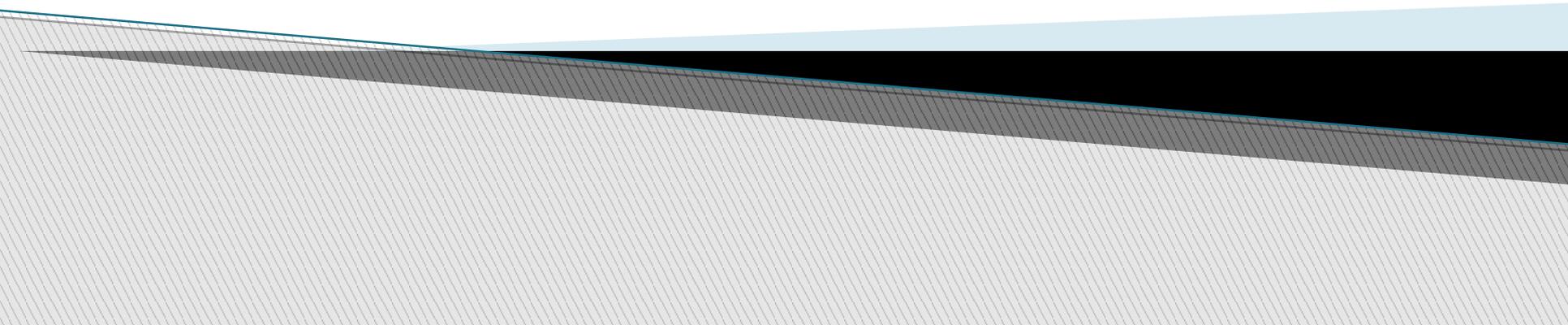
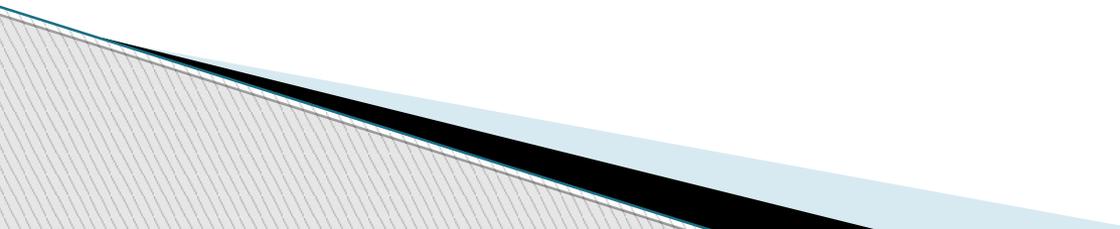


Political Science (H)
Modern Political Philosophy
Topic: Karl Marx

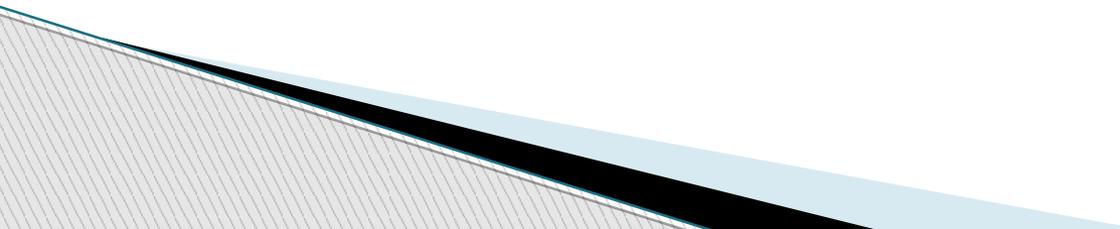
Dr. Biswaranjan Mohanty
SGTB Khalsa College
Department of Political Science
University of Delhi



Background

- ▶ Karl Marx was born in 1818 and died in 1883
 - ▶ He was a German philosopher
 - ▶ He was a socialist Revolutionary
 - ▶ He was the intellectual father of communism
 - ▶ His best known titles are Communist Manifesto and Das Kapital
 - ▶ The pamphlets were published in 1848
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Contd...

- ▶ His political and philosophical thought had massive influence on subsequent intellectual ,economic and political history
 - ▶ Marx's foundation of critical theories reflected about society, economics and politics
 - ▶ It is popularly known as Marxism
 - ▶ Marx hold that human societies develop through class struggle
- 

Major Works of Karl Marx

- ▶ Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of (1844)
- ▶ A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy(1859)
- ▶ Communist Manifesto (1848)
- ▶ Das kapital

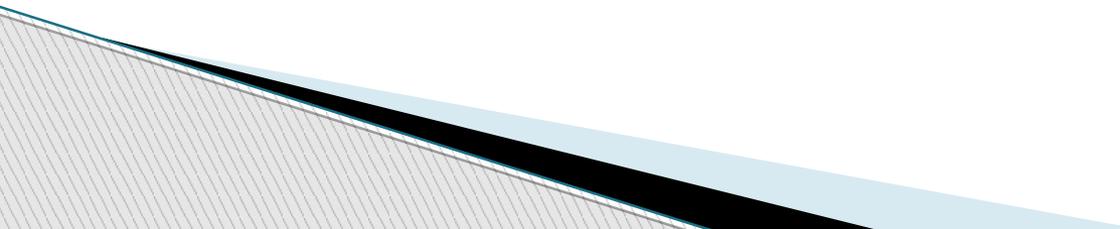
As a Intellectual Father of Communism

- ▶ The communism was first established in a backward, predominantly agricultural country like Russia
- ▶ In the middle of the first World War, the powerful Czarist regime collapsed and the Communist party took over power in Russia in 1917
- ▶ From 1917 to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 ,it was Russia alone which had a communist Government

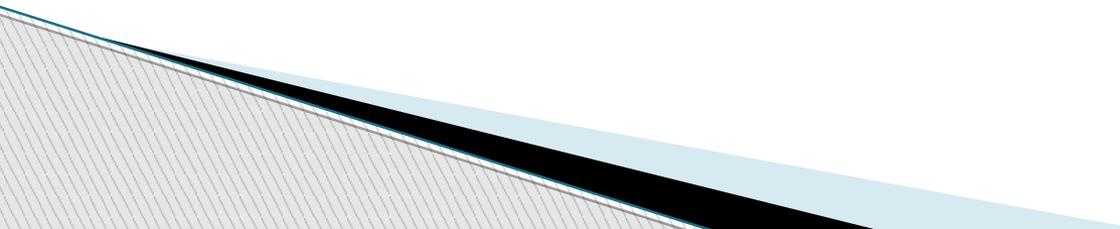
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- ▶ Towards the closing phase of the World War II, and in its aftermath, communists came to power in East European countries
 - ▶ The first Asian country to go Communist as early as in 1949 was China, the most populous country in the World
 - ▶ This was a momentous event in the history of the World
 - ▶ The Western powers became very apprehensive that it would be extremely difficult to stop the victory march of communism
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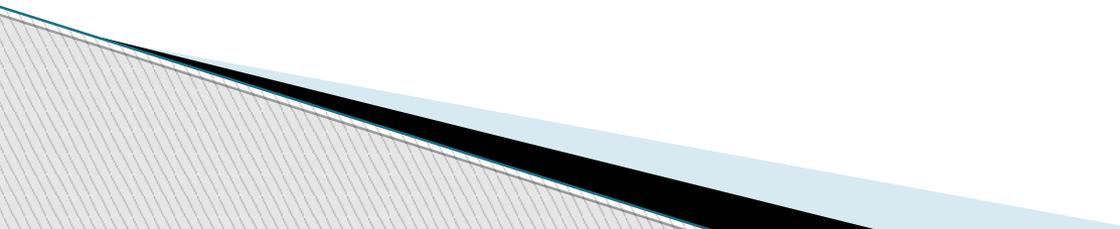
- ▶ Since then many other countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America had come under communist rule
 - ▶ It forced the scholars and other intellectuals all over the world to have a serious look at this growing phenomenon called communism
 - ▶ Statesmen and scholars vehemently attacked it
- 

Contd..

- ▶ The intellectual origin of communism was effected primarily by Karl Marx and his close associates Fredrich Engels
 - ▶ But they were not its sole builders
 - ▶ Several other thinkers and statesmen of different countries have richly contributed to the evolution of communism both in theory and practice
 - ▶ Our discussion would cover the whole spectrum of the evolution of communism from Marx and Engels to Euro-communism and principles of marxism
- 

Major Contributions of Karl Marx

Marx's major contribution to political philosophy may be studied under the following heads:

- ▶ Dialectical materialism
 - ▶ Historical Materialism
 - ▶ Alienation
 - ▶ Doctrine of Class Conflict
 - ▶ Concept of Surplus Value
 - ▶ Theory of revolution
 - ▶ Concept of Freedom
 - ▶ Dictatorship of the Proletariat
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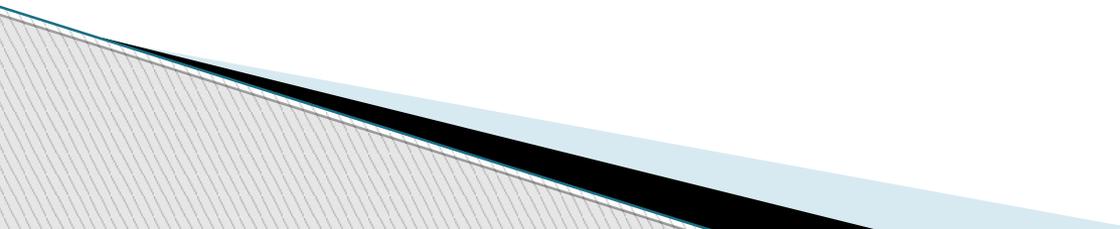
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- ▶ Withering away of the State
- ▶ Role of Private Property

We will briefly discuss about the following features of the philosophy of Karl Marx

- ▶ **Dialectical Materialism**
- ✓ The Dialectical materialism reflects the philosophical foundations of Marxist thought
- ✓ Marx said that materialism is dialectical
- ✓ It is not mechanical materialism

Contd..

- ▶ According to Marx, materialism is opposed to idealism
 - ▶ Idealism holds that the spiritual or ideals is prior to the material whereas materialism holds that matter is prior to others
 - ▶ Idealism believes in two worlds: namely, the spiritual world and the material world and in the superiority of the former over the latter
 - ▶ Thus idealism in the opinion of Marx ,is a conservative and reactionary doctrine
- 

Contd..

- ▶ Mechanical materialism postulates that the world consists of particles are permanent and which fit together; further it is based upon the functioning of a machine
- ▶ It follows that once a machine is operated ,it starts functioning according to fixed laws
- ▶ The machine cannot change its own structure in the middle
- ▶ Marx criticized that mechanical materialism ,claimed as a scientific doctrine by bourgeoisie ,could not explain social development

Contd..

- ▶ Marx disagreed with materialistic doctrine that men are the products of circumstances and upbringing
 - ▶ Circumstances are changed precisely by men
 - ▶ Mechanism assumes that no change in a matter is possible without the action of some external change
- 

Contd..

- ▶ Marx borrowed the concept “dialectic” from Hegel
 - ▶ Dialectic refers to the unity of two opposites
 - ▶ The two opposites are called the thesis and the anti-thesis and the higher stage referred to above is called synthesis
 - ▶ This evolution ,made possible by the internal drive of contradiction, proceeds in a zig-zag way
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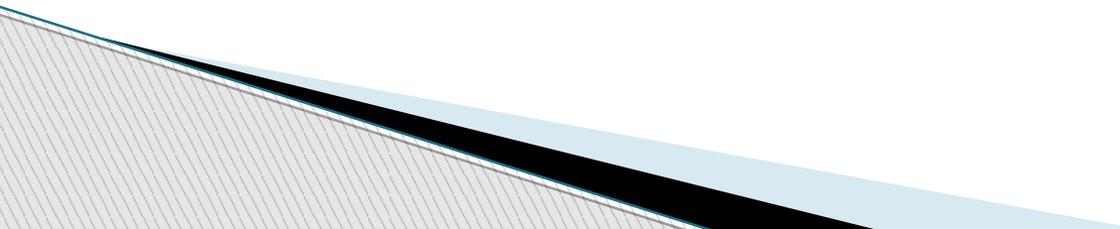
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- ▶ Marx's dialectical process involving thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis

Historical Materialism

- ▶ Historical materialism is the application of dialectical materialism
 - ▶ It is subjected to the phenomena of the society and its history
 - ▶ It means that society has evolved in the dialectical way and in the ultimate analysis it is the economic factor that determines the cultural, intellectual, ideological and political phenomena
 - ▶ The economic factor includes the production of things and their exchange
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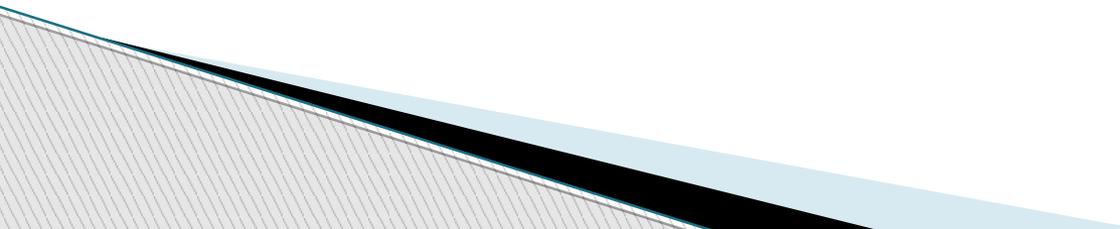
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- ▶ How the things are produced and how these are distributed constitute the sub-structure, and all other things of life like social religious and political phenomena constitute the super-structure
 - ▶ According to Marx, it is the sub-structure which determines the super-structure, and not vice versa
 - ▶ Marx said that the mode of production determines the relations of production
- 

Contd...

- ▶ While the modes of production means both the production of things and their distribution, the relations of production means the relation between man and man-particularly between the employer and the worker
 - ▶ The mode of production seems to be growing faster than the productive relations
 - ▶ As a result of this conflict between the new productive forces and the existing productive relations, a new revolutionary class will emerge which will destroy the old society and bring into being a new society
- 

Contd..

- ▶ The super-structure consisting of laws, morals, religion and ideology etc. is designed to serve the interest of the ruling class
 - ▶ The rulers and regulations -the existing as well as modified ones -are meant to defend their wealth and superior status in the society
 - ▶ It is to prevent any significant change in the status quo
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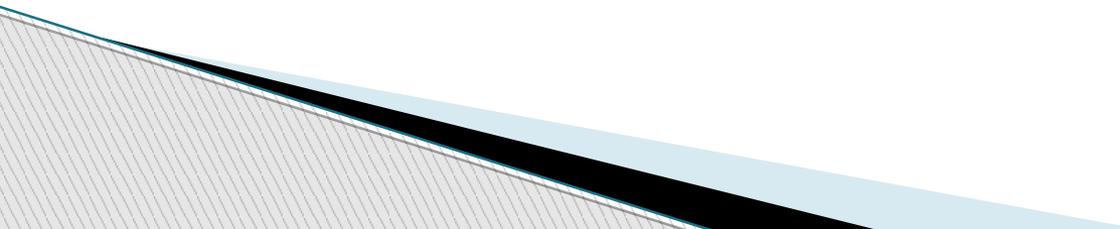
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- ▶ According to Marx, the human society has evolved through the following stages:
- ▶ These are the primitive communist society, slave society, feudalism, capitalism and socialism

Primitive Communism

In the primitive communist society the property was held in common and there was no exploitation

Contd..

- ▶ But with the development of metal tools and the resultant change in the mode of production, there came into existence division of labour and antagonistic relations
 - ▶ Between man and man-between masters and the slave
 - ▶ With further change in the forces of production, a new society consisting of two antagonistic classes, namely, feudal landlords and serfs came into being
- 

Contd..

- ▶ Because of same logic change in the mode of production and the dialectic evolution-the feudal society was succeeded by the capitalist society in which the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are ranged in conflictual relations
- ▶ The present phase is the ongoing struggle between the capitalist which are the thesis, and proletariat which are the anti-thesis and the Marxists would like us to believe that out of this conflict would emerge the synthesis-the class less society

Contd..

- ▶ In all stages of human life the forms of conditions of production determine the structure of society
- ▶ Marx's theory of Historical materialism which lays a lot of emphasis upon the economic factor of social evolution is also known as the theory of economic interpretation of history

Types of Modes of Production

Primitive Communism

- ▶ Primitive society
- ▶ No Classes
- ▶ Very low division of labour
- ▶ All work together for common good

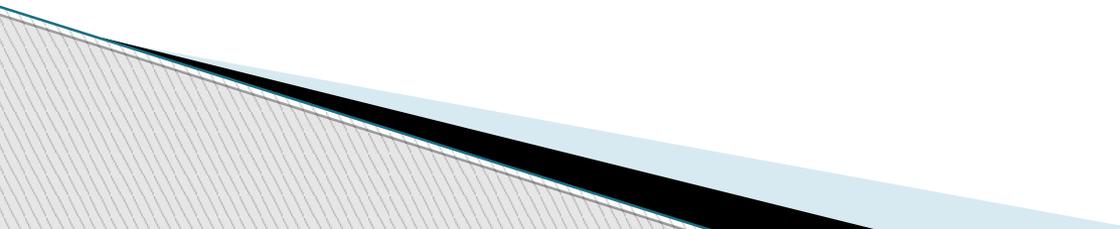
Relations of Production

- ✓ Classes abolished
- ✓ All contribute to society, everyone gets what they need

Ancient/Slave Mode of Production

- ✓ Ancient Greece and Rome
- ✓ Aristocracy and slaves
- ✓ Slaves do most of work

What is Primitive Communism?

- ▶ As seen in cooperative tribal societies
 - ▶ Everyone would share in what was produced by hunting and gathering
 - ▶ No private property
 - ▶ Primitive society produced no surplus
 - ▶ Few things that existed for nay length of time were held communally
 - ▶ There would have been no state
- 

Contd...

▶ **The Feudal Mode of Production**

Economic base

- ✓ Forces of Production
- ✓ Agricultural Production

Relations of Production

- ✓ Landlords and peasants

Medieval Europe

- ✓ Feudal Landlords and Peasants
 - ✓ Peasants do all the work
- 

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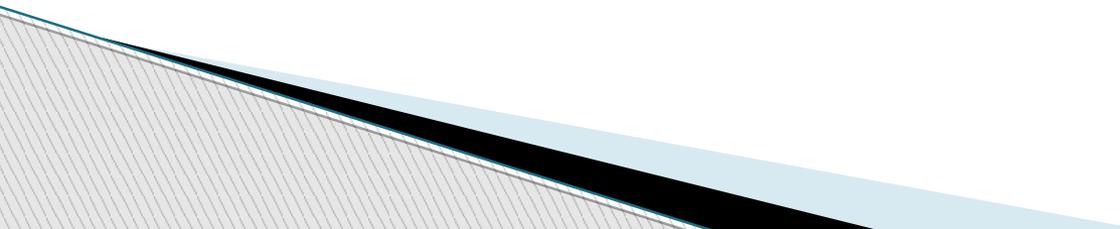
Capitalist Mode of Production

Ways of thinking: Capitalist ideologies

- ✓ Capitalism allows individual freedom
- ✓ Democracy and Social Mobility
- ✓ This liberalism serve to conceal the exploitation which is at the core of the society

Capitalism's Economic Base; Forces of Production

Industrialism



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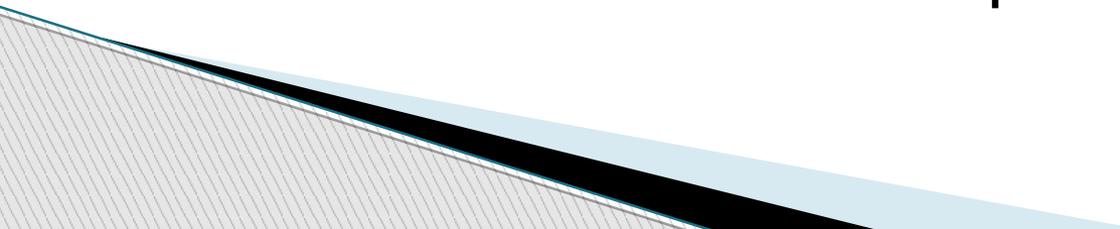
Relations of Production

- ✓ Capitalists and Proletariats

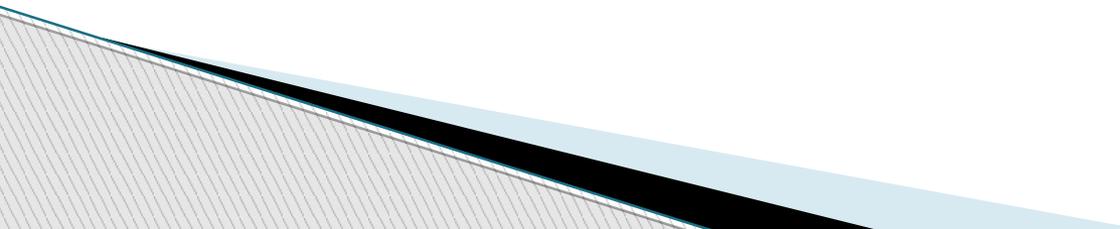
Surplus Value and Class Struggle

- ▶ The worker, being poor and fighting for subsistence, has little bargaining power against his employer
 - ▶ As a result, the former, with little hesitation, sells his labour, like all other commodities in the market, as a commodity for a little money which may help him in his struggle for bare subsistence
 - ▶ Marx said that the value of commodity is produced only by labour
- 

Contd..

- ▶ Other elements of production, namely, land, capital and organization are sterile and constant
 - ▶ They are capable of reproducing only what is put in them
 - ▶ They do not change their value in the process of production
 - ▶ On the contrary, labour which is variable, has the capacity to reproduce a surplus over and above its equivalent
- 

Contd...

- ▶ It logically follows that the whole of the exchange value –the market price of the commodity should go to the worker
 - ▶ But that is not happening
 - ▶ On the contrary, the labour is getting a small amount as his wage
 - ▶ As a result, the lion's share of the exchange value is lining to the pockets of the employer
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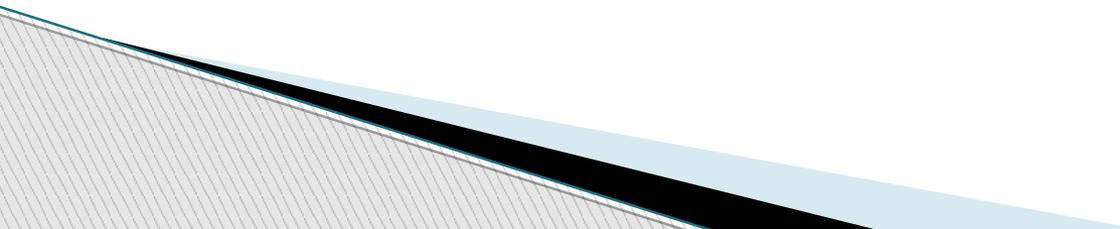
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- ▶ Marx calls this difference between the exchange value and the necessary value as the paid to the worker as his wage-surplus which is being unjustly misappropriated by the employer at the cost of the worker
 - ▶ The Surplus value is the difference between what the worker deserves as his wage on the basis of his labour and what he is actually being paid by the employer
 - ▶ Marx's theory of surplus value explains how the bourgeoisie are exploiting the proletariat in the capitalist economy
- 

Contd...

- ▶ The surplus is as” unearned income” of the rich who gradually get richer and richer while the poor become poorer
- ▶ The capitalists buy the labour power of the destitute workman, applies it to the machinery and raw materials which he owns and as a result produces a commodity which can be sold for a price which is greater than the amount extended in the payment of the workmen’s wages and the up-keep of the factory

Contd..

- ▶ The difference between the exchange value of the manufactured commodity and the price paid to the workman for his labour is called surplus value
 - ▶ It is brought into being by the labour of the workman, and appropriated by the capitalists who employs him: it is in fact the product of unpaid labour
- 

Contd..

- ▶ In the pre-capitalist societies, there were classes with opposite interests and there was also class struggle
- ▶ But the capitalist society is different from them mainly in two respects:
 - ✓ **First**, in the past there were some times more than two classes
- ▶ Each period contained some remnants of the preceding period
- ▶ Even in the early phase of capitalism ,there were some feudal elements left

Contd..

- ▶ But with the passage of the time, the class polarization would sharpen and there will be only two antagonistic classes directly ranged against each other.
- ✓ **Secondly**, the intensity of class struggle in the capitalist society will be much more than it is in previous societies
- ✓ Due to the revolutionary consciousness of workers, and the militant organization by the communist party, the struggle of proletariat against the bourgeoisie will be very intense and sharp, irreconcilable and inevitable

Contd..

- ▶ About class struggle Marx has written in Communist Manifesto, The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles
- ▶ There were freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another
- ▶

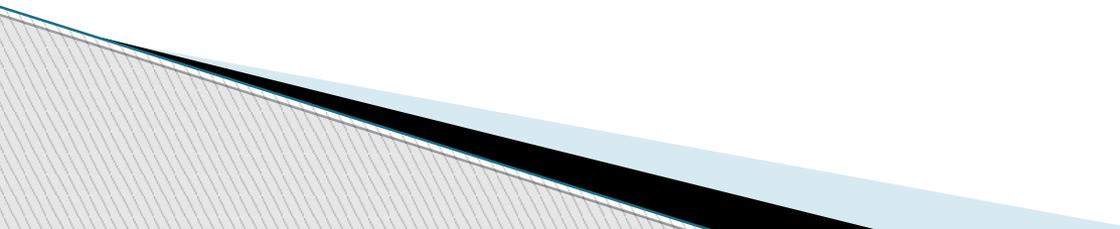
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- ▶ Marx said that modern bourgeoisie society has established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones
- ▶ Referring to the distinctive feature of the epoch of bourgeoisie, he says that it has simplified class antagonisms
- ▶ Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classless directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat

Contd...

- ▶ In its perceived interests the capitalists started establishing communication links and internationalizing their business monopoly
 - ▶ This has resulted in linking together the workers of different areas of the same state and those of different countries who, in the past, were mostly separated from one another
 - ▶ The efforts of capitalists have helped in the better organization and mobilisation of workers and made them ready and motivated to revolt against the former
- 

Contd..

- ▶ Marx seeks to remove the illusion from the minds of people who think that many interstate wars, fought in the past, were only wars between state governments
 - ▶ He asserts that these were fought by one class against another
 - ▶ He argues that all intra-state wars and revolutions that occur from time to time are primarily class-based; these are waged by different classes with conflicting interests
- 

Freedom and Alienation

- ▶ One of the most important virtues of liberal democracy is claimed to be freedom
- ▶ It is said that the individuals in Western democracies are free whereas those in Communist countries are unfree.
- ▶ They justify the superiority of their political system on the ground that it guarantees freedom of speech and free expression and political participation to its members ,whereas these basic rights are denied to the people in the communist system

Contd...

- ▶ Marx pointed out that in capitalist countries, neither the rich nor the poor are free
- ▶ While the rich are slaves of property, the poor are the slaves of their material needs
- ▶ The bourgeoisie revolution has politically emancipated the man, but the political emancipation is not the total or real emancipation
- ▶ In capitalism, the man is “dehumanised”, he is alienated from his labour, from the society and from his fellow beings

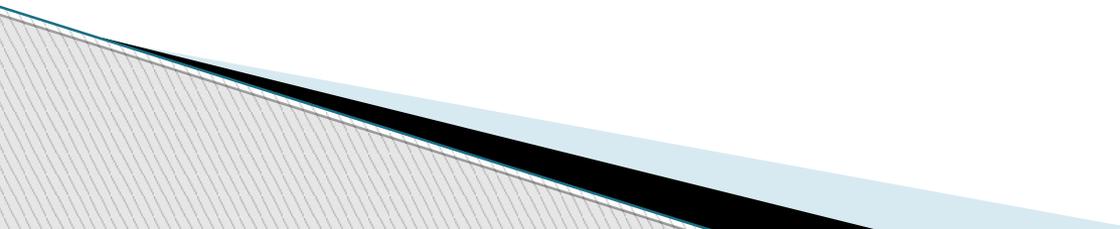
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- ▶ He is just a commodity in the market
 - ▶ In capitalism, Marx says, the essence gets separated from the existence
 - ▶ The individual is robbed of his capacity to create social values and do something good for the society
 - ▶ He becomes asocial
 - ▶ All those who live in bourgeoisie society are unfree, for bourgeoisie society is not giving them what they desire
- 

Contd..

- ▶ Liberal writers said that alienation is caused by industrialization
- ▶ Marx refused with this view
- ▶ For him, the main source of alienation is private property
- ▶ In capitalism, the worker works mechanically and without any pleasure and love, because he has no control over the result of his labour which will go to the employer
- ▶ He sells his “labour power” for his existence

Contd...

- ▶ The worker continues to get progressively animalized and dehumanised
 - ▶ He becomes alienated from the society, from his labour, and from himself
 - ▶ An irony of capitalism is that the more a worker produces, the more he loses, because the fruits of his labour are taken away by his employer whose interests are antithetical to those of the worker
- 

Contd...

- ▶ The rich prosper only at the expense of the poor

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

- ▶ In Marxist philosophy, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a state of affairs in which the working class hold political power
- ▶ The term "dictatorship" indicates the retention of the state apparatus, but differs from individual dictatorship, the rule of one man
- ▶ Marx's "dictatorship of the proletariat" didn't happen because not enough people were in support of it. It wasn't realistic because there needs to be a government to control certain things. In addition, it would ruin the economy of everyone had the same status

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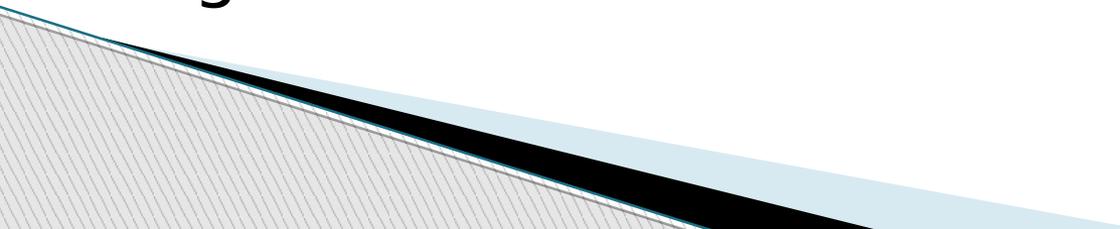
- ▶ Who are the proletariat according to Marx?
- ✓ In Marxist theory, the proletariat is the social class that does not have ownership of the means of production and whose only means of subsistence is to sell their labor power for a wage or salary. Proletarians are wage-workers, while some refer to those who receive salaries as the salariat

Contd..

What is an example of proletariat?

- ▶ The proletariat is defined as working-class people, or people who perform labor for money
 - ▶ The many people in a society who own regular jobs and make a living at or below the middle class level are an example of the proletariat
- 

Contd..

- ▶ The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the final stage of the evolution of history
 - ▶ It marks the dawn of lower phase of communism
 - ▶ Its guiding principle is ,From each according to his ability and to each according to his work.”
 - ▶ The dictatorship of proletariat will aim at the abolition of all classes and prepare the ground for its extinction
- 

Withering Away of the State

- ▶ Withering away of the state is a Marxist concept
- ▶ It was coined by Friedrich Engels
- ▶ According to this concept of the withering away of the state, eventually a communist society will no longer require coercion to induce individuals to behave in a way that benefits the entire society
- ▶ Such a society would occur after a temporary period of the dictatorship of the proletariat

Contd..

- ▶ It proceeds from the concept of the transformation of the state in the previous stage of society called socialism
- ▶ This scenario depended on Marx's view of coercive power as a tool of those who own the means of production, i.e. certain social classes (the bourgeoisie) and the capitalist state.
- ▶ In a communist society, the social classes would disappear and the means of production would have no single owner, hence such a stateless society will no longer require law and stateless communist society will develop

Contd...

- ▶ In the Soviet Marxism of the Soviet Union, Lenin supported the idea of the withering away of the state as seen in his *The State and Revolution* (1917)

Revolution

- ▶ According to orthodox Marxist theory, the overthrow of capitalism by a socialist revolution in contemporary society is inevitable
 - ▶ Marxists believe that a socialist society is far better for the majority of the populace than its capitalist counterpart
 - ▶ A proletarian revolution is a social revolution in which the working class attempts to overthrow the bourgeoisie.
 - ▶ Marxists believe proletarian revolutions can and will likely happen in all capitalist countries, related to the concept of world revolution
- 

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- ▶ Callinicos, Alex (2010) [1983], *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx*. Bloomsbury, London.