will condemn the state of their own accord.

- Use of force :

Proudhon and Kropotkin believe in the use of force. Ignorance should be removed by all means which includes the use of force. But usually they avoid revolution because of there fear of the disorder which such a revolution will bring about. They fear that a hero who will evolve out of the revolution who will try to impose his will on the society.

h) No Transition Stage:

The anarchist believe that there will be no transitory stage between the fall of the present state and the final establishment of the society on anarchist lines. The workers will oversee the fall of the present state and shall take over. After taking over the

state authority, the evil institutions like private property and capitalism will be abolished. All these will be taken over by new institutions and free societies which will give freedom to the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Mention any two features of anarchism.

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Q 4 : Why do anarchist believe in a stateless society?

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12.5 JOSEPH PROUDHON AND PETER KROPOTKIN

Joseph Proudhon, the great French philosopher, was the father of Anarchism . He championed the cause of liberty and freedom and condemned the government of man by man. In his book "Philosophy of Poverty" Proudhan said, "Government of man by man in every form is oppression and the highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy." Governments were the political methods used to oppress the workers. State was against reason, justice and understanding.

Proudhon advocated the establishment of a Bank of the people for eliminating all private capital. He condemned property as theft and advocated its equal rights for all. He was opposed to communism. To him communism meant privatization everywhere and always.

Proudhon is important in the history of anarchism thought because of his enormous influence not only on anarchist s of schools but also on the intellectual life of even his opponents. Thus the communist anarchist drew inspiration from him including the Marxists.

Kropotkin, the great Russian philosopher, was the most representative, the most attractive and engaging, of the anarchists. He was a gifted writer. His important works are: "The Conquest of Bread", "Anarchism:

Its Philosophy and Ideal", " The State: Its Part in History, Fields, Factories and Workshops" and "Modern Science and Anarchism".

Kropotkin had an anarchist ideal before him for achieving whichhe advocated the destruction of all those institution which stood in its way – The State, the God and the Property.

According to him there would be no authority of any kind and there would be only voluntary association for every kind of work.

People were to join groups of their own free will and according to their tastes. The mutual disputes were to be settled by courts of arbitration set up by the people themselves. Every person was to work according to his bent of mind.

Kropotkin found no justification for state history showed that people lived amicably for centuries without any political authority. The State was of later origin. The laws of the state were superflous or harmful. They were obeyed because of the fear of the state and not because of the people approved them. The state did not serve any useful purpose. Most of its functions could be done in a better way and more efficiently by the voluntary associations. Kropotkin held that the state had always acted on the side of the capitalist. So it must be replaced by a society of voluntary associations.

Kropotkin was opposed to the institution of private property. He called it the greatest enemy of cooperation. According to Kropotkin the goods of this world were the product of the joint labour of individual , so no one could by right claim personal ownership of anything.

Kropotkin was opposed to religion and the church. Religion had resulted in injustice to the poor. It had enabled the rich to maintain their states . It had always sided with the political and economic oppression. But Kropotkin was not opposed to social morality which evolves unconsciously in society and as a consequence of which men respect one another's interest and rely upon one another's words. Such a morality is exterior to and independent of formal religious creeds . Only such morality endures while religion fades away.

Kropotkin believed that the social evolution was inevitable moving towards the anarchial goal. But he did not think that the goal could be reached through a wholly gradual and peaceful process. The evolution must culminate

in a revolution. This revolution would be destructive and violent in its first phase . But such a revolution would mean not much of bloodshed because after the basic instruments of coercive authority had been focibly removed , the people would expropriate private property, peasants expelling land owners, workers expelling factory owners and those having no homes expelling those who had surplus space.

Anarchism does not mean chaos or confusion . It means hostility to the state and to peculiar social relations which the state sustains.

"In all the Kropotkin was to placed emphasis upon man's sense of social responsibility , his feelings for social brotherhood, and his disposition to engage in labours that satisfy both on impulse to create and desire to see commodities produced in amounts sufficient to meet the needs of his fellow men."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Write a note on Proudhon.

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Q 6 : Write a note on Kropotkin.

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12.6 CRITICISM OF ANARCHISM

The ideas of anarchism have been subjected to following criticisms:

- **Impractical in modern states :**

It is impossible to imagine a state in the modern set up in which the governmental authority will not be required. It is wrong to think so in a modern extensive states. It would be alright to imagine a government without authority in city states or in primitive states where the state was required to perform only police functions . But in an extensive modern state it is impractical.

- **What will happen after abolition of state?**

The anarchists wish to establish a state in which the government authority shall not be there so as to enable the people to enjoy maximum freedom.

But freedom does not mean violation of law and order of the state. If the laws are unhealthy and bad and hinder progress, it does not mean that the state should be abolished.

- **What will happen to law and order after the abolition of the state?**

The Anarchists are vague in their methods of struggle. Simple persuasion can yield fruitful results but that will take a long time but the anarchist does not want to have a transitory stage and they also does not want force revolution because they feel that the leaders will resume powers of the state. Anarchist does not want regime of one hero but of workers. So their method of struggle seems to be vague. Though there is lot of truth in what anarchists say but their methods are violent and their picture of society is hazy.

- **Disruption of work :**

Communists argue that the anarchist philosophy is bourgeois socialism which aims at nothing else but disruption in the work and low production. This will do more harm than good in the society.

- **Utopian society :**

The anarchist society is utopian and ,therefore , impossible to realise in practice.

- **Wrong assessment of human nature :**

The Anarchists have wrongly assessed human nature. They feel that the human beings are perfect and once the authority is removed they will get freedom and will develop their potential by helping each other's progress. But in normal practice it is not true. Love , greed, ego ,selfishness are human nature which cannot be denied. So it is also possible for human's to create a society based on love and affection through the means of destruction and murder.

- No absence of authority: The Anarchists argue that in ideal society there shall not be absence of order but only absence of coersive authority. In actual practice , the logical conclusion should be absence of order and prevalence of chaos and disorder.

Anarchism may be impracticable but it is not without value. Its significance lies in highlighting the dangers of overgrowth of political power. Small layers of authority , territorial and functional , should be set up and through their membership in small groups individuals will realise their role and potential in a society. As a movement, anarchism is practically dead in the present context but its philosophy still remains and is a great inspiration for reformers , philosophers and social activists.



12.7 LET US SUM UP

- The term "Anarchism" has been derived from the Greek word "anarkhia" which literally means "no rule". Anarchism is the political philosophy which rejects (and supports the elimination of) compulsory government or compulsory rule, and holds that society can and should be organized without a coercive state.
- Anarchists believe that government is both harmful and unnecessary. Anarchists believe that as long as the institutions of state and private property exist there is exploitation in society.
- The features of anarchism include Condemnation of the State, Elimination of the State by force, Alternatives to state authority, Opposition to Representative System, Opposition to Religion, Opposition to private property

- The characteristics of the Anarchist Society include Stateless society, Absence of coercive authority, Mutual Trust and Cooperation, Provision for arbitration, Utilization of Human Energies, Equality for all, Methods of struggle, Evolutionary method, Use of force, No Transition Stage
- Joseph Proudhon was the father of Anarchism . He championed the cause of liberty and freedom and condemned the government of man by man. In his book Philosophy of poverty he said, "Government of man by man in every form is oppression and the highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy." Governments were the political methods used to oppress the workers. State was against reason, justice and understanding.
- Kropotkin was the most representative, the most attractive and engaging, of the anarchist. He was a gifted writer. His important works are: The conquest of Bread; Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal; The State: Its Part in History, Fields, Factories and Workshops; Modern Science and Anarchism.
- Kropotkin had an anarchist ideal before him for achieving which he advocated the destruction of all those institution which stood in its way – The State, the God and the Property.
- The ideas of anarchism have been subjected to many criticisms.



12.8 FURTHER READING

1) Coker, Francis William. *Readings in Political Philosophy* . Nabu Press

2) Nelson, Brian R. (2006). *Western Political Thought* (Second Edition). New Delhi: Pearson Education.

3) Sabine G.H. (1973). History of Political Thought. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH.

4) Sharma, S.K. and Sharma, Urmila. (2003). *Western Political Thought-From Plato to Burke*. Atlantic.

12.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : The term "Anarchism" has been derived from the Greek word "anarkhia" which literally means "no rule". Anarchism is the political philosophy which rejects (and supports the elimination of) compulsory government or compulsory rule, and holds that society can and should be organized without a coercive state.

Anarchists believe that government is both harmful and unnecessary. Anarchists believe in complete abolition of state authority. It is to be abolished all at once.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : In the words of Coker, " Anarchism is the doctrine that political authority, in any of its forms, is unnecessary and undesirable. In recent anarchism, theoretical opposition to the state has usually been associated with opposition to the institution of private property and also with hostility to organized religious authority."

Anarchism has been defined by Kropotkin as, "a principle of theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government- harmony in such a society being obtained not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free arguments concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being."

According to Russel, "Anarcism is the theory which is opposed to every kind of forcible government. Liberty is the supreme goal to the Anarchist creed, and Liberty is sought by the direct road of abolishing all forcible control over the individual by the community."

Ans to Q. No. 3 : a) No coercive authority and b) Equality for all

Ans to Q. No. 4 : To anarchist the best society will be one which will be stateless . In it the means of production and distribution shall not be in the hands of only a few persons but under collective control. It shall be used for the sake of welfare of all and not in the interest of only a few. Classes like wage-earners and employees will disappear.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : Joseph Proudhon was the father of Anarchism . He championed the cause of liberty and freedom and condemned the government of man by man. In his book "Philosophy of Poverty" he said, "Government of man by man in every form is oppression and the highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy." Governments were the political methods used to oppress the workers. State was against reason, justice and understanding.

Proudhon advocated the establishment of a Bank of the people for eliminating all private capital. He condemned property as theft and advocated its equal rights for all. He was opposed to communism. To him communism meant privatization everywhere and always.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Kropotkin was the most representative, the most attractive and engaging, of the anarchist. He was a gifted writer. His important works are: The conquest of Bread; Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal; The State: Its Part in History, Fields, Factories and Workshops; Modern Science and Anarchism.

Kropotkin had an anarchist ideal before him for achieving which he advocated the destruction of all those institution which stood in its way – The State, the God and the Property. According to him there would be no authority of any kind and there would be only voluntary association for every kind of work.

People were to join groups of their own free will and according to their tastes. The mutual disputes were to be settled by courts of arbitration set up by the people themselves. Every person was to work according to his bent of mind.

Kropotkin found no justification for state history showed that people lived amicably for centuries without any political authority. The State was of later origin. The laws of the state were superflous or harmful. Kropotkin was opposed to the institution of private property. He called it the greatest enemy of cooperation. According to Kropotkin the goods of this world were the product of the joint labour of individual , so no one could by right claim personal ownership of anything.

Kropotkin was opposed to religion and the church. Religion had resulted in injustice to the poor. It had enabled the rich to maintain their states. It had always sided with the political and economic oppression. But Kropotkin was not opposed to social morality which evolves unconsciously in society and as a consequence of which men respect one another's interest and rely upon one another's words. Such a morality is exterior to and independent of formal religious creeds. Only such morality endures while religion fades away.

Kropotkin believed that the social evolution was inevitable moving towards the anarchial goal. Anarchism does not mean chaos or confusion . It means hostility to the state and to peculiar social relations which the state sustains.



12.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of Anarchism?

Q 2 : Discuss the features of anarchism.

Q 3 : Discuss the features of an anarchist society.

Q 4 : Write about the criticisms levelled against anarchism.

Q 5 : Discuss the views of Joseph Proudhan and Prince Kropotkin.

Q 6 : Does anarchism have its relevance today. Justify your answer with reasons.

UNIT 13 : FASCISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning and Definitions of Fascism

13.4 Features of Fascism

13.4.1 Curtailing Fascism

13.5 Let Us Sum Up

13.6 Further Reading

13.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.8 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of fascism
- explain the history of the rise of fascism
- discuss the features of fascism
- explain how fascism can be curtailed.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall discuss the concept of fascism as a political doctrine. The ideology of fascism is inbvaruiavly assocuiaed with the National Fascist Party of Italy under the leadership of Beneta Mussolini. The fascist ideology is diamteriaccaly opposite to theideolofy of liberal democracy. To the fascists, the individuals exist only for the sake of the state. Fascism is opposed to individual rights and liberties and believe in a totalitarian one party regime with no opposition.

13.3 MEANING AND DEFINITIONS OF FASCISM

The term fascism is derived from the Latin word "fasces"which means a "bundle". In ancient Rome a bundle of rods with an axe was the

sign of authority, which included the power of life and death. Fascism emerged in the Twentieth century as a reaction against liberalism and democracy. The term "fascism" was adopted by the followers of Benito Mussolini in Italy. Benito Mussolini was the Prime Minister of Italy and the leader of the National Fascist Party from 1922 to .1943.

Fascism emerged in Italy after World War I. Although Italy was one of the victors of World War I, she was deprived of the gains of victory by the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. On this sensitive issues, Mussolini mobilized the masses and formed a party in 1919. In 1922, the Fascists marched to Rome. The democratic government of Italy was not able to cope with the situation. The King of Italy therefore invited Mussolini to form the government. In due course of time, Mussolini established a Fascist state in Italy.

Let us look at some of the definitions of fascism :

- William Ebenstein: " Stripped to its essentials,fascism is the totalitarian organisation of government and society by a single party dictatorship, intensely nationalist, socialist, militarist and imperialist."
- Websters New World Dictionary: Fascism is a system of government characterized by dictatorship, belligerent nationalism, racism, militarism, etc., first instituted in Italy in 1922.
- Mussolini: " Fascism is based on reality, we want to be definite and real. Our programme is action, not talk." Mussolini has explained fascism by saying, " We Fascists have had the courage to discard all traditional political theories and we are aristocrats and democrats, revolutionaries and reactionaries, proletarians and anti-proletarians, pacifists and anti- pacifists. It is sufficient to have a single fixed point, the Nation, the rest is obvious." Fascism has been called as the Italian variant of totalitarianism just as Nazism is the German variant and Bolshevism is the Russian variant of totalitarianism.

In current political literature the term 'totalitarian State' is used in contrast to the term ' the liberal democratic State'. A fascist state is a totalitarian state. Fascism is a form of radical authoritarian nationalism, characterized by dictatorial power, forcible suppresssion of opposition and control of industry and commerce. Fascism came to prominence in early 20th- century Europe.

Fascists believe that liberal democracy is obsolete and they regard the complete mobilization of society under a totalitarian one-party state as necessary to prepare a nation for armed conflict and to respond effectively to economic difficulties. Such a state is led by a strong leader – such as a dictator and a martial government composed of the members of the governing fascist party – to forge national unity and to maintain a stable and orderly society.

Fascism is just the opposite of liberalism. It is a kind of radical authoritarian nationalism. It signifies a dictatorial and totalitarian regime where all powers of the tate are concentrated in one leader and one single party. Here more importance is attached to the state than the individual. A distinction is made between the ruler and the ruled. This ideology does not attach much importance to the freedom of speech and association as instruments of popular welfare and believes that the state alone can promote the welfare of the people. The individual is considered to be subordinate to the state. This ideology believes in one-party government, expansionism, supreme power of the state, and in war as an instrument for settlement of disputes, etc. The Fascists in Italy under Benito Mussolini glorified the state. For them power was to be in the hands of a select group of peopleto be led by a person having super-human qualities. Territorial expansion and war as an instrument of settlement of international disputes were considered to be acceptable.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Define the term fascism.

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Q 2 : Elaborate fascism with definitions.

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13.4 FEATURES OF FASCISM

- The fascists glorified the nation. Fascists believed in extreme nationalism. They held that the nation had a personality and an end of its own. The fascists emphasize devotion to the state. The individuals had a meaning and personality only in the context of the existence of the nation. They are to render complete obedience to state authority.
- The fascist state is totalitarian in nature.Politics, economics, art, literature, education and religion all serve the needs of the state. Fascism conceived of the nation as the ultimate moral being. Individual and group interests must be subordinated to the interest of the nation
- According to fascists so-called individual rights are nonsense. Individuals have only duties. Duty, discipline and sacrifice are demanded for them. The state is absolutely sovereign. It must dominate all the existing forces in the country, co-ordinate them, solidify them and direct them to the ends of social life. The state must preside over and direct national activity in every field.
- The fascists state is totalitarian and authoritarian. According to fascists, the state and government have always originated in conquest and not in a voluntary contract. The state can be maintained by force rather than by consent.
- Fascists reject the old liberal slogan that ultimate sovereignty rests with the people and that government derives its authority from the people. Fascists rejects the dogma of popular sovereignty and substitutes for it that of state sovereignty. The individual is what he is because of his being in the state. There is no such thing as inalienable rights of an individual.
- Fascists were the arch enemies of both democracy and liberalism. They had no faith in parliamentary form of government. They described democracy as stupid, corrupt, slow moving, visionary, impracticable, inefficient and a decaying corpse. Parliaments are

talking and the country needed action and not talks. Authoritarianism is better than democracy. Fascism believed in one-party rule . The entire administration was to be run by one single party in which all powers would be concentrated. There was no existence of any alternative party. Fascism is based on force and all opposition to it are violently crushed.

- The fascists were anti-socialist and anti- communist. They rejected socialist doctrine of economic determinism. They believed that besides materialism, religion and patriotism also played a vital role in the lives of the people. Fascists did not believe in the theory of class- struggle. They wanted all classes to cooperate for the glorification of the state.
- Fascists rejected almost all the socialist doctrines- economic determinism, class- struggle, surplus value and internationalism. Fascists believed in holiness and in heroism, in actions not influenced by economic motive, direct or indirect.
- There was complete control of the educational system by the fascists regime. Education was aimed to inculcate the spirit of nationalism and the building of character in the youth. It was filly controlled by the state. Professors were required to swear to maintain their loyalty to the fascists regime and to inculcate the fascist ideals in the minds of the students.
- Fascism allows no liberty of thought , speech, and writing. Severe censorship is exercised over the press, publication of books, radio, moving picture industry, theatre, music and art. There is no liberty of meeting of liberty of association and strikes were forbidden in a fascist state.
- Fascism believed in the personality cult and leaders were worshipped as heroes possessing superhuman qualities. Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany were virtually worshipped by their followers.
- Fascism believes in imperialism and militarism. Building a strong military for subjugation was the hallmark of fascism. Use of military

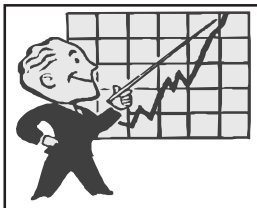
power for exercising control within the state and for territorial expansionism constitutes an aspect of fascism.

- Corporations were an instrument of rigid governmental control over the entire economic, social and industrial life of the community. They were not independent bodies. They were simply the means to bring glorification of the state and to make life disciplined. Though these corporations were declared to be autonomous in the eyes of law but in actual practice they were run by the state.

13.4.1 Curtailing Fascism

In spite of its achievements, Fascism could not last long. As it was anti- democracy, anti- liberalism, anti- socialism, anti-internationalism, anti- freedom, anti- labour, anti- idealism and anti-intellectualism, it could not make a head- way. The Second World War sounded a death- knell of fascism because of its many shortcomings. It had no coherent philosophy. It was just a body without a soul, a doctrine full of inconsistencies. Finally , it may be said that dictatorship sows its own seeds of destruction.

Thus , fascism is dead as a movement but as a cult it still survives and it shall continue to do so as long as authoritarian personality is not replaced by democratic personality and people do not learn to live democratically. Strengthening of democratic forces and sharpening of democratic processes are essential for making the fascist cult permanently handicapped. Democratic values must be instilled at a very early age and the state should always ensure that justice is meted out to all citizens and are treated fairly. A culture of justice and equity will always keep fascists tendencies at bay.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Discuss four the characteristics of fascism.

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13.5 LET US SUM UP

- The term fascism is derived from the Latin word "fasces" which means a "bundle". In ancient Rome a bundle of rods with an axe was the sign of authority, which included the power of life and death. Fascism emerged in the Twentieth century as a reaction against liberalism and democracy. The term "fascism" was adopted by the followers of Mussolini in Italy.
- Fascism emerged in Italy after World War I. Although Italy was one of the victors of World War I, she was deprived of the gains of victory by the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. On this sesnsitive issues, Mussolini mobilized the masses and formed a party in 1919. In 1922, the Fascists marched to Rome. The democratic government of Italy was not able to cope with the situation. The King of Italy therefore invited Mussolini to form the government. In due course of time, Mussolini established a Fascist state in Italy.
- Mussolini of Italy is regarded as the god like cult of fascism.
- The fascists glorified the nation. They held that the nation had a personality and an end of its own. The fascists emphasize devotion to the state. The individuals had a meaning and personality only in the context of the existence of the nation.
- The fascist state is totalitarian.Politics, economics, art, literature, education and religion all serve the needs of the state.
- According to fascists so-called individual rights are nonsense. Individuals have only duties. Duty, discipline and sacrifice are demanded for them. The state is absolutely sovereign. It must dominate all the existing forces in the country, co-ordinate them,

solidify them and direct them to the ends of social life. The state must preside over and direct national activity in every field.

- The fascists state is totalitarian and authoritarian. According to fascists, the state and government have always originated in conquest and not in a voluntary contract. The state can be maintained by force rather than by consent.
- Fascists reject the old liberal slogan that ultimate sovereignty rests with the people and that government derives its authority from the people. Fascists rejects the dogma of popular sovereignty and substitutes for it that of state sovereignty. The individual is what he is because of his being in the state. There is no such thing as inalienable rights of an individual.
- Fascists were the arch enemies of both democracy and liberalism. They had no faith in parliamentary form of government. They described democracy as stupid, corrupt, slow moving, visionary, impracticable, inefficient and a decaying corpse. Parliaments are talking and the country needed action and not talks. Authoritarianism is better than democracy.
- Fascism allows no liberty of thought , speech, and writing. Severe censorship is exercised over the press, publication of books, radio, moving picture industry, theatre, music and art. There is no liberty of meeting of liberty of association and strikes were forbidden in a fascist state.
- Corporations were an instrument of rigid governmental control over the entire economic, social and industrial life of the community. They were not independent bodies. They were simply the means to bring glorification of the state and to make life disciplined. Though these corporations were declared to be autonomous in the eyes of law but in actual practice they were run by the state.
- In spite of its achievements, Fascism could not last long. As it was anti- democracy, anti- liberalism, anti- socialism, anti- internationalism, anti- freedom, anti- labour, anti- idealism and anti-

intellectualism, it could not make a head- way. The Second World War sounded a death- knell of fascism because of its many shortcomings. It had no coherent philosophy. It was just a body without a soul, a doctrine full of inconsistencies. Finally , it may be said that dictatorship sows its own seeds of destruction.

- Thus , fascism is dead as a movement but as a cult it still survives and it shall continue to do so as long as authoritarian personality is not replaced by democratic personality and people do not learn to live democratically. Strengthening of democratic forces and sharpening of democratic processes are essential for making the fascist cult permanently handicapped.



13.6 FURTHER READING

1) Coker, Francis William. *Readings in Political Philosophy* . Nabu Press

2) Nelson, Brian R. (2006). *Western Political Thought* (Second Edition). New Delhi: Pearson Education.

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4) Sharma, S.K. and Sharma, Urmila. (2003). *Western Political Thought-From Plato to Burke*. Atlantic.



13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : The term fascism is derived from the Latin word "fasces" which means a "bundle". In ancient Rome a bundle of rods with an axe was the sign of authority, which included the power of life and death. Fascism emerged in the Twentieth century as a reaction against liberalism and democracy. The term "fascism" was adopted by the followers of Mussolini in Italy.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Some of the definitions of fascism:

a) Benstein : " Stripped to its essentials,fascismis the totalitarian organisation of government and society by a single party dictatorship, intensely nationalist, socialist, militarist and imperialist."

b) Websters New World Dictionary : Fascism is a system of government characterized by dictatorship, belligerent nationalism, racism, militarism, etc., first instituted in Italy in 1922.

c) Mussolini : " Fascism is based on reality, we want to be definite and real. Our programme is action, not talk." Mussolini has explained fascism by saying, " We Fascists have had the courage to discard all traditional political theories and we are aristocrats and democrats, revolutionaries and reactionaries, proletarians and anti-proletarians, pacifists and anti- pacifists. It is sufficient to have a single fixed point, the Nation, the rest is obvious."

Ans to Q. No. 3 : a) The fascists glorified the nation. They held that the nation had a personality and an end of its own. The fascists emphasize devotion to the state. The individuals had a meaning and personality only in the context of the existence of the nation.

b) The fascist state is totalitarian. Politics, economics, art, literature, education and religion all serve the needs of the state. Fascism conceived of the nation as the ultimate moral being. Individual and group interests must be subordinated to the interest of the nation

c) According to fascists so-called individual rights are nonsense. Individuals have only duties. Duty, discipline and sacrifice are demanded for them. The state is absolutely sovereign. It must dominate all the existing forces in the country, co-ordinate them, solidify them and direct them to the ends of social life. The state must preside over and direct national activity in every field.

d) The fascists state is totalitarian and authoritarian. According to fascists, the state and government have always originated in conquest and not in a voluntary contract. The state can be maintained by force rather than by consent.

13.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss about the meaning of fascism with proper definitions.

Q 2 : Elaborate the characteristics of fascism.

Q 3 : Does fascism have any relevance today ?Discuss

Q 4 : Explain the methods to check the rise of fascism.

UNIT 14 : NEW LEFTISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Concept of New Left

14.4 New Left- Evolution

14.5 The Frankfurt School

14.6 Ernst Bloch

14.7 Let Us Sum Up

14.8 Further Readings

14.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.10 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- describe the concept of New Left
- discuss the Frankfurt School and Ernst Bloch

14.2 INTRODUCTION

New Left was a left wing activist movement. Its major contribution was to a process of revision and diversification within or around Marxism especially with regard to concepts of class, agency, ideology and culture.

However, the highpoint of New Left activism reached in 1968 as a wave of radical protest swept across the globe. It comprised a series of worldwide protests and popular rebellion against military and democratic elites.

14. 3 CONCEPT OF NEW LEFT

The New Left arose in 1950 as a left wing activist movements and intellectual currents. It is often regarded as synonymous with student

radicalism of the 1960s or a movement that sought to give theoretical coherence and political direction. It related campus protest to U.S. civil rights activism, to third world national liberation struggle, to third world national liberation struggle, to mass strikes and university and factory occupations in a diverse array of countries and to wider forms of anti- capitalist and countercultural protests. In theoretical terms, the New Left's major contribution was to the process of revision and diversification within or around Marxism on the ground of class, agency, ideology and culture.

14.4 NEW LEFT- EVOLUTION

The New Left first arose in Europe in response to Nikita Khruschev's secret speech of February 1956, which revealed the extent of political repression under Stalin's leadership. It was French and British groupings that adopted the label New Left to denote their socialist third way distinct from orthodox Marxism and from mainstream social democracy. The New Left's main rallying points constituted opposition to nucear weapons and opposition to cold war bipolarity. Anti-colonialism and challenges in the third world also became concerns of the new left movement especially after the Cuban revolution of 1959.

In the US, the New Left grew out of student socialist activism, inspired by the black civil rights movement. The US New Left organization, Students for a Democratic Society was founded in 1960. It published its political manifesto, the Port Huron Statement in 1962. The New left movements generally avoided traditional forms of organisations such as forming political parties and adopted such strategies as mass protests, direct action and civil disobedience. The highpoint of New Left activism was reached in 1968 when a wave of radical protest against military and bureaucratic elites were launched across the globe. The revolutionary mood dissipated through the 1970s although commonalities and continuity still exists between the New Left movement and new social movements such as feminism and environmentalism. A minority of activists went on to establish clandestine revolutionary organizations practising violent direct action.

The New Left produced no unified body of political theory. In many countries, including the US, it was primarily an activist force. In France, West Germany and Britain theoretical production was an important concern. The range of theoretical influences on which New Left currents drew was extremely diverse in including the philosophical existentialism of Jean Paul Sartre, various forms of revisionist or neo-Marxism, the "third worldism" of Frantz Fanon, the guerrilla strategies of Regis Debray, the Marxist structuralism of Louis Althusser, Maoism and Trotskyism. Initially, there was a renewed interest in Marx's early writings, particularly his concept of alienation. It formed a key part of the humanist reorientation within European Marxism. The ethical and moral dimensions of Marx's thought were emphasized as an alternative to the orthodox communist interpretation of economics. The Frankfurt School reworked the concept of alienation.

Thinkers of the New Left also undertook the exercise of analyzing culture and communications and made pioneering contributions in the field. In this they took a different position from Marxist orthodoxy. They were convinced that the new conditions of consumer capitalism called for fresh thinking. British theorists such as Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams regarded culture as constitutive rather than simply reflective of social and economic processes. They made pioneering studies with regard to the role of advertising, television and the mass media as shpaers of public opinion in the age of consumerism. They also investigated the potential of youth and other subcultures to challenge and subvert ideological messages. The concept of hegemony as put forward by Antonio Gramsci, an interwar Italian Marxist was a crucial influence even as Gramsci pointed out how ideology and culture is used to establish capitalist hegemony. Cultural studies under new left and beyond took on new theoretical dimensions including structuralism and post structuralism to become a discipline in its own right, giving it a distinctive character. Such gradual transformation and spread of the new left movement gave rise to a wider theoretical legacy encompassing theorists and activists spanning over several decades. The British journal New Left Review founded in 1960 is still in circulation. It is heralded as the most significant surviving link with the original New Left philosophy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : New Left first arose in Europe in response to Nikita Khruschev's secret speech of February 1956. (True/False)

.....

Q 2 : In the US, from where did the New Left grow and what inspired the movement?

.....

Q 3 : In ……..…… New Left activism reached its highpoint, as a wave of radical protest across the globe. (Fill in the Blank)

Q 4: Mention the countries apart from the US where the New Left turned into movement an activist force.

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14.5 THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL

The Frankfurt school of thought was founded in 1923 under the leadership of Marx Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. This school of thought was at the centre in the West for Marxist research. The school is known for the development of a critical theory of social development that views society from the point of need to change it. The school intended to show how modern society develops and functions but at the cost of human lives.

The Frankfurt school of thought followed Marx in advocating social change. However, it dropped the idea of class to be the core factor of history and stated that no single factor can be used in such an analysis. Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas were the most influential thinkers of the Frankfurt school of thought. Along with them Walter Benjamin Evic Fromm and others also greatly influenced the New Left.

Jurgen Habermas has focused on the concept of rationality as the basis of this theory. He has sought to develop a broad concept of rationality

as a means of criticizing contemporary culture and as the foundation for positive social change. His theory of communicative action is a critique of the concept of modernity. He however stressed on keeping those parts of modernity that he considered most valuable, namely, universal rationality and morality. Habermas is in favour of having a deliberative democracy rather than a democracy based on the representative system. In such a deliberative democracy, issues of public importance can be effectively deliberated upon through continuous discussions based on equal rights and obligations of citizens and thereby influencing the decision making process. This will activate the public sphere in the true sense.

14.6 ERNST BLOCH

Ernest Bloch was a German Marxist philosopher. He who emphasized the utopian aspects of Marxism. In his works, he explored the various manifestations of hope in human history. He argued that the desire for betterment must resume the centre stage of Marxist thought as this desire for betterment is the real engine of social change. Bloch later translated his works into English. Through his writings he greatly influenced contemporary Marxist thought.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : The Frankfurt school of thought was founded in 1923. (True/ False)

.....

Q. 6 : Who were at the centre in the West for Marxist research?

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.....

Q 7 : What does Ernst Bloch emphasize on ……..…… (Fill in the Blank).

Q 8 : Explain the views of “Ernst Bloch”. (within 50 words).

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14.7 LET US SUM UP

- New Left was a left wing activist movement.
- Its major contribution was to a process of revision and diversification within or around Marxism especially with regard to concepts of class, agency, ideology and culture.
- In theoretical terms, the New Left's major contribution was to process of revision and diversification within or around Marxism on the ground of class, agency, ideology and culture.
- It is often regarded as a synonymous with the student radicalism of 1960's or a movement that sought to give theoretical coherence and political direction.
- It first arose in Europe in response to Nikita Khruschev's secret speech of February 1956, which revealed the extent of political repression under Stalin's leadership.
- It was French and British groupings that adopted the label New Left to denote their socialist third way distinct from orthodox Marxism and from mainstream social democracy.
- New Lefts constituency was the outcome of anti nuclearism and opposition to cold war bipolarity and this disaffected communists and independent socialists were formed.
- In US, the New Left grew out of student socialist activism, inspired by the black civil rights movement.
- The US New Left organization, Students for a Democratic Society founded in 1960 and published its political manifesto, the Port Huron Statement in 1962.
- The New left movements generally avoided traditional and party political forms of organisations in favour of strategies of mass protest,

direct action and civil disobedience. The highpoint of New Left activism reached 1968 as wave of radical protest across the globe against military and bureaucratic elites.

- The revolutionary mood dissipated through the 1970's although important lines of continuity still exists between the New Left movement and new social movements such as feminism and environmentalism.
- A minority of activist went on to found clandestine revolutionary organization practicing violent direct action.
- The New Left produced no unified body of political theory. In many countries, including the US, it was primarily an activist force in France, West Germany and Britain theoretical production was an important concern.
- The range of theoretical influences on which New Left currents drew was extremely diverse in including the philosophical existentialism of Jean Paul Sartre, various forms of revisionist or neo-Marxism, the "third worldism" of Frantz Fanon, the guerrilla strategies of Regis Debray, the Marxist structuralism of Louis Althusser, Maoism and Trotskyism.
- Initially, the rediscovery of Marx's early writings, particularly his concept of alienation was the key part of humanist reorientation within European Marxism in which the ethical and moral dimensions of Marx's thought were emphasized, was the key part of a humanist reorientation within European Marxism in which the ethical and moral dimensions of Marx's thought were emphasized as an alternative to the sterile economism of orthodox communist interpretations.
- The concept of alienation was influentially reworked by the Frankfurt School.
- Thinkers of the New Left also made ground breaking contributions to analysis of culture and communications.
- Departing from Marxist orthodoxy and convinced the new conditions of consumer capitalism required fresh thinking, British theorists

regarded culture as constitutive rather than simply reflective of social and economic processes.

- They offered pioneering studies of the role of advertising, television and the mass media, as well as investigating the potential of youth and other subcultures to challenge and subvert ideological messages.
- Antonio Gramsci, an interwar Italian Marxist whose analysis of capitalist hegemony drew attention to the role of ideology and culture in reproducing capitalist dominance was a crucial influence.
- As it developed within and beyond the New Left, cultural studies drew on new theoretical developments, notably structuralism and post structuralism to become a discipline in its own right.
- Such gradual permeation and mutation are also characteristic of the wider theoretical legacy of the New Left, whose life span encompassed the early careers of numerous notable intellectuals and activist.
- The British journal New Left Review founded in 1960 is the most significant surviving forum of the original New Left and it continues to demonstrate the eclectric and experimental approach to theoretical and political questions that gives the New Left its distinctive character.



14.8 FURTHER READING

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3) Marcuse, H. (1964), *One-dimensional man*. Boston: Beacon Press.

4) Wright- Mills, C. (1960), Letter to the New Left, *New Left Review*,

14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : True.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : In US, the New Left grew out of student socialist activism, inspired by the black civil rights movement.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : 1968.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : France, West Germany and Britain.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Theodor Adorno (1903-1969).

Ans to Q. No. 7 : The Utopian aspects of Marxism.

Ans to Q. No. 8 : He argued that the desire for betterment must be brought back to the center of Marxist thought as the real engine of social change. Bloch later translates his works into English and with this he started his writings to influence contemporary Marxist thought. Finally, he even influenced the development of Liberation Theology.



14.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : What is New Left?

Q 2 : When did the New Left movement arise?

Q 3 : Write briefly about the evolution after New Left Movement.

Q 4 : Mention names of the thinkers related to New Left?

Q 5 : Write a brief note on the Frankfurt School.

Q 6 : Write short note on Ernst Bloch.

UNIT 15 : MICHEL FOUCAULT AND NOAM CHOMSKY

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Michel Foucault on Power

15.4 Michel Foucault on Knowledge is power

15.5 Noam Chomsky on Manufacturing Consent and Propaganda

15.6 Let Us Sum Up

15.7 Further Readings

15.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.9 Model Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain Foucault's conception of power
- explain Foucault's concept of knowledge as power
- explain Chomsky's idea of manufacturing consent
- explain how propaganda works

15.2 INTRODUCTION

Michael Foucault and Noam Chomsky are names which are indispensably associated with post modernism and post structuralism. Both Chomsky and Foucault talk about control in different, but similar ways. Both of these two scholars have delved into the intensities by which modern states or societies functions. They have revealed how the systems of control work in contemporary times. While Chomsky goes on to uncover the manufacturing of consent in modern states, Foucault on the other hand tells us how the knowledge-power dichotomy sustains and how these two ideas stem out of one another. It is very interesting to note, that both of these outstanding scholars have disentangled a lot of confusion, suspicion and secrecy about the way a modern society functions.

Let us start, by getting introduced with Michael Foucault. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) was born in Pouters, France. He was the son of an esteemed surgeon. Foucault had not excelled in his schooldays, his genius started to unveil only during his college days and he then got himself admitted into one of the most esteemed universities of France. He went on to earn degrees in the disciplines of philosophy and psychology. His celebrated academic status however was not easily achieved.

Foucault has served and still serves as theoretical stimulation across a plethora of disciplines, and the term Foucauldian has become a commonplace part across subjects. Though Foucault did come across a few hitches in the initial part of his academic career, he ultimately went on to become one of the most significant intellectuals of France. His thesis on the history of the concept of "madness" which was accepted in France in 1961 was instantly well received, and Foucault continued to write important books on some of the most powerful social institutions of the West like medicine, prisons, and religion, parallely with works on more abstract theoretical concepts of power, knowledge, sexuality, and selfhood. While the objects of Foucault's studies seem to range extensively but they all are inclined to how the knowledge of human beings is inseparably related to power over them.

Noam Chomsky again is an American linguist, historian, philosopher, cognitive scientist, political activist and social critic,. His contribution to the academics has also been immense. He is Institute Professor Emeritus at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he has been working since 1955. He has authored over 100 books on the topics of linguistics, mass media politics, and war.

His full name is Avram Noam Chomsky and he was born on December 7, 1928, in Philadelphia. His parents were Hebrew scholars, and Chomsky and his younger brother were brought up in a Jewish culture. Chomsky's mother had a more left-leaning inclination than her husband, and it was her influence on Chomsky's interest in social and political issues. Chomsky's expertise ranges over a multitude of disciplines and his ideas highlight core issues, in more than one stance. That is why, Chomsky's biographer Wolfgang B. Sperlich comments that he is "one of the most notable contemporary champions of the people", (Sperlich 2006) while

Arundhati Roy had said that Chomsky is “one of the greatest, most radical public thinkers of our time (ibid)

15.3 FOUCAULT ON POWER

Foucault’s work on power is regarded as a landmark, because it marked a departure from the other conceptualizations and traditional understandings of power. Foucault has largely and very extensively impacted and altered the understandings of power, building new models of understanding, that depart from the traditional understanding of power as essentially coercion. Not only this, his ideas on power have also gone above and beyond the structures within which ‘apparently’ power operates.

It will be easier to understand his ideas on power, by means of the common Foucauldian phrase that – “power is everywhere’. Thus Foucault offers us with a deconstructed version of the traditional theory, which generally tells us about the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

“His work marks a radical departure from previous modes of conceiving power and cannot be easily integrated with previous ideas, as power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them” (Gaventa 2003: 1)

Therefore, we understand that Foucault in a way challenges the traditional definitions of power. He does not believe that power is exercised or brandished by a people or groups; rather he understands power as dispersed, because he says that power is everywhere/. This conception of power also tells us that Foucault envisions power as not constituted as an agency or as/in a structure. Power for Foucault is a ‘regime of truth ‘that is prevalent everywhere in society and something which is in a state of constant flux and negotiation. The dichotomy of power/knowledge actually implies that power stems from accepted forms of knowledge, from the scientific understandings of truth.

Foucault believed that power existed everywhere and that it comes from everywhere. It was a critical concept to Foucault because power acted as a kind of relation between people; it was to him an intricate form of tactic,

which had the ability to secretly shape another's behaviour. For Foucault the effects of power were not negative. For him, power didn't reject, contain, expurgate, camouflage, and obscure things. Rather, Foucault believed it to be a manufacturer of reality, as he stated,

"it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth"

(Foucault 1977, 194).

The significance of power he stated was always evident in the effect that it has on whole arrangements, practices, and in the world all around, and how it comes to impact and influence our behaviour, but never itself.

15.4 FOUCAULT ON KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

For Foucault, knowledge and power are not isolated concepts. Though knowledge and power are independent variables but they are inevitable related in his analysis. Knowledge for him is an exercise of power and power is a function of knowledge. Foucault had been working on the idea of knowledge in a series of works; it was in his work, *History of Sexuality*, where he elucidates the knowledge/power equation by means of the example of a 'confession' in a Christian church. Foucault goes on to explain, how, by means of the church, which when analysed comes across as a source of power, the people were mandated or expected to tell the truth in the confession chamber. This telling of the truth was in a way a method of producing knowledge. This knowledge could be varied, ranging from issues of personal to professional lives. This example makes it easy to understand how Foucault conceived of knowledge and power as two sides of the same coin. He believed that knowledge and power both constrictive and productive at the same time.

So, basically, Foucault spoke in contradiction to the conventional understandings of power. Foucault was basically critical of the earlier theories of power from two perspectives – (a) the economic understanding of power and (b) the juridical understanding of power. He is very explicitly critical of an economical analysis of power as well as a juridical analysis of power which imparts it a commodity-like character, and enables it to be

acquired, or exchanged from one to another, by means of a contract, as suggested by the liberal theories. Simultaneously Foucault is also apprehensive and critical of the repressive characterization of power, as undertaken by the juridical theories and suggests that such an understanding of power needs to be revisited.

Foucault also talked about the exercise of power. He had set down two limits to understand this – (a) the first is associated with the 'rules of right' which officially constrain power and (b) and the second is associated with the effects of truth or knowledge formed and transmitted by power and which in return again give rise to power. Thus, he says a three-way connection or a triangle is produced in this stance by the three entities of power, right and knowledge.

He is concerned with the conceptualizations and meanings of power and he vehemently opposes the idea of power as one person's or group's prerogative or right to be exercised over the others, rather it should be understood as something which circulates and is not concentrated.

"We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth"

(Foucault, 2003:93).

In simple words the methods in which power is exercised is through discourses of truth which first have to be authenticated by a learned society. To have knowledge, Foucault believed, is to have the aptitude to make certain testimonials pass among others as true (Allen, 1999). The community decides what can be regarded as knowledge, that is there, as a manifestation of power. Power therefore circulates all through the society and both produces and is governed by the accepted local practices and discourses of a given society.

Foucault had concerned himself with the question of power because he was concerned about the freedom of people. He wrote for himself — Power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives (Foucault 1980: 30).

To put it simply, for Foucault, knowledge is a form of power and that knowledge can be gained from power, and that power again leads to knowledge. So for him knowledge is inextricably connected to power. To further elaborate on his ideas, Foucault had borrowed the idea of Panopticon from Jeremy Bentham. A Panopticon was an architectural design put forward by Bentham in the mid 19th century for prisons, asylums, schools, hospitals and factories. This idea was very modern, in the sense that it was based on the needs of a modern democratic state. The citizens in a modern state could not be regulated by means of coercion and torture or other atypical methods as would be used in monarchical states. Thus, the Panopticon offered an alternative. It was an organized system of power and systematized internal coercion which was based on the constant observation of the prisoners or others as the case may be, in isolation with no communication or interaction. This advanced structure would allow the guards to constantly observe inside each cell from their vantage point from a high central tower, unseen by the prisoners. Thus uninterrupted surveillance acted as a control mechanism; as the prisoners internalized the fact that they were being constantly watched.

Foucault used the Panopticon as a metaphor in his theory. He used it to analyse social control and people in disciplinary situations. This helped him to understand the knowledge-power dichotomy. He came to the conclusion that under surveillance of any sort, there emerges acceptance and also produces docility. There stems a kind of normalization, which necessarily springs from the threat of discipline. Thus, the expected forms of behaviour are the results of a kind of Panoptic discipline, and in the inducing of people to abide by such internalization. Thus, what happens is that, the observer, in this case the state is powerful and the knowledge it gains from observation makes it furthermore powerful thus knowledge leads to power and again power leads back to knowledge.

For Foucault, a grave concern was how individuals came to be fabricated in a social order, as there was an explicit penetration of power into the lives and behaviour of the individuals. The danger arises, as power becomes stronger by means of observation and so does knowledge. Besides, when only particular sections of people control knowledge,

oppression becomes a probability. This necessitates the revealing of who records and observes our actions, as it will those who are powerful.

Foucault's analysis of power thus, helps us to understand how systems of control work in modern day states and societies. It leaves us wondering, about the theoretical understandings that he develops and also helps us identify the issues of living in a twenty first century state, where all actions of individuals are left to the knowledge of the entities who seek it. Modern technology has only helped the power-knowledge dichotomy.

15.5 NOAM CHOMSKY ON MANUFACTURING CONSENT AND PROPAGANDA

Chomsky himself states, that the special importance of propaganda lies in what Walter Lippman referred to as the "manufacture of consent'. In fact Lippmann himself as Chomsky states had written in the 1920s that propaganda had become a regular weapon of popular government and that it (propaganda) had come to lack its sophistication and significance.

Chomsky tries to analyse the working of the entire process of manufacturing consent by propaganda by means of a "free market" analysis, which shows that these processes are largely controlled and manipulated by a market consciousness and market forces. There is an evidently deliberate process of manufacturing because like he states. Most of the influenced choices in the media are the result of a pre-selection of the right-thinking people, internalized presumptions, and the adaptations of the personnel to the limitations of ownership, organizations, market and political power. And the process of censorship that operates, largely functions as self censorship, by the people in the media, who make compromises to the realities of sources and media organizational requirements and by people at the top ranks within media houses and organizations, who are chosen to implement and have become used to the limitations imposed on them by the market and the centers of power.

Though the mass media essentially had come about as a system and a mean for communication and entertainment, their functions have considerably broadened in scope, over the years. Though the mass media

continues to amuse, inform and entertain, but now these functions of the mass media are directed to a larger purpose. This larger purpose is to inculcate in individuals the norms and traditions that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society; and in a world of concerted wealth and major clashes of self interests, this motive can be fulfilled, only by a model of systematic propaganda.

Chomsky states that, the countries where the reins of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media is mostly incremented by a system of official censorship, which again makes it very clear that the media only serve the interest of a dominant elite in such societies. This is particularly true where the media are seen to actively engage in a competition, to sporadically attack and expose private and public malice. By doing so, the media try to project themselves as the upholders of free speech and the guardians of common good of a society.

The propaganda model is used by the media to indulge in this function. To be put in simple parlance, the propaganda model is one , in which money and power are used to filter out the news which is deemed fit to go out to the public.

The propaganda model strives on the in inequalities of money and power and its multidimensional effects on mass media interests and choices. Chomsky goes on to identify some set filters which help in this apparent 'filtering' of news which is 'approved' to go out to the masses. These filters are: (a) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth and profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms (b) advertising as the prime income source of the mass media (c) the reliance or dependence of the media on the information provided by the government, business and experts financed and approved by these primary sources and agents of power (d) "flak", as a means of disciplining the media and (e) 'anticommunism' as a national religion and controlling mechanism. (Source : Chomsky, Noam. (1983). *Manufacturing Consent*. Vintage Books, UK)

Thus, the news which consequently comes out as news, passes successively through these filters, and is refined in all the stages, filtering out, all that is unfit to be served to the public. Thus, the news is treated as raw material before going into these filters and after the due 'cleansing, only

the left 'residue' is deemed fit to be called news. Thus the parameters of news are fixed. Hence, as Chomsky states, the grounds of discourse, definition and interpretation are fixed to determine what is essentially 'newsworthy'.

Chomsky's idea is that, basically by controlling propaganda in this way, consent is manufactured to suit the needs of the dominant elites in a given society. That is why, there is the factor of elite domination of the media and sidelining of dissent is done with the help of the five filters, to produce news. Moreover, such manufactured news is believed to be on the lines of 'news objectivity' and 'professional news values'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Explain briefly Foucault's views on power. (within 200 words)

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Q 2 : Explain Chomsky's views on manufacturing consent. (within 200 words).

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15.6 LET US SUM UP

- We have seen in this chapter how Foucault and Chomsky both assess and analyse the way power works in societies and polities.
- The idea to study both of these scholars together was to highlight, how both of them have tried to make indepth analysis of the different

kinds of power nexuses which exist and sustain in society. Both of these analysis have again made significant departures from the conventional or traditional understandings of power.

- While Foucault, goes to examine the knowledge-power dichotomy, and concludes that knowledge and power are inevitably connected and flow from each other; Chomsky on the other hand talks in the context of modern states.
- Chomsky goes on to analyse and state how consent is manufactured in modern states, by adopting the model of propaganda as a method. This analysis of Chomsky is highly significant and critical as he tries to provide us with a very crucial understanding of how, a dominant elite class controls the consent and its manufacturing in modern states.
- The larger idea of such manufacturing of consent is largely political and economic and that is why Chomsky states that these states thrive on anti-communism as a national religion and control mechanism. Both these two thinkers thus, prove to be highly significant in understanding the way a modern state functions in contemporary times.



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1) Foucault, Michel. (1979). *Power/Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.

2) Rai, Milan. (1995). *Chomsky's Politics*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.



15.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Foucault's work on power is regarded as a landmark, because it marked a departure from the other conceptualizations and traditional understandings of power. Foucault has largely and very extensively impacted and altered the understandings of power,

building new models of understanding, that depart from the traditional understanding of power as essentially coercion. Not only this, his ideas on power have also gone above and beyond the structures within which 'apparently' power operates.

Therefore, we understand that Foucault in a way challenges the traditional definitions of power. He does not believe that power is exercised or brandished by a people or groups; rather he understands power as dispersed, because he says that power is everywhere/. This conception of power also tells us that Foucault envisions power as not constituted as an agency or as/in a structure. Power for Foucault is a 'regime of truth 'that is prevalent everywhere in society and something which is in a state of constant flux and negotiation. The dichotomy of power/knowledge actually implies that power stems from accepted forms of knowledge, from the scientific understandings of truth.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Chomsky himself states, that the special importance of propaganda lies in what Walter Lippman referred to as the "manufacture of consent'. In fact Lippmann himself as Chomsky states had written in the 1920s that propaganda had become a regular weapon of popular government and that it (propaganda) had come to lack its sophistication and significance.

Chomsky tries to analyse the working of the entire process of manufacturing consent by propaganda by means of a "free market" analysis, which shows that these processes are largely controlled and manipulated by a market consciousness and market forces. There is an evidently deliberate process of manufacturing because like he states. Most of the influenced choices in the media are the result of a pre-selection of the right-thinking people, internalized presumptions, and the adaptations of the personnel to the limitations of ownership, organizations, market and political power. And the process of censorship that operates, largely functions as self censorship, by the people in the media, who make compromises to the realities of sources and media organizational requirements and

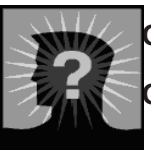
by people at the top ranks within media houses and organizations, who are chosen to implement and have become used to the limitations imposed on them by the market and the centers of power. Thus, the news which consequently comes out as news, passes successively through these filters, and is refined in all the stages, filtering out, all that is unfit to be served to the public. Chomsky's idea is that, basically by controlling propaganda in this way, consent is manufactured to suit the needs of the dominant elites in a given society.

15.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss Foucault's conception of power.

Q 2 : Discuss Foucault's concept of knowledge as power.

Q 3 : Explain Chomsky's idea of manufacturing consent.



Q 4 : Explain Foucault's idea of a Panopticon.

Q 5 : Explain how the propaganda model is used by the state according to Chomsky.



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