KARL MARX (1818 - 83)

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was born in Prussia to a large upper-middle-class Jewish family. At the behest of his father, he studied law at the University of Bonn, but Marx did not take well to the study of law and spent more time partying and writing poetry than studying law. His father soon transferred him to the University of Berlin, where he became engrossed in the study of philosophy and, in particular, in the work of the German philosopher G.F.W. Hegel. At 23, he earned a doctoral degree in philosophy for a dissertation on stoic and Epicurean philosophers. Although Marx hoped to occupy a university teaching post, he was unable to obtain such a position because of his known radical views on politics and religion. Instead, he worked as a journalist and newspaper editor, until increasing government censorship led him to resign his editorship in 1843. In that same year, Marx also married his childhood sweetheart, Jenny von Westphalen, and moved to Paris, where he edited a new journal, became more engrossed in communist theory, and met Friedrich Engels. Two years after moving to Paris, Marx was expelled from France-owing to the influence of the Prussian monarchy upon French officials-and he and Jenny moved to Brussels, England. Marx lived primarily in England for the remainder of his life, writing a hundred-volume opus of political philosophy and social criticism.

Marx and his family lived in poverty during the 1850s and 1860s, and the family lost three of their six children owing to illness and poverty. Marx typically worked ten hours a day studying economics and political theory in the British Museum, and he wrote at home long into the night. While living in England, he had no regular paid occupation but got by on whatever support Engels could provide.

Engels (1820-1895) was born into a wealthy Prussian family that owned and operated textile factories in Prussia and England. Until his retirement at 48, Engels helped to manage the financial affairs of his family's firm, and his first-hand observations of the conditions of factory workers, combined with his extensive reading of philosophy and political economy, made him a social critic of some influence. When only 25, he published a widely read critique of the **industrial capitalism of nineteenth-century England,** The Condition of the Working Class in England. (1845). Engels also paid greater attention than Marx to the **oppression of women, arguing famously in The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1884)** that the advent of the institution of private property marked the origin of the subordination of women.

Theory of Alienation/'Alienated Labour,' is an excerpt from the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, which Marx penned in 1844 shortly before beginning his lifelong collaboration with Engels. This excerpt contains Marx's idea that industrial capitalist societies/transform labour, a distinctively human activity with potential for individual self-expression and self-fulfilment into a commodity sold by the worker and bought by an employer. The **commoditization of labour,** in turn, **serves to alienate or estrange workers**

from the process of working, from the products of work, from themselves, and from other people.

Whereas the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts were published only posthumously in 1932, The Communist Manifesto was published in 1848, when both Marx and Engels were young men. Its purpose was to unite oppressed workers of the world in revolution, and it set out to define the principles of the Communist League, a radical working-class organization that sought to overthrow proletariat rule in the nineteenth century. In the Manifesto, Marx and Engels discuss themes ranging from social inequalities to private property to the principles of a communist society. In a communist society, the institution of private property will be replaced with public control of the means of production, and the modern class division between bourgeois and proletariat will give way to a classless society in which all citizens can participate in productive work. In addition to answering several possible objections against the communist agenda, Marx and Engels set forward several key measures for implementation in a communist society. Notably, some of these measures-such as ending child labour, providing free public education for all young people, and instituting a graduated income tax system-were incorporated into capitalist economies in the twentieth century.

Isaiah Berlin in his work **'Karl Marx'** writes that 'No thinker in the nineteenth century has had so direct, deliberate and powerful an influence upon mankind as Karl Marx. Both during his lifetime and after it he exercised an intellectual and moral ascendancy over his followers, the strength of which was unique even in that golden age of democratic nationalism, an age which saw the rise of great popular heroes and martyrs, romantic, almost legendary figures, whose lives and words dominated the imagination of the masses and created a new revolutionary tradition in Europe'.

Karl Marx's impact can only be compared with that of religious figures like Jesus or Buddha. In the half of the 20th century, 40% of the world population lived under a government that considered themselves followers of Marx's idea. It is not that Marx's influence was limited to communist societies; capitalist societies learnt so many lessons from his idea to counter Marxism.

For example: betterment in the condition of workers. For much of the second half of the 20th century, world politics was divided between followers of Marx's idea and opponents of it (Cold War).

Even today, can anyone think about society without reference to Marx's insight into the link between economic and intellectual life? Marx's idea changed modern sociology, transformed the study of History, and profoundly affected philosophy, literature and the arts. What were these ideas that had such far-reaching effects?

In his **"Theses on Feuerbach"**, Marx writes **'the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it.'** Therefore, Marx was clear in his idea that his

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objective is not only to interpret the world like other philosophers did in the past but to change the world.

Marx's idea was based on synthesis of:

1. **German idealist philosopher Hegel**
2. **French version of socialism**
3. **English classical political economy (UK)**

George W. F. Hegel (1770-1831)

GW.F. Hegel was born in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1770. He taught at the University of Jena, served eight years as rector at a Gymnasium in Nuremberg and two years at the University of Heidelberg, and taught at the University of Berlin until his death in 1831. Hegel's philosophy is called **"Absolute Idealism,"** the view that all reality is shaped and constituted by the mind. But it is important to see that this kind of idealism is quite different from the subjective idealism of someone like Berkeley. First, the German word for "mind," Geist, refers not just to individual minds, but to something that is essentially shared and is realized in what people do. It is closer to what we mean by "spirit" when we speak of the "spirit on campus" or a team's "fighting spirit." And, second, instead of denying the existence of matter, Hegel's idealism holds that mind needs a material world in order to be able to express and fulfill itself in a concrete form. In this respect, **the "ideas" in this idealism are more like the ordering Ideas in Plato's philosophy** than like Berkeley's mental ideas. To say that mind constitutes reality, then, is to say that there is a rational order underlying all reality. Or, as Hegel puts it, **"the real is rational and the rational is real."** Hegel's philosophy grows out of Kant's theory in Critique of Pure Reason. Kant argued that reality is not something that is simply "out there" waiting for us to try to grasp it, but is instead something that is constituted through our cognitive activity as knowers. The point is that "transcendental apperception," the pure subject, confers form on reality through pure intuition and, most important for Hegel, through the synthesizing power of its concepts. Since our conceptualizing makes possible the objective world we encounter in our experience, we can have knowledge only of "phenomena," that is, things as they appear to us through our concepts. Hegel draws from Kant the idea that **the pure conceptualizing subject (**or, as he calls it, the "concept") is the source of the necessary and universal structure permeating all reality. But he rejects Kant's claim that we can never know reality as it is in itself. If we can talk about a reality that is supposedly beyond our comprehension, Hegel says, then we have already comprehended it, and so it is known. Thus, there is no room for the notion of a reality that is alien to or totally distinct from the mind. Moreover, Hegel rejects Kant's uncritical assumption that the Newtonian science of his own day was the highest truth to which science could aspire. In Hegel's view, any science that regards the world as consisting of natural kinds simply "out there" in the world is only a temporary stage on the way to true science. Such a view, which Hegel calls "Understanding," will have to give way to "Reason," a more holistic science that grasps the fact

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that the nature of anything is defined by its relation to what it is not—its "other" or "negation"—within the systematic whole constituted by Geist. At the level of Reason, all dualistic oppositions—including those of subject and object, mind and matter, self and others—will be seen for what they are: only partial and distorted manifestations of Geist. The Phenomenology of Spirit is supposed to lead us to true science and its recognition of the identity of thinking and being. The book's Introduction begins with a critique of the assumption, fundamental to traditional epistemology, that we are at the most basic levels minds attempting to correctly represent an ultimate reality (the "Truth," the "Absolute," or the "in itself") presumed to exist totally independent of our minds. Given this subject/object model of our situation, Hegel believes, skepticism is inevitable, for once subject and object are separated, there is no way to find out whether our knowing (regarded as an active tool or a passive medium) is giving us an accurate picture of reality. Despite this problem, however, scientific inquiry keeps making important advances in knowledge, and this seems to suggest that what is problematic is not science, but the uncritical presuppositions built into epistemology's subject/object model. In order to overcome the subject/object model, it is necessary to work within the confines of science as it is today, within what Hegel calls "apparent science," and to get that science to recognize that it is inadequate by its own criteria. Hegel's conception of knowledge as an appearing, a phenomenon, displays his profound insight into the historical nature of knowledge. In his view, history has been characterized by a series of different "shapes" (Gestalten) of consciousness, what we today might call "world-views" or "paradigms," which have evolved from the most elementary models to the most sophisticated ones in our contemporary world. What leads consciousness to move from more primitive models to more sophisticated ones is the discovery of internal inconsistencies within the earlier outlooks. This "dialectical" movement will continue, Hegel thinks, until consciousness goes through all possible models of knowledge and arrives at absolute truth (the unity of all reality under the Concept, which he calls the "Idea").

The two excerpted sections of the Phenomenology following the Introduction show Hegel's method of immanent critique and determinate negation at work. The section called "Sense Certainty" is especially interesting because it tries to show that the idea of "knowledge by acquaintance"—a knowledge of particulars that is directly "given" in sensory experience—is incoherent. This attack on "the myth of the given" (as it is now called) builds on the assumption that any form of knowledge must be able to formulate its knowledge claim in such a way that it gives determinate information valid for different times and contexts. The argument then points out that the purely ostensive specification of the known presupposed by sense certainty must take the form of a bare "this— here—now." Such a knowledge-claim will be inadequate by the criteria of genuine knowledge, however, because the indexicals "this," "here," and "now" change their referents depending on context and so cannot provide fixed and determinate information. In order to tie down the meanings of such terms, we would need to say something like this red pen is here, on so-and-so's desk, now, on such-and-such a day and time. But these specifications require the use of concepts or universals, showing that the attempt to understand knowledge must

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move from immediate sensation to what Hegel calls "perception." "Mastery and Slavery" appears later in the Phenomenology and marks a transition from considering knowledge as the personal undertaking of an individual (as in Descartes) to a social conception of knowledge in which a universal "Reason" is grounded in mutual recognition among subjects. The upshot of the master/slave dialectic is to show that relations based on subordination preclude the possibility of recognition and so must be superseded if the "pure universality of thought" is to be achieved.

George W. F. Hegel is a great philosopher and founder of modern idealism. He had great influence in the first half of the 19th century in Germany (Prussia) when the entire academic community was divided between the Left and Right Hegelians. Hegel along with **Emanuel Kant, Fichte and Schelling** were the children of the French Revolution.
The Prussian education minister appointed him the prestigious chair of philosophy at the University of Berlin. His work **Phenomenology of Spirit (1807), The Science of Logic (1812) and Philosophy of Right (1821) are very famous.** In Germany when Hegel died in 1832, German Scholars were very influenced by Hegel's idealism. These scholars were called "young Hegelians". Those who supported Hegel's proposition and theory were called Right Hegelian and those who opposed him became Left Hegelian. **Bruno Bauer, Ludwig Feuerbach and Karl Marx were critical to Hegel's philosophy and called him Left Hegelian.**

Key Ideas:

1. Dialectical Idealism
2. Historical Idealism

Dialectical Idealism

For Hegel, Idea or spirit/consciousness is real. It is a basic substance of this universe and the driving force behind the development of all matters including law, education, state institutions and society. At one point of time, one idea dominates which reflects in law, social relations, economy and state.
Hegel argues ideas change with time and ideas are endowed with capacity and tendency of development. It always moves in a dialectical path.

Dialectical Path

Initial idea (thesis) Counter-idea (antithesis)

Synthesis (new idea)

Hegel argues that the initial idea or proposition or thesis does not represent absolute truth. Similarly, the counter idea or antithesis which is just opposite of the thesis does not represent absolute truth. When thesis and antithesis clash with each-other, they try to destroy untenable

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parts (because truth cannot be destroyed) and the resultant proposition or synthesis which contains the residual elements of both thesis and antithesis is relatively free from untruth. It is nearer to truth. Synthesis which is so evolved may not be absolute truth and therefore it takes the form of thesis and undergoes the same process again and again until it reaches the stage of absolute idea which is free from contradiction.

Hegel's dialectical idealism

Category (A) A' (Opposite of A)
B (Unity of Opposite)

We can conclude three principles:

1. **Negation of negations**
2. **Unity of opposite**
3. **Transformation of quantity into quality**

It means that there's a gradual change in the idea.

Historical Idealism

Hegel's interpretation of history is known as historical idealism. Hegel said that history is the movement of ideas and idea moves in a dialectical path. Hegel said that this universe has two dimensions: matters and spirits. Matters are mere reflection of ideas. It means the worldly matters around us in the past, present and future is the reflection of spirit/idea/consciousness.

Hegel explained the historical evolution of family, civil society and state. For Hegel, man is egoistic and selfish and so the woman. When they unite, it becomes a family. Family is a sphere of particularistic altruism. Men and women sacrifice for each-other and for their child. But the family is too small for the adequate satisfaction of man's wants, and as children grow up they leave it for a wider society which Hegel calls bourgeois society which is anti-thesis of (original thesis) family. In contrast to family, bourgeois society is a host of independent men and women held together only by ties of contract and self interest. Entire process of trade and commerce takes place in the sphere of civil society. Whereas the characteristic of family is mutual love and unity, the characteristics of civil society is universal competition and consisting of no unity. The synthesis of family and civil society is the state.

In the stages of progress, state is the final evolution. It is the highest embodiment that the Spirit has reached in its progress through the ages. To begin and no exaggeration to say that it is a divine entity as it exists on the earth. It is an end itself. State is the abode of God and highest creation and in this way "***State is the March of God on Earth".*** Therefore, the essence of the modern state is universal, and the interest of the family and the interest of the bourgeois society

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must connect with the state. It is the final embodiment of Spirit on the earth. It is a perfect form of idea.

Hegel completely subordinated individual and civil society to the state. He said that the state is unchecked by moral laws, for it, itself is the creator of morality. It has no obligation other than its own safety. Hegel goes further and argues that only in the state man can enjoy freedom, while without it he is completely in subjection. He claims that the 'history of the world is none other than progress of the consciousness'. History is a movement of ideas and it moves in a dialectical path which is responsible for the development of all social institutions including state.

Like Aristotle, Hegel says that the state has grown with time and it is natural. It develops from within and shaped by rationalization of Spirit and helped by citizens who shaped the idea, and state is the embodiment of the finest idea. Answering the question why I should obey the state, Hegel says why should my hand obey me? My hand is part of mine and I am part of the larger body directly connected to it. The hand has no meaning if it is not connected with the larger whole that is the body. Similarly the citizen is connected to the larger whole that is the state.

Along with Plato and Aristotle, Hegel explained organic theory of state. There are three prime cardinal points in the organic theory of state, namely, (i) the state is the larger whole whose units are citizens, and its institutions. Both are part of it. State has evolved naturally and its is a rational institution which is prior to individual who can find a good life in it; (ii) state is a moral (righteous institution) institution as it satisfies all need to its citizens in order to live a good life; (iii) there is alway inequality in state as not all can become rulers, therefore, there are ruled. This inequality is natural as Palto depicted the character of soul (Rational, Spirit and Temperance) for the cause of inequality whereas Aristotle explained civic and moral virtue, wealth, merit and birth are the source of inequality. For hegel, the lack of consciousness or alienation is the source of unhappiness and inequality in the state.

Q: What is Organic theory of state? Explain.

Hegel Conception of Reality:

For Hegel, the idea or reason or consciousness or Spirit is real and matter or material conditions are mere reflection of ideas. Idea is rational and rational is real. Our consciousness determines our existence. Hegel supports Rene Descartes' philosophy that "I think therefore I am."

It means our thinking tells us our real position in this world and in fact the material conditions are a reflection of ideas. Ideas are prior, and material, social, political conditions are products of consciousness of the particular period. It moves in a dialectical path.

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KARL MARX's CONCEPT OF REALITY

For Marx, Matter is real and ideas are the mere reflection of our material condition, i.e., it is not our consciousness that determines our existence but it is our existence that determines our consciousness. Our material positions affect social, cultural and legal positions.

Q: 'Real is rational and rational is real'. Discuss the statement in the context of Hegel and Karl Marx. or
Q: Comment: "it is not our consciousness that determines our existence but it is our existence that determines our consciousness."

Ans: Hegel and Karl Marx have been well known philosophers in western society particularly in Germany. Both philosophers are influenced by the enlightenment movement and think progress is inevitable but they differ in the way this progress goes and will occur. For Hegel, the idea is real and it is the basic substance of this universe and the driving force behind the development of everythings around us like family, civil society, and state. As ideas change with time, everything changes accordingly. Idea moves in a dialectical path.

Hegel explained history as the movement of ideas and history changed whenever ideas changed. The idea is real and it is logical to accept that our idea determines our existence, in other words, our consciousness (idea) determines our existence. It means as an idea we get we know the reality of the world even about our existence. Hence the idea is real and it is rational. Marx rejected the Hegelian notion of reality and rationality.

For Marx, the economic structure of society determined everything in history. It is not the idea that does matter but it is matter (economic structure) that does matter. Marx accepted Hegel's dialectic and argued that it is not the idea but it is matter that moves in a dialectical path. As there are changes in material condition, it brings changes in everything like family, civil society, state, law and so on. Therefore, whenever there are changes in the economic structure of the society, it changes superstructure and even in our consciousness. Our material condition (existence) determines our consciousness. Matter is real and it is rational. Therefore, we can see that there is a different kind of reality and rationality in Hegel and Marx's ideas. If we look into Indian philosophy, we find that Dhamrshatra and Arthshtra have different kinds of reality and rationality than that of Buddhism and Jainism.

2. Inadequacy in the Early French Socialism

It is not that Marx was a pioneer of socialism. There was a rich crop of socialist ideas before he wrote. Socialism first appeared in the middle of the 19th century in response to the oppressive condition created by the capitalist system.

Liberalism as an idea took birth and flourished in the 17th and 18th century as philosophy of human freedom, but by the mid of the 19th century it has become clear that classical liberalism

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(Laissez-faire state and free market competition) had failed to create conditions of human freedom. Liberalism as a political philosophy gave birth to capitalism under which a tiny number of capitalists enjoy power and privileges at the expense of a large majority- the working class. Although liberalism, as a political philosophy, established legal and political equality, it was accompanied by tremendous economic inequality and social injustice.

Liberalists hoped that individual's freedom and limited government in the arena of business (market) and industry would lead to an era of universal improvement in the material condition of life. But actual experience of unbridled capitalism produced disastrous consequences: power and wealth for few and misery, sub-human life, and insecurity for many.

Working class was living in horrible conditions. Working class launched social movements in France that opposed free market capitalism. The movement also drew attention towards the deteriorating condition of the working class. Scholars like Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc in France advocated that a state-controlled economy may eradicate the problem of unbridled capitalism. Some other socialist like **Robert Owen in England** and **Charles Fourier in France** advocated for 'free- cooperation' instead of free competition. Charles Fourier called the middle-class as commercial despots. P. J. Proudhon in France advised to set-up a nation-wide system of decentralized workers co-operative to run business. He projected the notion that 'property is theft'. All these early socialist to arrive at the correct diagnosis of the ills of capitalism but had no consensus on remedy. Marx was bitterly contemptuous of such men-Utopian socialists, because they attacked wrong in the capitalist system, not the system itself.

Karl Marx, a German scholar and Fredric Engels (a young German businessman residing in the UK) sought to replace Utopian socialism with scientific socialism. They accused the 'ruling class' as a managing committee of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the first step is to launch a working revolution to abolish capitalism and to establish a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Further, abolish private property and with the end of private property, there shall be no class and consequently the state shall 'wither away' and it will become obsolete as society shall start to govern itself.

3.English classical Economy

In the 18th and mid-19th century, liberal economic thought flourished in Britain. Major political economists were Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Robert Malthus and J. S. Mill. Adam Smith and David Ricardo's political economy influenced Karl Marx a lot. Adam Smith explained the concept of laissez-faire state, free market economy, division of labour and David Ricardo idea on– Land, labour, capital-compelled Marx to analyze from intellectual perspective. Karl Marx reinterpreted the state, market, labour, and capital and wrote extensively on money, commodity, surplus value, exchange value and use value and so on. Marx opposed private property and the free market capitalist system and wished to replace capitalism with socialism.

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KARL MARX life can be divided into two phase of his life

(Note: Louis Althussser did this division of 'Young Marx' and 'Mature Marx' in his work 'For Marx'.)

1. Young Marx (early Marx)	2. Mature Marx (Later Marx)
Marx as a social philosopher	Scientific Marx (Mature Marx)
Marx as a social philosopher focused on several ideas e.g. human freedom, Exploitation (unfreedom) in capitalism, Alienation, human emancipation. The followers of young Marx are called neo-Marxist. ***Ex: Gramsci.***	Marx as an analyst of capitalism. E.g. commodity fetishism, capital, accumulation, surplus value. followers of mature Marx are called as Orthodox Marx. ***Ex: Louis Althusser.***

Note: David McLellan rejected this division of Marx's life.

Karl Marx's Works

1. Critique of Hegel's philosophy of Right (1843)
2. On Jewish Question (1843)
3. Economic and Philosophical Manuscript (1844)
4. The German Ideology (1845) [Written by both Engel and Marx]
5. The Poverty of Philosophy (1847)- This work was a response to P. J. Proudhon's work 'The Philosophy of Poverty'
6. Communist Manifesto (1848) [Written by both Engel and Marx]
7. The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (1852)
8. The Grundrisse (1857)
9. A contribution to the critiques of political Economy (1859)
10. The civil war in the United State (1861) [Written by both Engel and Marx]
11. Value, price and profit (1865)
12. Das Capital: A critical analysis of catalyst production. Vol. I (1865); Vol. II (1884) and Vol. III (1885).
13. The civil war in France (1871)
14. Critique of the Gotha Programme (1875)

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Fredric Engel was a nineteenth century political philosopher from Germany who had close collaboration with Karl Marx. The son of textile manufacturer Engel wrote **'The Condition of the Working Class in England' (1844)** and he met Mark in Paris in 1944 and became a life long partner and associates. Being close associates and friends, he and Marx wrote 'The Communist Manifesto (1848)'. His other famous works are **'Anti- Duhring (1878)'**, **'Socialism: Utopian and Scientific (1880)'**, **'The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State (1884)'**. After the death of Karl Marx, Engel edited the Capital Vol.II and Vol-III and carried revolutionary ideas forward along with Karl Kautsky and others.

Key concept of Karl Marx

Key Concept	**Text**
1. Theory of Alienation 2. Essence of Freedom	Economic and philosophical manuscripts, 1944.
3. Dialectical Materialism 4. Historical Materialism	**The German Ideology (1845)**
1. Base and Superstructure; 2. Forces of Production, means of production, mode of production	(The German Ideology, 1845, A contribution to the critique of political economy, 1859)
1. Theory of class-struggle 2. Socialism and Communism	(Communist Manifesto, 1848) (Critique of the Gotha Programme (1875)
Theory of Surplus Value	Das Capital: A critical analysis of capitalist production, 1867.
State	(Communist Manifesto,1848 and The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte)

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Theory of Alienation

Alienation: It refers to the feeling of being stranger or a sense of loneliness or a feeling of detached or no sense of belongingness. For example, to separate legally a person's possession or right to property becomes a kind of alienation.

MARX's notion of alienation came most directly from Hegel who proposed the idea of alienation in his work "Phenomenology of spirit". For Hegel, whatever exists is only an absolute idea or absolute Spirit or consciousness. Alienation, for Hegel, consisted in this failure to realise that the world was not external to Spirit. Alienation would therefore cease when men saw that their environment and culture were creations of Spirit.

Alienation consists in the mind's inability to recognise consciousness. Hegel described alienation as a separation from an absolute idea. This is a major cause of unhappiness or dissatisfaction. This can be ended by following state because state is an absolute idea. It is a march of God on this Earth. Therefore, we should obey laws made by the state.

Feuerbach criticised Hegel's notion of alienation. In his essay ***"Essence of Christianity"***, Feuerbach argued that God is a source of alienation. What is God? Feuerbach says that ***God is nothing more than a man's imagination being. The attributes which we ascribe to God are our own qualities.*** In religion, for example, it was God who had usurped man's own position; religion served the double function of a compensation for suffering and a projection of man's deepest desires. Religion was the imaginary realisation of the human essence because the human essence possesses no true reality. Religious consciousness is mere illusion and belief in lack of self-existence. Hence, if we should remove God from our life, we can end alienation.

Karl Marx's View on Alienation

Marx believed that man's alienation consists not in religious projection but in the estrangement of his social nature. **What is man's social nature?** For Marx, the social nature of man is that he loves freedom and creativity (work). He meets people and shares happiness about his creativity. Creativity, sociability and freedom are human essence or man's social nature. Capitalism has destroyed it.

In normal society, human beings meet each other as social beings but in capitalism they meet each other as either buyer or seller. The roots of alienation lie in the socio-economic conditions of life produced by capitalism.

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The passages where Marx talks most fully about alienation are contained in the *Paris Manuscripts (or the Economic and Philosophical Manuscript, 1944)*. Here, in the section on "alienated labour" Marx divided the alienated situation of the worker under capitalism into four aspects:

1. **Alienation from the product of labour**: Marx said that in capitalist society workers are bound to sell their labour-power, expertise and skills to the capitalist. Since capitalism is a system of production for the exchange, it alienates workers from the product of labour as they produce not what they need or useful but 'commodities' to be sold for profit.
2. **Alienation from the labour process:** In capitalist society, machines dictate the labour process. So, workers have no control over the labour process and they get alienated. Man is reduced to the status of 'cog in the wheel'. It means he becomes just part of the machine and the machine can replace man anytime.
3. **Alienation from human-nature (from species-being):** In the process of capitalist production, human beings lost human essence that is creativity and freedom. He becomes the only means to an end of the capitalist.
4. **Alienation from fellow human beings and self:** This is the consequence of the above three. Due to evolving circumstances in capitalist production, workers become strangers from his fellow-being and from his own lives. Man remains as another animal and they do animal functions like eating, sleeping and crying. They lost all their freedom and creativity. They become subject to exploitation.

Essence of Freedom

According to Marx, work (labour) and creativity express human nature. There are two kinds of circumstances:

1. Where human being is able to express their work and creativity; and
2. Where human beings lack opportunities to express their work and creativity.

Marx said that capitalism denies freedom to human beings to express their creativity. It is denial of liberty what Marx called a kind of alienation. For Marx, freedom means self-realization i.e., actualisation of the self. But capitalism denies both freedom and creativity.

However, in his later work, Marx analyzed capitalism in terms of class conflict and exploitation. He defined class in terms of economic power, particularly when people stand in relation to ownership of the wealth. For Marx, the capitalist society is characterized by perceptual and unending class struggle between two contending classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Dialectical Materialism

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Dialectical materialism is the essence of Marx's idea. Lenin called it "the living soul of Marxism" and "fundamental theoretical tools" of Marxism. It helps in understanding the history of human society.

By dialectical, Hegel meant the progress of ideas by means of contradiction and the process of development towards absolute ideas. Hegel emphasized that such progress of ideas is self-movement or motion. He considered that every phenomenon has its own motion and its own process of development. He believed that motion was universally produced in this way i.e., due to contradiction within the ideas. There is a negation of old ideas and the creation of new ideas and that is how development takes place.

While Hegel employed idea/spirit in his dialectical, Karl Marx employed matter and Marx created theory of dialectical materialism. For Marx, matter moves in a dialectical path due to inherent contradiction within it, and change takes place. For instance, water becomes ice, or feudalism becomes capitalism or capitalism becomes socialism, and there can be sudden qualitative change.

For Hegel, the universal substance is Spirit; for Marx it is matter. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. It means men are products of their circumstances and education. He makes his own history but he does not do it out of the condition chosen by himself.

While Marx's capital represents the basic economic science of dialectical materialism, Engle's Anti-Duhring represents the final stage of dialectical materialism. Fundamental law of dialectical materialism is as follows:

1. Unity of opposition: It means the unity of concrete reality is the unity of opposition.
2. Negation of negation: In the clash of opposite, one negates another and in turn negated by the higher level.
3. Transformation of Quantity into Quality: It means gradual qualitative change which gives rise to revolutionary changes in due course of time.

Throughout the universe, development (social change) proceeds not as the result of external causes (idea) but because of inherent contradiction that is contained in all material things. This contradiction is the main cause of motion.

Historical Materialism

Historical Materialism is ***materialist conception of history.*** It is an economic interpretation of history and an application of dialectical materialism to the development of society. According to historical materialism, all the mass phenomena of history are determined by economic conditions. Marx held that economic changes are fundamental for historical and social change. In his classical work ***'A contribution to the critique of political economy (1859)'*** Marx suggested that our social consciousness and the legal and political superstructure arises from the 'economic base'.

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What is history? What is society?

For Marx, history is the movement from one material condition to another like movement from feudalism to capitalism. It is progressive. It is a historical and social change from one stage to another-agricultural society, feudalism, capitalis, socialism and so on.

Marx said that society is a division of labour. The first society was the primitive society or we can say hunting-gathering stage. Marx says that perhaps through some change of environment, they got interested in cultivation and domestication of animals. The people keep their society going but their effort was conditional by their material condition. Therefore, history changed due to changes in material conditions. It is an irreversible process because from time to time social change takes place due to economic factors.

In ancient times, there was a primitive society (also called as Asiatic society) in which the form of production was slight and communally owned. It was tribal or primitive communism. Since property was owned by the community together, and there was no class, therefore, no inequality and exploitation. It was a roughly equal society living in social solidarity and harmony. In due course of time, land was occupied and privatized by the Master consequently gave birth to slave society, therefore, two classes, namely, the master and slave. The interest of Master and of the slave was not similar and, therefore, there was conflict between Master and Slave. Similarly, in the medieval era, feudal society was marked by antagonism between the landowners and serfs. The contemporary society is characterized as capitalist society, as the mode of production totally changed. The capitalist society is dominated by two antagonistic classes, namely, the bourgeoisie and the Proletariat.

Marx and Engle viewed that human history has, therefore, been a long struggle between the oppressed and the oppressor, the exploited or the expositor. Both argued that all past history is the history of class struggle based on material condition and interest. These contending classes are always products of economic conditions of their time. Therefore, economic structures are the real basis on which social, political, legal institutions developed. This approach of Marx is known as base and superstructure.

What is economic Structure?

It is the basic structure and ultimate determinant of superstructure. This is why Marx is regarded as an economic determinist.

For Marx, social, political and legal institutions are mere reflection of the base (economic structure). It means all social, political and legal institutions are dependent on economic base. Therefore, the situation of workers can't change merely by political reforms, social reforms or educational reforms. Real change would occur when there is complete change in economic structure.

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In capitalist society, the means of production like land, factories, mills, mines, raw materials and transport – all belong to the capitalist and production is carried out for the profit of the capitalist. But the essence of socialism is that means of production becomes social/communal property. And on the basis of social ownership, production would be carried out not for the profit but to fulfill the needs of the people. Therefore, it will bring changes in the supers-structure. This can be done through revolution.

Who shall do revolution?

Marx said that it is the working class who are more conscious about the aim of socialism. How would they do the revolution? Marx said that the working class will organise themselves to overthrow capitalism by using violence. Capitalists are in minority but they are bound to resist. What should the state do in such a situation? Marx said that if economics is phenomena, then politics is epi-phenomenal. He said that the state is nothing but a tool in the hand of bourgeoisie to exploit the working class. They are the managing committee of bourgeoisie. (This view of state is known as Marx's instrumentalist view). Therefore, it is mandatory to overthrow the state along with capitalism.

Base and Superstructure

In each stage of history, the material condition determines social relations as well as social, political and legal institutions. Therefore, economic structure is real and everything is a mere reflection of that economic structure. Marx called economic structure as base and social, political and legal institutions as superstructure.

For Marx, economic structure or base is the mode of production. It consists of forces of production and relation of production.

Forces of production: In order to produce, we need machines, transport and tools but these tools or machines cannot be functional without human labour/skills/expertise. Therefore, the force of production consists of machines, tools, transport and human labour.

Relation of Production: Relation is determined by the mode of production of the particular time. When there's capitalism, relation among men is based on class but when there will be socialism there will be no class.

Means of Production: Forces of production – human labour

What is society? For Marx, society is the division of labour or the entire mode of production. Men have to see in what capacity he is entering into the process of production. Class is a real

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identity of the person. In capitalism, there are two classes: Haves and Haves not. For Marx, other identities like religion, language, region are superficial. The material interests of these two classes are essentially contradictory because one is exploiter and the other is exploited. Society changes only where there is a change in mode of production. And when there is a change in mode of production, there is a change in relationship. The changes in a relationship is the most important indicator of changes. Thus, Marx said that history changes as per changes in the ***mode of production***. Two changes in history are very important: (1) primitive communism where it was crystal clear that there is no class and (2) capitalism where it is clear that there are two contending antagonistic classes i.e., bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Karl Popper's Criticism

Though Marx called historical materialism scientific, he was criticised by Karl Popper. Karl Popper in his work "The Open Society and its Enemies" criticised Marx's analysis of history. He said these philosophers, namely; Plato, Hegel and Marx were pioneers of 'closed thought' that led to the birth of totalitarianism. Marx's analysis of history is a teleological (political purposive explanation) like a political agenda. Marx's idea promoted totalitarianism in such a way that his followers did not allow for criticism. He was an enemy of open society. Marx called his own idea scientific but criticised Hegel and labelled his idea as false consciousness. It is Lenis who considered Marx's idea as ultimate truth and not allowed scrutiny

Karl Popper said that any scientific theory/knowledge must be ready for falsification or critical examination to be called a scientific idea. He described Marx as an economic determinist. Marx was not criticised by liberal philosophers but also by his own followers. Gramsci said that Marx has left a cultural component from his analysis. Another Marxist Althusser said that Marx's analysis of history and the role of economic factor is ***"over-determined"***

Marx's theory of Class – Struggle

Theory of class struggle is a sociological basis of Marxism and it is an integral part of historical materialism.

The opening sentence of the communist manifesto is the "history of all hitherto" existing society is the history of class struggle. Here history means all the written history. For Marx, society means mode of production. So, society changes when the mode of production changes and every mode of production has a peculiar form of forces of production and relation of production.

Communist manifesto deals with the period beginning with the division of society into an antagonistic class since the emergence of private property. It says that free man and slave, patrician, plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman in a word oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open

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fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common rising of the contending class.
With the development of production forces, one mode of production is replaced by another mode of production but class conflict persists, Marx divided European society into four ages:

1. Primitive Communism: Hunting and gathering, no concept of private property. Hence, no class, no state and no exploitation. Resources were socially owned and used without any conflict.
2. Ancient Slave (owning society): In due course of time, the concept of private property developed, so, the class. The land-owning community claimed themselves "master" and labelled others as "slave"/ Society divided into two classes. State was controlled by the master; they were exploiter and slaves were exploited. Hence, class struggle was inevitable.
3. Feudal society: In the feudal society, there were two classes: lord and serf. Serf revolted against the feudal lord. Hence, class-struggle persists.
4. Capitalism: In capitalism, society got divided into two classes: Bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Modern society has emerged from the ruins of feudal society but class-struggle continues. Capitalism has established new classes, new ways of exploitation and hence, a new way of class-struggle. It has produced a new condition of oppression and class-struggle has been simplified. The society as a whole is more or less splitting up into two real hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and proletariat.
Marx and Engels believed that this class-conflict had entered into the final stage. The proletariat shall overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. Marx and Engel believed that the proletariat alone has the capacity to overthrow bourgeoisie and capitalism. Why? because it is a revolutionary class. The other classes would decay and finally shall disappear in the time of class-struggle. The proletariat is a special and essential product of capitalism which is revolutionary. The proletariat shall establish socialism and from socialism to communism where there shall be no private property, no class, hence, no state.

Socialism and Communism
Socialism is a transition phase from the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to a stateless and classless society.

In capitalism, the means of production- land, factories, mills, machine, transport, etc., belong to capitalist. Production is carried on in order to maximise the profit. For Marx, it is a very exploitative and unjust system where workers sell their labour for their subsistence and lose their freedom of work, creativity and control. It is only benefitting to the capitalist. At the same time, capitalism has split the society into two antagonist classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat. The

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Proletariat is a revolutionary class; they need to mobilize and fight against capitalism. The capitalist class is bound to resist because the working class's revolution will put an end to the profit making system. For emancipation and to put an end to exploitation, the working class or proletariat overthrow capitalism and they would establish dictatorship. They shall take control of the state. They would centralise the mode of production and abolish private property. Further, means of production would become social property, and that, on the basis of social ownership, production will be carried out not for the benefit but for the needs of the people.

How will distribution take place?

Marx said that dictatorship of the proletariat would be a transition phase in which everyone will get according to their abilities. In capitalism, the proletariat always gets lower wages than he deserves, and in the process, owners get richer and workers get poorer. But in a stage of socialism, everyone will get as per their ability of work. Gradually with the end of private property class would disappear and so is the state. And finally, communism shall be established where each person shall get as per their need.

	(revolution)		(evolution)	
Capitalism		Socialism		communism

Marx's theory of communism is revolutionary as well as evolutionary.

Features of Socialism

a. Abolition of private property
b. Heavy progressive income tax
c. Abolition of all rights of inheritance
d. Centralisation of all credits in the hand of the state
e. Means of production owned by the state
f. Equal liability to all workers
g. Free education for all children in public schools
h. Socio-economic rights for all people.

Marx's Theory of Surplus Value

Marx's analysis of surplus value is an economic basis of Marxism. In Marx's view, capitalist mode of production involves exploitation of the working class.

According to Marx, labour creates value. Out of four elements of production, namely; land, labour, capital and organization. Labour is a sole creator of value.

In simple mode of production, the producer sells his product in order to purchase other products which satisfy his specific wants. He starts with commodities, turns them into money and then once again turns into commodities.

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C (commodity= selling) ----------M(money)----------C (commodity= personal)

Under capitalism, on the other hand, capitalists go to the market with money, purchase commodities (land, machine, labour, etc), produce commodities and sell them. They earn money. They start with money and end with money.

M (personal money) --------C (commodity)----------M' (profit money)

The Rationale of exchange in the capitalist system is not to satisfy the mutual need of the society but it is profit. Indeed, it is evident that if M at the beginning has the same magnitude as M' at the end, the whole process of the production is pointless. Therefore, M' shall always be greater: M' > M. So, M'-M= M"

M" constitute surplus value. It helps in accumulation of wealth for the capitalist and it is the source of exploitation. In the process of production, capitalist appropriate products. All surplus value is generated through surplus labour by the worker.

The extra labour constitutes surplus value. Capitalists get richer and workers get poorer. It is an exploitative system.

Marx's Theory of State

Instrumentalist view: In communist Manifesto (1848), Marx said that "state is the executive committee of the bourgeois class". It means the state is an instrument in the hand of the bourgeois class to exploit the proletariat.

Relative Autonomy of the State: In his "the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Marx said that the state consists of many classes and no single class is able to control power. In such a situation, the state gives the impression that it is autonomous. State declares many schemes and welfare for the people in order to give the impression of relative autonomy. But there is a conflict of interest and class-war, the state always takes the side of the bourgeoisie.

MARXISM AFTER MARX

The German socialist democratic party adopted the Erfurt programme in 1891 which succeeded the Gotha Programme. The Erfurt programme was formulated into two part by two people, namely, Karl Kautsky (Economic determinist) and Eduard Bernstein (Revisionist)

Karl J.Kautsky

a. He was known as the 'Pope of Marxism'. He was a prolific writer and thinker whose writing is well known among Marxists. He was the most important theoretician of Marxism during the Second Communist International (1889-1916); he was a leading figure in the German Socialist Democratic Party and played a key role in developing party strategy and tactics. However, his revolutionary ideas eventually did not get support due the rise of Lenin's Bolshevik's revolutionary movement.
b. He rejected revisionism; Lenin also rejected revisionism. Lenin proposed the idea of the Vanguard Party (a single revolutionary Party at national level to raise revolutionary programmes and actions) and professional dedicated revolutionaries (to inject

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revolutionary consciousness among working classes). The Lenin version of Marxism is called Leninism- Marxism.

c. Karl Kautsky and Rosa Luxembourg were critical of Lenin's experiment in the USSR. Karl Kautsky criticised the Bolshevik revolution as a coup d'état, and its socialism as "Barrack Socialism". Karl Kautsky argued that the Bolshevik regime is a brutal regime and it is a distortion of Marxism.
d. Initially Rosa Luxembourg expressed solidarity with Lenin and Leon Trotsky for bringing socialism in Russia. But she was critical of the abrogation of freedom of opinion and democracy.
e. Lenin and Trotsky reacted sharply to Karl Kautsky and Rosa Luxembourg criticism; very soon, Lenin realized the lack of culture and the fact that Bolshevik didn't know how to rule. But Trotsky defended the use of terror, force and violence as a means of safeguarding socialism and its advancement in Stalin's USSR.
f. Later Trotsky also turned critical of Stalin for making socialism repressive and bureaucratic (But he never acknowledged this during Lenin). He himself was instrumental in laying the foundation of Stalinism.

Revisionism

Eduard Bernstein revised Karl Marx's theory of social revolution. He said that:

a. Capitalism does not seem to collapse and "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not realized. On the contrary, capitalism is becoming flexible and adopting a new economic system.
b. Bernstein was also skeptical of the doctrine of class – struggle. He witnessed cross- class alliance and there was no such class- antagonism as Karl Marx and Engels had advocated
c. Bernstein admitted that socialism is a desirable goal and a better social order to live in but it can be achieved through democracy from bourgeois to socialism. Majority rule (workers and their association) can be used in reform and social change in order to serve the interest of the working class.

(Note: for details see the Chapter: Political ideology)

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Evaluation of Karl Max

Why do we read Marx Today?

Jonathan Wolf in his book **'Why Read Marx Today?'** argues that 'we can think of Marx as the great-grandfather of today's anti-capitalist movement'. Reading Marx, though, is a task to be handled with care. Marx writings are among the most powerful in the Western intellectual

tradition, and, true or false, they are to be appreciated and admired. But further, he does say many true and inspiring things. His work is full of insight and illumination. Marx remains the most profound and acute critic of capitalism, even as it exists today.

DAVID McLELLAN in his book 'Karl Marx: A Biography' argues that 'it may seem paradoxical that Karl Marx, whom so many working-class movements of our time claim as their Master and infallible guide to revolution, should have come from a comfortable middle-class home. Yet to a remarkable extent he does himself epitomise his own doctrine that men are conditioned by their socio-economic circumstances'.

Jon Elster in his work **'Making Sense of Marx'** argues that transformation from capitalism to communism was the core of Marx's life and work. He believed capitalism to be an inhuman, unjust, wasteful system that needed to be changed in communism that he believed to be imminent and inevitable. Marx set the agenda of the problems and went a long way towards showing what could count as a solution.

Allen W Wood in his work **'Karl Marx'** writes 'Marx's principal academic training was in philosophy, but in his mature thought Marx focuses on political economy and the history of capitalism, and usually tends to neglect the philosophical side even of his own theories. Even in his early writings, Marx does not often address himself directly to philosophical questions, but treats such questions only in the course of developing his ideas about contemporary society or criticizing the ideas of others. If it is possible to describe Marx as a philosopher, it is probably more accurate to describe him as an economist, historian, political theorist or sociologist, and above all as a working class organizer and revolutionary.

Bernard Russel argued that Marx philosophy has inherent hatred towards the propertied class.

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Question for Practice

1. Discuss Marx's concept of alienation. Do you think that Marx was more concerned about human essence? What is human essence, according to Marx?
2. Explain socialist philosophy before Marx in Europe.
3. Compare and contrast between Marx's Dialectical Materialism and Hegel's Dialectical idealism.
4. Critically analyze Marx's idea of historical materialism.
5. Socialism is a transitional phase that is best characterized by "the dictatorship of the proletariat" in Marx's thought.
6. Marx and Engel maintain that the history of mankind has been a history of class-struggles. Describe the historical succession of class divisions discussed in the Communist Manifesto.
7. How does the modern bourgeois continue to dominate and exploit the proletariat, according to Karl Marx and Engels.
8. What are distinguished features of socialist society, according to Marx?
9. How does Marx and Engels respond to the objection that (a) individuals possess a natural right to private property, and (b) eliminating private property would eliminate motivation for working?
10. In communist society, would the state own the personal property of individuals?
11. Discuss Louis Althusser's distinction between young Marx and mature Marx.
12. Explain Marx's theory of surplus value.
13. Analyze Marx's idea on state.

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