

History of Economic Theory
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Lecture No. # 25
Marx as an ideologue of revolution

We have got two things coming up today. The first hour I shall be talking to you about marxism as a revolutionary ideology, the reasons for which I shall explain shortly. And in the second session I shall be talking to you about the arrival of new classical economics which to me is a arrival of the universals in economics for the first time. So, marxism had different kinds of success. It was probably the most powerful thing in the 19th century, and probably, in the 19th century it was an extremely powerful economic analysis of capitalism.

Towards the end of 19th century it was also an excellent the studio graphic technique. And by the 20th century it had become an extremely powerful revolutionary ideology spreading across the world, and at one point involving close to 60 percent of the world's population under its flag. The reason why marxism had these varied successes or different kinds of success. For instance Ricardo was not recognized like this at best, he was recognized for doing excellent work in extending Adam smith into a theory of growth and distribution.

Walrus was recognized for building that excellent simultaneous equation system and so on and so forth, but Marx whether it is classical political economy or history or making revolutions, he was singular. So, we shall look at him, we have seen him as a person who used classical political economy to the full advantage. We have also seen him as a person who built a picture of history material history. One thing we have not seen about him today which is, I mean up to today which we shall do today is to look at him as a revolutionary ideal law.

So let us take a look at Marx in all these three versions, but significantly the third version.

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We know for instance that Marx extended classical political economy. He created a new kind of historiography.

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And of course, and as we shall see today, he was responsible for a revolutionary ideology. As far as political economy is concerned we know that he refined labor theory of value in the finest way possible. There were confusions among all the followers of Smith including Smith himself on what actually was the significance of labor theory of value.

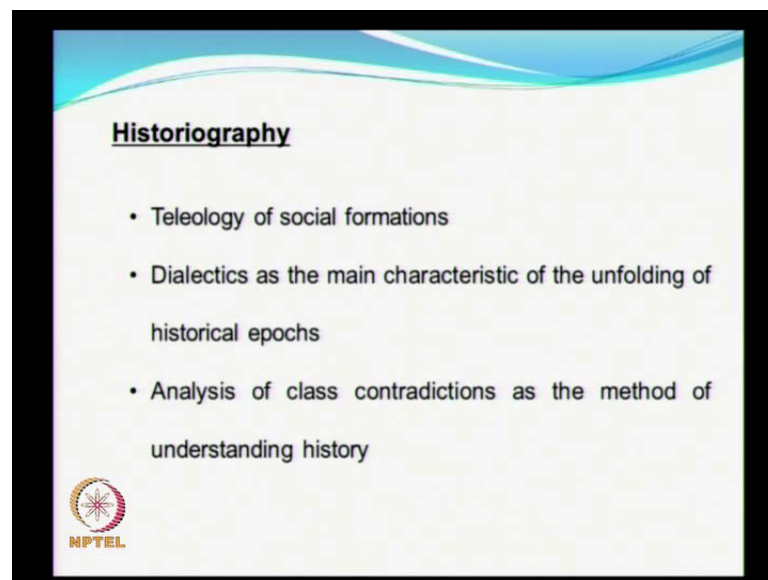
Ricardo was an absolutist in the sense that, he believed that in the final analysis value was determined by the effort or labor that went into the production of anything. But Marx took it a long long way beyond Ricardo as we have seen. He used labor theory of value to create an exquisite theory of distribution and exploitation. We have also seen that Ricardian economics which is basically the economics of growth and distribution that part of Adam Smith was once again dealt with in a much more sophisticated manner than Ricardo himself. Marx was talking of the growth in the capitalist economy and how distribution of income was intimately connected with the very process of growth. And finally, the dynamics of capitalism what happened during the process of capitalist industrialization in capitalist growth.

The first thing we saw that happened as a dynamics or either dynamic or the motions of capitalism as Marx was calling them. The first of these motions related to the working class. On the one hand the working class had the capacity to unionize itself and bargain for higher wages. On the other hand it had no capabilities the unions had no capability of stopping the capitalist from constantly going in for technology upgrade which would improve the productivity of labor and for that precise reason make necessary less number of workers to be employed. So, we know that in this process capitalism over a period of time created a reserve army of unemployed which grew in size and even workers who continue to be in the employ of capitalism, workers who even continue to have heights in wages because of their heights in productivity, even they could feel the power and strength of the unequal distribution of income and therefore, the broad first movement of capitalism was immiseration of the working class.

The second was falling rate of profits. We saw for instance that each technology upgrade involved investment of more constant capital. At the same time the returns to each technology upgrade did not produce increasing returns in by way of output. So, what was happening is capital output ratio keeps rising with capitalist growth, and the possibility of any further reduction of variable capital is ruled out, so gradually returns to capital start declining and therefore, the rate of profit declines in capitalism over a period of time. The third movement of capitalism was the fact that because rates of profits were falling and it is impossible to expect to sustain growth in surplus value any further. You find predatory behavior among the capitalists. You find a smaller capitalists being taken over bought over consumed by the larger capitalists.

In other words, the beginning of the growth of monopolistic trends in capitalism and finally, because of these multiplicity of factors there is increase to vexation among workers because of the immiseration greater alliation on the part of the workers. A large number of capitalists are embitted because, they are either loosing profits heavily or they are simply taken over by larger capitalists and therefore, by enlarge the system seems to be losing its vitality. Comes a point when the system is so endangered by the loss of demand, by the falling profits and the growing size of the reserve army of an employed that what is called the crisis of capitalism is reached and if at that time the workers decide that they should take power over and take over control over means of production, and constitute a new way of organizing economy in society. In other words, a working car working class revolution.

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So we know that, this is the political economy of Marx which is fundamentally an extension and refinement of classical political economy. What about historiography? What is historiography who can tell me?

Student: (())

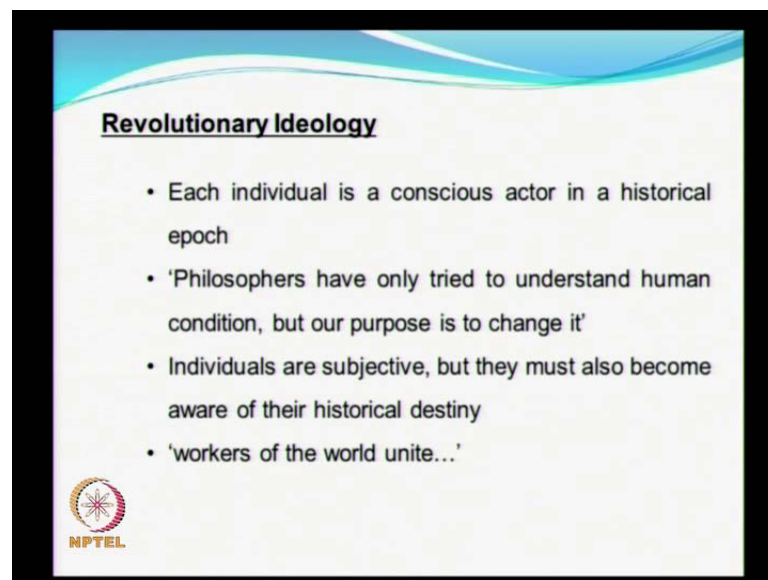
Not so much of study of it the method of studying history. The method of studying history is called historiography. As you can see, Marx brings in a completely new historiography by using the heggarian dialectic in a material context. So every social formation is incomplete by itself because, it contains within itself the seeds of the next

social formation. In short, there is a teleology inherent in the study of every social formation.

Teleology basically means that something continuous can contains within the seeds of its own continues I mean the future. So there is a necessary teleology into every social formation which means, there is a necessary history to every social formation and the unfolding of the history is dialectical. History unfolds itself through class contradictions, so the study of history is the study of class contradictions at any point in time in the society.

It tells you not only what is happening to the economic base, but it also tells you what is happening to the mode of production which is the social formation. So, the arrival of Marx in historiography made big enroutes into European universities towards the end of 19th century and well into the middle of the 20th century. Marx in historiography was specifically unparalleled in its vitality, in its capacity to command attention, but what we are doing today is not even a study of Marx in historiography because we have done that briefly. What we are going to study is Marxism as a revolutionary ideology.

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In marxcin system of thinking every individual is a conscious actor in a historical context of his social (()). History is constantly unfolding in the society. Each member of the society is constantly aware, conscious of this unfolding process. This is sometimes

referred to in Marxism as subjective awareness of objective reality subjective awareness of objective reality.

See the reality is history; the reality is its unfolding. The reality are the class contradictions through which the unfolding happens and each person who lives in a society is willingly or unwillingly a part of this process of class contradictions because, he belongs somewhere in some ecorol of the society, some segment of the society in some nation and therefore, is necessarily a part of the ongoing contradictions in society. So, conscious actor of the historian epoc historical epoc is each individual then, Marx also says in his very famous economic and philosophical manuscripts in 1848, every preformed state which distinguishes in and his style of thinking totally from all other thinkers in philosophy. He says philosophers to this state have tried only to understand the human condition, but he says the purpose is to change the human condition. In other words, there is a reflexive content to marxicism.

In other words, knowledge and action are simultaneously involved in Marxian knowledge. You know something, it also tells you what you have to do. So, in Marx there is knowledge; there is practice of that knowledge, and the idea of learning the practice of knowledge which is called practice all three are part of Marx. So, which is what he means when he says philosophers are either too tried to understand the human condition, but the thing is to change it. Thus a very powerful part of Marx in which human action, human practice is incorporated into the very process of construction of knowledge.

Is there any question you have on this issue? Can I go on? Great. Yes parson.

(Student: ())

Yes yes yes

Student: You said that subsequently profit will fall.

Foreign rate of profit yeah.

Student: Is it necessary for in capitalism for profit to go down because if. Because, if there is a new technology then so it might happen that the profit can go up also.

Yes yes certainly that is the reason they are bringing in technological upgrades all the time, but each time a new technological upgrade happens it involves growing size of constant capital. So, that makes the system more and more and more capital heavy. In other words, capital output ratios in the entire system keep growing while technology upgrades are growing. So, when technology upgrades are making possible a greater surplus value in terms of lowering the share of variable capital. There also making it impossible for you to escape the trap of growing constant capital.

But the wages can also go up which if the wages go up and if the share of constant capital is going up, there is all the more reason why it should accept that rate of profit will fall. That rate of profits are falling is actually Ricardian argument we have seen that earlier, but Marx gives a much more substantive explanation of it as a part of the capitalist system itself, it has nothing to do with con laws and things like that.

Is that clear Prason? Now, so individuals must be according to Marx constantly were aware of their destiny in any social formation because, they are carriers of destiny whether they want it or not and as a final statement of this practice in the manifesto of the communist party, which is probably the best shot which anybody wrote may few compared two pieces which I am tremendously impressed with two short pieces. One the manifesto of the communist party is a tiny little piece which 60-70 pages. It is a brilliant summary of all that Marx has to say. In a manner in which he exalts workers to free themselves.

So towards the end of the describing the nature of the capitalist society so Marx looks at the workers and says so workers of the world unite you have nothing to lose, but your chains. It is a profound exaltation because what he is telling them is history is on your side. So, since history is on your side all that you need to do is to take that one decisive step lose your hesitation and take one decisive step and your home. In other words, this is Paresis Parkas' law. So, from all points of view Marx advocates a very powerful revolutionary ideology and the effect of this was tremendous from the 1840s international workers congress so sorry 1862 international workers congress was organized. It kept having its meet annual meetings in some important city in Europe or other till finally, it was dissolved in 1876 in Philadelphia, but then I think in 1889 if not some other day I think it is 1889.

Student: (())

Right. 1862 you said.

It is the first international workers congress in Paris I think and then, it happens again in 2-3 years intervals in other places and 1876, it is dissolved in Philadelphia. And I think in 1889 if am not mistaken let me see if I have got the date for you. No, I have not got the date for you it is in the next PPT. So whichever in 1889, I think for the time being we can accept that date as a second workers congress. So, not only are the workers movements getting internationalized, not only are they getting more focused across the world in their common problem, but also all other forms of socialism which used to occur in these workers congresses became subsumed under one single leadership of Marx. So, this was the power which Marxist revolutionary ideology had.

So let us look at how revolution happened. We will briefly look at Russia and then we will even more briefly look at China. The reason is to see that the revolutionary ideology is one thing at the start of the revolution. The myth of process of making the revolution makes it completely different. In Russia, when the Russian communist party started working in 1890s, I think Plekhanov was the founder. Plekhanov was also the guru of one Ladi named Ullianov who was otherwise known as Lenin. Lenin was a pseudo name; it was very common in Russia those days for people to have pseudo name because, they were arrested by the police who were looking for them all the time. Anyways, so the party starts around 1890s, but long before the start of the party, there is tremendous administration for Marx by other Russians whom you have talked about earlier occasion so let us look at that, these are people who were known as Narodniks.

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Revolutionary Marxism in Russia

- Rise of Narodism in the nineteenth century: disaffection with Czarism, pro peasant ideology, the search for an indigenous solution
- Narodnik agenda: centrality of mir, socialistic society based on the sharing tradition of the mir, cooperativization of manufacture, state regulation of marketing trading

 NPTEL

Narodnik in Russian means populist; Narod is people. So people who politicians and ideal laws and theorists were talking about all the people were looked upon as Narodiks. So, in 19th century Russia nor the word populous was not had as much of a political taboo as it turned out to be in the 20th century.

In the 20th century, when some population politician was called populous, he would not particularly consider that complimentary. He would just be it would be another way of telling him that he is the fellow over the directions without any movement; he is just pleasing them assess and doing nothing else, but Russian narodism was very powerful. In the 1870s, tens of thousands of young people left the cities in Russia in a famous movement called go to the people movement young students, technicians, scientists, writers, authors, lawyers, aristocrats and lot of them were moved by the passion to go and identify themselves with the people of Russia in this go to the people of the movement. They all went did all kinds of work in rural areas, did lineal jobs this that trying to identify and do something.

Basically, the fundamental cause of narodism was increasingly oppressive czarism. The czars rule was increasingly oppressive and Russia was administered by a country of aristocrats who were increasingly out of touch with the goings on in rural Russia and therefore, there was a great discontent with czarism. There was a great deal of thinking that the peasants of Russia held the future of Russia in their hands. So, it was with

identifying yourself with the peasants and working with the peasants and their institutions that Russian future lay. And finally, there was a strong disaffection with any western model, western capitalism, western forms of other ideology, socialism all these things were not particularly popular with these people because, they were all very nationalistic. So, a search for an indigenous option solution for Russian problems this was part of narodnik preoccupation.

Mind known the narodniks were very disparate lot. It was not that they were one type of people with a single ideology, there were people who were extremely moderate. Chan Sabaski in the 60s was a person who was with left or slightly to the right of center, but he was very narodnik in his other preoccupations. On the other hand in the 1880s, you had very fearlessly militant radicals like carchev who was all in favor of starting a garilla movement pro people, garilla movement in Russia, so you had a wide range of people. Some of these people were influenced by Marx. I do not know if you recall mine mentioning it to you earlier that the first ever translation of maxis das capitol into any language other than German was made into Russian by a Russian called Nicolay on which again was a name of a person whose surname was Danielson; no Danielson was his name; Nicolay on was his surname once again pseudo name fearing the czarist police.

So, he might have first Russian translation and his translation made a tremendous impact among all the young people in Russia who were trying to solve the problem of Russia. I do remember mentioning it to you how, that they were some people who wanted to go to Marx and ask him what is to be done by Russia and they could not do that, but I do remember telling you that there was one young lady called Weras Asolish who decided to write to Marx to take his advice on what has to be done with Russian peasantry with rural Russia how to make a revolution in Russia. So, Marx was of course modest; he wrote back to say madam I know very little about Russia what I have written I know from the data I have on England, Germany, and Western Europe, but there could be known better qualified to deal with the problems of Russia than yourself because you know Russia better than anybody else that was Marx answer.

The long and short of all of it was that Marx was a tremendous influence. It is believed that some of the leading elements, some of the dynamic active thinking elements among the noradniks were the early members of the communist party of Russia. Certainly, Rakanav was a narodnics sympathizer before he was the founder of one of the founders

of communist party of Russia. By about the first decade of 20th century, the marxist had become immensely strong; they organized the first all Russian strike across all the cities in 1905 very successful workers strike, but by about 1910 the Marxist movement in Russia had split into two parts. The moderates called the mensheviks who believed in the path of being a part in a part of being part of the parliament and then legislating your way to a revolutionary future for Russia.

Something like the cpi and cpm in India you know who believe that they are part of the constitutional republic and therefore, should act within constitution. So, the (()) were like that. The others who were very regressively revolutionary more like the mauists in India were the Bolsowicks. The Bolsowicks were led by Lenin and other very dynamic powerful leaders. In the middle of the second decade, the Bolsowicks were noisy and active members of the Russian duma even if they were not the majority. So that by towards the end of the second no towards 1917 I think they take over the duma. Duma is a Russian parliament right. They simply take it over and evict all other members of the duma, and the others react by organizing action against it and Russia becomes very soon embroiled in a civil war between the white army and the red army.

Red army led by the Bolsowicks and the white army led by all others who did not want Bolsowicks to rule. By about 1925 the civil war is over red army had won and the soviet socialist republic is a reality. By about 1931, the rule of one Joseph Stalin becomes established firmly in the Soviet Union and after that, it is not so much the teachings of Marx, but the ideas of Stalin on how Russia should be run that gained currency. Then, we know that Russians participate in the first second world war under Stalin at an exceptionally heavy cost. It is believed that one-third of a massive Russian soviet army was wiped out in the war; I mean, we are talking of several million people. Not so much because they were shot in the war front by the Germans, but because they went to the front with not a gun in their hands because they were not enough guns.

They went to front without proper clothing many of them got simply frozen. They went to war; they went to front without adequate ration so many of them simply starved. So, it was a colossal victory because, the victory of the Russians over German eastern front was at a colossal cost, but they did win by 1945 who entered Berlin first, but the Russians. The British and the American troops by prior arrangement stayed back allowing the Russians the victory because, they had paid such a heavy cost. And then of

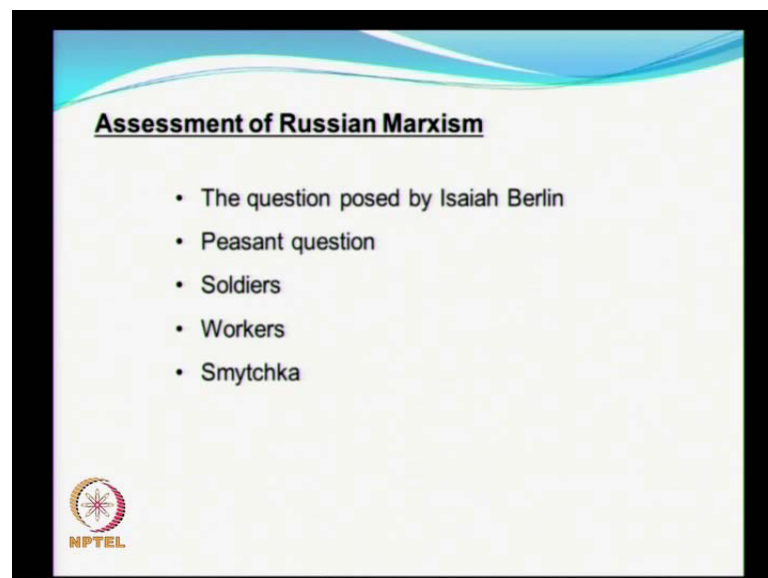
course, by 1952 Stalin was gone and then you have (()) and others, Pulgalin and other leadership of Soviet Union coming on till.

Who is this man who bought in panastroica in Russia?

Student: (())

Gomacha, so by the by the time of gomacha the entire edify is built in Russia by the communist party of Russia in the 1920s slowly starts crumbling. By the 1990s it is just a sad relic what it was 70 years ago. Now, what is the lesson we learnt from Soviet Union and the best way of looking at that is from the point of view of historians. There is a great biographer of Marx called sir Isaiah Berlin. He poses a question in what sense was Lenin's revolution marxist because, if you look at the ripening of capitalism and being ready for revolution it was Germany and not Russia which was ready for capitalism which was ready for revolution. It was German capitalism which was ripe and advanced and ready for the crisis which would throw it into socialism.

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So in the early 1920s, it was German communist party which was actually on the threshold of making a very marxist revolution with German workers, but it happened in Soviet Union. Where there was not even a assemblance of that big industrial structure capital structure of Germany in soviet in Russia. Industrial capital was very marginal, very tiny in Russia and Russian capitalists could be numbered in the finger tips. It was

foreigners like Germans and some Englishmen and others who were actually running capitalist enterprise in Russia in the early parts of 20th century. So, Isaiah Berlin is asking the question in what sense can you call Lenin's action in Russia a marxist revolution because as per the writings of Marx the conditions were not ready in Russia for revolution; I mean, if you looked at the ripening of capitalism it is been ready for revolution it was elsewhere not in Russia. So, where did Lenin learn his lessons asked Isaiah Berlin.

Isaiah Berlin then says the lessons that learned Lenin learned were certainly not from Marx, he learnt his lessons more from people like (()) and the terrorists in French revolution. Jacobins they were called a secret society of terrorists in France in the last quarter of 18th century who were not very large in number, but who were very crucial in terms of creating the push at the right time. So the Jacobins were supposed to be people who really created the catalysis's for the final fall of French monarchy and then the rise of revolution in France.

So Berlin says, if Lenin learnt methods of revolution from somewhere it is from the Jacobins and Robert Sewer of France and not from Carl Marx. So, what he is saying is very important he says, there is no revolution of the marxist type in that happened in Russia it was simply a poach, a little takeover of power capture of power by a small number of very active dynamic politicians. Now, this is a very profound allegation; it is a profound allegation because, it denies credibility to all that the Russian communist party the Bolsowicks were doing. So, let us look at what actually Lenin did. What Lenin did was to capture an opportunities for revolution to capture an opportunities for power each time it happened. In 1895, I think it was he wrote a classic called development of capitalism in Russia in which he wrote about how rural Russia was becoming very rapidly capitalist right and how the small peasant proprietor in Russia was very soon would very soon would be consumed into the orbit of the capitalist producer in rural Russia.

He also wasted no opportunities of organizing workers for strike and third, in the First World War the Russian army suffered very noble defeats simply because of the cursedness and the carelessness of leadership which was all aristocratic. If you get a chance see a great classier a Russian fellow called battleship pot emptying am sure you will find it somewhere, it is a great archival film and extremely powerful film describing

conditions of how revolution happened in the Russian arm forces battleship pot emptying. Now, so the Russian soldier was deeply frustrated, disturbed and disenchanted as a fighter for this hour. The Russian the Russian worker was deeply disenchanted, but small in number. Russian peasant could be organized into a powerful striking force because they were large in number. So the problem with Russian peasants was that according to Lenin they were what was called kulacks large capitalist farmers then bedniaks middle farmers workers and so forth. According to Lenin the kulacks were the hurdles in agriculture in Russia.

The hurdles in revolution in rural Russia; they were the capitalist tumbling blocks. So, what it eventually Lenin did, who were the parties whom he organized to perform a revolution; he called this revolutionary alliance the triple alliance and he called it *smychka* *s m y t c h k a*, the triple alliance between workers peasants and soldiers. Eventually, it is this alliance which performed the revolution for Russians and brought in socialism. There is a very interesting story through which is attributed to Lenin after the red revolution is won Lenin is in Moscow and one day he is outside Moscow and somewhere in some rural parts of Moscow he sees an old peasant walking down and he goes up to him and says grandfather grandfather, do you know what has happened in Moscow then, the man says I know I hear that a new czar has come in and Lenin sites that as a ignorance of an illustration of the ignorance of the peasants, but the fact remains that it is the peasants who were used by Lenin along with the soldiers and the workers.

What was the vitality of this unity? It is difficult to know because by 1930-31 Stalin enters into a very large powerful and vindictive almost act of perging rural Russia of people whoever are called kulacks or capitalist farmers. So there is virtual liquidation of rural Russian peasantry seems at that time and so with agriculture gets organized into non private whether it is capitalist or peasant it does not matter non private agriculture. There are only two types of agriculture in Russia from 1932 the *so* cozy and the *colcozy*; *so* cozy or the state farms in which everybody is a worker and the *colcozy* are the collective farms in which everybody is a member of the collective and the lands are farmed and tilled by collective decision and the collectives are run by local communist parties. So, we do not know what actually happened in soviet union and what is the vitality of this *smichka*, but we know this much that for revolution to succeed in Russia for the soviet union to be born marxism had to grow beyond theoretical confines of

itself and to find a pragmatic identification of contradictions in Soviet Russia which was used effectively to conduct a revolution which is why ever after Russian revolution Marxism became known as Marxism Leninism.

Now in China, Marxism Leninism had to stretch further. In 1911, the Qing dynasty of the Manchus was king government of the Manchu dynasty was ruling and in 1911 the crisis of credibility of this dynasty was so intense that a large number of court officials, soldiers, intellectuals and others decided that the king had to go the empire had to go the republic had to be born. So, in 1911 there was this Wuchang civil unrest that breaks out. In 1912 the republic of China under Sun Yat-sen is announced. And within a year Sun Yat-sen gave his power to the former prime minister of the Qing himself who is now the general of the new republican army, and gradually by 1915 that army announces himself as the new emperor of China and the unrest against him becomes so severe that in 1916 he dies. In 1916, there was no emperor; there was no civil government in China. So, begins a long period of what is known as the rule of the warlords.

Military chieftains in different parts of China acquired power and each becomes a war lord ruling a territory of his own, and there are factors political anarchic economic factors. It is in this in the pick of this that Sun Yat-sen context motivated not even motivated earlier leaders of the Chinese communist party; they are brought together here in a very interesting way in 1921-22 by the Soviets who were interested in making a revolution in China. The Soviet communist party brings the two together; they form a national front to restore and gather together the fragmented China. By 1922 this process is on; by 1925 by 1921-22 the Japanese have occupied China again I am saying again because, they had occupied China immediately after the first world war and they reoccupied it; I mean, parts of China in 1921-22 and the nationalist war begins. But long before that Sun Yat-sen himself is thrown out by another more ambitious leader of the Kuomintang party to which Sun Yat-sen was a leader a man called Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang Kai-shek is himself a very powerful warlord. So very soon by 1929-30 Chiang Kai-shek had wiped out all the major warlords of southern and central China and by 29 all the northern warlords had kind of signed a token allegiance to him, and the Chinese communist party was on the run. In 27-28, I think there was a big long march of the Chinese communist party from their strongholds in the south and in the east to the north and the west, a long march which was considered the turning point in the war because

the communist party gains enormous membership, enormous strength although very impoverished always constantly on the run, but the end of it when they go into the honan province they become very strong that becomes the centre of the guerrilla war base of China.

From 1931 onwards there is a token relations to nationalists costs between these two the communist party and the Kuomintang, but they are at war all the time. In 1945, the Japanese surrender and then for another four years the civil war in China goes on till the Kuomintang is routed out of main line China and they retire into Formosa which is called Taiwan today. So, this is the story of China. What do we make of the Chinese revolution?

Chinese revolution was almost one hundred percent peasant revolution. During the long march what the Chinese communist leader used to do were they used to go back as they were moving along they converted villages to their cause, and they encouraged villagers to take over the land of all the landlords and organize their own farming methods and so on. In other words, tremendous initiative was given to the farmers to take over power and rule with the tacit support of the communist party for a long time. So by the time 1945 comes, the entire rural China is in the hands of the marxist and what is more important and almost the entire rural China is communist in ideology. So, if you look at Moserov it is very clear that Chinese communist ideology was did not have any smichka even; they did not have any soldiers, workers, peasants triple alliance there are only peasants.

Truly then Chinese revolution was a peasant revolution. So there is Marx talking about workers of the world being unite; there is nothing holding nothing to lose, but your change, but in China it was peasants of China united to take over government so that is a big distance know. So by the time 1950, Mao's revolution is complete marxism undergoes yet another transformation of nomenclature it is not just marxism it is not just marxism Leninism, it was marxism Leninism Maoism.

Now, what is happening now you look at it elsewhere; look at Cuba in Cuba, it was a band of about 50 to 100 communists under Castro and more importantly Che Guevara who landed on the coasts of Cuba sat in the mountains and waged a war and broke the back of the Cuban army and became communist Cuba. So, there has been a methodology at every point in making a revolution which shares nothing with earlier methodologies local contradictions are utilized to the best possible capacity to make a revolution.

And somewhere along the course, it seems that the introduction to the critic of political economy and das capital as primers to for making a revolution that is lost. They remain what they were in the beginning namely and analysis of capitalism and Marx left no manual on making revolution because, he himself was not clear as to how revolutions were to be made. So, it is the ideology which was revolutionary which sees the mind of people which enabled them to make revolutions. So, this the message you get from the history of revolutionary ideology which marxism constituted is this. Ideologies are something as people start making a revolution and they are something else all together when the revolution is complete. There is a lot that comes in between the theory of theory which starts your revolution by way of practicing the revolution, there is a lot of knowledge that is further constructed so that at the end of it the revolutionary knowledge hardly looks like what it used to be in the beginning of the process. I will stop at this point and see if you have any questions and reactions on this.

You said that the it is the ideology which captures the minds of the people and move them towards the religion, but is not that ideology built on those analysis of capitalism and the cutting of capitalism when is not is not those works of past dint they actually form building blocks of the so called ideology.

Well, in Marxes time there was supposed to be that, but Marx was not intending to make a revolution in China and in Russia he had no idea. If you remember in his reply to whereas, (()) he is saying well you know Russia much better than I do my information is all from Western Europe. So, the building blocks as you name them are probably building blocks more suited to Western Europe than to these other countries. So one, the analysis of capitalism enables you to understand the process of exploitation very scientifically whether this understanding of analysis or understanding of exploitation under capitalism in a particular part of the world gives you sufficient ground to fad your revolutionary imagination to make revolution elsewhere in the world is it all the question to answer.

Student: (())

Absolutely absolutely.

When? Which is not necessary which does not necessarily fall into a Marxian scheme.

Student: (())

Very true very true.

There is one which probably can be taken from Marx is struggle there is a power struggle in the in society. And that is the idea of contradiction.

Student: Yeah contradiction.

Absolutely.

I think I think you got a point there. It is very difficult to say anything beyond that on this core. Well, we have had this session done and well break it off and then get back into the next session.