Rousseau (1712–1778)

Known as Father of French Revolution
Rousseau (1712-1778)

Introduction

Father of French Revolution

Slogan of French Revolution liberty equality Fraternity attributed to Rousseau.

Rousseau is known as father of concept of popular sovereignty or general will.
He is the first person to suggest that man is not bad society is bad.

Many nature is very good what is required to be changed it society and not men.
He is called as thinker of paradoxes. On one hand he is a source for inspiration for the supporters of direct democracy, on the other hand his ideas have been used to justify state totalitarianism. On one hand he is a source of inspiration for liberals on the other hand source of inspiration for socialist.
ROUSSEAU

- Book of Rousseau - Social Contract
- Central concern of Rousseau – Freedom
- He wants to find out how liberty and authority can be reconcile means how we can be free even when authority exist
- Opening statement of social account express the dilemma of Rousseau.
- “Man is born free but everywhere in Chains”
Liberty: Meaning & Features

- Liberty derives from the Latin word ‘liber’, which means absence of restraints.

Features of Liberty

- No restriction
- Right and power to act
- Condition of being physically and legally free
- Right to engage in certain actions without control
What is Authority?

• The legitimate or acceptable use of power
• The power or right to give orders, make decisions, and enforce obedience
• A person or organization having political or administrative power and control
Human Nature

- According to Rousseau is essentially good. man has a feeling of self love and sympathy for others

State of Nature

- Life before start of modernization.
- According to Rousseau state of nature was state of bliss. men was free and happy.
- The state of nature was state of equality.
He mentioned about equality. Equality is a modern virtue. In ancient and mediaeval times it was believed that inequality is natural. In modern times it was Hobbes who for the first time established that all people are utilitarian by nature.

In one way he has accepted the equality in natural terms.
• In John Locke every person in the state of nature was enjoying natural rights. every person has reason. Thus, in a way he treats everybody equal in moral worth.

• The specific thing in Rousseau is accepting initial equality even in social and economic terms.

• According to the state of nature men was “noble savage “. 
Social Contract

• Process of Social Contract

Why Contract?

• Rousseau suggest that gradually state of nature come to an end and when stated living a settled life.
• Thus the so-called civilization started civilization symbolize.
He talks about reason from the perspective of capitalism.
Rational man is one who understand and is able to protect his interest.
According to Rousseau, settled life led to the origin of private property.

What does reason means in Rousseau?
How private property originated according to Rousseau?

- The person who has demarcated a particular land and claimed that land belongs to him laid the foundation of private property.
- Once private property come into existence the feeling of mine time started. this has destroyed the original goodness of human nature. in the words of Rousseau noble savage got degraded into depraved animal. according to him thinking man is a depraved animal. it means man earlier was a free man acting according to his free will but now thinking man has become an animal whose appetite is never satisfied.
According to Rousseau the present state is not a state of happiness. man is unable to do what he wanted. Hence to gain freedom and happiness people enter into social contract according to Rousseau man has two options.

1. Go Back to Nature- This opinion is not practically feasible.

2. To Rebuild a Society- Where man can live in a state of freedom and happiness.. this is feasible option the purpose of social contract is to create a society where man is free.

The central problem of Rousseau was, men is born free but everywhere in chains.
According to Rousseau, we are free even in the presence of authority only when we are governed by the laws made by ourselves. According to Rousseau, popular sovereignty that is general will is the condition of freedom.
Concept of general will

Purpose of theory of general will - To give freedom to Man.

Why freedom - Because purpose of life is happiness and Freedom is Happiness.
What is Freedom?

• When we act according to our will or choice.
## Rousseau's Methodology

### Will

1. **Real will**
   - What we actually want to do?
     - Original will
     - Good
     - Spontaneous
     - Real freedom

2. **Actual will**
   - What we actually do
     - Shape by society
     - Selfish
     - Shape or artificial
     - Illusion of freedom
Rousseau's Methodology

What is freedom in real sense?

- Acting as per a real will is real freedom. outcome is true satisfaction.
What is General will

- It is the result of the contract among people who agreed that they will always act by their real will.
- General will is the sum of real will of the all people.
- When people combine they form the state people are the state meet but believe it.
- State can be considered as representing the general will.
What is General will

The condition of general will is that it is a sum of real wills. since it is a sum of real wills.

It is always good just like whole is more than sum of parts, body is more than sum of organs.

Similarly general will is more than sum of real wills
• Sum means aggregate.

• According to Rousseau general will is not just aggregate it is Organic and Natural.
Rousseau belonged to France yet he has spent many years of life in Geneva. He has been inspired by the practice of direct democracy. According to him, general will emerges only when people directly participate in the formulation of laws. Another condition is acting with their real will. In Rousseau, we get the idea of direct democracy which means participatory democracy deliberative and consociational.
## Types of Democracy

1. **Representative**
   - **Countries:** UK, USA, India
   - **Through representatives**
   - **Decision taken by majority so sometimes called tyranny of majority - Majoritarian.**

2. **Participatory**
   - **Direct participation**
   - **Decision taken by consensus**
   - **Real democracy is consociation democracy.**
   - **Consensus will come if people act with their real will.**

**Note:**
Rousseau even suggests that men should be “force to be free” it means man should be punished unless man does not obey the general will.
• Que. General will of Rousseau is Hobbes leviathan with its head chopped off.
1. Rosseau is known as thinker of paradox.

2. On one hand he is seen as a champion of democracy, on the other hand he is criticized as the supporter of totalitarianism.

3. The most important theoretical contribution of Rosseau is the theory of general will.
• The concept of general will which can be subjected to conflicting interpretations.
• For some scholar general will represent “popular sovereignty”
• However for others Scholars, there is not a big difference in qualitative sense in Rousseau was general will and Hobbes leviathan.
• The only difference is morphological.
5.

- In Hobbes state is like a crown, third party separated from the people.
- In Rousseau state that is general will that is popular sovereignty i.e diffused throughout body-politic.
- According to these scholar there is no substantive difference.
- Because both of them give absolute powers to the state.
5.

- If Hobbes suggest that covenants without words....... Words.
- Rousseau suggest that men should be forced to be free.
- Rosseau theory of general will has been manipulated by totalitarian leaders like Hitler and Mussolini to justify coercion of the people.
• However it would not be appropriate to considered Rousseau as totalitarian. He was a champion of direct democracy.

• According to Rousseau general will emerge only with the direct participation of the people acting with their real will.

• General wheel is not the dictate of the state which is anti-democratic.
J. S. Mill (1806–1873)

Champion of Freedom of Speech and Expression
J. S. Mill (1806–1873)

J. S. Mill

1. JS Mill is the champion of freedom of speech and expression.
2. He was the first person to give the exhaustive view of freedom of speech and expression and has given very passionate defense.
3. It is said that if anyone is liberal it is mill.
Topics-(J.S. Mill)

1. On Utilitarian
2. On Liberty
3. On a Representative Government
4. On the Subjection of Women
Perspective of J. S. Mill as a Thinker

- Liberal

- Mill stands at the cross of classical and modern liberalism because of his time we see some inconsistencies in his thoughts. His conception of liberty remains negative but we also gave the idea of positive liberty in a very crude sense.
• 2. Mill considered himself as the **disciple** of Bentham.
Who is Bentham?

• He is called as **Father of Utilitarian**.
• He was not the first person to give the theory of utilitarian but he was the first person to make utilitarianism as a systematic school of thoughts.
• The most famous principle of Bentham is “greatest happiness of the greatest number.”
2. Utilitarianism became synonymous with Bentham. at the time of mills utilitarian came under huge criticism because of its inhuman nature. it came to be called as "Pig's Philosophy".

3. Mill wanted to defend Bentham but in the process of he revised Benthamism to such an extent that he destroyed benthonism hence mills is called as “peter who denied his master.”
4. Mills father James Mill was an economist and friend of Bentham. His father has introduced him not only to Bentham but also to the thoughts of Greek schools like Socrates and Plato.
5. Mill served in *East India Company* and did not favour democracy as a form of government for “barbarians”.

- mill was champion of rights of women.
ON UTILITARIANISM (J.S MILL)

• Q. Mill was a pete who denied his master?
• Q. In his quest to revise Utilitarianism Mill actually destroys Utilitarianism?
By the end of this lesson you will have:

- Learnt who J.S Mill was and why he liked Utilitarianism
- Have discovered what problems Mill had with Bentham’s utilitarianism
- Have considered that pleasures can be split into ‘higher’ and ‘lower’ pleasures
On Utilitarianism (J. S. Mill)

What is utilitarianism and why mills aim to revise it

• Utilitarianism has been the dominant philosophy in Britain it used to be known as the philosophy of common men.
• Why- it is based on common sense

What is philosophy?

• According to Utilitarianism human action are guided by pleasure and pain.
What is Utilitarian Ethics?

Human action ought to be guided by pleasure and pain, it means the criteria of judgement in pleasure and pain.

We can find similarities between the Indian tradition known as lokayat represented by charvaka.
Carvaka

1. There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world.

2. While life remains let a man live happily, let him feed on ghee even though he runs in debt.

3. When once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return again?

4. While life is yours, live joyously. None can escape Death’s searching eye. When once this frame of ours they burn, how shall it e’er again return?
What is Utilitarian Ethics?

Ethics—The Basics

UTILITARIAN ETHICS

• Preference-utilitarianism can be differentiated from act-utilitarianism and rule-utilitarianism by its acknowledgment that each individual’s preference for satisfaction/utility/happiness is unique, and must therefore be considered in calculating the “greatest good.”

• Like other utilitarians, preference-utilitarians view a morally right action as that which produces the most favorable consequences for the people involved; however, what is “favorable” must be defined by an individual’s preferences.

Utilitarian ethical theory

Utilitarian ethics = “the ethical action is the action that maximizes the welfare of the maximum number of people.”

– Can be applied to individual actions – “Should I cheat on my Business Law exam tomorrow night?”
– Can be applied to a general rule – “Should Clarkson prohibit cheating?”
– Or to an ethical principle – “Is cheating unethical?”

• The focus is on the overall consequences for the total group of people.
– The person wanting to take the action does not count more than anyone else.
What are key principles of utilitarianism?

- Bantham has made Utilitarianism as a systematic school and has given following principles
- 1). All human actions are guided by pleasure and pain.
- In the world of Bentham nature has place men under the two sovereign masters that is pleasure and pain not only they determine “what we ought to do but also what we shall do”.

Bentham
1. Bentham is known as Father of Utilitarian.
2. Though he is not the first person to get distinction because not only he gave a systematic review of Utilitarian even defended utility is the principle of ethics.
3. In above Statement Bentham has given justification for Utilitarianism. Like hobbes benthom also believed that human nature is guided by pleasure and pain.
4. According to Bentham men is Utilitarian by nature nature has not made men in such a way that men can act otherwise.

5. According to Bentham there is no rational to base the principle of ethics on such values which men is unable to implement he is real life there should not be any difference between what we do and what we should do. thus Bentham has provide the justification for utility as a supreme principle of ethics.
What are key principles of utilitarianism?

- According to Bentham pleasure is just a quantitative term. He rejects the view that pleasure can be quantitative. There is nothing called higher pleasure or inferior pleasure. Pleasure is always either more or less.

- In the words of Bentham, "Pushpin is as good as poetry". For Bentham it does not matter whether pleasure comes out of playing pushpin or reading poetry.
Start Playing!
Not only pleasure do not differ in quality, person also do not differ in quality. There is nothing like superior soul or inferior soul. All are Utilitarian's.

Bentham has suggested "felicific calculus" since pleasure is a quantitative term Bentham has given of formula to measure pleasure.
Bentham has given the yardstick for the action of the State. The yardstick for State action is the greatest happiness of the greatest number, which means “State policy should be such which provides for largest amount of happiness for largest number of people”.

Bentham on Humans
The trolley problem

The person can choose to divert the tram from the main track, saving five people on the track, but killing the worker on the other track.
• It is a misunderstood concept it appears that the concept gives primacy to the largest number however principle was criticized by Socialist because it gives primacy to happiness and number is secondary.

• According to Bentham- men is Utilitarian so “individualistic by nature”.
Bentham does not adhere to the view of collective happiness. He talks about aggregate happiness; the pleasure and pain of each person has to be counted separately. State should have a policy so that happiness can be maximized.
The idea that the whole of society will benefit when it is easier for the rich to get even richer is called the ‘trickle down effect’.

It works like this:
• Bentham believes that Maximization of happiness is possible only when there is a minimum intervention of State in economy.
• Minimum intervention means more national income.
• For these scholars the only way to tackle poverty is through “trickle down effect”.

Explanation
Why revision. Mill considered himself disciple of Bentham at that time Bentham is was criticized as pig's philosophy for its inhuman nature.
If Mill was influenced by Bentham he was also influenced by Socrates and Plato. He brought Idealism into Utilitarianism by mixing Idealism into Utilitarianism, it led to the destruction of Benthamism itself.
Mill on Utilitarianism

• In the words of J S Mill “it is better to be a Socrates dissatisfied than fool satisfied.
• It is better to be a men dissatisfied than pig satisfied”.
Difference between Happiness and Pleasure

According to Mill there is a difference.

However Bentham no difference.
Difference between Happiness and Pleasure

1. Pleasure is Quantitative (materialistic) whereas happiness is qualitative (spiritualistic) for example when person gives bread to other person who is more hungry in his situation the person sacrifice the pleasure of eating bread gets the satisfaction of soul or happiness.
Difference between Happiness and Pleasure

2. For Mill men can get happiness even by sacrificing the immediate pleasure. It means men is capable of understanding the pleasure and pain of the other person.

Thus in Bentham men is individualistic, where is in Mill men is moral and ethical.

In Bentham utility is a guide for State's action in Mill it becomes a guide for individual.
• When Mill suggests that measure is qualitative he renders “felisific calculus” invented by Bentham as useless.
• Thus in his quest to depend Bentham Mill has ultimately destroyed Benthanism.
A) Bentham

Pleasure quantitative realization of pleasure -

Person -

Measurement of pleasure -

Direct by sensory organs.

No difference.

Felicific calculus

Guide for states action.
B) Mill

Pleasure - Quantitative + Qualitative.

Realization of Pleasure - Indirect by satisfaction of soul

Personal - Define quality

Measurement – Useless

Guide for Individual Ethics.
Liberty: Meaning & Features

- Liberty derives from the Latin word ‘liber’, which means absence of restraints.

Features of Liberty

- No restriction
- Right and power to act
- Condition of being physically and legally free
- Right to engage in certain actions without control
Liberty is the core value of liberalism, no one before Mill has given the systematic explanation of concept of Liberty in liberalism. John Locke held that - Right to life, Liberty and property as natural rights. He has discussed only on right to property.
It was J.S. Mill for the first time who dealt with the concept of Liberty in detail in his book on Liberty and it is for this reason “Mill is called as liberal in true sense”.

Mill has establish Liberty to the centre stage in the philosophy of liberalism. For long utility land and Liberty became the defining feature of liberalism.
Importance of Liberty according to Mill

Liberty is a value because it is a condition for happiness. Liberty is not only important for individual but it is also important for state and society.
Importance for Individual

• It is essential for the development of one's personality.
• Essential for realization of men's potential.

Importance for State

• Liberty is not only good for individual it is also good for State hence State should give Marximum Liberty.
Why liberty is Good for State?

- No State becomes great by dwarfing its own people. We can see the influence of great thinkers like Socrates and Plato on Mill in the words of Plato “State is individual writ large” this show that there is a independence between men and State.
- State has to become a great it has to give opportunity to its people to become a virtues or gain excellence in life.
• Liberty is the condition for becoming virtuous, without Liberty no one can realise its potential. We can compare the situation in USA and North Korea. USA and other western countries have a high level of development because they provide liberties to the people. On the other hand, societies like North Korea, Saudi Arabia, and China have deprived the basic liberties to their people.
• Should there be any restriction on liberty according to Mill?

• Mill favorites Maximum Liberty however he proposes that there can be reasonable restrictions Mill has given the famous for “harm principle”.
• According to Mill State can intervene in the Liberty of a person only if its action cause harm to the other person.
• He goes to the extent of suggesting that even self harm is not a condition for restricting Liberty.
• However he suggest that in case of person is ignorant about the consequences of election State should make him aware.
• For eg. - if a person about to cross the bridge which is going to fall State can inform the person and can restrict his Liberty.
Mill Make a difference between.

1. Self regarding action.
2. Others regarding action.
Negative vs Positive Liberty

**Negative Liberty – Freedom from**
- Individual freedom from governmental authority or regulations, from the Church, or from ascribed class status

**Positive Liberty – Freedom to**
- Individual freedom seen in terms of *capabilities*. Freedom to compete successfully in job market (through education, etc.). Freedom to live a healthy life without poverty or lack of medical care.
  - Insurance programs, New Deal empowerment programs
  - Full extension of the franchise to women (1920 – 19th amendment) blacks (1965 – Voting Rights Act)
• State has no role as far as self regarding actions are concerned. However State can intervene in the Liberty of the person if his actions harm the others.
• In the words of J.S.Mill “All restraints quarestrainsts is an evil, the sole basis is where menkind is warranted to interfere in the Liberty of men is to prevent harm to others self harm is not the basis".
Mill is a prophet of empty Liberty and scholar of abstract Individualism".
Barker

- Barker is a positive liberal and he is not comfortable with the idea of the negative liberty alone.
First Reason

1. the way will describe Liberty is negative absence of restraints.

Mill does not advocate positive Liberty for Barker in the concepts of positive Liberty is superior to that of negative Liberty.
2. Mill's categorization of human action into self regarding and others regarding is unscientific, he permits State to intervene in others regarding action and thus creates huge scope for intervention in Liberty of men there are very few actions which can be treated as the self regarding actions.
• 3. Mills is inconsistent in his defence of Liberty. Mill permits State to stop a person from crossing the bridge if it is about to fall Mills brings metaphysical concept of the real will according to him the real will of men cannot to be in his life.

• Barker calls him as a scholar of abstract Individualism. Abstract individual means “atomistic men” atomistic mind is and abstraction real men lives in the society real men will have very limited Liberty in Mills design. Condition is confusing like India (how much freedom).
• Though there are inconsistencies in his thought, though we cannot overlook the contribution of J.S. Mill in the context of the theory of Liberty and justification for the right to Liberty.

• Infact he is the first person to discuss the idea of Liberty in detail the year papers to be inconsistent.

• However inconsistency is because of his times.
Out of all freedom the most important is freedom of speech and expression. Mill suggest that not only person should have freedom of speech and expression but person should also have freedom of action according to his thoughts. He also recommend freedom to form associates for better articulation of one's views.
FEATURE NOVEMBER 17, 2018

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ANSWER WRITING NOVEMBER 18, 2018

3rd Answer writing session [17/11/2018]

3rd Answer writing session [17/11/2018] Click on EACH question to post/upload your answers. PAPER 1 WESTERN THINKER Topic – WESTERN THINKER 1) “The end of political society is the END of individual rights.” Locke 18 NOV, 2018
Mill on Freedom of Speech and Expression

- Freedom of speech and expression is the most important for the expression of persons individuality.
- Freedom of speech and expression is necessary for democracy otherwise democracy will become tyranny of majority.
According to J.S. Mill it is the unique capacity given to men by God.

No other species has been given this capacity to communicate with each other.

Through speech and language other species can make sound but do not have capacity to communicate with each other through language and speech.

Why freedom of speech and expression is most precious of all rights?
We can see the influence of the greek scholars Socrates on J.S.Mill. Socrates has advocated Dialectics as a means to understand the truth.

J.S.Mill also suggested that if objective of the life to understand the truth there is no other way except free dialogue and debate only through free dialogue, we can examine our beliefs we can make difference between the truth and dogma.

What is utility of freedom of speech and expression?
We can see the influence of the greek scholars Socrates on J.S. Mill.

Socrates has advocated Dialectics as a means to understand the truth.

J.S. Mill also suggested that if objective of the life to understand the truth there is no other way except free dialogue and debate only through free dialogue, we can examine our beliefs we can make difference between the truth and dogma.
Should there be any restriction on freedom of Speech and expression?

- In this case also he suggested “harm principle” thus only reasonable restrictions can be imposed.

Who all should be having freedom of speech and expression?

- Mill goes to extent of suggesting that “even so called mad person should also be allowed to speak”.
- Why - according to Mill truth can emerge from anywhere hence there is no point suppressing freedom of anyone.
- What is the justification behind not suppressing any person freedom of speech and expression.
1. Truth cannot be suppressed, truth is bound to emerge.

2. When we suppress the truth, we are unnecessarily postpone your understanding of truth.

3. There is no justification suppressing any person's freedom of speech and expression.

   a) If that person is speaking the truth, it is an opportunity for us to correct ourselves.

   b) If that person is not speaking the truth, lying false allegations human being that person will become aware and very keep quiet.
• Thus for J.S. Mill majority will not be allowed in suppressing the opinion of minority.... If all but one person has a difference of opinion others should listen to him and there is no justification in silencing that person, just like there is no justification if that person is in power and suppresses the Liberty of other.

• “It means neither the tyranny of one over all nor the tyranny of all over one is acceptable”.
Thus Mill was the champion of freedom of speech and expression he has given the first and the most defence of freedom of speech and expression.

The freedom of speech and expression found in Indian constitution show the influence of J.S. Mill.

It is the first freedom to enjoy citizens of India only reasonable restrictions can be imposed. And that too only for specific purpose.
MILL'S VIEW ON DEMOCRACY

- Book- “On representative government”
- According to Mill democracy is the best form of government
- Why- No other form of government can provide for enjoyment of Liberty
**Direct Democracy**

- Laws, Rules...
- Vote
- The People

**Representative Democracy**

- Laws, Rules...
- Elected Representative
- Vote
- The People
MILL'S VIEW ON DEMOCRACY

• Which form of democracy he supports
• 1 the ideal democracy is direct democracy
• Why Marximum realizations of Liberty in general and freedom of speech and expression in particular.
MILL'S VIEW ON DEMOCRACY

- second best – “representative government”- considering the size and complexity of modern way of life representative government is unavoidable.

- Mill is a champion of democracy yet he is known as “Reluctant democrat”.
1. He is relented to introduce democracy anywhere anytime who - according to him democracy has not been a free gift people have conducted long struggle for democracy, it is a result of countries of struggle that power has shifted in to hands of people.
2. Democracy cannot be introduced anywhere there are certain prerequisites for democracy.

Democracy requires democratic society. People should be committed to democracy and its values.

Countries where people are not fit for democracy are False democracy.

True democracy is where democratic society exist. According to J.S. Mill democracy is not suitable for barbarians. “Benevolent despotism” is suitable for barbarism.
Bentham has supported self government for people in colonies whereas Mill was reluctant.

Mill was fearful of future of democracy in western countries he was influenced by “alex de tocqivelle” work on democracy in America,
Hence Mill proposed following reforms.

a) Weighted Voting

He suggest to give everyone right to vote but he suggest more than one vote to those who are educated and possesses property.

b) Plural Voting

Person should have right to vote in all constituencies where he owns property.
3. He favored proportional representation.
4. He favored strengthening of house of lords over house of commons.
5. He favored open ballet rather than secret ballet because open ballet is consistent with freedom of speech and expression.
He favoured right to vote to women.

With the exception of last 2 suggestions the other suggestions make Mill a reluctant democrat as he is trying to bring aristocratic elements in democracy.
Conclusion

Thus Mill can be called as reluctant democrat in comparison to Mill Gandhi and Nehru will be passionate democrats.

In word of Nehru “if people can not come to democracy we can bring democracy to their doorsteps.”
1. Among the classical political philosophers it was Mill after Plato who advocated for the participation of women in the public sphere.

2. He championed for the right to vote on women.

3. According to Mill, all forms of slavery have ended with the exception of one that is the slavery of women, subordination. It is so universal that it appears natural.

4. It is neither natural nor desirable.

Book on subjection of women
5. He has given advantages if women are allowed to participate in public sphere.

a) It is good for women at times there are many negative get associated with women this happens because of confining women within four walls of family.

b) It is good for society when women will participate in public sphere than men will behave in more civilized manner.

c) Men will be inspired to work hard.
Answer writing Session

17 November, 2018
• “The end of obedience is protection” Hobbes
• “Where there is no common power, There is no law; Where no law, no Justice” (Hobbes)
Question

- Write the short note on
- (a) Greatest happiness of greatest number of Bentham.
- (B) General will of Rousseau
“The measure of property nature well set, by the extent of men’s labour and the convenience of life. “ Locke
Karl Marx (1818–1883)

The most Influential Philosopher up till Now
Who is Karl Marx?

- Karl Marx was born in Trier in 1818, just after Napoleonic wars.
- His parents were Jewish at first, but they later changed to Christianity.
- He was a philosopher, political economist, sociologist, humanist and the founder of communism.
- He was an educated students who studied in Germany at Bonn, Berlin and Jena.
- At Bonn, he engaged with Jenny von Westphalen.
8. **Political Ideologies**: Liberalism, Socialism, Marxism, Fascism, Gandhism and Feminism.


INTRODUCTION -

• 1. The most influential Philosopher up till now.
• 2. It is the influence of his ideas that world remains divided between the two blocks till the end of cold war in 1991. Marx was regarded as God by his follower.
• Marx dead or alive haunts the capitalist world
INTRODUCTION-

3. Marx is the first political philosopher who talks from the perspective of poor, he was concerned with the State of exploitation face by the workers in capitalist societies.

Hence he called for revolution against Capitalism.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>Capitalism</th>
<th>Socialism</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income determined by market forces</td>
<td>Assets owned by private firms</td>
<td>Assets owned by government/co-operatives</td>
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<td>Prices determined by supply and demand</td>
<td>Price controls</td>
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<td>Market incentives encourage firms to cut costs</td>
<td>Government owned firms have fewer incentives to be efficient</td>
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<td>Limited taxes/limited government spending</td>
<td>High progressive taxes/higher spending on public services</td>
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<td>Health care left to free-market</td>
<td>Healthcare provided by government free at point of use</td>
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<td>Inequality, market failure, monopoly</td>
<td>Inefficiency of state industry, less incentives,</td>
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<td>Dynamic economy, incentives for innovation and economic growth</td>
<td>Promotion of equality. Attempt to overcome market failure.</td>
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Karl Marx (1818–1883)

Karl Marx

School of Thought

Marx is a Socialist
Socialism was a response against the growing inequalities under capitalism.

If liberalism talks about liberty, socialism stands for social and economic equality.

Once workers got the right to vote, the popularity of Socialism has increased. There are endless varieties of Socialism, hence it is said that “Socialism is like a hat that has lost its shape.”
What is the difference between socialism and communism.

Socialism

The specific variety of socialism is an umbrella term. There are many schools within Socialism.

Communism

Every communist is a socialist but every socialist is not a Communist.
What is Communism

- Communism is the goal of Marx theory it is Marx utopia.

Communist Society Features

- 1. According to Marx Communism is the State of perfect freedom and perfect equality.
- 2. Communism is the stateless society.
- 3. Communism is the classless society.
Can we call Marx an Anarchist

- Yes

Is Communism Anarchism

- Yes, Because it is a Stateless Society.
Is there any similarity between Marx Communism and Gandhi's Ram Rajya?

- Is there any similarity between Marx Communism and Gandhi's ram rajya.
- Marx Communism and Gandhi's ram rajya both all utopia, both are Stateless societies even Gandhi is Anarchist. The aim of Gandhi and Marx is same the only difference is means. Gandhi's method is non violent struggle. Marx method is violent struggle. Both wanted the upliftment of masses Gandhi also supported land reforms and land to tillers and establishment of corporates.
If state is absent who will be handling the collective task?

• Self help groups, voluntary associations, NGO'S

• Since men can co-operate with each other human nature according to Karl Marx is Social burgocise scholars like a hobbes promoted “False Consciousness”.

• men behave in selfish manner because of the nature of society in which will you think there is a need to change the society by changing its basic structure and hence revolution is required.
If state is absent who will be handling the collective task?

• Marx was not first person to advocate Socialism Marx called his Socialism as Scientific Socialism he call Socialism of early times as is utopian Socialism.

• Socialism in west has its origin in French revolution the ideas of equality and fraternity during the time of French revolution there were some radicals like louis blance this radical called for revolutionary actions however they failed to bring Socialism because they lacked the proper understanding of Capitalism According to Karl Marx the chances of success of revolutionary action are minimal when it is not based on sound theory.
If state is absent who will be handling the collective task?

• For example - revolt of 1857 in India failed because revolutionaries lack the understanding of colonialism it was an action not guided by theory.

• After French revolution also there was growth of Socialist ideas in different countries in Europe like Britain and France. Some of the prominent Socialist scholars include St. Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen.

• These scholar represent evolutionary peaceful approach towards Socialism they preferred for appealing to the conscience of the capitalist Marx called them utopians.
Marx believe that Socialism can never come by peaceful means in the words of Karl Marx “violence is the midwife of change”.

There has not been a single birth in this world without “bloodshed”.

These Socialist lack a scientific program of action and so they were utopians.

If state is absent who will be handling the collective task?
Marx called his approach or theory and “praxis” which means theory leading to action and action leading to theory.

In the words of Karl Marx philosophers have tried to interpret the world what matters is to change the world.

Marx called working classes to unite. In the words of Marx 

“Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains”
Perspective of Marx as Thinker

- He is Materialistic.
- Matter is Real.
- Idea is false Consciousness.
- According to Marx idea and ideology are False Consciousness religion is opium of masses.
Is Marx a Scientist?

- 1. According to Marx => He is Scientist.
- 2. According to followers of Marx => He is God.
Thoughts of Karl Marx

Young Marx
- Alienation

Mature Marx
- "Communist Manifesto"

Economic and Philosophic manuscript
Other Famous work of Karl Marx

- Das Capital
- The critique of Political economy,
- The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte
Followers of young Marx are known as Neo Marxist. This book was published many years after death of Marx and was purposefully suppressed.

This school of Marxism is called as “Frankfurt school” or critical school.
Marx of Communist Manifesto is a politician.
Followers of mature Marx are called as orthodox Marxist the project Marx as a God.
Soviet school of Marxism represented by Lenin.
INFLUENCES ON KARL MARX

• French revolution - reasons origin of Socialist ideas.

• 2. British school of political economy represented by Adam Smith he was critical of theory of Laissez-faire State. Critique of political economy.

• 3. German philosophy – Hegel
Laissez-faire

- Definition of **laissez-faire**: The idea that the government should not interfere with or regulate industries and business.
  - An economic policy of letting owners and business set working condition without interference.
  - This policy favors a free market unregulated by the government.

- What are the advantages/disadvantages of a laissez-faire economy?
Concepts of Marx

1. Historical materialism
2. Dialectical materialism
3. Theory of class and class struggle
4. Analysis of capitalism
5. Theory of revolution
6. Socialism
7. Communism
8. Alienation
INTRODUCTION

- 1. Hegel was the official philosopher of Germany.
- 2. Hegel has equated state with god. In the words of Hegel" state is the march of god on the earth."
Since Hegel was telling that state is the march of god on earth and Karl Marx wanted to inspire workers to revolt against the state Marx had to first show that Hegel was spreading false consciousness.

Marx has Criticized Hegel for promoting false ideas.

According to Karl Marx “Hegel is standing on his head. He has to stand on his feet”.
Hegel is idealist.

According to Hegel idea is real absolute idea is God.

God is ultimate reality Marx was materialist who held that idea is False conscienteness religion is opium of masses.

He denied the existence of spirit or God. Marx held that “God has not made men, men has made God.”
Philosophy of History

- Meaning - Understanding the laws of history factors shaping history.
According to Hegel's idea is the moving force of History. History is the product of conflict of ideas.
God, Firstly Created non living things and
Then living things, in living things first created plant -birds -animal -men -family -civil society -State.
In each creation reflection of God is there as we move the representation of God increases.
There is more God in plants than livings things and more God in men than plants.
How we can say.

In comparison to animals, spirit or conscience is more developed in men. In State there is 100% reflection of God. Thus universal spirit unfolds itself and it completely comes into existence in the State. State is highest creation of God."humans History ends with creation of State". In works of Hegel "State is march of God on earth"

Hence “when we worship State we worship God”.
KARL MARX POINT OF VIEW

- Marx has to contradict the theory of Hegel because he wanted workers to revolt against the State.
- Hence Marx suggests that Hegel is spreading False Consciousness. Marx had to deny that idea is real.
Hence Marx criticizes Hegel and suggest that if he considers idea as a real “Hegel is standing on his head he has to stand on his foot feet to understand that it is matter rather than idea which is real” Marx also rejects the theory that God has created men.
KARL MARX POINT OF VIEW

• On the other hand he established that men has created God.
• Hence for Karl Marx intellectual class is a exploiter class, they developed the theories which misguide and justify exploitation.
The concept of Dialectics was given by Socrates.

- it is a Socrates method of understanding the truth, it includes logical argumentation, it is represented by steps known as thesis means arguments, antithesis means counter arguments and synthesis which reflects consensus, the process continue on multiple steps till ultimate synthesis or consensus is arrived at.

Hegel has applied the concept to understand the nature of movement in History. History is a movement of idea, the nature of movement is Dialectical means conflict of ideas

example

Fascism vs democracy -

Capitalism vs Socialism- conflict of ideas in History
Hegel has given three laws of Dialectics

Unity of Opposites

Negation of Negations

Quantity changes into Quality.
Unity of Opposites

• For every idea, there exist an opposite idea. Thus contradiction is always present. This contradiction is the moving force.

Example

• Good v/s Evil
• Capitalism v/s Socialism
• Ram v/s Ravan.
2. Negation of Negation

The nature of movement is such that negativity gets negated.

It means lesser truth will be eliminated and bigger truth will move forward. When all negativity ends, contradiction ends, movement ends. This phenomena is explained as “the end of history”
3. Quantity change into quality suggest that change does not happen overnight. Quantitative changes brings a turning point that it appears as if it is a qualitative change. New is not completely separated from old, it is grounded in the old.

For Example

- When we boil liquid it gradually start changing into vapours and a turning point comes when liquid changes into gaseous state.
Karl Marx has adopted Hegel's dialectics with the only difference that Marx suggests that history changes not because of the dialectics of ideas but dielectrics of matter.

- Not dialectics of ideologies but the dialectics at the level of mode of production.
- Hegel's theory is known as dialectics idealism and Marx theory is known as dialectics materialism.
"The real is the rational and the rational is the real. Hegel
1. Real is Rational

The first statement explain Hegel's epistemology.

Like Plato, He believes that idea is real.

According to Hegel, Real is rational means reality is what which can be understood by the use of reason. Idea is understood by the use of reason, Hence idea is real.

Since god is absolute idea god is ultimate reality.

Real is rational is similar to Plato's view that “reality is shadow of idea”.
Hegel spreading false consciousness.
He is standing on his head.

Hegel proves state is god.
Family +altruism- Particularism.
• Hegel is spreading “false consciousness” Hegel is standing on his head.
• State is not an institution of universal altruism.
• State is a class institution, it is an instrument of bourgeoisie class.
• It is an institution of coercion.
• In the world of the Karl Marx, “state is an executive committee of the bourgeoisie class.”
**Historical Materialism**

- Materialistic interpretation of history
- Economic interpretation of history

**What is the essence of it?**

- History is shaped by economic factors

**What is the historical materialism?**

- According to Marx historical materialism is a scientific explanation of history.
- Is it really scientific explanation - no - it is Marx discourse?
To understand history scientifically we have to understand the first historical act of man.

In the words of Karl Marx "in order to create history, man has to live. In order to live, man has to eat, in order to eat, man has to produce". hence the first historical act of the man was production and not thinking.

It is for the sake of production, man enters into society.

Hence economics structures, the structure of the production is "the basic structure of the society"
1. Power & Social Structure

- Education
- Superstructure
- Politics
- Family
- Law
- Media
- Religion
- Economic Base

Means of Production
Relations of Production
1. Economy is the basic structure.

2. Other institutions are parts of superstructure.

3. Superstructure is not independent of the base, superstructure is the reflection of base.
• 4. Those who control economic structure also control other structures.

• 5. Super structures also give illusion of neutrality but they are not

• 6. State, church, media, they are instruments of the dominant class when we look at state and we think that state is neutral
• it is our *false - consciousness*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can workers expect justice from the state</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whether situation of working classes will improve if we bring political reform</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is Required?</td>
<td>change in the basic structure means change in the mode of production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is term used in marxism for change in the mode of production</td>
<td>Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can revolution be Peaceful</td>
<td>No, because dominant class will always resist. Hence, revolution has to be Violent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An Outline of Historical Materialism
(Process of Historical Development)

Society
- Base (Substructure)
  - Mode of Production
    - Forces of Production
      - Means of Production (Tools and Equipment)
      - Labour Power (Human Knowledge and Skills)
    - Relations of Production
      - Social Formations
        - Slave-Owning Society
        - Feudal Society
        - Capitalist Society
      - Contending Classes
        - Master and Slave
        - Lord and Serf
        - Capitalist and Worker
- Superstructure
  - (Legal and Political Structure, Religion, Morals, Social Practices, Literature, Art, Culture, etc.)

THEORY OF REVOLUTION
Nature of relation between Classes-

• The nature of relationship is inherently conflictual that is dialectical because there cannot be any harmony of interest between exploiter & exploited.

What is the Message.

• The real identity of man is identity of class (the concept of economic man)
• Religion, nation is false consciousness, one has to see as to which class he or she belongs to rather than which religion or which nation.
According to Marx, workers of the world have one interest, Hence he suggest workers of the world to unite.
3. Nation and religion are the inventions of bourgeoisie class to divide solidarity of workers.

- By this theory the interest of Muslim poor and Hindu poor is same. The interest of Muslim poor and rich Muslim or poor Hindu and reach Hindu is conflictual.
- It also implies real politics is politics of class.
According to Lenin, politics is concentrated economics. According to Marx, State is a class instrument. In the words of Karl Marx, “state is the executive committee of the Bourgeoisie class” According to Marx, those who control the economic structure, also control all other structures.

“Ideas of ruling classes have been the ruling ideas”.
"Religion is opium of masses"
"God has not made Man, man has made God"

Approach to answer of above this statement are from theory of historical materialism.

Context

- Criticism of Hegel.
- Hegel has given idealistic interpretation of history
MARX ON HEGAL

• Spreading False consciousness, standing on his head, if stand on feet then he could understand “matter is moving force of History”.
• Describe base and super structural model.
According to Marx, the origin of society is in need of men for satisfaction of his appetite. Thus, it is for the production man that forms the society.

- Economic structure is the basic structure. State religion and other institutions are just reflections.
- It lacks the autonomy of its own.
- Workers cannot expect justice or neutrality. Hence the only option is revolution.

Describe base and super structural model.
Marx does not believe in concept of consciousness, soul or spirit.

He believes that consciousness is just an illusion, hence nothing can be achieved by appealing to the Consciousness. Hence from Marx perspective Gandhi's appeal to the Consciousness of this capitalist (trusteeship model) and Gandhiji belief in harmony of class interest is an illusion.
Marx

False consciousness

True consciousness.

Source of false consciousness

Ideology, religion, intellectuals.
Source of True Consciousness

When workers will not understand their reality through ideas or intellectuals.

Rather they will understand their reality by objective understanding of their existence.

False consciousness is subjective understanding. True consciousness is objective and true understanding.
Marx did not want masses to be guided by any leader. They should develop consciousness of their own by understanding the real condition of their existence. Hence, the revolution is spontaneous and it is bound to happen.
Max has categorised the state of consciousness into two types:

1. **Class in itself**
   - It is the lower level of consciousness when the person is aware about his class and the other class.

2. **Class for itself**
   - It is a revolutionary consciousness. When the exploitation increases to such an extent that it becomes unbearable than exploited will take up the arm.
   - For example - Indian independence movement.
Marxism was against capitalism. Call for revolution by Marx is only for the workers in countries where capitalism is fully developed.

According to Karl Marx, communism will come and is bound to come in countries where capitalism is fully developed.

So from Marx prospective ideal place for communist revolution was Britain. In practice in none of the countries where capitalist is advances like US, UK communism came.
• Why?
• The explanation is given by Lenin and according to Lenin, the most important factor has been imperialism and colonialism.
• Since lot of wealth started coming from colonies these states could have lot of resources in their hands which they have utilized to avoid revolution
• The situation of workers improved.
Russia was primarily a feudal society and capitalism had just started. Lenin thought that revolution can be brought in Russia.

When exploitation increases, workers develop true consciousness, class in itself becomes class for itself.

Lenin was a man of action.

He thought that he can cut short the history instead of waiting for revolutionary consciousness to come on his own. Consciousness can be infused in workers or poor.
The communist party, in words of Lenin communist party to be "vanguard" of revolution. communist party will be led by middle class intellectual.

- Lenin himself belong to middle class.
What was position of Karl Marx

1. Marx was against concept of communist party.

2. Marx wanted masses to develop true consciousness on their own.

3. Masses should lead themselves. Only when masses are fully aware exploitation of masses can be avoided.

4. Marx considers intellectuals as enemies of working classes.
WHAT WAS CONSEQUENCES OF LENIN'S ACTION?

• Russian revolution was led by communist party.
• After revolution power came into the hands of the leaders of the communist party. Once power came to their hands power was never shifted to masses.
• Russia became dictatorship of communist party. All powers got concentrated in the hands of the top leaders/ elites - oligarchy.
• Russia and China both came to be known as totalitarian societies.
Who is revolutionary class according to Marx?

- (Proletariat- means -Property Less).
- At the time of karl marx workers were the proletariat in western countries. Marx also uses the term lumpenproletariat
- Even lumpenproletariat are not revolutionaries
• Since Russia was a semi feudal society.
• working classes were very small in numbers.
• Hence Lenin brought Peasantry within the fold of revolutionary class.
• Can peasantry be revolutionary according to marx -no.

• Why- They may have some property and they are not genuine proletariat.

Lenin's point of view.
1. Lenin brought peasantry but in revolution the prime role is of leaders and secondary role of peasantry.
2. In Mao peasantry is at the center stage, thus the main revolutionary classes.

It is to be noted that maoism is not against capitalism. It is against feudalism and imperialism.
Q. It is not our consciousness that determines our existence. It is our existence that determines our consciousness.

Above statement is from Marx concept of historical materialism. Above statement explains the epistemology of Marx and ontology of Marx statement is in concept of criticisms of Hegel.
Explain Hegel's point of view

• Hegel is an idealist and according to Hegel real is rational which means idea shape the matter that is idea is real. Hegel has justified state representing march of god on earth or absolute idea.

What Marx say on Hegel

• Marx is a materialist who wants to inspire the working class for the revolution against the state. Hence he suggest that Hegel is standing on his head he has to stand on his feet to understand that it is matter rather than idea that shape reality.
In his theory of historical materialism, Marx has shown that economic structure is the basic structure of the society. Religion, politics, culture, idea, ideology are parts of the superstructure.

Superstructure is not independent on base, nature of superstructure is shaped by the base.
In the words of Karl Marx “the class which control the economic structure also controls the ideological structure”.

In every epoch/age the ideas of the ruling classes have been the ruling ideas.

Thus for the Karl Marx Idea is “false consciousness.”

Even in context of religion Marx suggest “religion is opium of masses”.

Hence he rejects the view that consciousness (idea) determine existence (matter).
Purpose of Marx to suggest that idea is false consciousness.

- Inspire the working class for the revolution, hence he suggests not to be guided by idea of the ruling classes that state is a march of good on earth.
- On the other hand he suggest masses to understand their real conditions of existence.
- Understand their existential conditions objectively rather than subjectively.
According to Marx once workers will develop "true consciousness" they will revolt against the system. Once true consciousness develops "class in itself becomes class for itself"
Purpose of Marx to suggest that idea is false consciousness.

Conclusion

- All theories are discourse as suggested by Foucault if real is rational and rational is real is a discourse by Hegel above statement is the discourse of Marx.
Dialectical - Materialism
- Dialectical materialism of Karl Marx is inspired by the dialectical idealism of Hegel.
- The only difference is that if Hegel talks about the dialectics of ideas.
- Marx talk about the dialectics of matter.
- Through the concept of dielectrics they have explained the nature of movement in history.

Dialectical - Materialism
The nature of movement in history is dialectical which means movement is because of contradiction.
Till contradiction exists, history exist, contradiction ends, history ends.
In Hegel contradiction ends with the formation of state.
in Marx contradiction ends with establishment of communism.

Dialectical - Materialism
Marx has also given 3 Laws of Dialectics

1. Unity of opposites
2. Negation of Negations
3. Quantity changes into quality
Marx theory of class struggle.

• “The History of all hitherto existing societies has been the history of class struggle”.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage of History</th>
<th>Key Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Prehistoric Primitive</td>
<td>• Property was held in common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Slave Society</td>
<td>• Master versus slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Feudalism</td>
<td>• Lord versus serfs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Capitalism</td>
<td>• Capitalist v/s workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Socialism</td>
<td>• Workers v/s capitalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Communism</td>
<td>• Stateless society, state ends because class ends:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Classless society, no class struggle, history ends.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• The history of all..... is one of the most famous statement of communist manifesto.
• In communist manifesto marx appeals workers for revolution.
• In order to inspire workers for revolution, Marx suggest that economic structure is the basic structure of the society. All social relations are the relations of production. The real identity of man is the identity of class.
According to him, society can be divided into two classes, for owners or explorers and non owners or exploited. The relation between exploiter and exploited are always dialectical in nature. Hence class struggle is invertible. He suggests that in all stages of human history there has been class struggle.
• In slave society, there was struggle between masters and slaves, in feudalism struggle between lords and serfs.
• In capitalism struggle between capitalist and workers.
Thus class struggle is invertible as a result of revolution socialism comes into existence. New workers became the dominant class and capitalist the exploited class.
It is for this reason socialism in Marxist discourse is also known as dictatorship of proletariat. In communism classes will end, since classes ends, class struggle ends history ends.

In communism because classes ends state whither away.

Thus in above statement we see the application of Marx concept of historical materialism and dialectical materialism.
Marx was also influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution based on principle of struggle for existence and natural selection.

The history of human society is a history of class struggle cannot be considered as the scientific explanation of history.
• It is a Marxist discourse to inspire the working classes for revolution.

• Hence it tells more about the politics of Marx rather than explanation of history.
Capitalism
"Capitalists dig their own Graves".

Theme of statement.

End of capitalism is an inevitable.

Why- capitalism is full of contradiction.
Analysis of Capitalism

What Contradictions

Contradiction between Labour and Capital.

Contradiction between Liberty and Equality.

Contradiction between Man and Society.
What is the problem of capitalism

- Capitalism is based on profit.
- In order to maintain profit, cost of production has to be kept low.
- In order to keep cost of production low wages of worker has to be kept low.
1. The capitalist law of wages ensure that wages should be enough for workers to survive and come back to the work next day.

2. Worker cannot be left with surplus if left with surplus they will not come back to work.
3. Capitalism is based on "Cut Throat Competition", in order to keep cost of production low capitalist may procure machine.

- When one capitalist does so other are bound to do so.
- The result is displacement of workers since more workers are in supply than what is demand, wages will go down further, the situation of worker will become worse.
Since capitalism is based on cut throat competition. It has Monopolistic trends.

Only few will survive the competition and others will be out gradually, even the middle class will start losing jobs.
• Middle class will also be joining the proletariats.
• Since the number and pain of masses is increasing, consciousness will also keep on increasing. Capitalism suffers from the phases of crisis. Since more and more people are proletariats there will be too many products in the market but very few buyers.
• This will slow down the economics activities.
• This will further increase hardship of workers.
• A point will come when there will be complete disequilibrium in the society, extreme poverty on one hand and extreme wealth on the other, wealth is concentrated in the hands of few and majority are in the state of poverty.
• This is the turning point when class in itself change into class for itself. It will result in to destruction of capitalist and workers capturing the means of production and establishing the dictatorship of proletariats.

• Thus capitalist dig their own graves. As per law of history capitalism is bound to end under the weight of contradiction.

• Hence he suggest that “workers of the world unite you have nothing to loose except your chains”.
Concept of surplus value.
Concept of surplus value.

Marxist concept of profit.

Marx has explained following concepts:

1. Use Value
2. Exchange Value
3. Surplus Value
Any commodity has its use values. It depends on utility of that commodity for us.

Amount of money we would like to give to own the commodity which has use value for us.

It means profit. It means the surplus earned over the cost of production. Marx believes that surplus value is a source of exploitation of workers.
1. Capitalist does not share profit with worker.

2. According to Marx capitalist should share profit because the value of the product is because of the Labour.

3. Capitalist has not paid adequate wages as a cost of production.

4. Surplus value becomes the basis of capital and so exploitation. it gives bargaining power to the capitalist.
5. Since worker is not left with any surplus, workers does not have any bargaining power.

6. More worker works more surplus he generates, more bargaining power he creates for the capitalist. Thus gives greater opportunity for its own exploitation.

7. Capitalism forces workers to work against itself.
   - His own labour becomes source of exploitation.
1. Capitalism undermines the importance of work.

2. Work is not for the enjoyment but for profit. Work is under compulsion. Work is just for the satisfaction of appetite. There is no scope for creativity. It becomes enemy of the workers itself.
Alienation
Introduction ➔ Concept of alienation was described by Marx in his book economic and philosophic manuscripts.

- it is one of the major contribution of young Marx.
- Here Marx tries to understand the meaning of freedom.
Sources of influence of this concept of Marx

1. Hegel
2. Feurbach
ALIENATION

- Literal meaning of alienation ➔ estranged
- Alienation means estranged or separation
- Men’s separation from himself.
- It means we are not what we are, we are unable to do what we want to do, we are unable to act as per our true nature.
| Context | • The freedom in capitalism is just an illusion or false consciousness.  
• The so-called freedom is actually alienation. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>What is Freedom</strong></td>
<td>• Acting as per the true nature.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **What is true nature of man according to Karl Marx** | • 1. Man is social by nature.  
• 2. Man is creative by nature. |
Capitalism destroys "human-essence".
In capitalism there is no freedom.
Power does not lie with the man, power lies with the market.
According to Hegel, in this world, Man gets alienated from god. Hence man remains dissatisfied or unhappy. Alienation of man ends in state. State is march of god. we get true happiness and freedom. when we follow the laws of state.
Feurbach's concept of Alienation

• He held that religion or god is the cause of alienation.
• Man’s alienation ends only when we come out of religion.
• Exactly opposite to Hegel, he held that god is a source of alienation and unhappiness. According to him, god is created by man, whatever qualities we like we combine and create god. God reminds us of our weakness. Hence god is a source of unhappiness.
• Onlyias02@gmail.com