

Politics as a science. ①

Observation. Examination of some (2015)

The definition of politics ~~was~~ as a science has to do with the methodological approaches to the study of politics. The requirements of a science are quite different from the requirements of an art. However before we go into the science of politics let us examine a few more definitions of what politics is.

Robert Dahl defined politics as the capacity of political actor A to get political actor B to do what B would not normally want to do and to prevent B from doing what B would normally want to do. This calls for a sanction of coercive means through which to make sure that B does what he/she would not normally want to do. Such means is allocated in the apparatus of the

Critically

the
discuss

- the concept
of politics
is science

of the state and it is for this reason that politics is defined as a struggle in the direction of a acquiring power in the state.

Politics is power in a double sense as already pointed out it is a means of getting things done.

It however also involve a vision of society into which ~~appropriate~~ ^{Pro-party} relationships between and human beings play an important role.

Pro-party relationships are one relationships of super-ordination and subordination. They necessarily entail the authority and influence of one group of people over another group of people as Max Weber put the specificity of the modern state does lie in the objectives it sets out to achieve but rather in the means - the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given group-territory.

Introduction to Political Science.

- ① Definitions, approaches to the study of politics. Nature of politics

10 pages

Politics as a social science

✓ Politics is a social science because its subject matter and scope has to do with the relationships, b/w & among social phenomena. Aristotle defined man as a political animal meaning that he tends to associate with others within the context of a political association called the state. Politics has therefore many features in common, with the other social sciences such as Economics, Sociology, Psychology & development studies.

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All social sciences are distinguished from the natural sciences in terms of their subject matter. Moreover, social sciences are also part of what are called the humanities.

POLITICS as a social Science.

Politics has also in common with the other social sciences the methodological approach unlike the natural sciences. The social sciences deal with a subject matter that is fluid & is in a constant state of motion. It is possible in natural sciences to carry out investigations in a laboratory in which disturbing factors are excluded, not so in the social sciences. However, a similar procedure is adopted by the use of the Latin expression Ceteris paribus meaning all things being equal. The significance of this expression is that while a social scientist focuses on a particular relationship between two social phenomena, it is assumed that all other disturbing factors are held constant. Of course the other ~~part~~ factors are all the time, at work. But this is a convenient device enabling us to focus

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an attention on a particular relationship.

METHODOLOGY IN POLITICS

The deductive & inductive approaches in the social sciences.

There are two fundamental approaches to social science investigation. The deductive method proceeds from a hypothetical statement relating one social phenomenon to another. For example a salary is the price of labour. it then proceeds to figure out at the logical level what could happen if the hypothesis tend out to be ^{correct} ~~collect~~. It is important to stress the fact that this is done at the level of reasoning. the next step is to subject the hypothesis to empirical ~~error~~ ^{empirical} evidence. The facts will either confirm ~~confirm~~ ^{confirm} the hypothesis or verify it. In the case of the former, we re-examine the hypothesis figure out what went wrong. In the case of the latter we have a validated general theory confirming the relationship b/w

is it true that a price is determined by the level of the reasoning

Politics are social science

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one phenomenon and another. Repeated verifications of the relationship give us what are called Social Laws, differentiated from the Laws of Nature for example.

deductive is for going to general

Thus, in the deductive method, we proceed from the general hypothetical statements, to its verification by empirical or observable facts. The

The risk of deductive is subjectivity

risk in the deductive method is of the subjectivity. One should be aware of ones subjective pre-conceptions

The inductive approach, is the

know general from specific

exact opposite of the deductive approach. Its starting point is an exact observation of relationships b/w and among social phenomena. From this empirical

observation, the next stage is a general statement relating one social phenomenon to another. For example, it may be

observed that in december, mangoes are relatively cheap but they are abundant.

It may thus be concluded that the greater the supply of a commodity, all

⑧ things being equal, -the Lower its price
Just as in -the deductive method, repeated
verifications lead us to general theories &
eventually social laws.

The risk in -the inductive method
is that an observation may be taken
in complete and leave out certain
parts.

The
Prob
is
mainly

③

Positivism
Positivity & Normativity in the
Social Sciences. | social

(i) Positivity as a concept has its
origin in the founding father
of sociology known as
Auguste Comte. In the 1830's
he published a series of volumes
with a common title philosophie
positive (La philosophie positive)
positive in the sense that it
was based on -the aposteriori as
opposed to a priori empirical
observation. As close as possible
to the procedures in the natural
sciences. The positive therefore
means what is based on

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factual evidence as opposed to reasoning

Social Scientists are divided over the merits or facts and values. On the one hand are those social scientists who argue that value freedom is indispensable in social science investigation. S. Scientist are aged not to bring bring their subjective ideological preconceptions into their scientific work. Science has to do with, what is and not what ought to be.

^{Other}
~~After~~ social scientist are of the opinion that it is virtually impossible to divorce values from facts. The social scientist cannot deal with the myriad facts that confront him, an initial act or selection imposes itself on him or her. Such an act or selection is in fact an act of evaluation. The social scientist focuses on those facts which are of human interests. It is interesting from a human point of view to investigate the number

spots on a book cover which has been lying in the library unborrowed for a long time. On the other hand it is of human interest to investigate into the question of how many students visit the library per day.

Values and facts in political science

In its great tradition, from its scientific origins in the work Plato up to the beginning of the 21st Century science is had been a normative discipline. It raises questions such as what is nature of man and what kind of stage is most congruent with the nature of man. These are essentially value judgements. Value freedom is in bound up with value judgement in political science.

What makes political science a science are the methodological approach through which political phenomena are analysed.

According to the German sociologist a proponent of value freedom. Max

Weber, it is wrong for a social scientist to bring his work as an activist in a party into line with a social scientist as a cadre of the party. It is appropriate to put forward the merits of party's manifesto and programme with a view of winning as many members as possible over the party from the other parties. In this then one might argue the other parties have nothing to offer. They have no teeth with which to bite. The same activist however as a political scientist will analyse party commercials in the country, their ideologies and their social bases. In doing so he will be guided by scientific ~~criteria~~ ^{criteria}. It must be pointed out however that the controversy over value freedom and value commitment continues to rage in all the social sciences. In fact it is not absent from the natural sciences as well. Natural scientist who invented the atom-bomb in the cause of the second world war could not ~~oblivion~~ oblivion of the political

consequences or uses of their discovery.

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Political Conflict, Sources & Conflict Management

Conflict is ubiquitous ^{found everywhere} in modern societies.

There is domestic conflict, b/w husband and wife, parents and their children etc. There is also conflict b/w employees & employers, which is managed through collective bargaining. There is racial conflict, ethnic conflict and nationalistic conflict.

The focus of attention however is on political conflict & its management.

Sometimes have defined politics ^{conflict} as a settled way of resolving disagreements.

In the Country Conflict has been an important element of our political scene. The transition from the situation of one party state to a multiparty system involved the conflictual questioning of the legitimacy of a one party state. There were those who supported a one party state & those who were against. The

Supremacy of UNIP over state institutions was embodied in article 41 of 1973 Zambian Constitution. According to this article, there could only be one political Organisation. Professional Associations such as trade unions were recognised, but political pluralism was rejected.

The MMD emerged as a protest movement against this state of political affairs, eventually the movement was made into a political party which won a landslide victory in 1991 in November. The run up to these elections was a period of intense political conflict. Entering sharp

ideological differences and conceptions of an ideal type of society of Zambia. The ideology of humanism was represented by the Afro-democratic ideology.

The Run up of 1996 Elections

The run up to the 1996 presidential

and parliamentary elections were dominated by the issue ~~of~~ who was an authentic Zambian Citizen, and who qualified to become a Presidential Candidate. The Investigative Commission of Inquiry report recommended that the Constitution should be amended through a Constituent assembly or national referendum as opposed to its being done through parliament. Eventually after much debate, pro-^{for} & ^{against} long, the Constitution was enacted through parliament paving the way of holding elections. In the process, UNIP decided not to participate in the Elections. These are examples of political conflicts. This political conflict differs with other forms of conflict in the sense that it is directed at the state & aims at influencing the exercise of power and the distribution of power, within a state & b/w states.

(B) THE FUNCTIONALIST APPROACH TO POLITICAL CONFLICT

Functionalists recognise the necessity for

physical compulsion. This derives from the influence of a political thought of Max Weber. Max Weber argued that the specificity of modern state does not lie in the objectives he pursues but rather in the means specific to it, the monopoly of physical force considered the legitimate within a given time frame.

However, functionalist regard recourse to physical force as the last resort. The normal process of resolving political conflict is through dialogue, reconciliation and arbitration. Conflicts are also resolved through competitive campaigns during elections.

The Marxist approach to conflict and conflict resolution is quite different from that of the functionalist. Marxist talk of class conflict. This kind of conflict is regarded as inherent in modern societies and not susceptible to arbitration, reconciliation and dialogue. This is because class conflict has its foundation in economic relationships and can only be resolved with a change of economic transformation of these relationships. There is social order and social order. According to this view, political can

only be reserved through the consequence of pure
by given class. This kind of thinking is
changing in the context of nuclear power.
The ~~prospect~~ prospect of the total destruction of
humanity through accumulated
nuclear arsenals has led to a change of
war as politics in favour in resolving political
conflicts by sitting around a table and
reasoning things out

THEORIES OF THE STATE.

A. The Marxist Theory of the State

Karl Marx was born in 1818 to 1883. In
1841, he defended his PhD Thesis in philosophy.
Therefore, upon he intended to embark on a
university career as a teacher. He was
however, discredited by the fact that one
of his colleagues was dismissed from
the university because of his radical
views. He therefore decided to venture
into journalism, and eventually became
MD of a liberal news paper. It was
in the course of his work that

he came for the first time into contact with economic issues with which he had had nothing to do at the university.

His career as a journalist came to an end when he resigned his post because the owners of the paper feared his radical views. They suspected that Conservative gov't of the day might suppress the paper. Marx took advantage of this opportunity to do two things. To reach the public stage & go into intensive study and also to get married. In the course of his study

of G.W.F. Hegel's philosophy of right, he came to the conclusion that forms of the state cannot be understood on their own, nor can they be understood as the march of God on Earth, but that they had to be understood in the context of their economic anatomy.

study of this anatomy took him to the most industrialised country of the time → Britain - and to two of the most eminent political economists of the time; Adam Smith (An Inquiry

into -the nature and cause of -the wealth of Nations) and David Ricardo (Principles of Political Economy and Taxation)

The intensive study of his works led to -the following results: 1848, the Communist Manifesto, 1867, Das Kapital (Capital) Volume I Volume II and III were put together & edited after his death by his friend and the close collaborator Engels.

What is in Das Kapital? This work constitutes a critical analysis of the whole capitalist system, divided into 3 parts. Volume I, focuses on the process of production, Volume II deals with the process of circulation, Volume III, combines the process of production & that of exchange to constitute the capitalist system as a whole.

In his analysis of Capitalism, Marx proceeds from a philosophical position. His starting point is the conception of ^{man} ~~money~~ as an individual with uniquely human attributes or potentials which he/she develops fully. The Capitalist system is therefore seen from a point of view of whether it enabled man to develop all ~~his~~ his/her

Potentialities. On this ^{Score} scope he found the Capitalist System ^{lacking} wanting. However, Marx's views of Capitalism ^{have both} about positive and negatives as we see later.

Surplus Value as the Essence of Capitalism

What is surplus value? The starting point is the concept of value. This concept did not originate with Marx. It went back to Adam Smith, the founding father of Modern Economics. Adam Smith dealt with two aspects of value:

(i) Use value

(ii) Exchange value

(i) Use value

→ is what makes something useful. Eg. the use value of a loaf of bread, is that it satisfies human needs.

(ii) Exchange value

→ on the market has to do with a relationship b/w one commodity of service &

Another. In this sense, an unbroken ^{exercise} ~~so~~ books can be exchanged for a cup. What does this mean. It means - the amount of labor that goes into manufacturing exercise books is the same amount of labor going into a cup. Therefore, the exercise books and a cup are of equivalent value. The concept of value is defined as the amount of labor that is socially needed to produce something. The

question is the value of labor power. Labor power is the commodity like any other commodity with certain special characteristics. The value of labor power is determined by the price of basic commodities required to produce & reproduce. The capacity of labor physical and mental of the laborer. It is also determined by the price of commodities required to bring up a family. ~~Ability~~ Moore's full-time housewife, must also be taken into account in determining the value of labor power. Finally, the culture level of a given society has reached enters into the determination of the value of labor power e.g., bread, may be regarded as a necessity given a cultural level by laborers have reached today.

The labor component
THE LABOUR CONTRACT.

Labor power or the Capacity to labor can be sold & bought. Historically, this has not always been the case. It becomes so when two conditions are met:

(i) The direct producer or Labor, must not be under the dependency of a master such as is the case for a slave; He must also have lost his objective means of material existence. When that happens the Laborer is left with one ^{profession} profession, he/his Capacity to Labor. But nobody can eat his or her Capacity to Labor, in fact, without nourishment, the Laborer soon dies. It is therefore a misfortune to have a Capacity to Labor which cannot find a buyer, in fact the Capitalist employer buys Labor power. Marx assumes that this Labor power is bought & sold at its market value. Normally this is not the case. In this country we have had many examples of workers allegedly paid under the value of their Labor power.

The Capitalist employer puts work, labor power that he has bought. This means that he makes a worker well. The process of production

is divided into two parts: The 1st part reproduces the value of the workers of labor power in the form of a salary: The second part involves mental and physical activity but is not paid for. To illustrate; take an eight hour working day, five hours is equivalent to the value of labor power: 3 hrs amounts to Surplus Labor time. When converted into money through the process of exchange, 3 hrs becomes Surplus value. Consequently it is incorrect from Marxian point of view to say that a salary is the price of labor, out of the eight hours of labor in activity, only five hours amount to a salary.

* Exchange value
The money form of
labor power
to buy a loaf of bread

The Capitalist System can be referred to be ~~paid~~ based on ~~any~~ ^{an} paid labor. This is somewhat paradoxical, because it is generally believed that everything is paid for in this system, but Marx states that if a capitalist pay the full value of labor power, the system would not exist. Comparing (Cf) of the slave system in which there appears to be no paid labor Thus surplus value is ~~renewed~~ motive force of the Capitalist system and the Capitalist himself personifies surplus value. In the course of its development through the re-investment of surplus value, the Capitalist system divides society into two, one

section constituting the rich few and the other ^{calls} ^{class} ^{cause}
section constituting the poorer many. Marx
to this the absolute Law of Capitalist
accumulation. This it is on the basis of this
accumulation of Capital that Marx works
out his political theory.

Marxian Political Theory: The theory of the state.

In Marxian theory, politics does not have
absolute autonomy. It only enjoys relative autonomy.
In the final analysis, politics is derived from
Economics. It's in particular a product of a critical
analysis of the working class condition. The concept
of class will be the object of an analysis
takes on. What matters now is to define the state.

In the Communist Manifesto, the state is defined
as the Executive Committee, whose task is to
manage the ^{elaborate} ~~elaborate~~ ^{affairs} of the whole
Bourgeoisie ~~elsewhere~~
defines the state as the Organised force
of the society. We may define the state from

the Marxian point of view as the Centre
for the ~~exercise~~ ^{exercise} of power. Power itself may
be defined as the capacity for the social acts
to realise its objectives in oppositional
relationship ~~target~~ to the capacity of other
classes to do the same.

The state does not have power in itself.

Each time references is made to the state power, one should understand it to be the power of social classes. The class that is economically dominant. Exercises each political power and dominance over other classes through the state apparatus both coercive and ideological. The coercive instrument of power through which the monopoly physical forces within a given hierarchy is exercised are armed forces the policy, the legal system and the administrative infant structure. These instruments makes it possible to oblige people to do what they would not want to do and prevent them from doing what they normally want them to do. It is for this reason that acquisition of power in the state is the strategic objective of the working class movement. Without power in the state, workers cannot liberate themselves economically.

There are also ideological instruments of power. An Ideology is a system of ideas and practices which tends to both explain and justify a given set up of political, social and economic relationships. The concept is derived from the French revolution of 1789 in that revolution a

✓ group of intellectuals were charged with responsibility of explaining and justifying what the revolution was all about. The 3 interest system which was about to come into being had to be explained. In this context humanism as an ideology focused on the centrality of the human being as God's highest creation. The liberal democratic ideology of MMD focuses on the enterprise in economic activities and on a plurality of parties in the political system. The ideological organs are the mass media both print and electronic.

✓ Marxian theory does not regard the mass media as neutral but rather it regards them as rivers in the struggle of the conquest of power.

To somewhat, the Marxian theory of the state regards the state as an engine through which one class dominates another. To determine which is the dominant class, one needs to know which class controls the economy. It is not those who occupy the highest positions in govt such as presidency, ministers, but constitute the dominant class.

✓ at most they serve the interest of - the economically dominant class by ideologically organizing and administering the affairs of the state.

The Neo-Marxist Theory of the State

Neo, stands for new. Neo-Marxist means those who have continued the tradition of Marxism under new conditions.

The Neo-Marxist Theory of Imperialism

The first theorist of modern imperialism is the radical thinker called Hobson. He explained imperialism by the concept of under-consumption. Though those countries that expand into other countries, do so because they annually produce too much and do not know what to do with it. The cause of this is that the workers of these countries are paid too low wages, to consume the surplus produced hence the necessity to export. With the export of capital following, political, cultural and social domination of one country by another, we put to an end to

Imperialism, all that is needed is to pay workers good wages so that they can consume the surplus, and make unnecessary exports.

Rosa Luxemburg was a Marxist intellectual. At one meeting at which there was only herself and another self socialist and other meeting, she categorically that there were only two men at that meeting. The point she was trying to make, was that the men had no intellectual character.

In 1913, she published a book called, 'The accumulation of capital: a contribution to the understanding of imperialism'. In this book she focused on the problem of accumulation of a nation in a system in which we are only capitalist.

Such a system - there cannot be accumulation of capital, she argued, and why? Because in such a system the annual accumulation surplus cannot be got rid off. The limit

of a worker's capacity is his or her salary. On the other hand the capitalist is not a consumer, but an accumulator. Although they consume, the other social categories in society such as lawyers, doctors, students, teachers, are financially tied to the group.

This means that their consumption is of these other classes. So the problem

to pre-monopolistic stage in which free enterprise is the dominant feature and the capitalist stage plays a minimal role in the economic affairs. Adam Smith put it that state that governs best governs best.

The 20th is characterised by monopolistic state. This kind of state is the internationalist. This means that it tends to place a significant role in the economy. Marxist talked about a block in power meaning that the most influential fraction of the dominant class leads the way for others e.g., where you have a financial industrial commercial and agrarian capital one of the fractions, maybe the leader. Its task is to see that there is ^{collision} ~~contact~~ of the whole dominant class particularly with regard to political dominance.

A PLURALIST DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTION OF THE STATE.

The conception of the state should be seen in the context of structural functionalism. The structural functionalism theory is the alternative to Marxism theory in the 20th and 21st Century. Its starting point is a global view of politics. Political systems are a feature of every society. It does not matter how developed and underdeveloped such a societies are. A political system refers to recurring patterns of interrelationship b/w & among social phenomena backed by physical compulsion.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM.

functions
multiphase
dualistic

All systems have structures. All systems have functions.
All systems are multi-functional. All systems are dualistic.

By structural functionalism we mean institutions

such as parliament, executive and judiciary etc.

Function refers to the roles that these institutions play. They are multifunctional because structures perform more than one function, though they

may be specialised in a particular function
They are dualistic meaning they combine
traditionality and modernity.

✓ Structural functionalism have a
practical model in which inputs and
outputs play a prominent role. The
input functions are the following

— Political socialization and recruitment, interest,

articulation

Political model
input
output

The output functions are as follows

— Rule making, rule application and rule
adjudication

Political socialization and recruitment
are the means through which the norms and
values of a given society are transferred from
one generation to another generation. This is affected
through primary and secondary factors, such as
family, church, peer groups and formal educational
institutions. The recruitment part refers to the
agents that take primary charge of political
socialization

Interest articulation is the function of a
pressure group. A pressure group is an organization

primarily interest in promoting members interests by putting pressure on authoritative political decision makers. A pressure group is distinguished from a political party primarily by the fact that it does not govern. Its sphere of operation is limited than a political party.

Interest aggregation is a function of political parties. Political parties are organizations, struggling to acquire power in the state.

This is so because the state is an essential instrument for maintaining and changing power relationships. It is the means through which the distribution of power can be influenced. The following are the main types of parties,

- Dual and multiparty
- One party multiparty democratic system
- One party state

Output Function Structures

The output structures are charged with responsibility of making authoritative decisions. They correspond to the technical separation of powers into the executive and the judicial organs of the state.

Functionalists call these rule application, rule making and rule adjudication. Functionalists trace ^{less} an output function as opposed to ~~unilateral~~ input functions.

Liberal Functional Theory of the State

The FT of the state centered on a pluralist conception of society. The society is pluralist because it entails the existence of political parties and pressure groups. It has already been pointed out that pressure groups exist to lobby political decision makers in favor of their members. Political parties on the other hand ~~was~~ ^{as} the recent Convention exist to of the MMD clearly demonstrated ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{win} power in the state.

The state, according to structural functionalist is an organ
suspended ~~above~~ ^{above} social groups and social

classes, like the football referee or netball umpire. It tries to reconcile the complete

conflicting views of the various interest groups in society. [It is not itself

part and parcel of the conflict in society. All the legitimate interest

groups are taken into account. This view of the role of the state is criticized

by proponents/supporters of Marxian theory. The latter argue that power in the state

→ must have the state
→ has force of physical
→ monopoly
→ violence
→ force must be administered

is concentrated in the hands of the economically dominant class. They dispute the functionalist view that power is dispersed and diffused among political and economic elites with neither elite monopolizing power.

Marxist ^{say} ^{claims} that there is only one class that ~~is~~ ^{is} in the interest of a particular class. The usual claim is that the ruling class rules in the interest of all and not in the interest of a particular class.

Generally this is the functionalist view:

— The state serves the interest of

both
Social Classes

The Marxian Concept of Classes /

The Marxian concept of class has to be looked at at two levels: the Economic and the political ideological levels. The economic definition of class is that a class is conceived of in terms of the ownership or non-ownership of private capitalist property. Private capitalist property is to be distinguished from personal property. A house in which I live is my personal property. A car in which I drive to work is my personal property. A house which is rented is private capitalist property. A tax is private capitalist property. The latter types of property have one common feature

Proletariat

is the modern class whose only possession is its feasible and mental capacity to labour, this feasible and mental capacity it sells weekly, yearly or monthly basis in order to live. The Pro is not an accumulative class. It is a consuming class. What it produces belongs to the one who has bought its capacity to labour. What it gets in exchange is a certain amount of money. The more the worker produces, the poorer he/she becomes because his or her products accumulate in the hands of the Capitalist, eventually, the worker is no longer needed in the process of production and becomes a squeezed orange. During the actual process of labour, what matters most for the worker is how much money he could get in order to spend it on various goods and services. He/she is a diarmer from products. What is worse is that the product may turn against him. For example the machinery produced by the worker may replace him in the process of production. This is called Capital intensive meaning that more machinery is used than ready human labour. In the history of industrialization, we come across many examples of workers smashing machines, because the machines have taken over their jobs. This was the case of the Luddites in Britain.

The working class in Europe developed through a no. of stages. At 1st beginning, the individual works for an individual capitalist employer. Later on the workers combined in trade unions. The function of the TU is to put pressure on employers to improve working conditions and wage rates. In marxian theory, economic class struggle is recognised as being the legitimate, Marx calls it generally war fair meaning that the worker has to struggle on a daily basis. The interest of the worker - the maximization of pay - or in contrast with interest of - the employer - the maximization of profit. In principle, the maximization of - the one, leads to - the minimization of - the other.

The Karl Marx, recognises economic class struggle, he also points out its limitations. The worker, cannot stay for a long time, without his or her salary. The employer cannot last a longer without profits, by the way, an employee ~~class~~ strike is called a lock-out. The highest expression of working class consciousness is the organization of an independent political party expressing distinct working class interest.

It is for this reason that, as we have seen, states that, the strategic objective of the working class movement is the acquisition of power in the state, through a political organisation.

Other Social Classes in the Capitalist System

The Communist manifesto and Das-Kapital proceed from the assumption that the capitalist system comprises two fundamental classes:

(i) The Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat

This is a simplifying assumption, an abstraction from a complexity of actual reality. In actual capitalist state and societies, other classes exist, such as the Petty Bourgeoisie and the Lumpen Proletariat

Petty Bourgeoisie

Comprises of two factions: The traditional and intellectual Petty Bourgeoisie.

The traditional petty Bourgeoisie (i) made up of small scale owners & producers. eg, Those who own small shops in the country and who possess small plots of land. The petty Bourgeoisie rarely employ wage labour; The employed family members labour. If they employ wage labour, it is usually on a very small scale.

The intellectual Petty Bourgeoisie is comprised those who live off their brain work. They are distinguished from a general proletariat by the fact that their labour is not feasible and manual, that is why, they are sometimes called the intellectual Proletariat. In common with the general ~~prolet~~ proletariat is the fact that they own the means of labour of production. Both the traditional and Petty Bourgeoisie stand in between the big Bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat on the other hand. They look up to the big Bourgeoisie and envy its social status and privileges. They would like to move up to the position of this class. However, as the English saying was it, if wishes were horses Beggars could ride them, or Biblically, men are called but few are chosen. In short, it is not easy for the Petty Bourgeoisie to move upwards. The Petty Bourgeoisie fear the proletariat because they would not like to fall into that class. For this reason, the Petty Bourgeoisie is a vast class.

Politically the Petty Bourgeoisie plays a very significant role in society. This class constitutes the intellectual of society. It is an educated elite. It is capable

✓
of analysing social issues, and of formulating
Organizational ideologies, in almost all modern
societies the petty Bourgeoisie has been behind
the emergence of nationalism. It provides
leadership to the working class. This is a
class that mobilizes the mass of workers
and peasants in the struggle of African
independence. It is also the class that
rules in the post-independence Africa.
The rule however, is in the interest of the
economically dominant class.

Factors
↓
German

The Lumpen Proletariat

✓
The Lumpen Proletariat is a homogeneous
class comprising ^{disparate} ~~disparate~~ elements such
as the unemployed, prostitutes, Racketeers
of all sorts etc. These elements are on
the margins of society. It is from
such marginal elements that high
wired assassins come. The Lumpen
Proletariat are generally ~~the~~ reaction
elements. They usually support
conservative forces. Their motto
is to serve the highest bidder.
However, under exceptional circumstances

MAX WEBER'S 3 GROUNDS OF POLITICAL LEGITIMACY

Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his social contract started as follows: "The strongest is never strong enough to be always master, unless he transforms strength into right, and obedience into duty." This is the context ^{with which} ~~dealing with~~ we examine Weber's three grounds of legitimacy.

Power is founded on tradition, Charisma and legal rationality

① Tradition is one of the grounds of political legitimacy. It is based on the fact that things were done in a certain way, things continue to be done in a certain way & things will be done in future in a certain way. Traditional power is sometimes legitimized by divine ~~provided~~ confidence. The King's power is derived from God. This is essentially an extension of tradition of power. Traditional legitimacy has the advantage of being built on what is familiar to the ordinary man. Charismatic legitimacy ② Charismatic or socially weak the gift of grace, peoples religious belief in its origins. A charismatic leader is one who by virtue of his innate ability commands mass following, almost without

(ii) reasoning on the part of the masses. They follow him because he has these special abilities. They have faith in him almost in a religious sense. This means that they do not question his acts or words. The best examples from a religious sphere of charismatic leaders are Jesus Christ and Muhammad. During their time, both commanded a mass following of religion, converts. In the secular world, charismatic leaders have been a feature of politics for a long time. Regardless of the ideology, some of the charismatic leaders of the great century are Stalin, Hitler, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Nelson Mandela, Mondelani, Agostina Nabo and David Banda. All these leaders played a significant role in the nationalist movement of Africa and the ^{socialist} ~~socialist~~ ^{and} fascist movement of Europe. They articulated an ideology and on the basis of this ideology mobilised the mass of the people in the fight/struggle for independence.

The major drawback of charismatic leadership is that it tends to diminish as the charismatic leader begins to grapple with day to day problems. The nationalist leader becomes the president of an independent leader becomes face to face with the problems of inflation, student demonstrations

(ii) Protest against law being standards etc.
The mass of the people begin to have less faith in the ability of the leader to tackle these problems. Thus charismatic leadership is not long in coming. It begins to appear demagogic.

(iii) Max Weber prepares for legitimacy as legal rational legitimacy. The concept of rationality plays a very significant role in Max Weber's concept of modern bureaucracy. So ~~there~~ the concept of legality is his vision of modern societies. Legal rational legitimacy is based on written rules and ~~the~~ constitutions. These prescribe a hierarchical social order, that is in effect predicable. Legal rational rule is due to for this reason is the most appropriate form of rule in modern societies.

Max Weber ~~THE~~ CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CLASS

Max Weber 1856 - 1920 was greatly influenced by his compatriot Karl Marx. He is almost seen the kind of conflictual dualism

(10) B/w Marx and Weber - a major issues in society. For example, Max Weber, talks about the Public Administrators being separated from the means of public Administration. This idea is derived from Marxist concept of the worker as someone who is separated from the means of production. Similarly Weber's concept of social classes reflects the Marxian concept - Max Weber proceeds from the process of exchange rather than the process of production in his definition of social classes.

② Max Weber Concept of Social Class

Max Weber, 1864-1920 was greatly influenced by his compatriot Karl Marx. He almost see the kind of conflictual chology b/w Marx and Weber in major issues in society. For Example, Max Weber talks about public administration being separated from the means of public administration. This idea is derived from Marxist concept of a worker, as someone who is separated from the means of production. Similarly Weber's concept of social class reflects Marxist concept. Max Weber proceeds from the process of exchange rather than the process of production in his definition of social class.

A clear understanding of Max Weber's concept of social class requires an examination of historical evolution of modern politics. The starting point is Adam Smith, the wealth of nations. An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations (1776). Adam Smith is the founding father of modern economics. His works focused on the sources of wealth. David Ricardo, the principles of political economy and Taxation (1817) covers further the analysis of modern economics based on the concepts of labor. According to this concept, the value of something is determined by the amount of labor embodied in its production.

Though classical economics or political economy does refer to exchange value, its main concern is with production and supply.

The Marginal Utilities Theory

Around 1871, a second revolution in economics took place. It is called the marginal utility Revolution. The following were behind the utility Theory

W. Jevons, Carl Menger and Leon Walras.

In contrast to the classical economics, marginal utility theorists stressed on consumption and exchange. The value of a good is determined by its utility. Utility is defined as the amount of satisfaction that one obtains from consuming something. Production comes in only indirectly, through an increase in supply of something.

This regardless of the amount of labour that has gone into something, its scarcity and consequent demand may make it fetch a very high price. In short exchange relationships replace relationships

— At the time Weber was writing about classes the marginalist revolution in economics had taken place. It is reflected in his concept

of social class. Thus for Max Weber, social classes are primarily defined in relation to their situation in the market. A market in economics is defined as a situation which makes it possible for transactions between a person in Zambia and another in London, constitute a market. Markets are therefore not confined to open places.

All individuals that find themselves in the same relationship towards the market constitute a class. Max Weber singles out two such classes. The class of buyers of labour power, and the class of sellers of labour power. These classes correspond to Marxian classes of Bourgeoisies and Proletariat. However, Weber's classes are more heterogeneous.

Max Weber takes into account the concept of class struggle. In Marxian theory, classes cannot exist without class struggle. This is recognised at two levels. (1) The level of economic class struggle and the level of political class struggle. In the case of Max Weber class struggle may cut across class divisions eg all those who are affected by the price in the market of the commodities. They may fight a common struggle against those who are buying their commodities. It is important to take note that there has nothing

to do with the ownership of the means of production as is the case in the Marxian concept of social class.

A Comparative view of Marxian concept of social class

The history of all hitherto existing societies has been a history of class struggles. This is how Marxian theory approaches the history of human societies through a class analysis. History is seen from a point of view of dominant and dominated classes.

This history of classes and class struggles only comes to an end with the abolition of class division and of classes themselves in a classless ~~communist~~ Communist society. This society is preceded by a socialist transition period called the Dictatorship of the Proletariat during which the working class through their state constitute the dominant class, see from this perspective, class plays an eminent role in Marxian analysis. Without the concept of class it is difficult to understand analysis of modern societies. This is not so with Weber and his writings on class are much more limited, in fact the followers etc Max Weber make far less use of the concept of class than did Weber himself.

DEMOCRACY

The Real World of Democracy

Meaning & Evolution of the Concept of Democracy

The concept of Democracy goes back to ancient Greek and Roman thinkers. In Plato's The Republic, we come across a number of concepts. There is a concept of aristocracy meaning Rule or Govt by the best. There is also the concept of Oligacy meaning Rule by the Rich few. Democracy is Rule by the Ignorant many. The ideal state formulated by Plato is based on the concept of virtue where virtue means knowledge what is good and bad. This knowledge is accessible to only a few. These are called philosopher kings. In modern language, it's rule by the educated elite. Plato prefers aristocratic rule to democratic rule.

→ Aristocracy
- oligacy
- Democracy
rule by the Ignorant

THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

— Unlike his Master Plato Aristotle, Aristotle settled for, to rule by the middle class

He awarded milk by a small elite as well as milk by the ignorant many. He was also not a proponent of Democracy. In its original meaning democracy was a class concept.

In the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, liberal states of society emerged. Liberalism was based on freedom of choice: freedom to choose ones own messages. Freedom to choose the political party you belong to. Freedom to start enterprises etc. for their kind of society to make it was necessary to have in place the fundamental freedoms of assembly, association and of the press. Moreover, this kind of society presuppose the existence of a plural political system. However, the liberal status society was not based on equality. The majority of the population were women who exercised from the boat. You can therefore say that the liberal status in society was responsive to the claims of financially and socially eminent people. This was

Liberal Democracy

the state of affairs until the middle of 19th Century when a change occurred

LIBERALISM & DEMOCRACY

Around the 1830's a number of strikes broke out in Europe, particularly in France and Germany. The Chartist movement in Britain began in 1832. Its main objective was to obtain the right to vote by workers. Thus the working class movement and later the movement to enfranchise women meant that the majority of the people could no longer be ignored. The most representative thinker ^{representing the} ~~representative~~ change was John S. Mill 1809-1873.

→ John Stuart Mill is the most important thinker of ^{liberalism} ~~democracy~~.

POLITICAL THOUGHT OF JOHN S. MILLS

Educational Background

The political thought of John S. Mill should be seen in the ~~context~~ context in his reaction to the individualist

base of any political and economic liberalism. This was a liberalism of his father and contemporary political thinkers. However, his upbringing in the education sphere as well as impact of his wife had a lot to do with his political thinking.

John Stuart Mill never attended formal schooling. He was educated by his father, who demonstrated a remarkable devotion through education of his son. At every tender age, John S. Mill was able to read extensively on various subjects, ranging from the humanities to the natural sciences. Though his father was quite strict, he was thankful for the education he obtained and crucial for his age mates.

ECONOMIC THOUGHT

✓ Over and above, his political thought, John Stuart Mill is known for his economic writings. His father James Mill was also an economist who wrote elements of political

economy on the basis of the notes that
his son had taken from his lectures

It is these lectures that constituted the early economic thought of John Stuart Mill. Today however, he is known for his principles of Political Economy, published in 1848. For many decades thereafter it was a standard text book for most universities in Britain and Europe. This work summarised and updated the economic thought of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. He focused on the basic division in Economics b/w production and distribution. While production is subject to scientific laws it was his thesis that distribution is largely man-made, subject to human institutions. He also stressed the position of the working class and the necessity to improve their working conditions. This particular aspect, he admitts owed alot to his wife, so did his knowledge and acquaintance with the conditions of women. As a member of parliament, he was a vigorous champion of women's rights.

POLITICAL THOUGHT.

John Stuart Mill is the most representative thinker of liberal democracy. He emphasises the need for Govt by Consent of the majority, with a ~~small~~^{strong} conviction that minority intellectual thought needs to be protected against the potential tyranny of the majority. His conviction derives from the fact that

(1) quite often in history, right is with the minority, though it might initially appear that it is the majority who have right on their side. For this reason, minority thought should not be suppressed. It must be allowed to express itself. John Mill, had such faith in the educational elite, but he made allowance for one man more than one vote exclusively applicable to intellectuals. The normal thing is the property to have more weight and not intelligence. John Mill also supported proportional representation. Proportional representation implies that any party with a certain percentage of ^{electoral} ~~elector~~ support should have a corresponding No. of seats in Parliament.

John S. Mill's have been criticised politically as being eclectic, meaning trying to reconcile the ~~unreconcilable~~ ^{unreconcilable}. This means that JS Mill embraces working class right without denying the rights of property, ^{benefits} in other words, he is trying to have a cake and eat it.



①

LIBERALISM & DEMOCRACY.

John S. Mill combines liberalism and democracy. The freedom of choice which is a core concept of liberalism is combined with the ^{concept} and participation of the majority. Liberalism thus, democratised and democracy is simultaneously liberalised. C.B. Macpherson in his the really world of democracy states that, democracy came as a top dressing on a liberalist base. This means that in a society, pride in itself on freedom of choice it was illogical to leave out of politics the majority of the population. The fate of liberal democracy in the 20th Century

THE FATE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY IN THE 20TH & 21st CENTURY.

In the 20th & 21st Century, liberal democracy is transformed into pluralist democracy. The model of such democracy is the U.S.A political system. The background to this system is the plurality and diversity of the original settlers in this new land. This plurality and diversity is coupled with the concept of separation of powers and checks and balances. The concept of separation of powers goes back to the political thought of John Locke 1632 — 1704. In his Second Treatise on Govt, he puts forward the idea of separation of powers between the executive and the legislature.

... was done by ... because the ...

(11)

with emphasis on legislative supremacy. This idea was taken up by the French philosopher Montesquieu. In his the spirit of the laws, he argues that there should be separation of powers b/w Executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The American political system was influenced by this background of the concept of separation of powers. For the Americans, it came to mean that Am'than should check Am'than; that no organ of govt should monopolise power. The concept of separation of powers is part and parcel of the political pluralism in the USA. Most govt between 20th and 21st centuries make provision for the separation of powers. The main features of the pluralistic

THE MAIN FEATURES OF PLURALISTIC DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

Allusion reference has already been made to one of the basic features of pluralistic democracy. This has to do with the idea that the state as an institution is suspended above social groups and social classes. It tends to reconcile them. A pluralistic democratic system presupposes the existence of political parties and pressure groups. The former exist to ^{win} political power in the state through the mobilisation of the electorate. They operate on a national scale

(iii)

^{Pressure group}
The ↑ latter exists to put pressure on the authoritative political decision makers, so as to influence their decision in favour of their members. Competitive politics requires that fundamental freedoms of the individual be ~~be~~ in place. And these are freedom of assembly, freedom of political speech and freedom of the press. These freedoms enables political parties, and pressure groups to be formed & organised as acting players in the political arena. Pluralistic democracy presupposes an economic foundation. This foundation is in the Capitalist market economy. Whereas Liberal democracy exists in the political system, - the economic system is Capitalist. From a Marxist point of view, this economic foundation is - the major drawback of liberal democracy. This is so because the Capitalist market economy is inevitably and ~~necessarily~~ ^{un} necessarily an economy of inequality where those without the means of labour are obliged to sell their labour power to those with - the means of labour. It should be pointed out that the liberal view

Pluralist
Democracy

is just the opposite: Capitalism is the ^{realm} of freedom and free enterprise and constitutes the best of all possible economic ~~world~~ worlds.

SOCIALIST CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

According to CB McPherson "The driving force of Marx's ^{is} whole thought was that man had it in him to be a freely creative being. What had prevented him from being so creative was the ~~low~~ level of productivity of labour in previous social ^{formations} ~~formations~~. The same low productivity of labour had necessitated the division of society into classes. For the first time in human history, the vastly superior productive capacity of the capitalist system had created enough intellectual and material wealth to enable humanity to move from the realm of necessity characterised by compulsive labour to the realm of freedom, marked by creative activity.

The first battle of the working class is the battle of democracy. Marx understood democracy to mean ~~rule~~ rule by the dominated working class: The underdogs becoming the top dogs.

Socialism
"there is"
inequality.
each person
to his ability

Marx says it is Europe
Rule by the
is democracy

The period of working class rule, he called the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat. Democratic in the class sense of the majority working class coming to power. Dictatorship in the sense that the working class through their state impose their interest and will on the previously ruling minority capitalist class.

The second sense of democracy in the Marxian ~~sense~~ ^{scheme} had to do with the vision of the classless communist society in which class distinctions would be abolished. The state itself has a class institution would come to an end. Compulsive labour would be limited to a minimum so as to release the creative energies of human beings. For example, in an eight hour working day, compulsive labour might be reduced to 3 hours, thereby releasing five hours for "creative laziness".

The vision of a classless Communist society has not been put into practice by any existing Communist society. It remains utopian. It may even ~~argue~~ that the abolition of classes and class distinctions is not feasible. Human nature is such that distinctions, along status and class lines cannot be abolished. However, this ^{was} ~~could~~ not Marxist approach.

- More & less practices

Compulsive labour to low

- Ideology which may not reflect the reality
→ Something which does not reflect the reality means a mistake

He was convinced a time would come when the selling and buying of labor power would be done away with. The realm of freedom will take over from the realm of necessity

Elections and Electoral System.

An election is both a process and a system through which an electorate designates its leaders through a vote. Elections have different significance depending on political and party systems. Whatever the system there are a means through which the political leadership take into account those who designate

Electoral and Party Systems.

The Dual party System

↓
is one in which two parties alternate in power or position without a possibility of a third party emerging as a significant political player. In the case of Britain the Liberals and Conservatives were the two parties in existence in the 19th Century. At the beginning of the 20th Century the Socialist party emerged and eventually replaced the Liberal party such that, the Labour party

Discuss the 3 models of Max Weber and society

1

and Conservative party alternate in power; up to day
There is a small liberal democratic party which
has not been able to come to power.

The British party system is regarded as
a rigid dual party system. This is so because
members of parliament are subject to party
discipline. For example, an individual member
cannot vote contrary to the directions of the
party's chief whip.

The American political system is characterised
as a flexible dual party system. Its flexibility
arises from the fact that members of the
house of representatives vote according to their
conscience on important issues, rather than
follow the direction of the party to which they
belong. As in the case of the British party
system the Republican and Democrats alternate
in power or proposition.

(ii) The Electoral System.

Corresponding to dual party systems
is that of a simple majority or the first-
past-the post or the first-past-the post system. This

electoral system is necessitated by the requirement to mobilize the electorate around the potential candidates. The American president is elected by an electoral college rather than directly by the universal suffrage.

(iii)

The Multi-party System

→ The characteristic feature of the European political system. This comprises stable party systems and unstable party systems. The Scandinavian countries represent the stable party system permitting the conclusion of electoral alliances and possibilities and of coalition governments. The French and Italian systems are characterised by political instability and ideological divergences.

With electoral system responding to this kind of party system is called the second ballot system. In the first ballot, political parties enter the political arena as individual parties and appeal to the voters on an individual basis. The second ballot a change takes place. Alliances occur whereby the strongest candidates in both the right and left wing camps are given preference over others.

(12)

The Dominant Party system

✓ This is one, in which one political party has one overwhelmingly influence and dominance over other parties. The other parties cannot make a difference in the legislative process because their weight is insignificant compared to that of the ruling party. This kind of system is usually type of system. Zambia for example has known this type of system from 1964-1972 and 1991 to 2001. The period of 1972 to 1991 as a period of one party state with its own characteristics.

The One party state

The one party state originates from Soviet Union. It was born at a Congress in 1898. There was a division among delegates to the Congress as to the form of membership in the party. The action that supported the discipline membership in a tightly centralised party one per day by one vote against their opponent. It was the majority party.

take suppressed the opposition parties and introduced the concept of a one party state. The concept itself can ~~not~~^{trace} back the Marxian theory itself. Socialism signifies rule by the working class. The working class cannot share power with its class elements. It needs to be pointed out that the question of democracy within a socialist system is a debatable point. One view is that democracy is essential of socialism. The other is that socialism is compatible with democracy. In a one party state, Political Organisation is usually confined to one party. This party monopolises both economic and political power. There is usually a fusion of party and state.

Organs. In Zambia, it was said that the party was Supreme over state Organs. Central Committee had priority over, Cabinet. In a unitary party system as well as in a dominant party system, elections are in principle supposed to take place in a free and fair manner. A number of institutions and free conditions, are supposed to be in place. In general, elections take place in the context of respect of fundamental freedoms of the individuals such as freedoms of association, assembly and press. Whether this is so or not, it depends to a large extent on the ruling party's leadership. Freedom of association and assembly, maybe made difficult by restrictions. Freedom of the press, may also be restricted. The fact that you have

many news papers may have a limited impact if the source of information is the same. During elections, resources financial and otherwise may be put to political use. Its also important that the process of registering voters is carried out in a transparent manner so as to create a level playing field.

An independent electoral Commission ^{guided by the} by a corresponding electoral act is an essential feature of free and fair ~~and~~ quick ~~and~~ elections. under these

✓ conditions, elections become an important means through which the electorate is consulted by politicians and through which the politicians are accountable to the electorate.

Elections

The significance of elections in a one party state is different from elections in a multi party system. By definition, a one party state is dictatorship. Though this may be an arguable point

The ~~west~~ ^{western} concept of democracy always presupposes the existence of more than one political party as well as civil organization,

A one party state excludes pluralism in politics. Under a one party state leaders can be changed through an electoral process. However, policies cannot normally be changed. The field of choice of the electorate is limited and ~~at~~ an elector can choose between

① Duverger Moore
Political parties

② Robert Mischel
Political parties

③ Hodgson
Africa Political
Parties

by me

one candidate and another
but cannot prefer one political
party to another. This means that
freedom of choice is non-existent
~~of choice~~
at political party level. Fortunately,

The period of one party state systems
seems to be over as multi
party systems have taken over
since the wind of change
in Eastern Europe.

The Evolution of the Concept of democracy.

Historical Development: William ~~Wright~~^{Rike}

Document One: Pericles funeral

Oration, may pick up the following. In this document, democracy is defined as a govt of the many as opposed to a few.

Document Two: The agreement of the people. England 1648

The most important point is the idea of Equality before the law and regardless of ones place in society. "For reading I think that the poorest he that is in England has a life to live as the greatest he."

The documents read

The declaration of Independence in 1776

- (i) That every man and woman has certain inalienable rights such as the right to life, happiness and property
- (ii) Govts have are instituted among them so as to secure these rights.
- (iii) These govts ~~has~~ must have the concept of the governed.
- (iv) When these government fell secure, their right to life, happiness and property, the governed have the right to withdraw their support from such governments, and institute new governments. The American declaration of independence, should be seen in the context of the struggle for independence from Britain by the American colonies. The war was fought under the motto that there would be no taxation without representation.

The Declaration of ~~the~~ the Rights of man & Citizenship 1789.

The French revolution of 1789, was preceded by the English revolution of 1648. Both revolutions were capitalist revolutions in their main objective was the introduction of a free enterprise system. The French revolution was preceded by an intellectual movement called the enlightenment. In the first half of the 19th Century. This movement questioned the rationality of the then existing feudal political, economic and social order. Among the prominent precursors was Jacques Jean Rousseau, who in his social contract defined the democratic ideal through the concept of the general will. The General will is the will of all as against that of individuals. This will is embodied in the head of state. Where there is a conflict between the general will and particular wills, the latter give way to the former. Generally, during this period, everything had to justify itself, before the Court of reason. This idea of rationality was expressed most clearly by the German political

beyond the frontiers. In this regard
 the nation itself was put on war footing. The
 consequences were that opposition and discussion
 could no longer be accepted / tolerated. Generally
 in a war situation, personal liberty no longer
 exists. The country is said to be in a state
 of emergency. This is sufficient argument for
 suppression of free thought.

Italian Fascism.

Italian fascism emerged in the 1920s. It was
 led by Mussolini. Mussolini had a background in
 socialism. However, he later turned to fascism. He
 fascism had certain common features with
 German Nazism. Mussolini believed in the strength
 of the state was anti-liberal and anti-
 democratic. In general, fascism is against

liberalism and democracy. It believes in
 the rule of an elite. It is however, not
 moralistic ^{either} ~~however~~. The things of the
 world are regarded as past. ~~Common~~ Italian
 fascism for someone accustomed to
 other parties, however, a policy of

repression against these other parties soon set in. For example, a Communist leader Antonio Gramsci was imprisoned from 1926-1937 for ^{his} political activities in the Communist party. On the very day of his release, he collapsed in the toilet and died, due to brain bleeding.

1. General Features of Fascism

Fascist parties are usually organized on a military basis. Fascist parties form a militia that are used to harass their opponents. The members of these militias are given military training comparable to that of a soldier. They wear uniforms, salute, march and learn to suppress and displace meetings of their aggressors.

2. The social infrastructure of fascist parties

The organization of fascist parties reflects their social base. Fascism has so far

the
Total.

pay tax which makes it possible the maintenance of law and order.

Re The Gettysburg address, the immediate context of this address is the civil war in America which lasted from 1861-1865. The basic issue in the war centred around the continued use of slave labor in the South as against free wage labor in the North. The question was which of the two systems of labor should prevail over the other. The slave labor of the South was widely supported by the United Kingdom.

→ The Gettysburg address commemorates the death of those who died on the battle field in the cause of free wage labor as against slave labor. It is in this context that Abraham Lincoln the then President of the U.S.A gave the famous definition of democracy, "As government of the people, by the people and for the people." Unfortunately this definition lent itself to the wrong interpretation of direct democracy, which was not certainly not the case. He was dealing with representative democracy.

TOTALITARIANISM

Definition Totalitarianism signifies a political system in which one party controls power and subordinates most activities including those of civil society to the state under a totalist ideology. Under this heading there is totalitarianism of the left e.g. that of Stalinist Russia and totalitarianism of the right e.g. Nazism (Germany) and ~~fascism~~ ^{fascism} (Italy).

① Totalitarianism of the left

① Left wing totalitarianism has its roots in Marxist ideology. Marxist ideology and politics are derived from an analysis of the working class condition. This condition is diagnosed to be one of Exploitation, both economic and political. To

bring this condition to an end, the worker has to acquire power. Though Marx saw the possibility of the working class coming to power through peaceful elections, this was regarded as an exception due to the nature of economic and power relations under Capitalism. The working class would have to possibly acquire power.

② The Socialist Transition

✓ After the working class has wrestled power from a capitalist power, it uses this power to put down the resistance of the former ruling capitalist class.

There is no question of the former workers sharing power, with the working class.

The state being that of the working class is an instrument of a class over other classes. Marx calls this the

revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat

✓ It is a dictatorship because through the state, one class imposes its will and interest on other class. The dictatorship is democratic paradoxically because it is ruled by the majority class of workers.

The idea of totalitarianism arises

from the fact that the party which comes to power is an expression of the dominant class under socialism. This party directs activities in the whole nation. It subordinates the state organs to party organs, even though in principle, a parliament may exist, members of parliament derive their position and status from the fact that they are members of the party. The influence of the party is ubiquitous.

ubiquitous
found everywhere

④ Totalitarianism and Mass Organization

III

In a plural party system, pressure groups and political parties exist to check and balance each other. Citizens' aspirations and views are channelled through these political and pressure groups. The mass organizations of the totalitarian system owe ultimately the loyalty to the party. They are channels of communication between the party and the rest of the population. They are in no way independent of the party and its ideology.

(e)

The principle of Democratic Centralism

This principle is the organizational principle in left wing totalitarianism. Its significance is the following:

- (i) Leadership and direction from above
Democratic initiatives from below.
- Simply put, this means that leaders make decisions taking into account the views of the mass of the people.
- In practice, the democratic element is lost in favour of Centralised leadership from the top. Democratic Centralism was intended to solve a ~~central~~ ^{general} problem of the leaders and the led, which is not unique to totalitarian system of the left.

(ii) Ideological Totalitarianism

As earlier pointed out, totalitarian system have a totalist ideology.

To recap, an ideology is a system of ideas and corresponding practice that interpret and explain and justify a given political and social economic setup.

In totalitarian system, there is
monism in ideology meaning that
a single ideology monopolises political
speech. There is no ideological
diversity such that, the interest of
various social forces find their expression.
Dissidence is possible under totalitarianism
but it is severely punished
when it manifests itself.

LEFT WING TOTALITARIANISM.

↳ and the Organization of the Economy

The economy under Left wing Totalitarianism
is the direct opposite of an economy organized
on the ^{basic} ~~basic~~ ^{assumption} of perfect competition.
A perfectly competitive economy presupposes the
following:

- ÷ That no firm is a monopolist meaning
that no firm controls an appreciable
% of the market:
- ÷ There is free entry and exit, meaning
that firms can enter the market
and ~~live~~ leave:
- ÷ firms are price takers rather than
price makers, meaning that firms
accept

the price that is given by the market. This situation of perfect competition is an idealistic one. In reality, there is only approximation to this type of market. Even in Western countries, where the perfect market is said to exist, what we have most is a mixed economy. In a mixed economy, the state, does play a role. It is the opposite of what Adam Smith stated "The state that governs the least governs best."

The ~~advent~~ ^{coming} of the Keynesian economics, stressed the role of the state in the maintenance of a capitalist market economy. Righting during the time of depression in the 1930's, he argued that left to itself the free enterprise economy would will be ~~unable~~ unable to regulate itself and will end up in ~~stagnant~~ chronic depression hence the necessity of state intervention through ~~sp.~~ fiscal and monetary measures is able to stabilize the economy. ~~to~~

In the ^{post} possible war period, most parts in Europe had steady sector in the economy. The concept of planning was also introduced to direct the whole economy as well as the state sector. This state of affairs

was derived from the Soviet economy where planning had existed since the 1920's. In western Europe, and especially after Gorbachev's political and economic reforms, a reaction against state planning set in in favour of the privatization of the economies.

It is in this context that totalitarian left wing organization of the economy should be seen, instead of the state playing a minimal role in the economy, leaving a major part to the invisible hand of private business men. It tends to totalise the economy. The aim is that the major means of production should be in the hands of the state. This totalitarian organization of the economy has been criticised for its inefficiency, and for hiding from the public eye, the real state of affairs. The point however is that a centrally managed economy is the

Communism is an important feature of totalitarianism. It is the basis of totalitarian state and political system.

THE FA~~CI~~ST STATE & POLITICAL SYSTEM.

The concept of fascism and nazism are products of the post 1920's. Fascism and Nazism were born about the same time as Communist parties. The countries which they found the most fertile ground had certain characteristics. They were either countries that were basically under developed economically and which lacked traditions democracy. This was the case for Portugal and Spain. But they could also be countries which were developed but unevenly. Italy for example was divided in between ~~an~~ ^{un}urbanized industrial North and an underdeveloped agricultural south. Germany had a history of being a later comer to Capitalism. The Liberal revolution in Europe of 1838, left Germany and unaffected. Capitalist developed did not seriously begin until the century to

Prussia by Bismarck 1871. Thereafter Germany
Capitalism developed rapidly. Accompanying
the developed was the emergence of
a strong German socialist and labour
movement. In fact towards the end
of 19th century, the labour movement
was the strongest in Europe. At the

turn of the century, Germany
Capitalism had developed to such an extent that
it was beginning to surpass
the other Capitalisms of France and
Britain. Germany industries faced

the problem of revenue Red Lebens
Raum - Living Room. This necessity
for space to accommodate and expand
economy in the heart of Europe
clipped with a militarist tradition
explains why Germany caused

both the first and second world
wars. In between the two world
wars, ~~the~~ came the world wide economic
depression. It affected most countries in the
world, Germany and Italy were no exception