

Classical Sociological Theory: Introduction

A The Classical Tradition

1. Role of wisdom
2. People are naturally unequal: some have more wisdom
3. Language is for finding wisdom and truth
4. After Christianity, leading role of Church in finding truth
5. Great chain of being
  - a. God, Church hierarchy, King, Aristocracy, Commoners
6. Society as a family or body (corporatism)
  - a. Head of society like a father
  - b. The different parts fit together and are (or should be) in harmony
  - c. The parts are organized in corporate structures, not individuals

B The Individualist/Utilitarian Tradition

1. Hobbes and Social Contractarianism
  - a. State of Nature
    - 1) Individuals as atoms
    - 2) Individuals have complete sovereignty over themselves
    - 3) People motivated by desire/pride and fear of death: maximizing their utilities
    - 4) People are equal: all have desires; all fear death; all are mortal
      - a) Implicitly democratic

- 5) War of every person against every other person
  - 6) Condition of anarchy and strongest person winning; but strongest person must also fear
  - 7) Denial that religion is effective in reducing fear
  - 8) Problem of aristocratic pride
- b. Social Contract to build state and society
    - 1) Rational people will give up sovereignty to state
    - 2) Note prisoner's dilemma: rationality of social contract ineffective against aristocratic pride and religious zeal
2. Locke's moderation of this view
    - a. Society can create state
    - b. Right of revolution
    - c. Toleration
3. Adam Smith and the harmonization of individualism
    - a. Theory of Moral Sentiments
      - 1) "Sympathy" leads to comparison
      - 2) Comparison leads to striving
      - 3) Striving changes whole face of the globe
    - b. Wealth of Nations
      - 1) People are equal, but have different talents; have tendency to "truck, barter and exchange one thing for another"
      - 2) This leads, not to war, but to peaceful complementarity
      - 3) Market society as a social contract:
        - a) Feudal society as anarchy, state of nature, warfare, mafia turf-battle

- b) Market society as a pacified society
    - (i) Order and good government
    - (ii) An expanding pie displaces violent confrontation
  - c) The Invisible Hand
  - d) The night-watchman state
4. Bentham and Utilitarianism
- a. Motto: The greatest good for the greatest number
    - 1) Calculation of pleasures and pains
  - b. Based on the same atomism, egalitarianism, and self-interest as Hobbes
    - 1) Now explicitly democratic
    - 2) Maintains the same peaceful and harmonious orientation as Smith
  - c. Promoted Liberal reformism in England
    - 1) Reducing privilege
    - 2) Widening franchise
    - 3) Improving living and working conditions
    - 4) Supporting toleration
5. Criticisms of Utilitarianism
- a. Economics became institutionalized and separated
  - b. Socialists criticized atomism as leading to new forms of privilege and thus being undemocratic
  - c. Sociologists criticized atomism as empirically false
  - d. Psychologists criticized pleasure/pain calculations as simplistic (Pygmalion: Bentham "Pushpin as good as Poetry," JS Mill, GB Shaw, My Fair Lady)

- e. Moralists criticized isolation of atoms, loss of community, decline of altruism
- 6. By the period between the two world wars, Utilitarianism appeared to be dead, but since the 1950s, it has made a come-back in sociology
  - a. Homans and Exchange Theory
    - 1) Criticizes Parsons' reification of "society"
    - 2) Society is composed of people doing things for each other and thereby forming solidaristic bonds
    - 3) Blau shifted theory from emphasis on individual psychology to structures of interaction
    - 4) Note anomalies discovered from structural perspective
      - a) Arrow's impossibility theorem
      - b) Schelling's theories of "bandwagon effects" or "tipping"
  - b. Limits of Rationality
    - 1) March and Simon's "bounded rationality" and the problem of information overload: "satisficing" rather than maximization of utilities
    - 2) Mancur Olson's "free rider" problem
      - a) Marwell/Oliver's solution in field of social movements
    - 3) "Prisoner's dilemma" and game theory (recall Hobbes)
      - a) Iterated games as a possible solution: problem of information overload
  - c. Limits of Atomism in social structure
    - 1) Networks in markets: White and Granovetter
    - 2) Corporate actors as powerful actors in markets (Coleman)

- 3) Coleman's theory of social capital
- 4) State as a social actor, not as a social contract: Tilly's theory of State as a protection racket or organized crime
- 5) Structural problems of democratic optimal solution
  - a) Polarization and Grand Coalitions block alternance
  - b) Minimum winning coalitions leaves out minority
  - c) Pivotal position can block/extort majority

## C The Conflict Tradition

### 1. Marxism: The intellectual background

#### a. Hegel's dialectic as a conflict theory

- 1) Thesis, antithesis, synthesis
- 2) But this was also a theory of harmonization under the Prussian State
- 3) Left Hegelians (including Marx) stressed the conflict aspect

#### b. Classical political economy and Materialism

- 1) Much of Marxism and conflict theory can be derived from Adam Smith and his followers
- 2) Material interests and class conflict are at the basis of social action and social structure
  - a) Values and ideology stem from economic roots
- 3) Analysis of social classes according to the means of production
  - a) Capitalists - owners of capital; live from profit
  - b) Workers - work for capital; live from wages
  - c) Landlords - monopoly owners of land; live from rent
- 4) Classes are necessarily in conflict with each other, and history is the history of class conflict
  - a) Implicit in classical political economy; explicit in Marx

### 2. Marxist Sociology and Conflict theory

#### a. Social classes based on the means of production (capital)

- 1) Society is bifurcating into two main social classes, capitalists and proletarians (owners and workers)
- 2) Middle classes are being squeezed out

- 3) Lumpenproletariat results from unemployment: incapacity of capital to employ all workers
  - 4) Due to capitalist competition and concentration, most people will increasingly belong to the proletariat
- b. Theory of Ideology
- 1) Ideas or values stem from material conditions: thus, one's ideas stem from one's class position
  - 2) The dominant ideas of any epoch are the ideas of the dominant class
    - a) The dominant class controls the means of disseminating ideas (e.g. news media, advertising)
    - b) The dominant class can afford to hire professional ideologists or intellectuals
  - 3) This theory can be generalized as a theory of class cultures or of group subcultures, if the group has its own material interests
- c. The theory of political conflict
- 1) The dominant class must control the State to protect its economic position and prevent subordinate classes from rebelling
  - 2) Politics is a struggle to control the State
    - a) The dominant class wins this struggle
    - b) A rising class sometimes overthrows and displaces an existing dominant class
    - c) The capitalist class overthrew the old aristocracy in the French revolution
    - d) The proletarian class will overthrow the capitalist class in a socialist revolution
    - e) The class that wins generally has superior material resources and superior organization (networks of ties, unlike the peasantry: a sack of potatoes)

- (i) Theories of resource mobilization
- f) Capital as a sorcerer's apprentice
  - (i) Brings together and organizes workers for production
  - (ii) Workers use this organization to seize political power
  - (iii) However, this prediction did not come true because of economic decentralization
- 3) In practice, revolutions involve unstable coalitions among classes
  - a) The lower classes sometimes act as shock troops for higher classes
    - (i) They have false consciousness
    - (ii) They have less internal organization and can be led
  - b) Theory of Bonapartism
    - (i) Bourgeoisie cannot rule directly in a democracy because they are not a majority
    - (ii) Lumpenproletariat and peasantry must defeat proletariat for the bourgeoisie
    - (iii) Bourgeoisie must rule with a friendly dictator
- 3. Max Weber's multidimensional theory of stratification: Three bases instead of one
  - a. Class is defined more broadly than in Marx
    - 1) Relations to the means of production is one basis
    - 2) Market position is another basis
      - a) Skills and the theory of human capital
      - b) NB more recent theory of social capital
  - b. Status crosscuts class lines

- 1) Basis of status is honor: abhors market higgling
  - 2) Also based in patterns of consumption
- c. Parties are pure competitors for power
- 1) Basis is pure organization and adherence to the organization
    - a) May well cross class or status lines
    - b) May involve disloyalty to or betrayal of class or status interests: NB Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy

## D The Functionalist Tradition

### 1. Durkheim's Problem of Social Order

- a. The question is, What holds society together; what is the nature of the social bond?
  - 1) It focuses on the ties between individuals, not on the individuals themselves
  - 2) It is a critique of the atomistic assumptions of Social Contract theory
    - a) There must be precontractual elements of contract
    - b) Otherwise, people will not uphold their agreements if they have the opportunity to cheat
- b. Social density or concentration is the key factor
  - 1) The less the social density, the greater the social homogeneity
  - 2) The greater the social density, the greater the social differentiation or specialization: the greater the division of labor
    - a) Durkheim assumes a social evolution from simple, sparsely populated, homogeneous societies to large, densely populated, complex and differentiated societies
    - b) Spencer takes a similar view of social evolution toward large, complex societies, but unlike Durkheim, he bases it on methodological individualism
  - 3) Problems of coordination of this division of labor lead to problems for individuals and society
    - a) Especially the problem of anomie (lack of regulation), but also:
    - b) Forced division of labor
    - c) Egoistic or altruistic suicide
- c. Social bonds are created and reinforced in rituals
  - 1) These are moments of heightened social density

- 2) The highest points of social density, moments of social effervescence, create rituals
- 3) Symbols and ideas represent the power of the social bonds, even when rituals are not taking place
  - a) Therefore symbols are revered, and their violation is tabooed
- d. The content of these social bonds is Morality, Values, Norms, Rules, Law
  - 1) Society punishes those who break these morals or laws - that is, those who violate the social bonds
2. American functionalism around the 1950s: Robert Merton and Talcott Parsons
  - a. This functionalism looked at the contribution of any phenomenon to society
  - b. These may be divided into manifest and latent functions
    - 1) Manifest functions are those that people consciously strive for
    - 2) Latent functions are those whose purpose may not immediately be apparent
      - a) E.g., an urban political machine that is corrupt but serves the interests of its patronage clients and thus keeps the lower classes attached to society
      - b) Of course, such latent functions can be analyzed in the conflict tradition simply as different group interests
    - 3) Occasionally, when the functionalist analyst cannot see any purpose for a phenomenon, it may be labeled a "dysfunction"
  - c. This functionalism was generally conservative because almost anything that existed was considered to be all for the best
    - 1) An extreme example of this conservatism was Davis and Moore's theory of stratification that says higher paid people earn more because they contribute more to society

- 2) Durkheim's own functionalism was not so conservative because he could be critical of some things that exist
3. Some examples of the power of Social Symbols and Rituals from cultural sociology and social anthropology
  - a. Marcel Mauss's analysis of the symbolic features of the Gift
    - 1) The "kula ring" of gift giving in the Trobriand islands illustrates the precontractual elements of contract
      - a) The islanders trade two types of goods, economic goods like fish and coconuts, and symbolic money-like goods which travel around the islands in a ring
      - b) Only after the chieftains have given gifts of the money-like goods does economic trading take place. Prior to that, an air of (potential) hostility would make market negotiations dangerous
    - 2) Some gifts establish social hierarchy
      - a) The one who can afford to give the most expensive gifts is shown to hold the highest status
      - b) Potlatch gift-giving among the Indians of the Canadian Pacific takes this form and can be very competitive
      - c) Some chieftains on South Sea islands receive gifts from the tribal members and then give them back at huge ceremonial feasts
        - (i) This may appear to be circular, but it demonstrates the power of the chieftain
  - b. Erving Goffman and Randall Collins on interaction rituals and class subcultures
    - 1) Goffman posits that everyday interactions are actually ritual performances
      - a) They create ideal images of the self, negotiate social ties, control others
      - b) Some are "frontstage" performances meant for public consumption

- c) Others are “backstage” activity meant for the privacy of intimate relations
- 2) Collins divides society according to how many orders people give or take
- a) Those who give lots of orders constitute the “official class,” who uphold the “frontstage” ideals and formalities of society
  - b) Those who take orders are alienated from the official frontstage and retreat to a “backstage” subculture

E The Microinteractionist Tradition

1. Its greatest strength is the analysis of the Self and the immediate social situations it faces
  - a. Its analysis of macrosociology tends to be thin and rather naive
2. It is the most uniquely American of the major traditions: it was developed here, and most of its major proponents have been American
  - a. However, it has not necessarily been the strongest tradition in America; it simply hasn't been very strong elsewhere
3. Theoretical background
  - a. Pragmatism: the philosophy of Charles Pierce (also William James, John Dewey)
    - 1) Pierce criticized formal, deductive logic from the point of view of his new theory of "semiotics," the science of signs
    - 2) The mind does not directly apprehend objects; signs mediate
    - 3) Signs can include words/language, symbols, etc.
    - 4) Signs are necessarily social because each individual does not invent them
    - 5) These philosophers did not develop the sociological aspects of their insights very far
  - b. The sociology of Charles Horton Cooley
    - 1) Cooley begins with the observation that children often have imaginary playmates
    - 2) Cooley argues that also, for adults, there is no essential difference between real and imaginary persons because our perception of others is in our minds
    - 3) Thus, society is a mental phenomenon
    - 4) Cooley's idea of society was very benign and naive, excluding phenomena like domination or conflict, but it set the stage for further microsociological thinking

4. The microsociology of George Herbert Mead
  - a. Very similar to Adam Smith's theory in the Theory of Moral Sentiments
  - b. The Self is a reflexive entity because a person can be both a subject and also an object for himself/herself: an "I" and a "Me"
  - c. As children, we begin by imaginary role playing, and eventually acquire an idea of rules for games and rules for life
  - d. We apply these rules to others and to ourselves. In this sense, we both enforce and internalize the rules
  - e. As we grow older, we realize that these rules are created socially, interactively, by what Mead calls "the Generalized Other"
    - 1) The Generalized Other is the repository of social standards: rules, norms, values - but also language, signs and symbols (as with Pierce's Semiotics)
    - 2) The Generalized Other is also society, but it is not external to us because we are a component part of it
    - 3) Thus, we both internalize social standards, and we can also influence social standards
    - 4) The self is not completely determined from outside, but it has an element of freedom and initiative.
  - f. In this respect, society is a looking-glass world. We regard ourselves according to the standards of the Generalized Other, and we judge others according to these standards, which we internalize, but can also influence
  - g. And since we exist in different social situations (as child, parent, spouse, friend, employee, etc.), our Self is also divided into different roles, each of which may correspond to a somewhat different Generalized Other - i.e., into different sets of norms.
5. Mead's microsociology was developed in several different directions

- a. Herbert Blumer's Symbolic Interactionism
    - 1) We constantly re-negotiate our social situation: in reality, it is very fluid and can change rapidly
    - 2) If social structures appear stable, it is because people keep re-negotiating their relations in the same way
    - 3) Part of this tradition has investigated deviant behavior (especially "victimless crimes" like prostitution, drug abuse) with sympathy for the underdog in society
  - b. Role theory
    - 1) Much more static investigation of the structure of interaction
    - 2) Different situations correspond to the different roles in which we act
6. Other branches of microsociology
- a. Harold Garfinkel's Ethnomethodology
    - 1) Ethnomethodology stems from Husserl's philosophy and existentialism, which doubts reality much more radically than does Pierce's Pragmatism
      - a) We can't know reality for certain - though we wish we did - so we construct myths, conventional understandings, about the way the world works.
      - b) Ethnomethodology shows how easily these myths can be undermined
    - 2) The social world we perceive is a socially-constructed reality: a set of conventional roles, activities bundled together and labeled
    - 3) Social research must examine in detail the actual activities that make up some named role: the way, say, an astronomer or plumber actually goes about his or her work
      - a) By doing this, the researcher shows that the role of astronomer or plumber is actually a conventional justification of a set of activities, and not necessarily the overall role that those persons claim for it

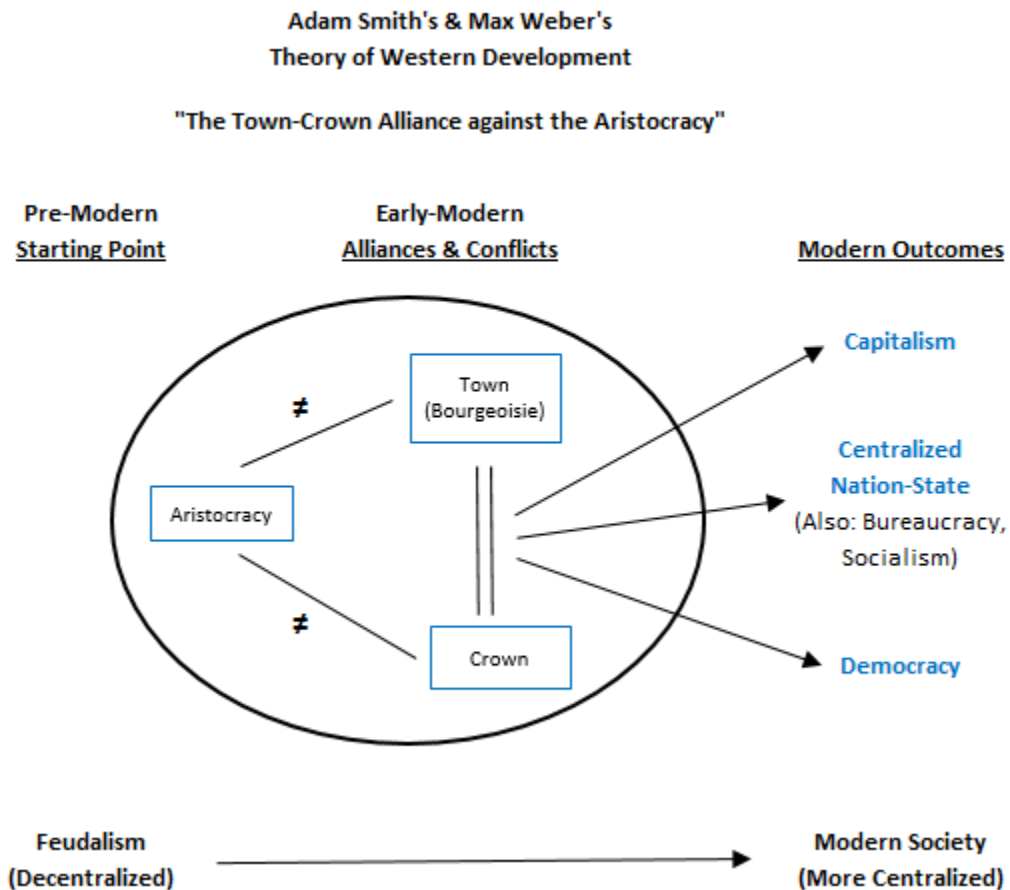
- b) The social researcher is part of this world and must take his act of observing into account
- 4) This approach has been applied to an extremely detailed study of audio- and videotapes
- a. Erving Goffman
  - 1) Really, Goffman is more of a Durkheimian: he stresses social structure first, and subjective consciousness second
  - 2) Goffman criticizes ethnomethodologists and symbolic interactionists: why should we accept the actor's own definition of his situation rather than analyzing the "frame" (social context) within which he acts?
  - 3) Some frames are embedded in other frames, but actors are rarely confused about where they are. We can generally get easily to the core or primary frame.
    - a) The core or primary frame is the material world in the Durkheimian sense
  - 4) His analysis of speech acts is similar: we must investigate the underlying (material) social situation in which it takes place

F The Historical Background of Social Theory: Stories, Hypotheses, and Debates about the emergence of Modern Society

1. Two Stories, the "Endogenous" and the "Exogenous"
  - a. "Endogenous" means that the causal elements of the story are mainly "internal" to the system (the society). Society develops by an internal logic that unfolds or develops. By contrast, an "Exogenous" story means that the causal elements are "external" to the system (the society). External influences affect the development of the society.
  - b. Most of the theory we read in this class take an endogenous approach, though DuBois begins to introduce more exogenous elements. We find the endogenous story, with variations, in most of the theorists we read, especially conflict theorists like Adam Smith, Marx, and Weber, but also implicitly among functionalists like Spencer. DuBois follows much of this, but begins to introduce more "exogenous" elements as well.
  - c. Exogenous stories have been increasingly prominent in theory and history in the years after most of our theorists worked, including Lenin around WWI, and decolonizers after WWII, who began to introduce a variety of exogenous elements into accounts of Western and World development.
  - d. A useful recent book reviews the historical literature on world economic development and evaluates how many of the "classical" sociological theories stand up to current historical research: Mark Koyama and Jared T. Rubin, *How the World Became Rich: The Historical Origins of Economic Growth*, Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2022. Seeking to explain sustained economic growth (at the core of "modern" society), first in the West, and then in other regions of the world, they examine:
    - 1) Endogenous factors: Institutions, Culture, Demography, and Industrialization
    - 2) Exogenous factors: Geography, and Colonization and Exploitation
2. The Standard "Endogenous" Story (very oversimplified!)
  - a. Weber argues that most historical societies tended to be either tribal – small, decentralized, and comparatively egalitarian – or empires – large, centralized, powerful, and hierarchical. Empires lived by conquest and exploitation of the surplus of the peoples they conquered.

- b. According to this story, ancient Europe had been largely a tribal society, but was conquered by the Roman empire.
- c. As the Roman empire lost power and slowly withdrew from Europe, the tribal chieftains harried the Roman legions out of their territory, but did not seek to pursue them back to Rome.
- d. These tribal chieftains became the nobility or aristocracy of Europe. They practiced domination and exploitation of the population on a local scale. They maintained a military (knights) to defend themselves against neighboring aristocrats and to enforce domination and exploitation of the local population. The common people were peasants, and the economy was agrarian.
- e. The aristocrats did not have the power to expand and centralize their power, so they remained local powers. But monarchs (kings and queens) arose among the aristocrats and wished to exert their power over the aristocrats, but were not militarily strong enough to do so. If they had succeeded, European society might have become an empire or a series of empires. Instead, it developed into feudalism, a semi-decentralized system very rare in world history.
- f. Within feudal society, towns emerged. The townspeople began as impoverished artisans or traders who might set up shop at a crossroads, but they were subject to the depredations and raids of the aristocrats, who wanted to seize their surplus, just as they did with the peasants.
- g. In time, the townspeople were able to erect town walls to protect themselves against the aristocrats and in order to keep more of their own surplus.
- h. The monarchs began to form alliances with the towns to protect them against the aristocrats, under the principle that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," and in return for a fixed tax. The fixed tax meant that the townspeople could strive to become more productive and more profitable, because they could keep this surplus for themselves. This is the important picture we get from Adam Smith and Weber of the tripartite interaction in feudal Europe of the Town-Crown alliance against the Aristocracy.
- i. This arrangement was a standoff, and neither Smith nor Weber tell us why it ended. But it did eventually end with the victory of the Town-Crown alliance.
- j. This transition created the modern world. It had three major consequences.

- 1) The Nation State. Under Absolutism, the monarchs were able to establish states (later, nation states), which were not large or strong enough to be empires, but which became very strong economically and militarily. Even when monarchs were later overthrown, the nation state survived, and it has become the dominant form of political organization in the world, displacing empires.
- 2) Capitalism. The townspeople were able to extend trade among the towns, now that the countryside had become de-militarized, and they were able to expand their production, leading to manufacturing. This eventually gave rise to capitalism and great national wealth.
- 3) Democracy. As part of their deal with the monarchies, the townspeople demanded and got the ability to govern themselves, and to have civil and economic freedoms. These rights grew into citizenship and democracy, were expanded, slowly or quickly, to other sectors of society.
- 4) See diagram:



- k. This modern form of society became so rich and powerful, it was able to conquer other parts of the world. And other parts of the world also wanted to emulate this

system. This modernism did spread, by conquest and emulation, and eventually, other parts of the world were able to compete effectively against Western societies. Thus, especially since the 1970s, Asian economies (e.g., Japan, South Korea, China) have outcompeted Western economies and have begun to spread their versions of modern models throughout the world. Their competition has also contributed to much deindustrialization of Western societies and the consequent social dislocations. We might be entering into newer phases of history, which will require new social theorizing.

- I. Note: Koyama and Rubin cite recent literature that shows that Weber's thesis of a Protestant advantage in economic development is entirely accounted for by Protestants' higher levels of education – and that education also accounted for Jews' economic successes prior to, and since, the Protestant Reformation (see Maristella Botticini and Zvi Eckstein, *The Chosen Few: How Education Shaped Jewish History, 70-1492*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.)
3. A newer "Exogenous" Story (one among several, and also very oversimplified!)
    - a. Since at least the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, there has been an exogenous story, largely built on older ideas of empire. The story is generally that European nations managed to become empires and seize and exploit the resources (including labor) of populations they conquered.
    - b. Lenin's Marxian theory of "imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism" is one version of this. The decolonizing leaders of former European colonies after World War II presented other versions of these theories.
    - c. Another, more nuanced, theory emerged, which centered especially on the system of sugar-producing slave plantations of the early modern period. I draw on three main sources for this story:
      - 1) Eric Williams book, *Capitalism and Slavery*. Williams came from Trinidad and Tobago, and went to Oxford for his PhD in economic history in the late 1930s. This was his dissertation, and was published in book form in the 1940s, while he was a professor at Howard University. He later returned to Trinidad and Tobago, became the first prime minister, and led decolonization and independence. He set the main thesis here. It has been much debated, and evaluations have gone back and forth.
      - 2) Sven Beckert's book, *Empire of Cotton*. Beckert is a Harvard history professor, and his 2014 book has been extremely influential.
      - 3) Howard French's 2021 book, *Born in Blackness: Africa, Africans, and the Making of the Modern World, 1471 to the Second World War*. French is a Black

American, born in Virginia, who was a New York Times journalist, and is now a professor at Columbia; his wife is from Ghana. He was bureau chief for the NYT in Beijing and several African capitals, and he has written a number of books, including two about Chinese history.

- 4) I have also learned a good deal from these recent books and articles:
- a) Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
  - b) Lisa A. Lindsay, *Captives as Commodities: The Transatlantic Slave Trade*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008.
  - c) Barbara L. Solow, *The Economic Consequences of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014.
  - d) Sean Arnold Stilwell. *Slavery and Slaving in African History*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
  - e) Geraldine. Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
  - f) Mark Koyama and Jared T. Rubin, *How the World Became Rich: The Historical Origins of Economic Growth*, Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2022.
  - g) Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution*. Polity Press, 2023
  - h) Ulbe Bosma, *The World of Sugar: How the Sweet Stuff Transformed Our Politics, Health, and Environment over 2,000 Years*, Harvard University Press, 2023 [I haven't read this one yet; it's in my queue]
  - i) Two important studies on the comparative history of slavery, especially comparing Europe and Islamic systems:
    - (i) Lisa Blaydes and Eric Chaney, "The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise: Political Divergence of the Christian West and the Muslim World before 1500 CE." *The American Political Science Review* (2013) 107(1):16-34.
    - (ii) J.C. Sharman, Ayse Zarakol, "Global Slavery in the Making of States and International Orders," *American Political Science Review* (2024) 118, 2, 802–814
  - j) Several tough critiques by economic historians of foregrounding the role of slavery in the development of the modern economy, focusing on errors in the analyses of Beckert and the "new historians of capitalism:"
    - (i) Trevor Burnard and Giorgio Riello. 2020. "Slavery and the new history of capitalism." *Journal of Global History* 15(2):225-244.
    - (ii) John Clegg. 2020. "A Theory of Capitalist Slavery." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 33(1):74-98.
    - (iii) Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode. 2018. "Cotton, slavery, and the new history of capitalism." *Explorations in Economic History* 67:1-17.
    - (iv) Gavin Wright. 2020. "Slavery and Anglo-American Capitalism Revisited." *Economic History Review* 73(2):353-383.

- d. This story, mostly taken from French, and building on Williams and Beckert, goes something like this (as always, oversimplified):
- e. Europe in the middle ages was poor, ignorant, and backward. Muslim and Asian societies of the time were more advanced.
- f. In 1325, Mansa Musa, Muslim emperor of the Malian empire, made a pilgrimage to Mecca. Mali had extensive gold mines, and Musa has been called the richest person in human history. Musa took a large caravan, with many slaves, with him on his pilgrimage, and gave away masses of gold, hoping to be recognized as a great leader. While he did not receive the recognition he sought, he did alert the world to the riches of gold in Mali.
  - 1) Slavery had existed in Africa since pre-historic times, in “low density” (mainly, household) and “high density” (mainly controlled by states/empires and estates) forms. While some have suggested that low density slavery was less harsh than high density slavery, it was still harsh, and slave status could be inherited across numerous generations, and slaves could be killed in human sacrifice rituals.
  - 2) African slavery was spurred by external slave trading, initially with Muslims, across the Sahara and across the Indian Ocean, and later by the Atlantic slave trade. Muslims traded horses for slaves, and the Ghanaian, Malian, Songhai empires utilized the horses to conquer neighboring areas, taking slaves as they expanded. Mali also employed high density slave labor in its gold mines.
- g. Europe was too weak to compete for the Malian gold, especially not by the land routes through the Middle East and across the Sahara and Sahel. But Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal decided to try for a sea route along the Atlantic coasts of Europe and Africa, which were largely unknown to Europeans at the time.
- h. The Portuguese were able to sail down the coast of West Africa, and after a while, around the Cape of Good Hope, up the east coast of Africa, to India, bypassing the land routes.
- i. The Portuguese eventually managed to establish an early 3-way trade system of certain European goods (e.g., metal pots and pans), Indian cotton fabrics, and African gold. And this attracted the interest and competition of other Atlantic-facing European countries like Spain, France, Britain, the Netherlands, and others.
- j. None of the European powers were strong enough to conquer African societies or even land without permission. Indeed, the Europeans were dependent on powerful

- Africans even for their provisions. The Portuguese did manage to get permission to build a fort on the coast of present-day Ghana in 1471, called Elmina ("the mine"), which later became a notorious slave-shipping post.
- k. As a side endeavor, the Portuguese established sugar-growing farms on the islands off of West Africa, the Azores, the Canaries, and especially Sao Tome. Sugar rapidly revealed itself as a highly desired cash crop, and the Portuguese expanded their operations to plantations employing African slave labor. The Portuguese made this labor system especially intensive and efficient, especially on Sao Tome, which led to widespread deaths among the slaves.
    - 1) Slave-based sugar plantations had already existed for centuries before the Portuguese, in the Eastern Mediterranean, largely under Muslim control. This earlier slave production was also high-density, intensively organized, and commercially oriented.
  - l. Other European nations also noticed this slave-based sugar plantation economy and raced to either take it over or emulate it, especially after Columbus established sea routes to the Western hemisphere. Slave-based sugar plantations, later also with coffee, were established throughout the Caribbean and on the coast of present-day Brazil, and all major Atlantic-facing European countries competed here.
  - m. The Sugar economy helped kick-start European economies, leading to the development of consumer markets, ship-building, finance and insurance, and also to the increase in navies and state power. European economies and states began to grow strong and rich.
  - n. The European countries used more and more African slave labor, but they were still militarily too weak to land on the African continent, so they obtained their slaves in trade with powerful Africans. It was not until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century that European powers became strong enough to land on the African continent and control the lands, during a later stage of imperialism or colonialism. Yet by the time European colonialism gained power on the land in Africa, most European countries had banned the trans-Atlantic slave trade.
    - 1) Note that Europeans almost never captured slaves in Africa themselves, but rather, purchased them from powerful Africans who captured and enslaved other Africans. Some powerful Africans could and did refuse to sell slaves (even though they might themselves practice slavery), and African sellers mostly demanded and got full market valuations, not trinkets.

- a) This was in contrast to the Islamic slave trade. Islamic forces, whether Middle-Eastern or African muslims, were often strong enough to capture and enslave Africans themselves.
  - 2) During the Atlantic slave trade, Europeans also had to depend on African rulers for rights to dock, build fortresses, hold slaves for transport, as well as for food and provisions. Europeans did not gain power to decisively control things till late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; and decolonization after World War II again reduced their power over African societies.
  - 3) African slavery actually expanded after the Western abolition of the slave trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and lasted into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There were generally as many slaves in Africa as in the Americas, and the percentage of enslaved people in Africa could reach 20-50% in some regions at some times. Most aspects of slavery in Africa are highly variable – and highly debated – but slavery in Africa was a major feature of its history.
- o. The sugar plantation owners became incredibly rich, protected by European mercantilist policies and navies, and flanked by privateers and pirates, who also sometimes became planters. The plantation owners began to return to their home countries and engage in domestic economy and politics, sometimes becoming absentee owners, sending managers to engage in increasingly brutal labor practices on the plantations.
- 1) Barbara Solow and others argue that slave plantations drove the economic development of the Americas. European elites never succeeded in inducing sufficient numbers of free Europeans to settle in the Americas. And with the availability of vast amounts of land (at the expense of indigenous peoples), American landowners could never induce Europeans to work for wages when they could homestead. American yeoman small farmers were basically subsistence farmers, producing little for markets or driving economic development. It took coercive slave labor to produce enough export goods to drive economic development; and even non-slave regions like New England largely developed by providing slave regions with slaves, production goods, and markets.
- p. However, sugar production tended to exhaust the fertility of the soil, meaning the planters had to find new islands or mainland locations for their plantations. Also, increased production worldwide began to lead to a glut of sugar and an overall collapse of prices.

- q. At this point, Eric Williams argues, mechanization of cotton spinning and weaving begins to emerge in Manchester, Britain, and the enormously wealthy sugar planters – as well as the increasing wealthy general economy – begin investing in cotton mills. Beckert also takes up the story here.
- r. Sugar planters had attempted to expand to North America, especially around South Carolina and Louisiana. But sugar production did not work as well there, so planters turned to rice and then cotton, still using slave labor.
- s. Paradoxically, Williams and to a lesser extent Beckert, argue that even though the demand for cotton for the mills was increasing, and production in the America South was increasing, the mills became more and more able to source cotton from all over the world, including India, the Middle East, and China. Thus, Williams and Beckert argue that slave production of cotton became less and less economically necessary and viable.
- t. Cotton fabric production also became so profitable, that the British and also New Englanders began to turn away from mercantilism and toward free trade, because nobody else could compete with them.
- u. Given these factors, Britain began to turn away from the slave trade and slave production, and outlawed it in 1807. The American South continued slave production till the Civil War (and Cuba and Brazil still longer), but to their surprise, their cotton production actually increased after Emancipation. Initially, it is thought (cf. DuBois) that this was due to Jim Crow measures like share-cropping and convict labor, which attempted to reintroduce slave labor by other means. But the rest of the U.S. was establishing mechanized agriculture after the Civil War, and it was very productive. The Southern planters resisted mechanization until the Great Migration caused them to lose their Black work force, and they were forced to turn to mechanization – and actually experienced another increase in productivity without such oppressive labor practices.
- v. Thus, this story suggests that:
  - 1) Slave-plantation sugar production directly and indirectly revolutionized European economies and states, hugely increasing their wealth and power.
  - 2) This new capital was reinvested in industrialization, which accelerated the growth of Western wealth and power, and led to a turning away from mercantilism and a reliance on slave labor.
  - 3) By this time, cotton could be sourced from everywhere in the world, and slave production was no longer economically "necessary," but it still continued in the American South till it was ended by the Civil War. And while oppressive labor

practices continued through the Jim Crow era, mechanization also showed that these practices were also economically "unnecessary." In fact, these practices probably held back Southern economic development for a century after the Civil War. We might need another explanation for these practices: if not for economic reasons, perhaps for reasons of political power.

- w. Not all theorists and historians endorse this version of the "exogenous" story. While the story may have internal coherence, recent historical research summarized by Koyama and Rubin (also see the critics of the "new history of capitalism" cited above) shows that:
- 1) Other historical empires (Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Mongols, Muslims) did not produce sustained economic growth. They simply stole goods and people (slaves) from one place and moved them to their imperial centers. Sustained economic growth did not take hold until it began in modern Western societies, whether for endogenous or exogenous reasons. In fact, it was only Britain, with industrialization, that first broke through to sustained economic growth, not the other European powers, though they also built empires and used slave labor; they only caught up later by following Britain's path.
  - 2) Williams' thesis, that profits from slave-plantation sugar production provided the start-up capital for industrial development, has not stood up well to historical evidence. (a) Most of the start-up capital for industrial production came from small inventors and craftsmen in the North of England not connected to the centers of capital in London or Liverpool. (b) Sugar-based capital was a small part of the British economy, and like cotton profits, it soon declined due to overproduction from around the world.
  - 3) Beckert's thesis, that it was cotton, also falls short for many of the same reasons. (a) As we have seen, and Beckert agrees, slavery was not economically "necessary" for producing cotton profits: other regions without slavery also produced profits, and profits did not fall in the American South after Emancipation. (b) The price of cotton fell, like sugar prices, due to world overproduction. Textile mill owners could source cotton world-wide, without having to rely on slave production. (c) Cotton production did not drive the US economy, either during slavery or afterwards: cotton exports accounted for less than 6% of the US economy. (d) Cotton production actually held back economic development in the American South, during slave times and for a century after. Again, the plantation owners got rich and maintained their own political power at the expense of the region and the whole of America.
- x. Recent analyses of the history of slavery has also questioned the uniqueness of the Western case.

- 1) Two major articles on the comparative history of slavery, the state, and the economy, especially comparing European and Islamic slavery, came out in the *American Political Science Review* in recent years:
  - Lisa Blaydes and Eric Chaney, "The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise: Political Divergence of the Christian West and the Muslim World before 1500 CE," in *The American Political Science Review* 107(1):16-34 (2013), presents a comparison of medieval Western European state development with Islamic state (empire) development.
    - Western European kings didn't have sufficient revenue to pay for military, so they had to barter the military service of nobles for land. That gave the aristocracy an independent source of power & revenue, and enabled them to extract liberties & parliaments from the kings. This eventually enabled the emergence of towns, the commercial revolution, and economic growth. Ultimately, it also made possible the concept of a legitimate opposition & political tolerance and eventually led to the creation of strong democracies. This narrative resembles the Smith/Weber story of the town-crown alliance against the aristocracy.
    - The Muslim rulers had revenue to pay for Mamluks, slave militaries and administrators. The Mamluks were loyal only to the Caliphs or Sultans, and it was hard for independent local rulers to achieve independence. This led to much more centralized states/empires, but ultimately, they were brittle & not flexible enough to meet the challenge of a rising Europe in early modern times. This narrative resembles Tocqueville's warnings about centralization.
  - Sharman & Zarakol on the uses of slavery in state-making (J.C. Sharman, Ayse Zarakol, "Global Slavery in the Making of States and International Orders," *American Political Science Review* (2024) 118, 2, 802–814), authored by two professors of international relations at the University of Cambridge, England, one Western, the other Turkish. They seek to move beyond the dominant & parochial Euro-American focus and show how widespread the phenomenon was and what variety it entailed. They show the different uses slavery was put to in state/empire formation and emerging economic structures. In doing so, they also seek to contextualize the dominant trans-Atlantic focus in most Western scholarship.
    - "Slaves as the State." Most typical of Islamic empires, but also includes African & Asian polities. This represents an alternate approach to state centralization to the European model. The ruler uses slaves as military

and administrators to weaken the power of local powers; and the slaves are loyal only to the ruler.

- "Slaves under the State." Most typical of Europe & America, but again, also includes African & Asian polities. Slaves are used for economic production, but state capacity has to grow to protect this economic exploitation and oppression. The clearest case is European mercantilism, the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and plantation economy.
  - Both of these models entailed the development of international slave orders, with long-distance trade and military dominance. Both forms prohibited the enslavement of socio-cultural "insiders" (esp. defined by race or religion), but access to "outsiders" required the expansion of the state or empire to capture more slaves. It also led to the development of client states that enslaved local populations and sold them to the core state or empire.
- 2) Benjamin Reilly, *Slavery, Agriculture, and Malaria in the Arabian Peninsula*, Ohio University Press, 2015, explores plantation chattel slavery, using enslaved Africans, in the Arabian peninsula, in a period somewhat coterminous with the Atlantic slave trade. This was large-scale industrial slavery, carried out in malarial oasis areas, where Arab workers could not/would not work. Reilly notes, as did Bernard Lewis, that even though there are detailed archives of the Ottoman Empire that cover this practice, those archives have been closed to scholars. The societies of Muslim empires were largely urban, and the largely unexplored question is who provided the urban dwellers with food in the centuries after the slave revolts around Basra in the 10<sup>th</sup> century seemingly ended the slave-labor plantation economies of that time. Thus, Reilly questions:
- a) Whether chattel slavery was unique to the West, or even rare outside the West.
  - b) Whether chattel slavery was necessary for the creation of a capitalist market, or an economy that produced sustained economic growth.
  - c) Recall also that large-scale slavery on sugar plantations emerged on islands in the Mediterranean under Islamic control well before Europeans began similar production.
- y. It should also be noted that by, say, the period of industrialization, or at the latest, by the end of WWII, or perhaps the rise of Asian economies around the 1970s, the "endogenous" and "exogenous" stories largely dovetail. The "endogenous" story accepts that international domination took place after Western modern societies emerged; and the "exogenous" story suggests that these practices always existed.

And both stories speculate that the age of Western dominance could be coming to an end, but that Asian societies may also begin to practice forms of global domination.

z. The question of Racism.

- 1) Eric Williams argues that racism did not cause slavery, but the reverse: that slavery caused racism. Africans were easier to identify than indentured Europeans, who were often treated just as badly. If either tried to escape, it was easier to identify the Africans.
- 2) Williams' colleague at Howard University, Frank Snowden, makes a parallel argument in his book, *Before Color Prejudice, The Ancient View of Blacks* (1983). Snowden argues that Europeans noticed the difference between themselves and Africans, but they didn't feel that this caused important differences between the groups.
- 3) The argument that the 1492 Expulsion from Spain caused racism. Ferdinand and Isabella ordered Jews and Muslims to leave Spain or convert to Christianity. Many left, and some converted, but some said they converted but continued to secretly practice their religion. The Inquisition then developed the idea that all conversions were insincere, and that "blood" or race prevented Jews or Muslims from becoming true Christians. Some have argued that this is the true source of "scientific" or "genetic" racism.
  - a) Geraldine Heng argued (*The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*, 2018) that racism in Europe can be traced back to medieval times – but still beginning by considering Jews to be hereditary outsiders.

aa. Sugar and civil society.

- 1) Some have argued (e.g., Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* [1962]) that sugar and coffee directly transformed European society.
- 2) They were consumer commodities and helped create consumer markets, a component of capitalism
- 3) Cafes partly displaced bars. And thus, stimulants (coffee, sugar) partly displaced depressants (alcohol). This contributed to greater energy and productivity, an important component of capitalism.
- 4) Just as importantly, cafes became gathering points for discussion and debate.
  - a) Prior to this, debate could take place within the Church or the Church-controlled University, or within aristocratic salons.
  - b) The scope of debate was definitely limited within the pre-modern Church or the Church-controlled University.

- c) The aristocratic salons are credited with being an important source of Enlightenment thinking, but aristocratic sponsorship may have also limited the scope of debate.
  - d) By contrast, cafes were gathering spots for lay commoners and may thus have contributed to the emergence of bourgeois civil society and bourgeois intellectuals, who produced competing worldviews in contrast to Church or aristocratic worldviews.
  - e) Later worldviews emerged in similar environments, but were critical of bourgeois ideology. These might include labor, race/ethnic minority, feminist, LGBTQ+, anti-colonial, and other perspectives.
- 5) Thus, some have argued that sugar and coffee – and cafes based on them – represent the turning point from “traditional” to “modern” sources of consumer society, increased productivity, and social theory production.
  - 6) However, others are skeptical of this thesis. See the evidence summarized by Koyama and Rubin, above. They argue that sugar production was just one of many factors, and not necessarily the largest of them, and that sugar production by other historical empires did not lead to sustained economic growth.

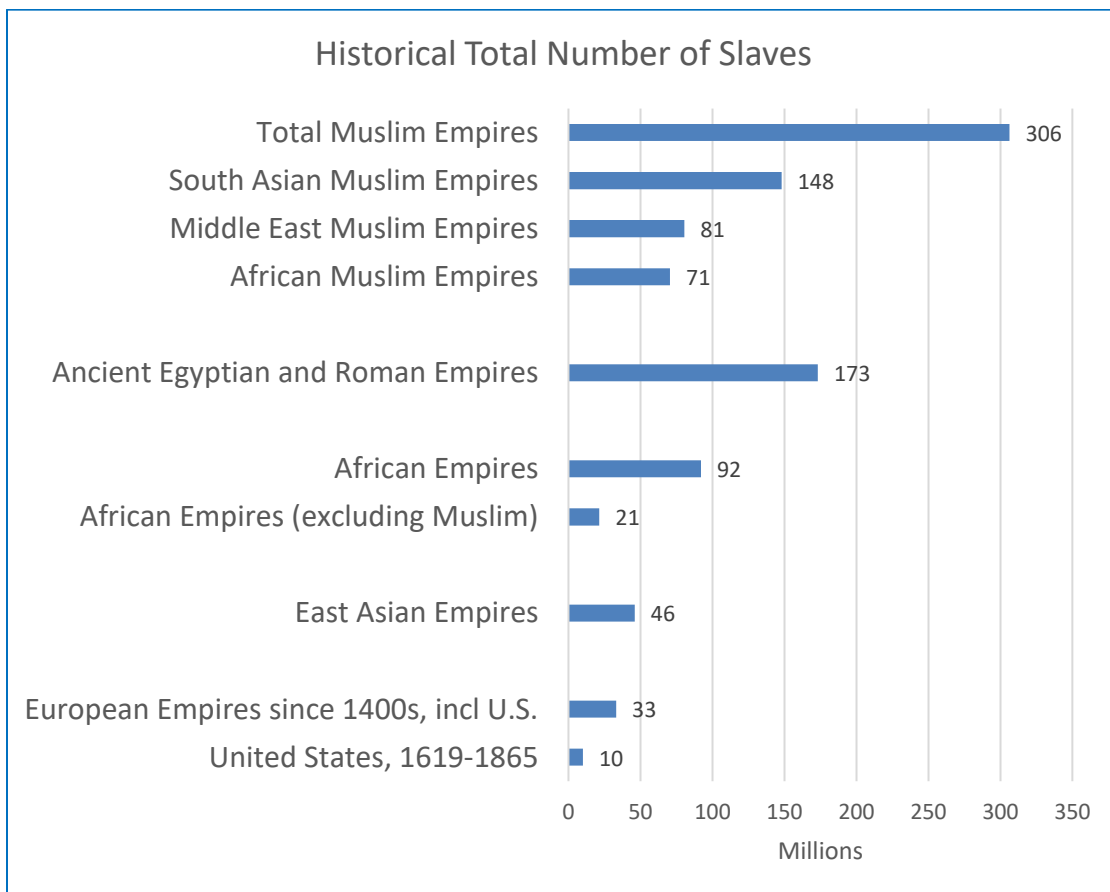
*A few addenda that are still open questions or that I have not yet read:*

- Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution*. Polity Press, 2023. The authors, respected economic historians specializing in the industrial revolution in Britain, seek to buttress the Eric Williams thesis, arguing that slavery was a much more important factor in Western economic development than has been given credit for, especially for the industrial revolution. They present a wealth of detailed information and data and provide an extensive review of recent literature. However, though they present bottom-line evaluations of the long-term harm slavery has done to descendants of slaves and to Africa and colonial areas, they decline to provide a bottom-line evaluation of how important slavery was to Western development. This has frustrated more than one reviewer, and it leaves unanswered several of the central questions raised above:
  - What was, in fact, slavery’s impact on Western development, even at a ballpark level?
  - Slavery and empire have existed in so many societies. Why did sustained economic growth only emerge in Western societies, beginning with Britain, and only after slavery had ended? And why Britain, when other European countries (France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands) had as large or larger slave-based economic sectors?
  - More generally, though the authors explore the connection between slavery and other sectors that were important for economic development – finance, the state, the military, manufacturing, especially textiles, a consumer market, among

- others – they don't evaluate how strong a causal impact. If slavery had a "multiplier effect," how big was it?
- European slavery was part of the mercantilist system and did not survive the end of mercantilism. How much did slavery actually affect the emergence and operation of the free market system that came after mercantilism?
  - These factors are going to need to be debated and evaluated more fully before we can say that anything like a consensus exists.
  - A new book came out in 2023, which I still need to read: Ulbe Bosma, *The World of Sugar: How the Sweet Stuff Transformed Our Politics, Health, and Environment over 2,000 Years*, Harvard University Press, 2023.
  - Sven Beckert published a new book in late 2025, *Capitalism: A Global History*, Penguin Press, 2025. At 1344 pages, it might be a while till I read it.

- In December 2025, a British economic commentator and comedian named Dominic Frisby made a serious attempt to estimate the total number of slaves over history in the great world empires. Frisby is not a scholar and based his estimates mainly on internet searches, including AI. He gives estimates for 27 empires. Yet notably, the rank-order size of his estimates across different empires bears similarities to the scholarly estimates of B. W. Higman (see below). See <https://www.theflyingfrisby.com/p/the-10-largest-slaving-civilisations> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hjwmZJhGII>. I supplemented Frisby's estimates with a peer-reviewed scholarly estimate of the total number of slaves in the boundaries of the present United States from 1619 to 1865, J. David Hacker, "From '20. and odd'to 10 million: the growth of the slave population in the United States," *Slavery & Abolition* 41(4):840-855, 2020.

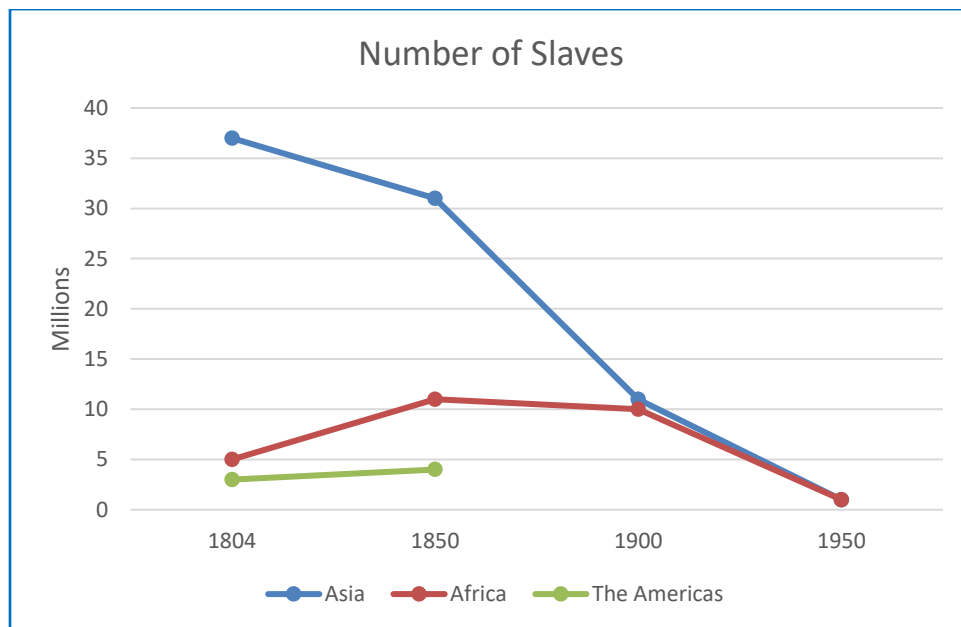
- I made a chart summarizing Frisby's and Hacker's estimates:



- A less detailed, but more scholarly set of estimates of the extent of slavery in different parts of the world is given by B. W. Higman, "Demographic Trends," Pp. 20-48 in *The*

*Cambridge World History of Slavery: Volume 4: AD 1804–AD 2016*, edited by David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman, Seymour Drescher, and David Richardson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Note that Higman’s estimates are not cumulative, but estimates at given points of time – and only since 1804. Also, unlike Frisby, his estimates for Asia and Africa do not distinguish between Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Despite these differences, Higman’s estimates notably give a somewhat similar rank-order of magnitude between the different societies.

- I made a chart summarizing Higman’s estimates:



This draft: December 2025

### Adam Smith - Lecture 1

#### The Character of Market Society

Smith makes a number of claims about the “natural” state of things: “human nature,” “natural” prices or rates of wages, rent, and profit, “natural” character of the market and market society. In this lecture, I explore the picture of market society he gives, mainly in Book I of the Wealth of Nations. In this and the following lectures, we will see how Smith contradicts most of his basic assertions about the “naturalness” of these things.

#### Benefits of Market Society

- Increase of productivity through division of labor (WN 13ff)
- Affluence of all (WN 22)
- Reduction of class differences (WN 24)

#### Assumptions

- Equality, but diversity (WN 28f). Accepts analysis of Hobbes; says differences arise in upbringing. Will have to ask, then, why different classes have different outlooks. Will answer, in part, due to material conditions (classes per se), and in part due to different values (esp comparing ruling groups).
- Self-interest; tendency to barter leads to harmony (WN 25f). Like Hobbes, does not argue from altruism, but also does not ascribe deadly competition here. Will have to ask later whether Smith sees this under all conditions or whether he wants this as a result of market society. I.e., is it really part of human nature, or does it stem from social conditions?
- NB: propensity to barter and division of labor are limited by extent of market (WN 31).

#### Characteristics and inner dynamics (WN 44-8, 72f)

- “Natural” and market prices; value.
- Higgling, entering and leaving market, supply and demand.

### Classes and class conflict

- Component parts of price: wages, profits, rent. (WN 65f)
- Principles which regulate each:
  - \* supply of labor (WN 86, 85)
  - \* accumulation of capital (WN 73, 84f)
  - \* appropriation of land (WN 160, 67)
- Reasons for conflict of interests: question of subsistence of individual workers and “race” of workers. (WN 83f)
- Private and public interests. Interests of classes and interests of society; and who knows self-interest (WN 265f).
  - \* NB that capitalism is in public interest, but interests of capitalists against public interest.

### Preconditions in abstract

- Appropriation of land and accumulation of stock (WN 82f). Before that, labor was only measure of value (cf. Locke); later profit and rent added.
- Also NB limitations due to restrictions, “policy of Europe” (WN 135f): restrictions on competition and free market.

### General disabilities and dysfunctions

- mortality (cf. Malthus) (WN 96f)
- conspiracy to raise prices (WN 145)

### Developmental Observations

- NB effect of growth on wages, profits, and how it makes for conflict of interests.
- Stagnation hurts workers most; helps employers.

- In new colonies, everyone benefits. (WN 109)

Question: is “naturalness” believable? What about power, etc?

Adam Smith - Lecture 2

“Appropriation and Accumulation:”  
The Historical Development of Market Society

Account “framed” by arguments re/”natural” development

- The “natural” development is similar to that in Book I
  - \* Peaceful commerce between town and country
  - \* “Natural” preference for enterprise closer to home: agriculture, manufacture, foreign trade
- But the historical development was inverted: the “natural” order is reversed
  - \* (account is sociological, not abstract)
- Question is how and why this “natural” order was inverted

The answer is that the development was at base a struggle for power, not mutual self-interest on the market: a picture of class analysis

- The development account is sociological, not abstract: structural principles, alliances, struggle for power
- Almost dialectical unintended consequences

Historical account

- Opens with a picture like that of a state of nature: the European Roman Empire after the barbarian invasions (WN 381)
- The first resolution, however, is not a social compact, but a seizure of resources: the lands were “acquired or usurped,” i.e., the appropriation of land (WN 381)
- And the land was not simply used for subsistence - i.e., for economic, trading purposes - but as a basis of power (WN 382): creation of petty princes.

- \* primogeniture & entail for maintenance of power (WN 381-2)
- Great proprietors (great lords) primary rural powers (WN 413ff)
  - \* The basis of their power was their “rustic hospitality:” great lords always surrounded by hordes of retainers and dependents (WN 413f)
  - \* These were soldiers, maintained by him, who could enforce his will, and dependents and tenants, from whom surplus was extracted
  - \* A picture of a protection racket (cf. Tilly, “state formation as organized crime”)
  - \* The “power of the ancient barons” was founded on these principles (WN 415)
- The opponents of the great lords were (a) the townsmen and (b) the monarchs
- Townsmen/merchants
  - \* Originally poor and servile; little more than slaves: like contemporary hawkers and peddlers (WN 397)
  - \* But monarch permitted them to farm their own taxes and organize common defense and justice collectively in return for certain payment (WN 399f)
  - \* But this cannot be understood as stemming from purely economic motives; rather, military, for townsmen were enemies of the monarchs’ enemies, the great lords (WN 401f)
  - \* Thus, a military alliance resulted, and the townsmen were capable in warfare (WN 403) [cf. Weber on this]

This class struggle set in motion a dynamic which changed everything

Origins of prosperity: due to safety, incentive, unintended growth

- Prosperity an unintended byproduct of this power struggle: industry above subsistence level emerged first in the towns (WN 405)
- Great proprietors still had the capacity to block spread of this productive system, but they voluntarily chose to give up basis of their own power and capacity to block it (WN 418ff)

- \* “Silent and insensible operations of foreign commerce and manufactures” prompted great proprietors to give up their power for “trinkets and baubles” (WN 418-9, 421)
- \* Great proprietors “dismissed their retainers” in order to spend whole of their incomes on themselves (WN 421) [cf. Marx on clearing of estates]
- \* NB class analysis of the “improvers:” yeoman farmers (WN 391f); townsmen (WN 411); tenants with leases (WN 421)

Origins of liberty: concrete bases in: class struggle for burghers and small men w/ market society

- “Order and good government” emerged first in the safety of the towns, as against the anarchic countryside (WN 405, 422)
- At same time, as great proprietors dismissed retainers (dependents), their patronage was spread out, and those in economy were made independent of them (WN 420f)

A “revolution of the greatest importance to the public happiness” unintended by any of the actors (WN 422): unintended consequence

Question: why did great lords give up power?

### Adam Smith - Lecture 3

#### How Primitive Accumulation was Possible

Question (from last time): How was this transition possible; why did great lords give up their power?

Results of last lecture: market society is not a “natural” growth or product of evolution. Rather, the conditions for its existence must be consciously or unconsciously created; it cannot exist under all conditions. There must be prior accumulation and appropriation, and the society must be pacified.

He states this very clearly at the beginning of Book 2. The extent of the division of labor is proportional to the accumulation of stock; this accumulation must be prior to division of labor (and market society). (WN 276f)

- Note that this is similar to Marx’s theory and also matches Smith’s picture in Book 3, that market society is created with non-market forces.
- Thus, capitalism, for Smith is not a (very) small trader society, but one of relatively substantial capitalists. Capital must be more than enough for only a few days; otherwise capitalists’ condition is same as the state of the laboring poor. (WN 279)
- Discussion of fixed and circulating capital. (WN 279f)
- Note also that market society is impossible without security for market. It is not based on an - internal - warrior principle: possibly toward its workers or toward colonies, but not with respect to competition on the market. This also corresponds to Hobbes’s pacified society of tame strangers. (WN 284)

Part of his answer about how primitive accumulation took place occurs now in his discussion of productive and unproductive labor, and the effects of frugality or prudence, and prodigality (WN II,III).

- Productive labor is that which produces a surplus which is not immediately consumed, but is reinvested (or circulates) as stock or capital (WN 330f, 337f).

- Immediate source of capital accumulation is frugality and prudence (as against prodigality and misconduct), not simply industry (WN 337). Several interesting features of this discussion:
- NB almost religious language (WN 338-9f).
- NB also discussion of private frugality and prudence as against public prodigality (WN 342-5).
- NB also contrite prose at end of chapter with regard to conventional morality regarding generosity (WN 332).
- Since Smith cites prudence as the chief motor of primitive capital accumulation, it may be appropriate to pursue this question in the context of his extended discussions of prudence in TMS: there, it originates in a fuller picture of human nature, which also accounts for some of the non-Hobbesian elements.

Human nature not completely selfish; involves sympathy (TMS 9f). But this leads to comparison and, by implication, envy: so despite sympathy, man is dangerous to man “like wild beasts” (TMS 86).

- Sympathy comes from imagination, e.g., dread of death (TMS 9-13).
- Approval and disapproval in social setting: put ourselves in others’ place. Society provides a “mirror” for self (TMS 109f).
- Begin by judging others; imagine others judging self: self divided in two (TMS 111f).
- Impartial Spectator, man within the breast: stems from this; it leads to the formation of general rules of morality (TMS 156f).
- If one carried out one’s worst passions (“man of furious resentment”), one would feel remorse (TMS 160f): cf. super-ego.
- Cf. Mead, Freud on dissection of personality or split personality.

This other-regardingness is source of ambition, vanity, and thereby, much of the activity of the world.

- Ambition: because mankind more disposed to sympathize with joy than sadness (TMS 50).  
Vanity: being object of approbation (TMS 50f).

- distinctions and ranks based on this disposition of mankind (TMS 52).
- NB that although much pursuit of approbation is in vain, the activity it produces has “changed the whole face of the globe” (TMS 183f). NB Invisible Hand imagery (TMS 184f).

Rank carries with it certain, varying sets of “virtues” or values appropriate to its level, and the attempt to go outside these values causes problems - but on the other hand (as we just saw), it also causes improvement in the world.

- Virtues of the great man (e.g., Louis XIV) - mainly power (TMS 54f).
- Virtues of man of inferior rank: labor and prudence (TMS 54f).
- NB sketches of bourgeois virtues (TMS 54f, 189f, 213ff): object of prudence is security.
- NB also sketches of aristocratic (“superior”) prudence (TMS 54f, 216f); and wisdom’s prudence (prudence of intellectual?)
  - \* republican statesmanship: imperfect remedy for lack of wisdom and virtue in private man (TMS 187, 192, 184f).
- Question: will this become his answer to the improvement of society?
- Ironic, unintended consequence. If object of bourgeois prudence is security, then ambition should be ruled out since beggar has security kings are fighting for (TMS 185f). But men of inferior rank are also ambitious and neglect most obvious source of security (not to try to rise), and thereby create tumult and bustle of world, and without intending it, and only thinking of themselves, improve the world (TMS 57f, 183f). In fact, men of inferior rank often ruin themselves in this pursuit (TMS 182).

Question: Is this description of class values sufficient to explain why great lords threw away their inheritance?

- Probably not, but it at least explains why they were oriented to same values, since Sympathy is universal and does not stop at class- or sectoral boundaries.
- If we further posit the rise of absolutism at the expense of feudal power (without an explanation here), we can see how point of reference of great lords was lowered to that of rich commoners: this might have been sufficient for them to have sold their birthright. The

answer is external to Smith, but might be the demilitarization mentioned in my paper on Hobbes.

Adam Smith - Lecture 4

Some Remaining Topics

Political economy

- Purpose is to enrich the people and the sovereign (WN 428).
- The role of the political economist (intellectual, philosopher) is to reveal the principles of political economy to the lawmakers and the people.
- The merchants knew what enriched themselves (it was their business to know, WN 434), but they did not know that their pursuit of profit was enriching the country; this was the political economist's discovery.
- The political economist's discovery is that private egoism can create public good and plenty - under certain circumstances - his discovery is the Invisible Hand (WN 456).
  - \* But NB limits of reason - in detailed, State direction
- Political economist discovered this in the context of foreign trade: protectionism did not help promote industry (wealth of nation dependent on capital accumulation, WN 452-3). Protectionism only useful for certain ends (WN 463ff).
- Certain exceptions to these benefits of a pure market policy.

Patches to the defects of a completely market society

- Justice: the police state. Justice instituted to protect property (WN 709ff).
  - \* Great property causes great inequality (WN 709; cf. I, 1)
  - \* Defense of rich (WN 715)
- Defense: the night watchman state.
- Infrastructure: the state nurturing capitalism. State undertakes those projects which are in the public interest, but which would not profit any individual capitalist (WN 723ff).

- Education: the state repairing capitalism's damage to its workers and cultivating obedience, military and civic virtues.
- The division of labor has a number of very bad effects: deforms the workman (WN 781f); makes him a coward (WN 787f).
- But market society needs martial virtues, and it needs obedience: thus it needs education of workmen to counteract these effects of capitalism. NB, the "public" should attend to the education of the "people" (WN 781).
- Reasons why the State should provide education: obedience and military virtues, prevents [religious] "enthusiasm" (WN 788).

### Religion

- Under market society, it can aid in the instruction of people of all ages. However, it must also teach obedience, or it creates disorder and enthusiasm, thereby interfering with educational efforts of the state.
- When not under market society, the Church can attain dangerous independent power, as did Church of Rome.
- The power of the Catholic Church was based on the same rustic hospitality as that of the feudal lords, not rational belief (WN 800f). But Church was much more formidable, since it was not at war with itself, as were lords (quote WN 802-3).
- Reason was no defense against this power. The Church's influence waned only when it became attracted to market goods and, like the lords, decided to spend its income (from land) on commodities rather than hospitality and charity (WN 802f).

Tocqueville - Lecture 1

A. Democracy vs. Freedom

1. Tocqueville concerned about the state of affairs in France (first half of 19th century): equality without freedom. Wrote mainly in this regard.
2. Attempted to steer a path between the radical rationalism of the philosophes and the conservatism of the “traditionalists” like Burke.
3. Originated the question of Tyranny of the Majority.
4. Democracy defined in terms of equality - esp of conditions. Liberty defined in terms of political life - esp certain forms of participation. Not defined “negatively,” as with Hobbes, as freedom from external constraint.

B. Historical Development of Democracy in Europe

1. Kings were the main levelers: the rise of absolutism. Reduced all hierarchy and social differentiation under them (DIA 10f).
2. Causes of equalization: list on DIA 11f.
3. Progress of Democratization has become irresistible; Tocqueville views it with “religious” dread or awe (DIA 12f).
4. Democracy grew too fast and uncontrolledly: destroyed intermediate associations with destruction of aristocracy, and thereby structure of freedom. Men’s passions for equality led them to ignore requisites of freedom (DIA 14ff).
5. Same is true of religion: men no longer see its value; it is set against freedom, whereas it is a component part of freedom (DIA 16f).

C. Historical Development of Democracy in America

1. Origins of Liberal Democracy (The point of departure)
  - a. English immigrants brought germ of freedom with them; found conditions for equality (initial condition and limitless land) (DIA 32f).

- b. Puritanism: combined religion with democracy; was worldly and practical; and was socially homogeneous (DIA 36f). Spirit of religion and of democracy complementary: each stays in its own sphere; former creates values which limit excesses of latter (DIA 46f). (Compare to Hobbes's and Smith's views.)
  - c. Puritan society engaged in moral self-regulation: two parts of liberal democracy (DIA 42ff). And America was organized from the bottom up - from local level to national (DIA 44f).
  - d. New England like a beacon of this civilization, as against southwest of Hudson (DIA 35f).
  - e. NB comparative-historical account in Chap. 3. Laws of land inheritance prevented creation of great wealth, strengthened family. Created uniformity of ideas (values, culture), as against that of traditional aristocracy (DIA 50-7).
2. Conditions which maintain Liberal Democracy. NB comparative historical method and contrast to Montesquieu.
    - a. Accidental situation: limitless land, Puritan origins, double migration (DIA 278f).
    - b. Laws (DIA 286f).
    - c. Mores. Religion: sects and tolerance (DIA 290f); separation of church and state (DIA 295f) - also helps temper their power (cf. Europe, DIA 312f). Also experience, intermediate bodies.

#### D. Structure of Freedom in America

1. NB description of tumultuous political life (DIA 242ff).
2. Township.
  - a. Township rooted in nature; local freedom natural but rare (DIA 62) (cf. DIA 674: "product of art"). Self-government, self-administration. Ties self-interest to public interest.
  - b. Distinction between centralized government and administration (DIA 87ff). Latter enervates political and socioeconomic life. But political advantages of decentralization are decisive: it permits liberty (NB, equated with political participation, activity, life) (DIA 93; 95).

- c. In Europe, citizen detached from his own fate: oscillates between servility and license: political order more brittle; such nations “ripe for conquest” (DIA 93f).
  - d. Township system helps correct danger of atomization inherent in democracy: need for secondary associations (cf. Montesquieu, Durkheim). Democracy especially prone to administrative centralization over atomized individuals (DIA 96).
3. Parties and Political Associations (DIA 174f; 189f). NB question of minorities’ ability to become majority when no great principles are involved - in uniform society (DIA 193f).
  4. Press (DIA 180f).
  5. Juries and Lawyers
  6. Religion
- E. Ideology and democracy: Parties and the Press in America and France
1. Parties emerge from general differences among citizens: an evil inherent in democracy (DIA 174).
  2. Great parties vs. small parties: former attached to principles, especially that of democratization (DIA 174f). Even with small parties, differences based on class differences, but when these are fluid, as in America, they can become patronage machines and there can be party switching; NB no ethnic or religious based parties (DIA 177, 193f). [NB theories of consociational democracy; Duvergerian party competition for unimodal center.]
  3. Similar analysis with regard to the Press. Press is always destructive, but when it is based on principles and attached to principled parties, it is especially destructive. In America, it is fragmented and oriented toward petty problems - it disperses its effects. No global opinions are printed; only facts (DIA 180-86).
- F. Tyranny of the majority
1. Created by social sameness and leveling. NB lack of freedom of spirit in America (DIA 254, 256).
  2. NB description of mob rule (DIA 252, note).
  3. NB distinction between govt and admin centralization (DIA 262).

4. What tempers tyranny of majority: lawyers (tastes of aristocrats: DIA 263f); juries (introduce practice of freedom: DIA 272f).

G. Feudal society and the transition in Smith and Tocqueville (DIA 9-15)

1. Agree: old source of power was land.
2. Smith saw feudal Europe as chaotic and anarchic; Tocqueville saw it as a golden age.
3. For Tocqueville, democratization began with following: (a) clergy open to all estates; (b) lawyers gained influence as society became more complicated; (c) power of money and trade grew; (d) enlightenment and education became more important and were open to more people; (e) nobility sometimes raised commoners in struggles with others, as did kings - nobility could be bought; (f) citizens came to own land, have access to wealth and knowledge; (g) proximate causes of wars, municipal independence, post (mail), Protestantism, opening of America.
4. Smith's account does not take many of the cultural elements into account (especially education and ideology).
5. Tocqueville sees democratization in Europe as potentially leading to anarchy; Smith sees it as leading to order, freedom, and good government.
6. For Smith, the old feudal network of social ties led merely to inefficiencies and irrationalities (e.g., guilds); for Tocqueville, breakup of these ties led to disorder, jealousy of rank, (proto-)anomie.

H. General character of liberal democracy - extended from Tocqueville

1. Agreement on general principles and social sameness permits vigorous contestation on particulars. Mores and religion provide underlying basis of consensus; small differences permit constant ferment.
2. Question: what sequence of development is most auspicious to this sort of liberal democracy?

Tocqueville - Lecture 2

The Private Realm in Democratic Society and  
The Analysis of Democratic Despotism

The Private Realm

I. Individualism; self-interest “properly understood;” isolation

1. Reason for discussion: isolation is best guarantee for despotism; freedom which links men prevents despotism even in a democratic society (DIA 509f). “Liberty engenders particular hatreds, but despotism is responsible for general indifference” (DIA 510).
2. Individualism vs. egoism: former a product of democracy; latter a more extreme form (DIA 506f).
3. Picture of organic society under feudalism: fixed station, ties concrete. “Democracy breaks the chain and frees each link” (DIA 507-8). But NB discussion of gulf between estates under feudalism, solidarity within estates (DIA 561f).
4. Americans use liberty to combat extreme individualism: self-interest in attending to interests of others (DIA 510).
5. In this respect, self-interest “properly understood” is shield against social isolation. Doctrine replaces old aristocratic altruism; lowers moral sights, but is more effective for new social situation: doctrine not sublime, but easily understood and effective. Moralists now look for coincidence of private and public interests [e.g., Smith] (DIA 525ff).
6. Religion also compatible with this sort of view: cf. Pascal (DIA 529).

J. Associations in a democracy, in an aristocracy

1. Associations in a democracy take role of great men in an aristocracy; form intermediating institutions between central power and individual, protecting latter. Especially necessary in democracy where individual is so isolated and weak (DIA 513f).
2. Another advantage is that associations can undertake important things which individuals cannot, but which are too detailed for central government. NB vicious/virtuous circle maintaining given situation (DIA 515).

3. Newspapers (DIA 517f).
  4. Political associations necessary to permit civil associations in a democracy. The former are not so dangerous in a free democracy as one might think: the “great free schools” which teach liberty: learn civil association (DIA 521ff).
- K. The Industrial aristocracy, and the critique of Adam Smith (DIA 555-8)
- L. Democratic and aristocratic social relations compared
1. Brilliant comparative-historical sociological account of micro relations and the private realm.
  2. Note general characterization of differences between aristocratic and democratic social relations: solidarity within estates, not between them under feudalism; no strong ties, but milder relations under democracy (DIA 561ff). NB letters of Mme de Sevigne [cf. Rudolf Hoess]: virtually different races (DIA 563); NB sketch of Englishman and American abroad (DIA 565f).
  3. Masters and servants: in aristocracy, virtually separate races, but relations stable and little resentment; in democracy, social boundaries very fluid, and social relations unstable and considerable resentment (DIA 572-80).
  4. Class relations: not much to say; cf. industrialists as aristocracy (DIA 580f).
  5. Family relations: in democracy, less formalized and more genuine affection, voluntary ties, and family solidarity; in aristocracy, family is link to society, source of power, and interest rather than affection ties family members together (DIA 584f).
  6. Girls, women, wives and prostitutes.
    - a. Girls are very independent in democracy (DIA 590).
    - b. Young women in democracy voluntarily give up their independence - in contractual form in marriage - for much less autonomy than wives in aristocracy. They are considered free actors capable of entering into this agreement (DIA 592f). NB Note U (DIA 731-3) on frontier. NB European contempt for women, while flattering them; reverse in America. NB attitude toward rape, toward sexual equality in America (DIA 600-3).

- c. Picture of virtuous wives and prostitutes: two sides of women's freedom and autonomy in America (DIA 598). Popular licentiousness taken from late absolutist aristocratic licentiousness (DIA 599f).
7. The Multitude of small, private circles: privatization. But private sphere shrinks as democratic political realm expands. In contrast to aristocratic society, where classes "resemble great enclosures" with little communication between them, in democracy there are no social barriers and men must form small groups to avoid "being swept along in spite of himself with the crowd" (DIA 604-5).

### Democratic Despotism

#### M. Love of equality, love of liberty (DIA 503ff)

1. Equality and liberty are identical at an extreme point (which may not be reached).
2. Equality is possible in civil society without any in politics, as a kind of slavery under one ruler or king. Also freedom can be found without equality (DIA 503-4).
3. Question of sequence with respect to France: equality came first (under absolutist monarchs) and was firmly established, so when freedom came, passion for it was less (DIA 505f).
4. Quote: democratic peoples have natural taste for liberty, but want equality more - in slavery if necessary (DIA 506).

#### N. Why democratic revolutions will become rarer (DIA 634ff)

1. In a democracy, equality is more extensive, there are fewer poor, and property-ownership is more widespread. Property owners see more to lose by violent disturbances than they could win: middle classes oppose revolutions (DIA 635f).
2. But NB position of poverty and inequality of blacks: possible source of revolution (DIA 639).
3. Also NB dearth of ideas - revolutionary and otherwise. Ideology plays little role in America; greater mediocrity (DIA 640f).
4. Related to potential social isolation of individuals: hinders revolutionary organization (DIA 641f).

5. Opposite danger: great conformist pressures and anti-intellectualism, since all differences seen as potential revolutionary danger (DIA 644f).

O. Dynamic tendencies of democratic society toward freedom or despotism

1. Equality gives men a taste for independence, but may also lead them to free institutions. This love of independence can lead to anarchy, but this is well recognized and protected against; greater danger is of “roundabout and secret but also more certain road...to servitude” - to despotism (DIA 667).
2. NB here Hobbes’s problematic. As participation rights were expanded - as democratization proceeded - fear of anarchy led to calls for social order, and for centralization of sovereignty in the Leviathan. Hobbes implicitly noted that, depending on resulting settlement, sovereign could permit greater or lesser liberties (not same concept as Tocqueville, but comparable). Sequence of development will become important here.
3. Concentration of power and centralization of administration becomes central problematic for Tocqueville. Democratic peoples see centralization - destruction of secondary powers - as desirable hedge against anarchy. With destruction of “natural” secondary bodies of aristocracy, “natural” tendency is toward centralization: secondary associations then have to be “introduced artificially retained with difficulty” (DIA 668). Cf. Hobbes’s use of “artificial” and “natural.”
4. Causes of centralization.
  - a. Isolation (DIA 671f; cf. individualism).
  - b. Love of public peace (DIA 671f).
  - c. Hatred of privilege and indifference to centralization (DIA 672f).
  - d. Ruler’s tendencies (DIA 678).
  - e. War (DIA 677).
  - f. Needs of industry for infrastructure and control of the workers (DIA 684f).
  - g. Thus, his remark, “I think that in the dawning centuries of democracy, individual independence and local liberties will always be the products of art. Centralized government will be the natural thing” (DIA 674).

5. Factors which hinder centralization and maintain liberty.
  - a. Pre-existing liberties which have not been destroyed prior to democratization. Older tradition of liberty in America, brought from English aristocratic tradition (NB DIA 676). In Europe (France) equality was introduced by kings at the same time as they destroyed aristocratic liberties; when question of liberty was raised (in Revolution), it was more shallowly implanted than passion for equality (DIA 674-5).
  - b. Absence of aristocratic privileges to fight against in America: lack of resentment as a motivating factor giving passion to quest for equality (DIA 676). Cf. Barrington Moore's maxim, "no feudalism, no socialism."
  - c. Also note importance of education and practice in maintaining liberties, and their absence in preventing construction of liberties (DIA 676).
  - d. Thus, question of sequence; dynamic of maintenance vs. causes of development. Question of satisfactoriness of circular account.

P. Democratic despotism

1. His creed: universal uniformity saddens and chills him (DIA 704); advance of democracy fills him with religious dread (DIA 12); disposed to worship freedom; no question of reconstructing aristocratic society, but rather of educating democracy (DIA 695; 12).
2. Characterization (DIA 691-2). Danger of further developmental dynamic, in which centralization breeds even more centralization and destruction of freedoms (DIA 694).
3. How structurally linked to foregoing: isolation, centralization, destruction of freedoms, repetition of cycle at deeper level. Causes which prevent it also form "virtuous cycle" - self-reinforcing dynamic: local associations ("in other words, aristocratic bodies" DIA 697), press, juries, etc.
4. How it develops and question of sequence. Problematic of political culture: Mores, institutions, causal direction. Question of internal dynamic which maintains each form and causes which move society from one form to another. Question: how to resolve this contradiction. Attempt at an answer next week.
5. Relation of this theory to contemporary literature on fascism, mass society.

Tocqueville - Lecture 3

The Remote Causes of the Revolution

Foreword

1. The Old Regime already highly centralized and all powerful by the 18th century (viii-ix).
2. Purpose of book: (1) why Revolution occurred in France rather than elsewhere; (2) why it presented itself as the almost natural outcome of the social order it sought to destroy; and (3) why the monarchy which had weathered so many storms collapsed so suddenly (x).
3. How Revolution turned its back on freedom “to acquiesce in an equality of servitude under the master of all Europe.” Government arose much more powerful and more autocratic than previous one, and centralized administration at the expense of liberties. Sovereignty of the people based on electorate without adequate information (xi).
4. “My method has been that of the anatomist who dissects each defunct organ with a view to eliciting the laws of life (xii).
5. Repeats observations made 20 years ago [in Democracy in America]: (1) ineluctable trend to the destruction of the aristocracy; (2) those peoples which have most trouble getting rid of despotic government are those in which aristocracy has ceased to exist; and (3) nowhere is despotism so likely to arise as among such peoples (xii/f).
6. When “the ties of family, of caste, of class, and craft fraternities no longer exist,” all tend “to become self-seekers practicing a narrow individualism and caring nothing for the public good.” In such societies, money, business careers, mobility, material comforts, and social position become all-important: these “quickly become ruling passions under a despotic government” [emphasis added]; “lower the moral standards of the nation;” “divert men’s attention from public affairs;” and are “despotism’s safeguard.” Despotism provides atmosphere favorable to crooked dealings and “enables the freebooters of finance to make illicit fortunes” (xiii-xiv).
7. “Freedom and freedom alone can extirpate these vices, which, indeed, are innate in communities of this order...for only freedom can deliver the members of a community from that isolation which is the lot of the individual left to his own devices and, compelling them to get in touch with each other, promote an active sense of fellowship.” In a community of free citizens everyone is led to consider others and seek common interests;

men's minds are lifted above "mere mammon worship," and they are made "aware at every moment that they belong each and all to a vaster entity, above and around them - their native land." In unfree democratic societies, private virtues may flourish, and they may be rich: "But, I make bold to say, never shall we find under such conditions a great citizen, still less a great nation" [emphasis added; NB nationalism here.] (xiv).

Part Two is an examination of the remote causes of the Revolution. Be sure to understand how the following factors differed in pre-Revolutionary France from other cases:

A. The condition of feudalism and the peasantry

1. growing independence of peasantry: landownership
2. declining power of aristocracy in face of central government
3. situation in towns similar: old forms retained, but independence gone. Cf. American township (dead, alive creature: p. 48).

B. Administrative Centralization

1. already well under way in 18th century under the kings
2. vast gulf between central government and private citizens (68).
3. Rise of Paris; manufacturing.

C. Social Stratification and Fragmentation

1. Note comparative method in ch. 9-10.
2. upper and middle classes became increasingly similar: differed only in their rights (81).
3. Cf. England: aristocracy not impoverished there. Kept ties to middle classes and stayed in commercial world (80f, 88f).
4. Tax distinctions most pernicious (86). English aristocracy still paid taxes: way to keep power (98). Tax distinctions cause and source of downfall of old regime (98f).
5. Retention of burdens of privilege - cf. Smith. Also NB military service exemptions (128f).

6. status insecurity: due to trivial social distinctions. Has effect of isolating groups even further (89f, 93f). When they came together again, it was on sore spots (107).

D. The Relation of Equality to Freedom

1. Nature of freedom under old regime: unequal, decentralized, paternalistic.
2. Best suited to resistance to central power (king).

E. Downfall of absolutist monarchy: nothing could resist it, but nothing could prop it up in time of crisis.

Tocqueville - Lecture 4

The Immediate Causes of the Revolution

Part Three is an examination of the immediate causes of the Revolution. Note how the following factors differed in pre-Revolutionary France from other cases:

F. The role of intellectuals.

1. The Revolution was so radical because, on one side, it was incited by idealistic intellectuals, and on the other side, it was carried out by the least educated and unruly elements - neither of which groups had contact with each other (OR 206f).
2. Reform programs advocated by 18th century intellectuals entailed the “belief that what was wanted was to replace the complex of traditional customs governing the social order of the day by simple, elementary rules deriving from the exercise of the human reason and natural law” (OR 139).
3. Reasons why these abstract concepts - which were far from new - now for the first time took hold among the masses, and how the intellectuals - men without wealth or status - became the leading politicians of the day.
  - a. The intellectuals were struck by the “absurd and unjust privileges” whose causes they did not understand, and by the “ramshackle institutions, survivals of an earlier age” (OR 140). That is, by the situation left after absolutism had centralized administration and aristocrats had renounced their responsibilities but retained their rights and exemptions.
  - b. However, the whole way of living of the intellectuals put them “quite out of touch with practical politics” (OR 140): they thus had no appreciation of the obstacles to their reforms; and they were unable to “hear the voice of public opinion” (OR 141). Their schemes thus became even more extreme.
  - c. One freedom remained: the freedom of discussion of abstract political theory. Thereby, leadership of public opinion fell to the intellectuals. The aristocracy had lost this leadership (OR 141f).
  - d. In England, political theorists and practicing politicians cooperated with each other, and learned from each other (OR 145f).

G. The Position of the Church.

1. Parallel developments with regard to the Church.
2. Note that the Church was no worse in France than elsewhere (OR 150).
3. But the Church had identified itself too closely with the absolutist Old Regime, and the Church was the main ideological opponent of the intellectuals. "In championing freedom of thought for all against the Church they were fighting their own battle" (OR 152).
4. Note also how when the old nobility and then the bourgeoisie realized that they were in danger, they hypocritically rallied to the defense of religion, although they had previously been its strongest critics (OR 154f).
5. The void left by religion was filled promptly, if temporarily, by the Intellectuals' belief in reason and in themselves (OR 156). They were idealistic extremists: "the first of a new race of men," who are still with us (OR 157).

H. The question of reform and liberty. Why, in other words, the desire for political liberty "in the full sense of the term" was the last to emerge and the first to pass away (OR 157).

1. The 18th-century Physiocrats and Economists were the precursors of the Revolutionary intellectuals. They attacked all privilege and diversity, believing in equality at all costs, even in servitude. They were for laissez faire in economics, but political liberty did not occur to them; they were against all intermediate bodies (OR 158f).
2. NB they were Smithians and Lockean in a way that Tocqueville denies that Smith and Locke (Englishmen in an English context) were.
3. But also NB Tocqueville's affinity to Hobbes and Machiavelli rather than Locke and Smith in this regard: an attraction to the practical and sociological rather than the ideal and logical. In this respect, the Physiocrats (and also Locke and to an extent, Smith) were more closely related to medieval thinking (adherence to Reason, Natural Law) than were the sociological thinkers.
4. According to the Economists, the function of the State was not merely to rule the nation, but to reform and transform the mentality of all (OR 162). The Economists championed what is now called "democratic despotism:" they stressed absolute equality under an all powerful central authority (OR 163). Socialism and centralization thrive on the same soil (OR 164).

5. Thus, by the mid-18th century, the French had lost their enthusiasm for liberty. When 20 years later, there was a sudden rise of the desire for freedom, esp for the Estates-General (OR 165), “A nation so unused to acting for itself was bound to begin by wholesale destruction when it launched into a program of wholesale reform.” It destroyed many institutions inimical to freedom, but also many necessary to freedom (OR 167).
  6. By the time the ancient love of freedom had reawakened in the French, they had already come to believe in institutions inimical to liberty: “They had come to regard the ideal social system as one whose aristocracy consisted exclusively of government officials and in which an all-powerful bureaucracy not only took charge of affairs of State but controlled men’s private lives.” They proposed to combine liberty with these institutions by “combining a strong central administration with a paramount legislative assembly. Since this was internally contradictory, the French were frustrated in their attempts (OR 167f).
  7. “The result has been that, wearied of these vain attempts and the efforts involved, many Frenchmen have lost their taste for freedom and come to think that, after all, an autocratic government under which all men are equal has something to be said for it. (OR 168).
  8. Tocqueville’s credo, again: Freedom has an “intrinsic glamour” which makes men fight for it; but “the man who asks of freedom anything other than itself is born to be a slave” (OR 168-9).
- I. The question of rising expectations - and of the rate of change.
1. This is Tocqueville’s famous theory of the Revolution of Rising Expectations - which he never called by that name.
  2. He says two main things about it:
    - a. Revolutions break out not when things are going from bad to worse. “On the contrary, it oftener happens that when a people which has put up with an oppressive rule over a long period without protest suddenly finds the government relaxing its pressure, it takes up arms against it....Generally speaking, the most perilous moment for a bad government is one when it seeks to mend its ways....Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men’s minds. For the mere fact that certain abuses have been remedied draws attention to the others and they now appear more galling; people may suffer less, but their sensibility is exacerbated” (OR 176f).

- b. When government took on so many new responsibilities for regulating society, it made mismanagement more obvious (OR 178f). Similar distrust of reason embodied in the State as expressed by Smith.
3. Also NB how the political Revolution was actually begun as an administrative revolution by precisely those elements which stood most to lose: the King and his bureaucrats (and intellectuals).
4. For 140 years, the French people had played no political role, but those who had most to fear from the anger of the masses had no qualms about publicly condemning their oppression (OR 180).
5. Upper classes began to show philanthropic concern for the poor before the latter threatened them. This was, however, mixed with contempt (OR 183f). The effect of this on the peasant was clear: he was moved by consciousness of his greater numbers and by his envy (OR 186f).
6. The abrupt, wholesale remodeling of the administration which preceded the Revolution was one of the greatest upheavals in French history: it affected the social base. In England, the Revolution only affected the apex, not the social base (OR 201f).

J. The results of the Revolution. Tocqueville's summary of his argument.

1. Brilliant summary of his analysis.
  - a. The nobility had lost their political rights and power, but had retained and increased their privileges and exemptions. They became less an aristocracy and more a caste. They deliberately cut themselves off from the middle class and the peasantry (OR 204). The monarchy abolished all provincial autonomy and brought the most trivial affairs under its central control in Paris (OR 204).
  - b. Political thought was thoroughly stifled: private citizen completely out of touch with public affairs. There were no experienced political parties or groups which could lead the masses, who came entirely under the control of philosophers or intellectuals. Revolution thus took the form of abstract principles (OR 205).
  - c. Since the Church was so closely bound up with the Old Regime, it was bound to be swept away and that the Revolution should assail established religion (OR 205).
  - d. Peasantry had been oppressed for so long that when it was enabled to rule it did so ruthlessly (OR 207).

2. In his concluding remarks, he returns to his favorite theme of liberty versus equality.
  - a. Two ruling passions in 18th century France: the more deeply rooted and long-standing was the hatred of inequality; the more recent and less deeply rooted was the desire for freedom. Toward the end of the Old Regime, both passions were equally felt (OR 207f).
  - b. After the “virile generation which had launched the Revolution had perished,” and after a spell of anarchy and “popular” dictatorship, the ideal of freedom lost much of its appeal, and the nation began to “cast round for a master.” The ground was prepared for the return of one-man government (OR 208f).
  - c. All the centralizing institutions of the Old Regime were quite modern and moreover, amenable to equality: they “offered remarkable facilities to despotism.” “Thus there arose, within a nation that had but recently laid low its monarchy, a central authority with powers wider, stricter, and more absolute than those which any French King had ever wielded....Napoleon fell but the more solid parts of his achievement lasted on; his government died, but his administration survived, and every time that an attempt is made to do away with absolutism the most that could be done has been to graft the head of Liberty onto a servile body” (OR 209).
  - d. From Revolution to Tocqueville’s time: the passion for freedom has flared up time and again, but it is “undisciplined and untutored by experience; so easily discouraged, cowed and vanquished, so superficial and short-lived.” The passion for equality runs much deeper and always remains (OR 209f).

Lectures on Spencer

- A Spencer developed a functionalist theory from utilitarian roots
1. He conceived of society as a social organism
  2. Yet he argued for methodological individualism: the social organism is composed of the sum of its parts, namely human individuals
- B His theory build directly on the utilitarianism of Bentham, and it parallels evolutionism of Darwin
1. He believed that human happiness is divine will, and people will inevitably pursue happiness and they should
  2. Humans and human societies tend toward ever greater happiness, as they evolve to attain a better state of fitness for the environmental conditions of their lives
    - a. Evils are a condition of nonadaptation to the environment
    - b. People exercise their faculties in pursuing happiness and adapting to their environment
    - c. This process of adaptation constitutes evolution
- C The Character of Social Evolution
1. Society tends gradually to evolve toward a state in which all individuals have the liberty to exercise their faculties to the fullest degree without interfering in each other's liberty
  2. Authority, domination, and war act to educate or weed out those individuals, groups, or societies that are not well adapted
    - a. Spencer invented the phrase, "survival of the fittest," and Darwin acknowledged this in the preface to his book, Origins of Species. It paralleled Darwin's own concept of "natural selection."
  3. The higher the stage of evolution, the greater will be individual liberties: rights to own property, free trade, free press, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, universal suffrage

- a. As these liberties are developed, the state will first be reduced to the role of a guardian of liberties and then will eventually disappear

#### D The Process of Social Evolution

1. Thomas Malthus had posited that population will increase geometrically and the food supply only arithmetically, and therefore population will outstrip the food supply, and there will be starvation
2. However, Spencer said that the same conditions - excess fertility over resources - will lead to efforts to improve faculties and cooperation to redress this imbalance
  - a. The result is selection of individuals and families that are better adapted to survive in these more complex conditions
  - b. Thus, population growth and density pushes social evolution toward improvement
3. Social evolution starts from incoherent homogeneity and proceeds toward coherent heterogeneity, that is, toward progressive differentiation, interdependence, and integration of the parts in a whole
4. Every initial act of specialization causes an endless chain of further specializations and a corresponding division of labor
  - a. More generally, every active force produces more than one result; every cause produces more than one effect. Thus, social evolution tends toward differentiation
5. The more the division of labor proceeds, the greater will be the interdependence and exchange between the parts, and hence, the parts will be integrated with each other
  - a. Note that this is a generalization of Adam Smith's description of the division of labor in a market society
6. Thus, population crowding leads to specialization and cooperative exchange relations, that is, to differentiation and integration, to greater complexity and heterogeneity

- a. This anticipates Durkheim's theory of the division of labor, but Spencer bases it more clearly on individualism

#### E Society as an Organism

1. There are several similarities
  - a. They start life as small aggregations and grow immensely in mass
  - b. They start with simple structures and become increasingly complex
  - c. They start with little interdependence among their constituent parts, and develop great interdependence
2. And there are several differences
  - a. Society has no specific external form, unlike an organism
  - b. The living tissues of organisms form a continuous mass, unlike societies
  - c. The living elements of organisms are fixed in their place, those of societies are not
  - d. In society, every member has feeling; in organisms, only particular parts have feelings

#### F The direction of Social Evolution

1. Social evolution also involves the modification of the environment by the evolving society; and evolving societies influence and become interdependent on each other
2. Social evolution brings specialized institutions into existence that perform certain functions
  - a. The family prepares people for cooperation
  - b. Ceremonial institutions exert primitive social control
  - c. Political institutions direct collective action toward common ends

- d. Ecclesiastical institutions establish social bonds, and religion gives people a sense of God's plan of evolution
  - e. Economic institutions increase technology, expand production, accumulate capital, and increase the division of labor
3. Social evolution proceeds in several stages
- a. Primitive societies with an incoherent homogeneity
  - b. Military societies with centralized authority, constrain, and status relationships
  - c. Industrial societies with decentralized decision-making, liberty, and contract-based relationships

#### G Problems and Shortcomings of Spencer's Theory

1. It is strongest as a description of economic development; other forms of development or change are rather vague
2. However, it does not explain where markets come from or how they expand into new areas
  - a. Sometimes military societies may be stronger than industrial societies, yet markets expand to the more "primitive" military societies
3. Durkheim explains moral development more adequately
4. Durkheim also noted that greater division of labor does not necessarily lead to greater human happiness. It may lead to anomie, compulsion, higher rates of suicide and criminality.
5. Weber gives a better explanation of the influence of religion on economic development
6. Marx argues, in contrast to Spencer, that the expansion of the capitalist market does not lead to liberty, but rather alienation, domination, and class conflict

## Marx Lectures

- I. A. 1. Original Philosophical point of departure
  - dialectic of estrangement and reunification on higher plane
  - early: Estranged labor; JQ
  - later: Wage Labor and Capital; German Ideology, Communist Manifesto, Capital
2. Wage Labor and Capital - "Scientific basis": labor power
3. Communist Manifesto - "Scientific" history
  
- B. Philosophy of History/Empirical History -  
Preface, Theses, German Ideology
  
- II. Capital
  - A. Scientific Economy
  - B. History
  
- III. Eighteenth Brumaire
  - A. Concrete History
  - B. Discussion -?

## Karl Marx, Early Writings

- nature of man - creative labor  
NB not speech, dialogue: man is not political man but homo faber, a kind of economic man, and justice becomes communal equality in labor
- alienation of labor, of product, of self, to others
- domination through property relations and its converse in communism
- needs and their creation; role of money
- critique of liberalism: political emancipation, civil society, state and rights
- critique of political economy
- economic emancipation and the proletariat

### Entfremdete Arbeit -

Man is species-being (75); editor's FN, pp.33-4

labor - sustenance and life activity (75-6 paragraph)

Karl Marx, Early Writings  
(Tucker, ed - Second edition)

On the Jewish Question - part 1

- 28 have to emancipate selves before others; abolish religion
- 30-1 North America - Jewish Question loses theological significance and becomes secular; religion as secular narrowness, even when full political emancipation
- 32 emancipation of state from religion
- 33 state suppression of private property and religion does not remove their influence from civil society
- 34-5 in fully developed political state, man leads double life - political and private
- 35 religion abolished from state becomes spirit of civil society, differentiation
- 36 state must destroy religion by permanent revolution
- 39 members of political state religion because of dualism between individual life and species life, civil society and political life - man in political democracy not yet educated, social, species-being
- 39-40 emancipation of state from religion is emancipation of real man from religion - human emancipation
- 40f "so-called rights of man" and of citizen
- 42 liberty of man as monad, private property, self-interest, equality as equal liberty
- 43 security - assurance of egoism; none of these rights go beyond egoistic man - only bond is need and necessity [cf. Hegel] - reduce citizenship and political community to preserving rights of man - So/man as bourgeois not as citizen considered true
- 44-5 political emancipation/dissolution of old (feudal) society, revolution of civil society - old society (feudal) had directly political character; revolution abolished political character of civil society, dissolved it into basic elements: individuals and material and cultural elements - man not emancipated from religion, received religious liberty, same as with property and with egoism
- 46 man in civil society thus appears as natural man (egoistic) and political life built from this without revolutionizing these elements - political man becomes abstract; cf. Rousseau (cite) political emancipation versus human emancipation - species-being

On the Jewish Question - part 2

- 48-9 profane basis of Judaism - practical need, self-interest, huckstering [cf. fn 6, p.50] emancipation from huckstering and money, from Judaism, our age would emancipate itself
- "emancipation of the Jews is emancipation of mankind from Judaism" - to now emancipation of Jew has been that Christians have become Jews
- 50 Money dominates politics; money is alienated essence of man's work and existence
- 51-2 Judaism perfected in civil society, civil society perfected in the world; objectification and alienation. Essence of Judaism universally realized and

secularized in civil society - could not convince Jew of his need for emancipation,  
unreality of his religious essence, practical need

Karl Marx, Zur Kritik of Hegel  
(in Tucker)

- 54 religion opium
- 54ff backwards Germany
- 59 abolish philosophy by realizing it
- 61 breeding grounds of radical revolution lacking
- 62 Germany: merely political revolution
- 62-3 class must claim general interests
- 64 proletariat is this class
- 64-5 proletariat is dissolution of other classes, of society

## Karl Marx, Early Writings

### Die entfremdete Arbeit

- 70 From premises of political economics - all society must fall into 2 classes, property owners and propertyless workers
- 71 Shouldn't start for primordial condition but from established economic fact: worker becomes ever cheaper commodity the more commodities he creates
- 71-3 I. Object which labor produces, product, confronts worker as something alien, power independent of worker over him - congealed labor; objectification as loss of object, object-bondage; appropriation as estrangement, alienation. Nature provides means of life as living and as subsistence: thus laborer becomes slave to object since (a) he receives object of labor or work and (b) he receives means of subsistence [wages]
- 73-5 II. Estrangement in act of production, not just result - estrangement from self. Labor external to worker, not part of his essential being; forced; becomes a means to satisfying a need external to need for labor (as activity); not his own activity but someone else's; does not feel free except in his animal functions
- 75-7 III. Man is a species being; labor, life activity, productive life, appears just as means of satisfying a need (physical existence)  
Animal immediately identical to its life activity, but man's is conscious and he is therefore not identical, and he is therefore a species being (works on self), and his activity is therefore free - estranged labor reverses this, makes labor a means to life  
Man proves himself conscious being by working up inorganic nature, creating objective world - creates in accordance with laws of beauty  
Working up objective world proves him to be species being; object of labor is objectification of species life: duplicates self not only in thought but in reality and confronts world he has made and sees himself in it
- 77 Estranged labor thus also - estranges worker's external nature and his spiritual essence - and estranges man from man
- 78 Alien being to whom labor product belongs is man himself
- 79 Private property result of alienated labor, becomes reciprocal; wages and private property identical
- 80 Emancipation of workers contains universal human emancipation
- 81 Appropriation as alienation

Karl Marx, Early Writings  
(Tucker, ed - Second edition)

Private Property and Communism

- 82 Communism as positive expression of annulled private property  
(1) As universal private property - all become laborers
- 84 (2) Political or without state, Communism as transcendence of human self-estrangement  
(3) Return of man to himself as social being - riddle of history solved  
Activity and consumption both social
- 85 (4) Not expressed in sense of having - man appropriates his total essence in total manner, i.e. as whole, social man - develops new social senses
- 91f(5) Independence through self-creation: (92) for socialist man history is begetting of man through human labor, coming-to-be of nature of man
- 93 Communism as phase (negation of negation) of development of human society

The Meaning of Human requirements

- (Critique of political economy)
- 93 New needs created by private property (false ones)
- 94 Money a pimp
- 96 Less you are, more you have - stored in money
- 97 Ethics and religion provide social cement which political economy breaks down
- 98 Unity of wages and capital in political economy
- 99 Combination of workmen creates need for community
- 101 Society, to political economy, is civil society

Money

- 102 Money is pimp
- 103 Money's properties are my properties
- 104 Transforms incapacities into opposite
- 105 Human relations - man can only do what he's capable of (eg. love) - specific expression

Karl Marx, "Preface" to Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy  
in Tucker, Second Edition

- p.4f
- Historically, men find themselves in given material conditions (of production) independent of their will - corresponds to historical period
  - Relations of production are real, economic base structure - all else (law, politics, consciousness) is superstructure
  - Mode of material production determines consciousness, not other way around
  - At certain stage of development, material production forces come into contradiction with relations of production (property relations) - latter becomes fetters
  - Thus begins an epoch of social revolution - superstructure transformed
  - No social order ever perishes before all the (new) production forces for which there are room in it have developed, and new relations of production never emerge before material conditions are present (womb image)
  - Stages of development: Asiatic, ancient, feudal, modern bourgeois
  - Latter is last antagonistic stage, and its overcoming signals the end of the prehistory of human society

Karl Marx, German Ideology, Part I  
in Tucker, Second Edition

- A.
- 149 Begin with real premises [material] - individuals, social relations
- 150 Men distinct from animals - produce means of subsistence = produce their lives, intercourse of relations (Verkehr); level of development is development of division of labor
- 151 Division of labor = forms of property ownership: tribal (extended family, slaves); ancient communal and State (community of citizens, slaves) (NB town and country);
- 152-3 Conquest versus private property - feudal or estate (serfdom and lords) - counterpart in medieval towns (guilds: master and apprentice): NB feudal property, land and skill plus small capital - little division of labor; NB feudal kingdoms (154)
- 154-5 So/ material relations; ideas and consciousness produced by material conditions, not vice versa
- 155-7 First premises of human existence and therefore history: (1) production of means to satisfy needs of subsistence; (2) this leads to new needs - production of new needs as first historical fact; (3) propagation of species leads to social relations in the family
- 157 So/ production of life (subsistence and procreation) both natural and social: mode of production always connected to mode of cooperation - latter itself a productive force; thus history of humanity must be studied in relation to history of industry and exchange
- 157-8 Only on this (material) basis, possible to discuss consciousness, language based on social relations, consciousness a social product
- 159 Division of labor into material and mental - only basis for "independent" consciousness
- 159 Three moments (forces of production, state of society, consciousness) come into contradiction with division of labor
- 159f Contradiction implicit in division of labor and difference of interest between individual and family
- 160-1 Also contradiction of interest between individuals or family and community (cf. pastoral view of communist society) - cf. the State as illusory resolution: in reality it is in control of dominant class - real contradiction and activity is class struggle
- 161-2 Estrangement (of control) can only be abolished: (1) when mass of men become propertyless and their conditions intolerable and revolutionary, (2) conditions become
- 161-2 World-historical and intercourse universal (by extension of capitalism) - NB communism only possible "all at once" and world-wide
- 162-3 Inevitability of communism and revolution
- 163 Civil society true source of all history - civil society only develops with bourgeoisie; state and idealistic superstructure illusory
- 164 Revolution, not criticism, driving force of history

- 165 Men make circumstances and vice versa
- 172 History - men acting on given materials through generations
- 172-3 Ideas of ruling class (material) are ruling ideas of each epoch - expression of dominant material relations
- 173-4 Revolutionary idea presupposes revolutionary class; each rising class must represent its ideas as universal, and each new class achieves hegemony on broader basis than previous ruling class

B. Historical Sketch-

- 176 Greatest division of labor - material and mental, town and country
- 176f Medieval towns - unorganized rabble, organized into guilds (patriarchal)
- 178 (revolts mainly in countryside)
- 178 - Capital "naturally derived" - house, tools, traditional customers
- 178f First Extension - separation of commerce and rise of merchant class - extended beyond each town; rise of classes as towns banded together: class only insofar as battle another class
- 180 (NB against technological determinism)
- 180f Second Extension - rise of manufacture, outgrown guilds - division of labor among towns
- accumulation of capital, concentration of population (NB machines)
- 181 NB - vagabondage: trade now political
- 182ff Relations between worker and employer - no longer patriarchal; extension of markets; big bourgeoisie, the State, colonies, protection, finance
- 184ff Third Extension - Big Industry - use of machinery, complex division of labor produced world history, etc.; industrial production; proletariat
- 186ff On law
- 189ff Instruments of production and focus of property - NB contradictions, proletariat
- 192f Conclusions from this view of history - contradictions between production forces and form of intercourse - new class called fourth; why proletarian revolution is different

C. Communism -

- 193 Communism materialistic, not idealistic
- 194f Production forces and intercourse: fetters and development
- 195 Naturally occurring evolution - illusory community of State; consciousness of contradiction
- 196 **NB - all collisions in history - from contradiction between production forces and forces of intercourse**
- 197 - Used to take form of struggle of ideas
- 197f Illusory community in State; real community among proletarians; freedom only possible in community
- 198f Divided lives of individuals due to division of labor - product of bourgeois rule
- 199f To overcome divided lives of proletarians - must overthrow present conditions (including present division of labor), and thus the State

## Karl Marx, German Ideology

### Summary

Methodology of historical development and analysis

1. Relationship between men's free activity and conditions surrounding it
3. Relationship of consciousness to practical activity
2. Basic needs and development of social relations (Verkehr)
- 3a. Comparison to German Ideology (Young Hegelians)

### Outline of historical development

- Broad outline of stages based on property relations
- Specific historical development of civil society and capitalism
- Place of politics and the State
- The transcendence of the proletariat in Communist Revolution: also method of revolution vs. criticism
  - Question of contradiction in method and results - whether communist revolution follows from his concrete historical materialistic analysis, or whether it is result of "residual" Hegelian dialectical logic
  - esp. problem of world society, pastoral view and technology, disappearance of private property and question of authority relations

Karl Marx, Communist Manifesto  
(Tucker, ed - Second edition)

- 473 Class struggle
- 475 State - committee for bourgeoisie
- 476 Bourgeoisie revolutionized production
- 477 Centralization
- 478 Sorcerer - spun off proletariat, crisis of over-production
- 479 Proletariat - organization
- 479f Petty bourgeoisie
- 480f Stages of proletarian existence, organization, consciousness
- 481 Bourgeois ideologists
- 481f Other classes - lower middle class, Lumpenproletariat
- 484 Communist Party - vanguard
- 490 New program
- 490f - Proletarian rule will become apolitical, classes will disappear

Karl Marx, "Wage Labor and Capital"  
(Marx-Engels Selected Works, 1970; Tucker, ed. 2nd ed. 1978)  
[\* = ellipses from Tucker, ed.]

- 65; \* (Intro by Engels) - NB essay appeared in Neue Rheinische Zeitung - remained unfinished
- 73; \* Work divided into 3 parts - (1) relation of wage labor to capital; (2) destruction of the middle classes; (3) subjugation of world by England
- 73; 204 Wages - sum of money paid for labor time or for output - worker actually sells labor power, not labor; labor power thus a commodity
- 74; \* Wages merely the price for the commodity called labor power - not workers' share in commodity produced by him, part of clearly existing commodities with which capitalist buys labor power
- 74; 204 Labor power a commodity which worker sells to capital to live from
- 75; 204 But labor power is life activity - which worker sells to live [alienation]
- 75; 205 Slave is owned, serf half owned - free labor sells labor power
- 76; 205 But free labor is not free to leave the class of purchasers (capitalists) without renouncing his existence
- 76; \* Competition among buyers, among sellers, between buyers and sellers
- 77; \* Measure of profit is cost of production
- 78; \* Level of prices draws in or drives out capital  
Price determined by cost of production in long run
- 79; \* Anarchistic fluctuations contain order of this long run  
Cost of production equivalent to labor time - indirect and direct  
Same laws that regulate price of commodities regulate wages (price of labor)
- 79; 206 Wages will rise and fall according to supply and demand - competition of buyers and sellers
- 79f; 206 Cost of production of labor power - cost of manufacturing and developing worker: price of necessary means of subsistence
- 80; 206 So - depreciation of labor considered like depreciation of machinery  
Cost of production of simple labor power - cost of existence and reproduction or worker  
Wage minimum - defined for species not individual - for class
- 81; 207 Negro only becomes slave in certain circumstances; cotton-spinning jenny  
...only becomes capital in certain circumstances  
Social relations grow out of relations in production - latter not just action on nature  
Social relations of production change with means or forces of production (Produktionsmittel, -kräfte) - totality thereof defines historical stage  
Capital a bourgeois production relation
- 81; 208 Capital not just material goods - also exchange values, commodities
- 82; 208 Products which are exchangeable for others are commodities - exchange value, price  
Existence of class with no property but its capacity to labor prerequisite for capital

- Capital only exists by domination of accumulated, past, materialized labor over direct living labor
- 82-3; 209 Exchange of worker and capitalist - worker receives means of subsistence, but gives up value produced beyond that - gives to accumulated labor a greater value than it previously possessed (strengthens capital)
- 83; 209f Wage labor and capital mutually presuppose each other: bourgeois economists thus assert that their interests are the same
- 84; 210 Tolerable situation for worker depends on growth of capital: i.e. growing power of that which enslaves him; as capital grows, so does number of workers
- 84-5; \*Rise in wages depends on growth of productive capital - this in turn brings rise in social wants: though enjoyment of worker has increased, that of capitalist more - therefore social enjoyment of former has fallen since "our desires and pleasures spring from society" and are therefore "of a relative nature"
- 85; \* Nominal, real wage
- 86; \* For capitalist, sale of commodities broken up into (1) cost of raw materials and depreciation of tools, machines, etc; (2) wages; (3) profit - parts 2 & 3 taken from new value created by worker
- 86-7; \*Thus wages and profits stand in inverse relation to each other (cf. even opening new markets - wages fall because profits rise)
- 88; 210f Workers' interests same as capitalists' only true in the sense that growth of latter produces richer crumbs for former
- 88; 211 Workers' interests and capitalists' interests remain opposed - profits and wages inverse.  
Material position of worker may rise with growth of capital, but only at cost of his position
- 89; 211f One capitalist can only compete successfully by selling more cheaply - i.e. by introducing greater division of labor and machinery to raise productive power of labor
- 89; 212 Improved productivity enables capitalist to sell more cheaply - also compels him to
- 90; 213 Privileged position of this capitalist of short duration, as others catch up - next round of prices not only lower than old, lower than new prices  
Division of labor, machinery, scale all increase, mutually reinforcing law - price of commodities tends to their cost of production
- 91; 213f Competition becomes sharper - matter of life and death for capitalists
- 91; 214 Competition brings prices to costs of production  
Development of world market accelerates this process
- 91f; 214 Greater productivity reduces number of workers needed - raises competition among workers - and as division of labor and machines introduced, work becomes worse
- 92; 214f Labor becomes less satisfying, competition increases, wages decrease - workers end by competing with themselves (as class); NB "driven by want" [socially defined]  
Trend to replace skilled male workers with unskilled, women, children

- 92; 215 Unemployed individuals can't find other work, though employment in other branches of industry opens
- 93; 216 Sum - rise in productivity brings more division of labor, more machinery, more competition among workers, decline in wages
- 93f; 216 Also - class polarization: petty industrialists and small rentiers become workers
- 94; 217 Also - crises increase as competition and concentration increase and as markets become worldwide

## Eighteenth Brumaire

- 15 Tragedy, comedy
- 21f Periods
- 27f Constituent Assembly
- 29f Constitution
- 36 Bourgeois parties
- 42 May 28, `48 - December 2, `51 - bicyclist image
- 46f Party of order - rule
- 49f Mountain
- 57f National Guard
- 61f State interests
- 67 Bourgeois rule
- 70 Electoral law
- 75 Soc December 10 - Lumpenproletariat
- 91 "Parliamentary cretinism"
- 93 Commercial crisis
- 95 Split in Party of Order
- 102 Split in Party of Order in and out of Parliament
- 104-5 Contradiction between economic and political rule
- 106 Didn't want to rule - for order
- 112 Bonaparte redeclares universal suffrage
- 116 Calendar of events - periodization
- 121 Executive power - bureaucracy
- 122 State independent
- 123f Peasants
- 124 Definition of class
- 126f Small holding
- 128 For peasant - proletarian alliance; cf. Tocqueville: centralization, destruction of intermediate bodies
- 130 Army

Karl Marx, Capital, vol. I, New York, Vintage, 1977.

### Preface to the First Edition

- p. 91 "The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future."  
p. 92 Follower nations can shorten and lessen the inevitable birth pangs.

### Postface to the Second Edition

- p. 103 Puts dialectic which, with Hegel, is standing on its head, upright.

## PART ONE: COMMODITIES AND MONEY

### Chapter 1: The Commodity

- p. 125 Commodities defined: external object which satisfies human needs of whatever kind.
- p. 126 Usefulness of a thing makes it a use-value - tied up with its physical properties and independent of labor required to appropriate it. Use-values only realized in use or consumption. Use-values are material bearers of exchange-value; "exchange-value appears first of all as the quantitative relation, the proportion, in which use-values of one kind exchange for use-values of another kind." Exchange-value varies by time and place.
- p. 127 Exchange relation of commodities characterized by their abstraction from use-values.
- p. 128 Only one property remains in commodities aside from their use-value: their being products of labor: "residue of the products of labor...congealed quantities of homogeneous human labor...crystals of this social substance."
- p. 129 A use-value has value only because abstract human labor is objectified or materialized in it: quantity of value determined by socially necessary labor time required to produce it "under the conditions of production normal for a given society and with the average degree of skill and intensity of labor prevalent in that society."
- p. 130 However, labor time required to produce a particular commodity varies with time and place: thus value of commodity can change: determined by workers' skill, level of technology, level of organization, conditions in natural environment.
- p. 131 A thing can be a use-value without being a value - e.g., air, water. "He who satisfies his own need with the product of his own labor admittedly creates use-values, but not commodities." Latter are social products. Also, if the thing

- is useless, then so is the labor which went to make it, and so is its exchange-value.
- p. 132f "use-values cannot confront each other as commodities unless the useful labor contained in them is qualitatively different in each case." Implies a social division of labor.
- p. 136f "Contradictory movement" in values: an increase in the quantity of use-values always increases the utility which can be derived from them (2 coats will clothe 2 men), but if the labor required to produce them declines their exchange-value will decline. Productivity of labor is variable: an increase in it will reduce the exchange-value of the commodities produced.
- p. 138 Products are only commodities because they have this dual nature.
- p. 154 NB Hegelian formulation: commodity A must confront another use-value to see its exchange-value - since latter commodity can be anything which is not A, principle of exchange-value is derived.
- p. 159 "The general form of value...can only arise as the joint contribution of the whole world of commodities." This value is social and expressed through whole world of social relations.
- p. 160 Money is a commodity which visibly acquires this universal form.
- p. 163ff Commodity fetishism.
- p. 164 Relations among men take on the form of "a social relation between the products of labor."
- p. 165 "It is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic form of a relation between things." Calls this "fetishism."
- p. 166 Things can be equal in value only if they are unequal in kind - and therefore if the labor in them is unequal, though equal in abstract quantity.
- p. 167f Magnitudes of value vary independently of intentions of their producers, "and these things, far from being under their control, in fact control them."
- p. 169 Political economists fond of Robinson Crusoe stories.
- p. 170f Example of medieval Europe: "precisely because relations of personal dependence form the given social foundation, there is no reason for labor and its products to assume a fantastic form different from their reality." Corvee: peasant works part time for himself and part time for his lords temporal and spiritual.
- p. 171 Contrast to an association of free men who jointly own means of production.
- p. 173 "The veil is not removed from the countenance of the social life-process, i.e. the process of material production, until it becomes production by freely associated men, and stands under their conscious and planned control."

## Chapter 2: The Process of Exchange

## Chapter 3: Money, or the Circulation of Commodities

PART TWO: THE TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY INTO CAPITALChapter 4: The General Formula for Capital

- p. 247 "The circulation of commodities is the starting-point of capital." Depends on world trade, which began in the 16th century.
- p. 247f Direct form of circulation of commodities is C-M-C (commodities - money - commodities): selling in order to buy. Along side this, is the form, M-C-M (money - commodities - money): buying in order to sell.
- p. 249 In the form C-M-C, the end desired is use-value, i.e. money to live on, and therefore money is not spent, but merely advanced.
- p. 250f But the other process, M-C-M, aims at exchange-value as the desired end. There is no qualitative difference between the extreme forms, but only quantitative.
- p. 251 Thus the complete form of the process is M-C-M', where M'=M+dM (change-M): this increment is called surplus-value.
- p. 252 "The value originally advanced, therefore, not only remains intact while in circulation, but increases its magnitude, adds to itself a surplus-value, or is valorized [verwertet sich]. And this movement converts it into capital."
- p. 253 Thus, C-M-C, selling in order to buy, has an end outside of circulation, namely satisfaction of needs, use-value. But M-C-M, the circulation of money as capital or valorization, has no other end and is therefore limitless.
- p. 254 The bearer of this movement, the possessor of money, is the capitalist - and his aims are never purely use-value.
- p. 255 Thus, value is the subject of a process in which it increases its own magnitude, although it constantly changes forms: it valorizes itself independently. Only possesses this form in the shape of money.

Chapter 5: Contradictions in the General FormulaChapter 6: The Sale and Purchase of Labor-Power

- p. 270 The change in value of the money which has to be transformed into capital cannot take place in the money itself. "The money owner must be able to find on the market a commodity whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value, whose actual consumption is therefore itself an objectification [Vergegenständlichung] of labor, hence a creation of value." That commodity is labor-power or the capacity for labor.
- p. 270f But labor-power can only be a commodity if its owner, the worker, is free and willing to sell it - to alienate it [veräußern] - for a limited time. If he sold it for good, he would become a slave, and the labor-power would cease to be a commodity.

- p. 272f Also, the worker must be compelled to sell his labor-power, rather than the products of his labor, for his subsistence. The worker must be free to sell labor-power, and free from other commodities to sell.
- p. 273 This bifurcation in society is the result of human history, not a natural process.
- p. 274 The value of labor-power is determined, as is every other commodity, by the labor-time necessary for the production, and hence the reproduction, of this specific article. "The value of labor-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of its owner," the worker.
- p. 275 But this level of subsistence is itself a "product of history," depends on "the level of civilization attained by a country," and on the "habits and expectations with which the class of free workers has been formed." I.e., socially relative. Also, must provide for that extra amount above subsistence necessary for procreation, so that "this race of peculiar commodity-owners may perpetuate its presence on the market." (Includes costs of education.)
- p. 278 The worker always advances to the capitalist - as credit - the use-value of his labor before he receives payment for it.
- p. 279 Money-owner pays full price for this commodity, labor-power; and as with all commodities, he consumes it outside the market or sphere of circulation. However, labor-power is also used in production and thus also creates surplus-value. Thus, we must look outside the sphere of circulation, into the production process.
- p. 280 Worker brings "his own hide to market and now has nothing else to expect but - a tanning."

### PART THREE: THE PRODUCTION OF ABSOLUTE SURPLUS-VALUE

#### Chapter 7: The Labor Process and the Valorization Process

- p. 283 The labor process. Production remains production, whether under capitalism or not. Labor is the process by which man confronts nature and regulates his relations with it. He works on external nature for the purposes of consumption, and in the process changes his own nature - develops potentialities "slumbering within nature."
- p. 284 This is more than mere animal activity, however, since it involves the intentions and conceptualizations of the worker: man realizes his own purposes in work and the product of his work. Thus, three elements: purposeful activity (work itself), object on which work is performed, and the instruments of that work.
- p. 284f Some objects of labor, however, are already products of labor. Immediate evolution in instruments of labor [cf. German Ideology].
- p. 287 The process of labor comes to an end with the product of labor: "Labor has become bound up in its object: labor has been objectified, the object has been worked on."

- p. 290 Product of individual consumption is the consumer himself; result of productive consumption is a product distinct from the consumer.
- p. 291f The labor process as controlled by the capitalist has two aspects: (1) the worker works under the control of the capitalist to whom his labor belongs, and (2) the product is the property of the capitalist and not the worker.
- p. 293 The valorization process. The capitalist has two objectives (1) he wants to produce a use-value which has an exchange-value, i.e., an article to be sold, a commodity, and (2) he wants to produce a commodity greater in value than the sum of the values of the commodities used to produce it - means of production, and labor-power.
- p. 300 "The fact that half a day's labor is necessary to keep the worker alive during 24 hours does not in any way prevent him from working a whole day. Therefore the value of labor-power, and the value which that labor-power valorizes in the labor-process, are two entirely different magnitudes," and the capitalist derives surplus value from the difference.
- p. 301 "This circumstance [the difference in values] is a piece of good luck for the buyer [the capitalist], but by no means an injustice towards the seller [the worker]." "The trick has a last worked: money has been transformed into capital."
- p. 301f All conditions and laws of political economy have been satisfied in the process.
- p. 302 The process of creating value is merely the process of valorization carried beyond a definite point - beyond the sphere of circulation.
- p. 303f Further conditions: labor-power must be functioning under normal circumstances, must be of normal effectiveness, wasteful consumption must be avoided.

### Chapter 8: Constant Capital and Variable Capital

- p. 317 Surplus-value: the difference between the value of the product and the value of the elements consumed in the formation of the product - means of production and labor-power: former called constant capital, latter called variable capital.

### Chapter 9: The Rate of Surplus-Value

- p. 325 Necessary labor-time: portion of day needed to produce value sufficient to sustain worker; surplus labor-time: portion of day spent working and creating value beyond this. "What distinguishes the various economic formations of society - the distinction between for example a society based on slave-labor and a society based on wage-labor - is the form in which this surplus labor is in each case extorted from the immediate producer, the worker."
- p. 327 Rate of s.v equals the degree of exploitation of l.p by capital, or of the worker by the capitalist.

### Chapter 10: The Working Day

- p. 341 The length of the working day has maximum limits: first due to the physical limits to labor-power, and second to the social requirements of the worker.
- p. 342 "Capital is dead labor which, vampire-like, lives only by sucking living labor, and lives the more, the more labor it sucks."
- p. 344 The struggle between class of workers and class of capitalists over the length of the working day.
- p. 344f Capital did not invent surplus labor: it exists wherever one part of society possesses a monopoly of the means of production and worker must add his additional labor. However, in economic formations in which use-value predominates over exchange-value, "surplus labor will be restricted by a more or less confined set of needs, and...no boundless thirst for surplus labor will arise from the character of production itself." [345]
- p. 411f Changed material mode of production first gave rise to attempts at unlimited lengthening of the working day, and then to legal limits.
- p. 412f The establishment of a normal working day is the "product of a protracted and more or less concealed civil war between the capitalist class and the working class."

### Chapter 11: The Rate and Mass of Surplus-Value

- p. 425 The means of production are means for the absorption of the labor of others. Worker does not employ the means of production, but the means of production the worker.

## PART FOUR: THE PRODUCTION OF RELATIVE SURPLUS-VALUE

### Chapter 12: The Concept of Relative Surplus-Value

- p. 429 Possible to increase surplus-value - given a working day of fixed length - only by shortening necessary labor time, the AB part relative to the BC part in:  
A-----B---C.
- p. 431f This is impossible without an increase in the productivity of labor, which in turn is impossible without the mode of production itself ("technical and social conditions") being revolutionized. The portion of the day required for the reproduction of labor-power will then be shortened.
- p. 432 Absolute surplus-value: produced by the lengthening of the working day; relative surplus-value: produced by the shortening of necessary labor-time and the consequent alteration in the respective lengths of the two component parts of the working day.
- p. 436 Relative surplus-value can only rise through rising productivity when those commodities necessary for reproduction of labor-power are cheapened. Thus, the value of commodities and also the value of labor-power stand in inverse

ratio to the productivity of labor; but relative surplus-value is directly proportional to the productivity of labor.

- p. 436f Capital thus tends toward increasing productivity of labor in order to cheapen commodities, and thereby to "cheapen the worker himself." [437]

### Chapter 13: Co-operation

- p. 447 The productivity of social labor through cooperation is greater than that of individual labor, inasmuch as the worker "strips off the fetters of his individuality and develops the capabilities of his species." This is accomplished by better work organization and economies of scale, and raising animal spirits or rivalry. Also, workers cannot cooperate without being assembled in one place - employed by the same capitalist.
- p. 449 "As the number of cooperating workers increases, so too does their resistance to the domination of capital, and, necessarily, the pressure put on by capital to overcome this resistance." This is an "unavoidable antagonism between the exploiter and the raw material of his exploitation."
- p. 450 The capitalist mode of production is "in form...purely despotic."
- p. 451 The workers are isolated from each other - they enter into relations with the capitalist, but not with each other. Their special productivity, which stems from cooperation, belongs to the capitalist, not to them.
- p. 453 Cooperation itself appears as an historical form peculiar to, and specifically distinguishing, the capitalist process of production. Capitalism is thus the historically necessary condition for the transformation of the labor process into a social process - just as this cooperation is a condition for increased labor-power for the sake of capital.

### Chapter 14: The Division of Labor and Manufacture

- p. 455f Manufacture originates in one of two ways: a single capitalist bringing together workers of various independent handicrafts; or a capitalist bringing together workers who all do the same thing.
- p. 457 Manufacture coincides with the decomposition of a handicraft into its different partial operations.
- p. 458 Also this division of labor is a particular sort of cooperation and carries the benefits of cooperation in general.
- p. 458 The specialized worker converts his body into the automatic, one-sided implement of that operation, but his productivity is greater.
- p. 460 Since his operations are not broken up, his labor is more intensified - also he has better tools.
- p. 461 Double character of manufacture: assembly of partial products made independently or due to a series of connected processes and manipulations.
- p. 468 The collective worker, formed out of the combination of specialized individual workers, characteristic of manufacturing period.

- p. 469 The one-sidedness and even deficiencies of the specialized individual worker become perfections when he is part of the collective worker.
- p. 470 Manufacture creates a class of so-called unskilled laborers. The value of labor-power falls.
- p. 471 The division of labor within society develops from a different starting point than the division of labor within manufacture: latter is restriction of individuals to particular vocations or callings.
- p. 472 Exchange does not create differences between spheres of production but brings them into a relation. NB town and country.
- p. 476 "The division of labor within manufacture presupposes a concentration of the means of production in the hands of one capitalist; the division of labor within society presupposes a dispersal of those means among many independent producers of commodities."
- p. 479 Rule of guilds deliberately hindered the transformation of the single master into a capitalist.
- p. 480 The division of labor in society can exist under many economic formations, but the division of labor in manufacture can exist only under the capitalist mode of production.
- p. 480 The division of labor in manufacture makes the increase in the number of workers a technical necessity.
- p. 481 Manufacture creates a hierarchical structure among the workers; "it converts the worker into a crippled monstrosity."
- p. 483 Cites Adam Smith: worker "becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become."
- p. The division of labor in manufacture is merely a method of creating relative surplus-value - usually described as social wealth or the wealth of nations - at the expense of the worker.

### Chapter 15: Machinery and Large-Scale Industry

- p. 492 "The machine is a means for producing surplus-value." In manufacture, production takes labor-power as its starting point; in large-scale industry, the instruments of labor are the starting-point.
- p. 495 The machine works with tools as the worker once did.
- p. 497 The machine requires a larger mechanism to drive it than man.
- p. 499 The steam-engine. Next, one must consider the cooperation of a number of machines in a complex system.
- p. 501 A real machine system exists when object of labor goes through a connected series of graduated processes.
- p. 503 Picture of system of machines as a "mechanical monster" with "demonic power" in "feverish whirl of tis countless working organs."
- p. 504 At a certain stage, large-scale industry came into conflict with the handicraft technical basis.
- p. 506 Machines create machines.

- p. 508 Systems of machines impose a particular division of labor and cooperation on the workers.
- p. 510 "Only in large-scale industry has man succeeded in making the product of his past labor, labor which has already been objectified, perform gratuitous service on a large scale, like a force of nature."
- p. 513 When it costs as much labor to produce a machine as is saved by the employment of the machine, all that has taken place is a displacement of labor.
- p. 515 But even if a machine costs as much as the labor power displaced by it, the labor objectified in it costs less than the living labor it replaces.
- p. 517f Since machinery displaces muscle-power, it enables workers' wives and children to work: result is that - since labor power costs maintenance of worker and his family - whole family (say, four workers) now works for same wages as formerly the worker, but capitalist gets labor of whole family. This raises the degree of exploitation. The worker has now "become a slave-dealer," selling his wife and child. [p 519]
- p. 520 This work raises the level of child mortality.
- p. 523 The stupification of machine-labor is especially pointed among immature workers - so much so that even the English Parliament acted to require elementary education.
- p. 526 Machinery, by its use of female and child labor, breaks the resistance of male workers to the despotism of capital which had existed in the period of manufacture.
- p. 526f Machinery is a means not only for raising the productivity of labor but also for lengthening the working day, since the longer it functions, the more value it produces.
- p. 528 Machines depreciate in two senses: physically, and "morally" because they can be produced more cheaply or due to competition from more efficient machines. Incentive to lengthen the working day before "moral" depreciation sets in.
- p. 530 This is a transitional period in which the use of a particular machinery remains a sort of monopoly.
- p. 530f Law: surplus-value stems only from variable capital - number of workers and the time they work. But since machinery reduces the number of workers needed, it introduces an immanent contradiction in capitalism that surplus-value is increasingly squeezed. Produces surplus working population.
- p. 533 Lengthening of working day is limited by legislation; response is the intensification of labor.
- p. 536 Intensification occurs in two ways: speeding up machines, and giving worker more machines to operate.
- p. 544 Sum of above. The factory combines all these elements.
- p. 545 Insofar as a division of labor re-appears in a factory, it takes the form of a distribution of workers among specialized machines; only simple cooperation occurs among them.
- p. 546 Worker learns to adapt his movements to the machine from childhood.

- p. 547f "Machinery is misused in order to transform the worker, from his very childhood, into a part of a specialized machine." Renders the worker dependent on the factory and on the capitalist. The machine makes use of the worker, not vice versa; factory work exhausts the nervous system and confiscates "every atom of freedom," and "deprives work itself of all content." "Capital, dead labor, ...dominates and soaks up living labor power." [548] Labor comes to live under a "barrack-like discipline" under the domination of the capitalist. [549]
- p. 552f The material conditions of factory work, too, are very bad.
- p. 553f Workers struggle not only against capitalists but against the instrument of labor itself, "capital's material mode of existence. He is in revolt against this particular form of the means of production because it is the material foundation of the capitalist mode of production." [554]
- p. 554f Cites Luddite movement. It took time and experience for workers to distinguish between machinery and its employment by capital.
- p. 558 The "temporary" unemployment due to new technology is really permanent since it keeps reoccurring.
- p. 562 Machinery can also be used to suppress strikes.

## PART FIVE: THE PRODUCTION OF ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE SURPLUS-VALUE

### Chapter 16: Absolute and Relative Surplus-Value

- p. 647 It is only when men have worked their way out of their initial animal condition and labor has been to some extent socialized, that "the surplus labor of one person [can become] a condition of existence for another."
- p. 648 The more favorable the natural conditions, the smaller the labor time needed for reproduction of the producer.
- p. 650 But natural conditions can only provide the possibility, not the necessity, of surplus labor, surplus-value, or surplus product.

### Chapter 17: Changes of Magnitude in the Price of Labor-Power and Surplus-Value

### Chapter 18: Different Formulae for the Rate of Surplus-Value

## PART SIX: WAGES

### Chapter 19: The Transformation of the Value (and Respectively the Price) of Labor-Power into Wages

### Chapter 20: Time-Wages

Chapter 21: Piece-WagesChapter 22: National Differences in WagesPART SEVEN: THE PROCESS OF ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

p. 709 Surplus-value is not simply appropriated by the employing capitalist, but must be shared with capitalists who fulfill other functions in social production taken as a whole - split up into profit, interest, gains through trade, ground rent, etc. This will be taken up in Volume 3.

Chapter 23: Simple Reproduction

- p. 711 Conditions of production are also conditions of reproduction of the means of production.
- p. 712f Worker's wages are the portion of the product he himself continuously reproduces. NB money form of wages does not alter this relationship.
- p. 713 Comparison to the peasant liable to do compulsory labor services.
- p. 716 A division between the product of labor and labor itself is the real foundation and starting point of capitalist production process. Alienation: Worker enters a process in which his own labor has already been alienated [entfremdet] from him (in capital, owned by the capitalist), and his work is objectified as an alien [fremder] product. Worker continues to create capital, which continually "sucks up the worker's value-creating power," and "dominates and exploits him." Thus, the capitalist produces the worker as a wage-laborer.
- p. 717 The worker's consumption is of two kinds: productive consumption in which he creates value - but this belongs to the capitalist; and individual [reproductive] consumption which he uses to live on - and this alone belongs to him. The worker is thus split. NB that the capitalist profits not only from the worker's productive consumption in the labor process, but also from the worker's individual consumption, when he sells the worker his means of subsistence.
- p. 718 This is "the production and reproduction of the capitalist's most indispensable means of production: the worker." And the capitalist is only interested in reducing "the worker's individual consumption to the necessary minimum."
- p. 719 Reproduction of the working class also implies generational replacement, "the transmission and accumulation of skills from one generation to another."
- p. 724 Thus, capitalism not only produces commodities and surplus-value, but also reproduces itself and the capitalist-worker relation.

Chapter 24: The Transformation of Surplus-Value into CapitalChapter 25: The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation

- p. 762 Growing demand for labor-power with accumulation. (NB excursus on theory of population, esp. Malthus, p 766-8.)
- p. 763 Ceteris paribus, the demand for workers (labor-power) increases with increases in capital. And if capital increases faster than the labor supply, wages will be driven up.
- p. 763f As capital expands, demand for workers increases; a "multiplication of the proletariat." [764]
- p. 770 A rise in the price of labor resulting from accumulation of capital implies either (1) that rising labor costs do not interfere with the process of accumulation, or (2) that accumulation will slacken in order to keep wages limited and to maintain profits.
- p. 771f The relation between capital accumulation and wages is simply the relation between unpaid, stored labor and paid labor. Thus, in order to maintain profits and the system as a whole, the capitalist will simply turn less of the surplus into capital and thereby keep wages down.
- p. 772 Reduction of variable capital relative to accumulation and concentration. According to economists (e.g., Adam Smith), high wages depend only on rate of growth of accumulation, not extent.
- p. 774 The progress of accumulation reduces labor's share, but not necessarily the absolute size of its share.
- p. 775f A certain accumulation of capital is a precondition for a capitalist mode of production; but thereafter the accelerated accumulation of capital and the capitalist mode of production mutually reinforce each other, and their extent increases. With this process, labor's share continually shrinks relative to accumulated capital.
- p. 776 Also with this process, capital (i.e., the means of production) becomes concentrated in the hands of individual capitalists.
- p. 777 The many concentrations of capital (i.e., capitalists) compete with each other, but they also expropriate each other, and capital also becomes centralized. This competition is price competition.
- p. 780 All points of the economy are drawn into this concentrating and centralizing capitalist system. Accelerated especially by joint stock companies, and this accelerates technological change. With each change, capital needs less labor to set in motion a larger quantity of machinery and raw material.
- p. 781 Production of an industrial reserve army.
- p. 782 Capitalist accumulation produces a relatively redundant working population. When capital grows on a constant technological basis, it attracts more labor; but when it develops new technologies, it reduces its need for labor and has difficulty absorbing existing working populations.
- p. 783 Thus the working population both creates capital and also the means by which it is made superfluous - at an accelerating rate.
- p. 784f This industrial reserve army is an aid to capitalist accumulation: it provides workers for new fields of production without reducing the supply available for existing fields. This process moves in a cyclical fashion.

- p. 789 The employed part of the working class is over-worked (long hours, low pay) due to competition from the unemployed segment of the working class, which drives down wages and working conditions.
- p. 790 Thus, the industrial cycle causes fluctuations in the relative sizes of employed and unemployed workers, and these fluctuations in turn set wage levels.
- p. 793 Unions attempt to combat these economic laws.
- p. 794 Forms of surplus population; general law of capitalist accumulation. Floating form of surplus population found among temporarily unemployed workers in industrial centers.
- p. 796 Latent form among populations being transformed into proletarians. Stagnant form among the irregularly employed.
- p. 797 Finally, there is a more permanently unemployed segment of paupers. Apart from the lumpenproletariat of vagabonds, criminals, prostitutes, there are (a) those able to work, (b) orphans and pauper children, and (c) those unable to work or discouraged.
- p. 798 The more productive the working population, the fewer workers are needed, and the more precarious is their existence.
- p. 799 Within the capitalist mode of production, all methods for raising social productivity of labor come at the cost of the individual worker: capital becomes means of domination and exploitation of producers; fragments the worker and turns him into an appendage of a machine; alienate him from the intellectual potentialities of the labor process; deform working conditions; drag workers' wives and children "beneath the wheels of the juggernaut of capital." All methods for the production of surplus-value are also methods of accumulation: "It follows therefore that in proportion as capital accumulates, the situation of the worker, be his payment high or low, must grow worse." [Emphasis added.] NB this antagonistic character of capitalist accumulation.
- p. 802 Illustrations.

## PART EIGHT: SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

### Chapter 26: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation

- p. 873 Original accumulation not part of capitalist mode of production.
- p. 874 Force plays great role.
- p. 874f So-called primitive accumulation is historical process of divorcing producers from means of production: expropriation.
- p. 875 "Written in annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire." Enslavement of the worker: change from feudal exploitation to capitalist exploitation.
- p. 876 Begins in 16th century.

### Chapter 27: The Expropriation of the Agricultural Population from the Land

- p. 877 Free peasant proprietors in England.
- p. 878 "Free" and unattached proletarians thrown onto labor market by dissolution of bands of feudal retainers at beginning of 16th century. Even larger proletariat created by feudal lords forcibly driving peasantry from the land.
- p. 878f Wool manufacture for foreign markets; transformation of arable land into sheep-walks.
- p. 883 Yeomanry disappeared by mid-18th century.
- p. 884 "Glorious Revolution" accelerated dispropriation.
- p. 885 Enclosure of the Commons.
- p. 889 The "clearing of estates."
- p. 891 Example of Duchess of Sutherland in Scottish highlands.
- p. 895 All this expropriation conquered the land for capitalist agriculture and created free and rightless proletariat for urban industries.

#### Chapter 28: Bloody Legislation against the Expropriated since the End of the 15th Century. The Forcing Down of Wages by Act of Parliament

- p. 896 Inasmuch as urban industries could not absorb this free and rightless proletariat fast enough, great vagabondage was created, and along with it bloody legislation against it.
- p. 899 Terroristic laws pressed agricultural folk "into accepting the discipline necessary for the system of wage-labor."
- p. 899f Under mature capitalism, working class believes economic dynamics are natural laws; the rising bourgeoisie, however, needs power of the state to force down wages for capital accumulation.
- p. 900 Demand for wage-labor grew faster than labor supply [?? cf. p 896].

#### Chapter 29: The Genesis of the Capitalist Farmer

- p. 905f Capitalist farmers came from the great landed proprietors.

#### Chapter 30: Impact of the Agricultural Revolution on Industry. The Creation of a Home Market for Industrial Capital

- p. 910 Expropriation of landed population also created the home market.
- p. 911 Raw materials and means of subsistence became commodities. Destruction of rural domestic industry created home market which capital needs. New class of small villagers who work in industry and farm on the side.

#### Chapter 31: The Genesis of Industrial Capital

- p. 914 Accumulation of capital described above too slow; occurred faster through usurer's capital or merchant's capital.

- p. 915 Money capital prevented from becoming industrial capital by feudal countryside and guilds: struggle against them of new sea-port centers. Different moments of primitive accumulation can be assigned to Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, England: colonies, national debt, modern tax system, system of protection.
- p. 915f All these methods employ the power of the state to speed transformation from feudal to capitalist mode of production. Force as midwife; itself an economic power.
- p. 916f Colonial system. Colonies provided markets [918].
- p. 919f National debts. Gave rise to joint-stock companies and great banks, and international credit system.
- p. 921 Modern tax system. Over-taxation not accidental: part of expropriation of lower middle classes.
- p. 921f System of protection. Cut short transition.

### Chapter 32: The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation

- p. 927 So-called primitive accumulation is historical process of divorcing producers from means of production: expropriation. Private property of worker is foundation of small-scale industry and for production of free individuality of worker himself.
- p. 928 Expropriation of immediate producers accomplished with brutality and greed.
- p. 929 Further development: centralization of capitals and expropriation of one capitalist by another (decrease in number of capitalists); growth of emiseration of working class and increase in their numbers and organization under capital. This becomes incompatible with capitalism: "This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated. ...This is the negation of the negation."

### Chapter 33: The Modern Theory of Colonization

-- shows that "closure" is needed.

Weber Lecture - Introductory Overview1. Methodology

1. Save main discussion for next time
  1. Forms of knowledge
  2. Theory construction
2. Typologies of Social action
  1. Traditional
  2. Affective
  3. Value Rational (Wertrational)
  4. Instrumentally Rational (Zweckrational)
3. Also - Developmental logics
  1. NB not teleological, but retrospectively logical
4. Exploring emergence of certain forms of rationality
  1. Not just as forms of social action but social (sub)systems
  2. Ethical sphere
  3. Religious sphere
  4. Legal sphere
  5. Political sphere (sphere of domination)
  6. Economic sphere
5. Not all forms of rationality the same, nor compatible in all spheres
  1. Example: substantive vs. formal rationality
    - 1) Esp relevant in legal sphere, but applies to all

2. Religion and Economics

1. Rational religion as against magical religion
  1. Explanations of the world: question of knowledge & cosmology & causation
  2. Monotheism and prophecy
2. Problem of theodicy
  1. Again, explanations of the world: question of justice
  2. Internal and external ethics
    - 1) The religious brotherhood and universalization
3. Ascetic Protestantism: Puritanism
  1. Ascetic in its systematic approach to theodicy
  2. Imperative of working within the world
    - 1) Notion of "calling"
  3. Combined monotheism with "unbrotherly" orientation
  4. Created possibility of a formal rationalism
  5. Created possibility of "world mastery" orientation
4. Market or "rational" capitalism
  1. Depends on formal rather than substantive rationalism
  2. Entails many elements of substantive irrationalism
    - 1) Forgoing consumption
5. Relation between Ascetic Protestantism and Rational Capitalism
  1. In the first place: elective affinity
  2. Weber's causal arguments in "Protestant Ethic"
    - 1) psychological consequences of Puritanism

- 2) impulse to accumulate capital
  - 3) NB these causes evaporated: left purely market compulsion
3. Economic History
1. Religion not the only developmental source of rational capitalism
  2. Citizenship
    1. Important for development of autonomy in face of hierarchy
    2. Freedom of cities
      - 1) Causal sequence military, not economic
      - 2) But NB economic consequences
        - 1) Feudal cities unable to subsist on booty
        - 2) necessity of developing "productive" economy
      - 3) Alliance with absolutist monarchs
      - 4) Parallels Smith's account
      - 5) NB cities not subsumed under empire & thus mercantilism
      - 6) Necessity of alliance between capitalistic cities and absolutist monarchs
  3. The Rational State
    1. Rational Law: calculability
    2. Professional officialdom
    3. But NB that these tend rather toward Mercantile capitalism
      - 1) Problem of finding unique aspects leading to rational capitalism
4. Politics
1. Forms of Domination

1. Traditional
  - 1) Tribal
  - 2) Imperial
  - 3) Feudal
  - 4) Monarchical
2. Legal-Rational
  - 1) NB importance of bureaucracy
  - 2) Modern Democracy also under this form
3. Charismatic
  - 1) Revolutionary eruptions
  - 2) Routinization
2. Developmental paths from one to another
  1. Logic of paths (diagram)
  2. Empirical developmental history
    - Note how combination of legal rationalism combined with decentralized feudal autonomy created possibility for liberalism and Parliamentary democracy. This created a struggle in which no historical actor obtained full hegemony and led to creation of certain legal guarantees, or civil rights. It will be difficult to develop this picture in time available.
3. Weber's own politics
  1. See Wolfgang Mommsen
    - 1) Staatsraison and Imperialism
    - 2) Plebiscitory Parliamentarism
      - 1) In order to carry population along: cf. levee en masse
    - 3) Charismatic leadership and ethic of responsibility
    - 4) Similarity to Schumpeter's critique of democracy

5) Problem of fascism

- 1) But Weber would have disapproved of Hitler
- 2) His leadership principal was more aristocratic

Weber Lecture - Methodology I

## 1. "Basic Sociological Terms"

## 1. Sociology

Sociology ... is a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences. We shall speak of "action" insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behavior - be it overt or covert, omission or acquiescence. Action is "social" insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course. (p. 4)

- a. A science referring to social action (intentional; meaningful)
  - 1) NB not every action is social, only that oriented to others
- b. Interpretive understanding
  - 1) Entails attribution of motive
    - a) (chopping wood)
    - b) "adequate grounds" for action
  - 2) Entails need to understand historical context
  - 3) Comparative sociology needed since experimental generally impossible
- c. Causal explanation "A correct causal interpretation...is arrived at when the overt action and the motives have both been correctly apprehended and at the same time their relation has become meaningfully comprehensible."

## 2. Ideal Types

- a. Method for reconciling causal and interpretive knowledge
- b. Analytical construct, a "utopia"
- c. Accentuates certain features
- d. Guides imputations of significance
- e. Guides hypotheses of laws
- f. Developmental sequences can also be ideal types

- 1) This creates danger of mixing theory with reality
- g. Ideal types permit successive approximation: growth of knowledge “Its result is the perpetual reconstruction of those concepts through which we seek to comprehend reality.”
- h. Refer mainly to rational action, or what would have been rational
  - 1) This gives it causal significance
  - 2) Does not entail belief in universal human rationality
- i. Sociological “laws”
  - 1) “typical probabilities confirmed by observation”
  - 2) Sociology tries to formulate type concepts
    - a) abstracts from reality & helps us understand it
  - 3) History oriented to causal analysis & explanation
- 3. Types of Social Action
  - a. Instrumental Rational (Zweckrational): means/ends
  - b. Value Rational (Wertrational)
  - c. Affectual (emotional)
  - d. Traditional
    - 1) A residual type: depends on history
  - e. Non-rational types on the border of the meaningful
- 4. The issue of a “value-free” or “value-neutral” social science
  - a. Means that research is not biased or partisan
  - b. But all research is value-oriented inasmuch as we choose research topics according to our values
- 5. Discussion of diagram; successive approximation

.....

## 2. "Objectivity' in the Social Sciences"

1. All sciences began with practical considerations
  1. Economics: Value judgements regarding state policy (51)
    - 1) The "is" and the "ought" were combined under this rubric
  2. Economics arose at same time as natural science [cf. Adam Smith] (85)
    - 1) Carried 18th Century faith, like nat sci, of monistic knowledge
    - 2) Implied path to truth
    - 3) Obscured its own basis & real practical orientation
2. Empirical science can never provide guiding norms
  1. Science can inform about means to an end
    - 1) tells acting person how to weigh costs of action
    - 2) also includes costs incurred to other, competing values
      - 1) this becomes a dialectical process (54)
    - 3) can inform about logical consistency
3. Knowledge of even the most certain propositions is product of culture (55)
4. Forms of argument (58)
  1. Regarding ultimate values
  2. Regarding ethics, given ultimate values
  3. Regarding analysis of empirical reality
5. Social-Economic phenomena
  1. Defined (63f)
    - 1) Satisfaction of physical and ideal needs

- 2) Concerned with quantitative limits
  - 3) Requires planful provision
  - 4) Involves struggle with nature and association with others
  - 5) [cf. Marx, German Ideology]
2. Not "objectively" given, but with respect to our cognitive interests (64)
  3. Include "economically conditioned and relevant" phenomena
6. Distinction between nomological knowledge and cultural significance
    1. Wirklichkeitswissenschaft: deals with infinite multiplicity of data (72)
      - 1) Even an historical datum contains an infinitude of detail (78)
      - 2) Causation and Significance both infinite
      - 3) A "question of imputation" (79)
      - 4) [Neo-Kantianism]: we select those aspects which are relevant
      - 5) Social Science does not differ so much from natural in this sense (74)
        - 1) both must make sense of infinitude
        - 2) intersubjectivity is no advantage here
    2. "Objective" scientific analysis of culture, economics, does not exist (72)
      - 1) All science is "one sided" in this respect
      - 2) Depends on our cognitive interest "Life with its irrational reality and its store of possible meanings is inexhaustible. The concrete form in which value-relevance occurs remains perpetually in flux, ever subject to change in the dimly seen future of human culture. The light which emanates from those highest evaluative ideas always falls on an ever changing finite segment of the vast chaotic stream of events, which flows away through time." (111)
        - 1) Our "value-conditioned" interest (76)
      - 3) NB unexplained "residues" [cf. residuals]: escape soc sci laws

3. The two realms are distinct
  - 1) Imputation refers to specific historical data (79)
  - 2) Laws in social science as important as in natural, and just as possible (80)
  - 3) Application of laws to specific events entails "objective possibility" (80)
  - 4) Also, the more general the laws, the more devoid of content (80)
    - 1) And thus, the less valuable in concrete instances
7. Relation of causal laws to cultural interpretation (75f)
  1. Interdependent
    - 1) Discovery of laws depends on historical understanding
    - 2) Historical understanding depends on law-like categories
  2. But no necessary relation with each other (77)
8. Ideal Types
  1. Method for reconciling causal and interpretive knowledge (90f)
    - 1) Value lies in positing connection: a means, not an end (92)
  2. Analytical construct, a "utopia"
  3. Accentuates certain features
  4. Guides imputations of significance
  5. Guides hypotheses of laws
  6. Developmental sequences can also be ideal types (101)
    - 1) This creates danger of mixing theory with reality
  7. Ideal types permit successive approximation: growth of knowledge (105) "Its result is the perpetual reconstruction of those concepts through which we seek to comprehend reality." (105)

8. States Kantian status of ideal types (106)
  - 1) Aids in understanding reality
  - 2) constant refinement of concepts for this purpose

Weber Lecture - Methodology II3. "Critical Studies in the Logic of the Cultural Sciences"

1. Problems of causal explanation and interpretive understanding in History
  1. Separate from ethical concerns or value orientations (122f)
  2. Do not depend on attributing rationality to historical action (124f)
    - 1) Rational in sense of means-ends purposiveness
  3. Can't posit a priori general ("essential") laws underlying concrete (128f)
    - 1) Can't search for "significant" events in causal sequence in this sense Trying to subtract "common qualities" from empirical reality to arrive at underlying essential, significant elements futile since empirical reality is infinite. (130)
2. Distinction between historical understanding and causal science (135)
  1. E.g., Goethe's letters to Frau von Stein (138ff)
    - 1) How one can attribute historical significance to them (141f)
      - 1) As examples of general phenomenon
      - 2) As components of composite phenomenon
      - 3) As causal component of historical nexus (Zusammenhang)
  2. All historical phenomena have to be "interpreted" in 2 senses (143)
    - 1) Two forms of interpretation only distinguishable logically
    - 2) First: "Value interpretation" - possible relation of object to values (143)
    - 3) Second: "Causal interpretation" - historical explanation (149)
    - 4) (Summarized, p. 160)
      - 1) Causal: aids in formation of historical concepts
      - 2) Value content or relatedness: presents task for causal analysis

3. Attribution of value-relatedness depends on analyst's values (150)
  - 1) This is one reason why one speaks of "possible" value-relatedness (151)
  - 2) E.g., Aztecs & Incas (155f)
    - 1) Had little direct causal effect on Western culture
    - 2) But may be "heuristic instrument" for formation of notions of culture
  - 3) E.g., Western Antiquity (156f)
    - 1) Not sufficient causal relation to later development
    - 2) Our "interest" in their culture as parallel to ours more important
      - (1) "Value rapport" (157)
    - 4) Only the future "decides" about causal significance of present (158)
    - 5) Points of view of historical analyst themselves change historically (159)
      - 1) Therefore new "facts" will always be becoming historically important
3. Theory of "Objective Possibility" (166ff)
  1. Relation of historical actor's motives to historical interpretation (165)
    - 1) Historian knows retrospectively which actions led to success
  2. Ask which of infinite number of causes were necessary (169)
    - 1) Cf. juristic theory
    - 2) Possibility of selection among infinitude conditioned by our hist interest
  3. If a change in one (or more) would have caused change in outcome (173)
    - 1) Entails "imaginative constructs" by ignoring certain elements of reality
    - 2) Decompose the "given" into "components" under "empirical rules" (173)
    - 3) E.g., Battle of Marathon (174ff)

4. "Objectively possible:" change in one component would change outcome (175)
    - 1) Under posited empirical rules
    - 2) NB "ontological" collection of relevant facts
    - 3) NB "nomological" governing empirical rules
    - 4) E.g., temperamental young German mother (177ff)
  5. Procedure is largely negative: permits one to rule out certain causes (181)
    - 1) Can prove causal insignificance, not necessarily causal significance
    - 2) Judgement of objective possibility "admits gradations of degree" (181)
  6. "Adequate" causation, as in juristic theory (184) "In order to penetrate to the real causal interrelationships, we construct unreal ones." (185-6)
    - 1) Opposite of "possible" is not "necessary" but "adequate" (185)
4. "Science as a Vocation"
1. The world is "disenchanted" (entzaubert) (139)
    1. Science thought by early Protestants to be path to God
      - 1) no longer believed except by "big children" (142)
  2. Science does not give us answer of how to live (143)
    1. Whether death has a meaning (cf. Tolstoy 139)
      - 1) NB old peasant Abraham: died satiated with life (140)
    2. natural science gives us only technical answers
  3. "Uses" of science (150f)
    1. technology: controlling external objects
    2. methods of thinking

3. gain clarity
4. Primary task of teacher: point out "Inconvenient facts" (147)
  - 1) inconvenient for their party position
4. Stoicism and relativism
  1. one serves one god and offends the other god (151)
  2. science can help him give an account of meaning of own life (152)
  3. Being able to bear this like a man
    - 1) alternative is to return to religion (155)
  4. Individual has to decide what is god and devil for himself (148f) "The ultimately possible attitudes toward life are irreconcilable, and hence their struggle can never be brought to a final conclusion. Thus it is necessary to make a decisive choice." (152)  
"We shall set to work and meet the 'demands of the day,' in human relations as well as in our vocation. This, however, is plain and simple, if each finds and obeys the demon who holds the fibers of his very life." (156)
  5. Contrasts the Jews who tarried with the active Protestant ethic (156)

Weber Lecture - The Protestant Ethic

Notes on the text

Introduction

13 Western civilization - science

14 Rational law, art

15 Architecture

16 Political bureaucracy - state

17 Rational capitalism; acquisitive impulse everywhere

17f Definition of capitalism - profit through peaceful exchange; calculation and bookkeeping; money; continuous and regular exchange

19f NB - non-continuous calculation everywhere, adventure and war acquisition, money-lending

21 Only in West - formally free labor; separation of business from household with rational book-keeping (small beginnings elsewhere); rational organization of labor (and socialism)

24f Technical factors - science (math and experiments) - but applied

- law and administration - rationality not of mystical contemplation, but for material ends

27 Religious ideas of economic ethos; rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism - predestination to adopt rational conduct

Chapter I

Economic differences between Catholics and Protestants: Protestants higher class levels

39 NB - Protestants not a minority in Germany (as Jews, Huguenots, etc.)

41 NB - not because Protestants want to live better (or are more acquisitive)

42f NB - not because Protestants were less otherworldly, ascetic, or pious

Chapter II

47 Definition of spirit of capitalism must come at end

48-50 quotes Franklin

51 Ethic or ethos: duty to make money, not for enjoyment

52 This is the spirit of modern Western capitalism

virtues useful - utilitarian

54 Such an ethos becomes "systematic" - requires conformity or ruins nonconformists

55 Thus - explanation is historical, need to explain origins

56 Such an ethos "had to fight its way to supremacy against a whole world of hostile forces" - seen as avarice

57f Unscrupulous, unethical acquisitiveness found elsewhere, was traditional

58f Greatest obstacle is traditionalism - of laborers who only "work to live"

62 (Once capitalism is a system, it can recruit labor easily - no alternative work)

NB - labor as a calling

63f - Traditional entrepreneur: rationality, profit, book-keeping, trade, etc. can have a traditional character, be limited

NB - attitude of mind and organization of enterprise can occur separately

(cf. pp. 74-75; 14th and 15th century Florence vs. 18th backwoods Pa.)

65f Traditional spirit of capitalism

66f NB example of textile industry - picture of change from traditional to modern capitalism - note how traditionalism was destroyed by competition

69 Note ethical strength needed by new entrepreneur to overcome traditional hostility

Sort of men - not dare-devils, but hard calculators; but such men are no longer religious

72 Modern capitalism needed this attitude to get started - no longer needs it

75 "To speak here of a reflection of material conditions in the ideal superstructure would be patent nonsense." (cf. Marx)

76f Rationalization of capitalism does not follow Western rationalization as a whole

e.g. law (Roman law in economically backward countries vs. common law), or philosophy (eg. Voltaire's rationalism or practical rationalism of individual egoism as in Italy and France)

78 Rationalism as such, too broad a concept - must find particular aspects

### Chapter III

79 Concept of calling or Beruf exists only for Protestant peoples

80 Concept new with Reformation: "the valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which moral activity of the individual could assume" - not to surpass worldly morality in monastic asceticism

80f - cf. Aquinas' Catholic concept - work as morally neutral, like eating and drinking

82 Luther not friendly to capitalism, against usury

83 Traditional attitude: fulfill your given duty

84-5 Began as worldly indifference, but with his worldly experience (conflicts, peasant uprising), Luther became more conservative - given order a manifestation of God's will; obedience to authority

87f Real break from Catholicism came only with Calvinism and Puritanism (compare Dante's Divine Comedy with Milton's Paradise Lost)

89f Methodological comments

### Chapter IV

97 Interested in influence of psychological sanctions, originating in religion, on practical conduct

98 A. Calvinism

98f Doctrine of predestination

104 Psychological consequence of the doctrine - "a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual:" in most important thing, eternal salvation, no one could help him - no priest, no sacraments (destiny foreordained), no Church, no God (Christ died only for the elect) - though, must obey

105f Disenchantment of world reached climax here - all ceremony eliminated; no sensuous culture; promoted individualism; no trust in friendship; no confession (NB psychological release) - thus spiritual isolation (cf. Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress)

108 Explanation of superior Calvinist social organization and destruction of individual's ties to the world

Dogmatically - for glorification of God, carrying out his commandments: requires social organization, labor in calling

109f Personally - answer to the question "Am I one of the elect?" Whether there are signs

111 Practical pastoral work had to deal with personal suffering: (a) duty to reject doubts as work of devil and sign of insufficient faith, and

112 (b) intensive worldly activity (work) recommended to show state of grace.

112f cf. Lutheran's mystical unity with God or other-worldly mysticism

113f Feeling of salvation (a) as vessel of Holy Spirit, or (b) as tool of divine will

- (a) leads to mysticism and emotionalism (Luther), (b) leads to ascetic action (Calvin)

115 Good works: (a) accumulation of credits or points (Catholicism) or (b) systematic and life-long self-control of conduct or be damned (Calvinism)

116 Picture of traditional Catholic and Calvinist system of good works: (a) Catholic non-systematic, non-rational activity - traditional obedience + sin and discharge (relief provided by priest, Church, doctrine); (b) Calvinist - required "life of good works combined with a unified system" - no relief and discharge, world demystified, disenchanted, rationalized

118f cf. Catholic monasticism - (i) part of whole church organization, monastery - life not for everyone, (ii) rejection and transcendence of everyday work and life

120 Calvinists as monks or saints within the world - separated them from ordinary sinners more than monks were: no compassion for human weakness

123f Puritan ethical book-keeping: "The process of sanctifying life could thus almost take on the character of a business enterprise".

124f Christianization/rationalization of all of life

128 Lutheranism lacked psychological sanction of systematic conduct leading to rationalization, because of doctrine of grace; Calvinist doctrine of predestination only one possible motive

128 B. Pietism - also held to doctrine of predestination

129f Invisible church - intensified asceticism and wished for community with God in this life - - more emotional, weakening of inhibitions, led to sort of monasticism

131 But led also to stricter ascetic control of conduct in the calling

137 Weaker than Calvinism

139 Pietism related to official, clerk, worker, domestic, patriarchal employer;

Calvinism related to hard legalism and active enterprise of bourgeois-capitalist entrepreneurs

139 C. Methodism - Anglo-American correspondent to German pietism

143 But emotional, once awakened, redirected to search for perfection

144 D. Baptist Sects - 2nd, independent source of Protestant asceticism besides Calvinism

144f Community of personal believers of the reborn - not a visible church, but a sect

145 Salvation offered to all - remained to wait and not resist Spirit by sinful attachment to the world (adult converts baptized as symbol)

146 Element of avoidance of the world; strict bibliocracy

146f Divine Authority revealed through, but not only through, Bible: all church authority eliminated

148 Gift of grace could not be earned, but came only to one who followed his conscience, and good works were necessary: equivalent in practice to Calvinist doctrine since predestination rejected, psychological basis of Baptist morality was expectant waiting for Spirit to descend - attempt to overcome impulsive and irrational: flesh silent

149 Disenchantment here also led to systematic conduct and worldly ascetic virtues

149f NB Otherworldly monasticism also rejected, following Luther

150 Anti-political, anti-state

151 Promoted capitalistic "honesty is the best policy"

153-4 Recap of chapter; Christian asceticism had regulated the world from monastery, through church, but left economic life alone: it now took on this task as well

## Chapter V

157 Puritan strictures against wealth: against enjoyment

159f Calling - must work; psychological consequences

Luther - classes expression of divine will

161 Baxter - calling for systematic work: ascetic

162 - Profitableness sign of usefulness

163 - Wealth bad, work good

165-6 Jews - traditional capitalists; Puritans - modern: organization of labor and capital

170 Responsibility toward acquisitions as trustee of God's gifts

170-1 Sum of above - not against rational acquisition but irrational use of wealth, against traditional ostentation - for bourgeoisie

172 Result - accumulation of capital

175 Wesley - work creates wealth, which corrupts religion

176-7 - Same re/ capitalist

178-9 Effect of asceticism on worker, on businessman

181f Iron Cage

Weber Lecture - Sociology of Religion I

## E. Religious behavior

1. can only be understood through subjective view of believer
2. Is, in fact, oriented to this world
  1. relatively rational - religion & magic behavior have economic ends. Irrational from modern point of view: means-ends, causality. Effectiveness or power of practitioner: charisma: inherent or by works (399f)

6. Anthropological Considerations

1. Belief in spirits endowed with volition. Magician's charisma - intoxication (401)
2. Animism - supersensual forces that intervene in the world (402)
3. Soul vs. supernatural powers (gods, demons) (403)
4. stereotyping - "sacred is the uniquely unalterable" - fixes worldly behavior (406)
5. slow transition from analogical thinking to syllogistic (407)

7. Monotheism

1. one god achieves primacy within pantheon
2. priestly hinderance
3. hinderance of need of people for accessible gods

8. Magic and religion

1. Attempt to coerce and influence gods
  - magic transformed from direct manipulation of forces to symbolic activity (403)
  - symbolic becomes more important - all areas of human activity drawn in; among the longest lasting aspects of dogma, even in rationalized religion. Pictorial art originally symbolic (405)
2. Dual aspect to religious evolution (424)

1. systematization & rationalization of god concept & relations to man
2. irrational recession of practical goals in favor of otherworldly
3. Priest vs. Magician (424f)
  1. former entails regular, routinized relations with believers/clients
    - differentiation of priesthood from practitioners of magic. Possible distinctions: influence gods by worship vs. coercion with magic; regular functionaries vs. individual and occasional efforts; association with social organization vs. self-employed [cf. Durkheim]; professionalism (knowledge, doctrine qualifications) vs. personal gifts (charisma) (425f)
    - crucial feature of priesthood: specialization of group in continuous operation of cultic enterprise, permanently associated with particular norms, times and places, and specific social groups - also NB rationalization of metaphysics and ethics (426)
4. Increased ethical demands made on gods parallel social development -
  1. Growing importance of judicial determination, [esp.] cosmological rationalization, regulation by rules, economic reliability of given word: obligations which increase calculability of individuals' conduct (430)
  2. Problem of theodicy (437)
    - With rationalization of magic to religion - from coercion to worship - notion that violation of ethical norms caused gods' displeasure - led to notions of sin and salvation, for individuals and for groups (NB conscience) (437)
9. Prophet - bearer of charisma; proclaims or gives laws
  1. Distinctions with priest (440f)
    - Prophet - bearer of charisma, proclaims religious doctrine or divine commandment (439)
    - personal call: distinction from priest: definite revelations, doctrine or commandment (not magic): distinct from magician. but NB charisma generally required magical authentication (440)
    - but prophet's prophecy is unremunerated, as against magician (441)

2. Mystagogue, ethical, exemplary
3. Prophetic revelation: view of world as meaningful totality
  1. both social and cosmological
  2. man's behavior must be oriented to this view
4. Competition of priest, prophet, intellectual to give metaphysical account

#### 10. Congregation

1. Lay followers outside charismatic circle
2. Preaching and pastoral care - priests' real instrument of power, especially over workaday world (465) [cf. magicians: priestly activity innovative (464)]

#### 11. Problem of Theodicy

1. How to reconcile imperfection of world w/god's power ["incongruity of destiny and merit" in Gerth & Mills, p. 275]
2. Solutions (519ff)
  1. Future revolution in this world; suffering of present generation caused by sins of past.
  2. Notion of world beyond present one - at first magical, including retribution for errors in ritual; later when religion ethicized, gods employ moral considerations - raised questions of relations of gods to this world; cf. day of judgment (520f)
    - 1) Notion arose of ethical chasm between transcendent god and men. Predestination and extreme example of this view (522)
    - 2) ethical behavior would have no effect, but might be a sign of predestination. extreme tendencies to Entzauberung (523)
  3. Dualism - struggle of good and evil, light and dark, in which former purges latter from the world; man participates with forces of light, purges sin (darkness) (523f)
  4. Transmigration of souls - guilt and merit punished and rewarded in next life - each forges his destiny in next life (524f)
  5. NB not all religions salvation religions

### 3. Types of Salvation (ch. ix-xi, 530-575)

1. through ritual - like magic

### 4. through good works

1) fate depends on actual achievements - can make an accounting of actions (533)

2) can be symptom of underlying ethical total personality - may be tolerant of isolated deviations (533f)

### 2. through self-perfection

1) charismatic, magical

2) In non-magical, ethical religion with transcendent god, self-deification cannot be goal - rather to be his instrument or vessel (536)

3) certainty of grace; religious virtuosi

### 3. asceticism (ch. x, 541ff)

1) "world" as realm of temptations

1) world-rejecting (rejects political, economic, erotic, aesthetic, etc.)

2) inner-worldly - within institutions of world but in opposition to them (as god's instrument) (542)

2) predestination (572ff)

3) Salvation through belief in predestination

1) free, inexplicable gift from transcendent, uninfluenceable god

2) needs signs

3) promotes activity, not fatalism

4) NB affinity for economic activity, hostility to political power

(1) [Speculation: latter a zero-sum game. Grace in economics open in principle to everyone. Political power is restrictive in this respect; not open to all. Contrast Islam, a warrior religion: victory is a sign of grace

(warrior is instrument of God's will), but presumably for group, not individual. Note Islam's contempt for economic activity: at most tolerance.]

4. through mysticism
  - 1) flight from world
  - 2) actually makes one more dependent on world than world-mastery
5. through savior & institutional grace (ch xi, 557ff)
  - 1) Catholic Church
  - 2) results: life not organized systematically
  - 3) threatens to undermine control of priesthood
    - 1) grace always attainable
  - 4) contrast Puritanism & Judaism: no confessional
6. Differences between Oriental and Occidental salvation (551ff)
  - 1) Concept of transcendent, omnipotent god arise in West - road closed to self-defication and possession of god; salvation required ethical justification to god in West - led to activity and "work"
  - 2) Empirical world not abandoned for Oriental intellectual: meaning would be discovered; for Western religion - meaning of world transcendent
  - 3) Legalistic (rational law) orientation of West - man subject to god - Roman legacy
  - 4) Roman-Jewish rejection of ecstasy, etc. in favor of rational-methods
  - 5) Occidental Church organization - uniformly rational, monarchical, centralized - controlled lives of subjects
  - 6) Only in occident was additional step taken - by ascetic Protestant of transferring rational asceticism into life of world - See sketch, page 556

Weber Lecture - Sociology of Religion II12. Sociology of Religious groups (ch. v-vi; 468-492)

1. Peasantry: not traditionally religious
  1. too close to nature
    - Peasantry so tied to nature that it will become carrier of religion only when threatened with proletarianization or enslavement (468). Image of peasantry as religious a modern romantic view (470). City traditionally considered seat of piety (471).
  2. Warrior and Feudal strata: not traditionally religious - no concept of beneficent providence or religious ethics
    1. always faced death
    2. only need protection against magic
    3. against sense of honor
      - Nobility influenced by prophetic or reformist religion (473). Different among standing armies, bureaucratic organizations (475).
  3. Bureaucracy: not traditionally religious
    1. seems irrational
    2. but recognizes its usefulness for control
  4. Commercial classes, Bourgeoisie: not traditionally religious
    1. especially traditional capitalists; showed indifference or skepticism (478)
    2. However, modern rational capitalism has affinity to rational, ethical congregational religion (479f)
  5. Petty bourgeoisie: typical bearers of religion
    1. Petty-Bourgeois strata show religious diversity; ancient and medieval Christianity a religion of artisans (481)

2. Urban middle classes showed affinity to congregational religion (482)
  - 1) substitute for kinship groups
  - 2) less connection to nature
  - 3) less connection with nature (and thus, magic) and more with rational behavior and calculability:
  - 4) need for ethic of compensation
  - 5) Artisans initially attracted to magic: specialized "art" imbued with charisma
6. Slaves and Day laborers: not traditionally religious
7. Modern proletariat: indifference or rejection of religion
  1. modern surrogate is ideology and awareness of dependence on non-individual (rather, social) factors (485f)
  2. but lower levels susceptible to religious missionary enterprise, but not ethical religion; NB needs for salvation religion (486)
8. Intellectuals and religion
  1. At first priesthood carrier of intellectualism through scriptures (500)
  2. High status intellectuals as religious innovators - all Asian religions (502). cf. Greek philosophy (503). Salvation religions emerge when ruling strata have lost political power to a bureaucratic-militaristic unitary state (503). Ruling strata then come to value their intellectual abilities, non-practical (504).
  3. Salvation mass religion - esoteric intellectual doctrine, popular magical savior for masses (505f)
  4. Salvation sought by intellectual based on inner need rather than relief from distress (as masses) - seeks meaning and unity, infinite causuistry, especially as intellectualist Entzauberung proceeds and events lose magical significance (506). Contradictions of search for meaning and empirical world: intellectual's flight from world (506).
  5. NB anti-intellectualism of early Christianity (511f). Primary bearers or propagators of world religions:
    - 1) Confucianism - world-ordering bureaucrat

- 2) Hinduism - world-ordering magician
  - 3) Buddhism - mendicant monk wandering through the world
  - 4) Islam - world-conquering warrior
  - 5) Judaism - wandering trader
  - 6) Christianity - itinerant journeyman (512)
6. Unlikely for new congregational religion to emerge from modern intellectualism. Factors - present religion's utility in controlling masses; intellectuals' indifference to religion (516f). Need of cafe-society intellectuals an unlikely source (517).

### 13. Tensions of Religion with the World

1. relations to Economy (ch. xii, 576ff)
  1. ethics: systematization of life
  2. usury; problem of dual ethic (583ff)
    - 1) Protestantism vs. Judaism
2. relations to Politics (ch. xiii, 590ff)
  1. brotherly love: rejects violence
    - 1) Congregational religions of subjugated peoples tend toward demilitarization (example of ancient Jews) (591f). In some cases (e.g. early Christianity) this gave rise to ethic of brotherly love; ethic of non-resistance (592).
  2. Inner-worldly asceticism can compromise with political power: aim of transformation of world. But compromise with political power more difficult than with economics, since former, oriented toward lowest common denominator, leads to greater surrender of principles. (593)
  3. Wherever congregational religions reject force, without requiring flight from world, it leads to martyrdom or passive acceptance of regime (594). Some variation on rejection of force if goal of force is to protect religion (595).
    - 1) Ancient and medieval Christian attitudes toward the State: (1) abomination of Roman empire, (2) indifference and passive suffrance, (3) withdrawal from active participation but view that state is God-ordained, (4) positive view of state for social control, given condition of sin. (596f)
  4. General schema by which religion resolves tension between ethics and politics: ethics of vocation, by which given order is God-ordained. Thus, any rebellion is expression

of self-aggrandizement (598). Medieval and Lutheran traditionalist ethics of vocation (and Confucian) assumed that political power had a personalistic character, on model of family. Today, this is rare: power, like economics, depersonalized. Likewise, calling becomes impersonal duty. (600)

14. Great Religions of the World (ch. xv, 607ff)

1. Judaism, Puritanism & Capitalism

1. Jewish double standard, acceptance of wealth

15. Pariah peoples and resentment (492ff)

- Function of Salvation Religion for Higher and Lower Strata: Legitimation vs. Compensation (490f); cf. Jewish religion, modern Chinese, modern proletariat (492).
- Pariah people and Resentment - Judaism vs. Hinduism (492f). Definition of pariah people - hereditary, stateless; socially disprivileged and distinctive economically (493).
- Resentment - inequality caused by sinfulness which God will avenge: desire for vengeance (494). Desire for revenge stirred up by persecutions (496). Absence of resentment among Hindus and Buddhists explained by theodicy of rebirth. Jewish theodicy - concern for own fidelity to law, struggle for sense of own worth. NB saw success in occupation as sign of God's favor, but no sense of Bewährung in calling as inner-worldly asceticism: Jew remained traditional in frank respect for wealth (497)

Weber Lecture - General Economic History I (Part IV)

1. Definition of Capitalism
  1. Appropriation of all means of production
  2. Free market
  3. Rational technology
  4. Calculable law
  5. Formally free labor (under compulsion to work)
  6. Commercialization of economic life
2. Colonial policy
3. Industrial technique
  1. War production
  2. Luxury production
4. Citizenship
  1. Definition and etymology
    1. Class
    2. Culture & national membership
    3. Military aspect (Burg)
  2. The City and War
    1. Oriental City
      - 1) NB Empire
    2. Ancient Occidental City
      - 1) NB economy of conquest
    3. Medieval Occidental City
      - 1) Not militarily dominant; mainly defensive

- 2) Turned to economic production & trading, not conquest
  - 3) Alliance with monarchs
  - 4) Creation of National class of citizens (=Bürgers, capitalists)
5. The State
1. Mercantilism
6. The Spirit of Capitalism
1. Dualistic vs. Unitary religious ethics
    1. Ethical conduct within brotherhood of believers
    2. Unscrupulous conduct outside of brotherhood
    3. Puritan unitary ethic
  2. Theory of Social Status
    1. People of lower social status find it hard to be industrial capitalists.
    2. They risk being attacked by workers or general public; they may not have full protection of the law
    3. If they are attacked (a pogrom, a race riot) and have to flee, they risk losing their investment, because they can't take brick and mortar with them.
    4. They may be safer with a more portable investment, like finance or gemstones.
    5. Weber was arguing here against the theory that Jews started capitalism, a theory that was often slanted in an antisemitic direction

Weber Lecture - General Economic History II (Parts I-III)

7. Pre-capitalist agriculture (Part I)

1. Origins of Seigniorial proprietorship; feudalism (ch. iii)
  1. chieftanship
  2. emergence of professional military class
  3. external conquest
  4. voluntary submission of defenseless people to military overlordship
  5. land settlement under feudal terms
  6. leasing
  7. trade: gave rise to towns
  8. fiscal roots: taxation under officialdom of state
    - 1) Oriental feudalism
      - 1) private contractors
      - 2) officials
      - 3) soldiers
    - 2) Western & Japanese feudalism (62ff)
      - 1) delegation of functions to chieftains or landed proprietors
      - 2) in West (Enfoeffment):
        - (1) Fusion of Roman principles of land ownership & Germanic chieftanship
        - (2) Clearing of new land through conquest
          - victorious armies had to be fitted out with land

- (3) Peasant without property unable to fit himself out militarily
  - had to place himself in obsequium to econ more powerful person
- (4) Decisive condition: invasion of Arabs
  - need to outfit opposing army of horsemen
- (5) Also: granting of political & office fiefs (besides land)

## 2. The Manor

### 1. Character (ch. iv)

#### 1) Power of Lord

- 1) Landholding: territorial power
- 2) Possession of men: slavery
- 3) Appropriation of political rights through usurpation or enfeoffment
  - (1) Judicial authority most important here
    - became traditionalized (NB methodology: origins of tradition)
- 4) NB Lord not a farmer, but professional soldier

#### 2) NB free peasantry outside lords' power, outside estate

- 1) comparatively rare

#### 3) Economic consequences of Manor system

- 1) Neither peasant nor lord had interest in greater productivity
  - (1) Peasant derived no gain
  - (2) Lord did not produce for market
- 2) State interested in maintaining peasantry for tax purposes
- 3) Attachment of peasant to soil (no mobility)

- (1) because of personal fealty
    - (2) because of tax obligations
  - 4) Rights of peasant in the land became very diversified
  - 5) Appropriation of common land to lords
  - 6) Lord established numerous "socage" rights or banalities
    - (1) e.g., peasant required to use & pay for lord's mill, bakery, etc.
2. Capitalistic development of the Manor (ch. vi)
  - 1) Plantation
    - 1) Dependent on slave hunts
    - 2) Not maintainable through procreation of slaves
  - 2) Estate economy
    - 1) Production for the market: stock or tillage
    - 2) Required:
      - (1) Clearing of land (e.g., enclosures) for stock
      - (2) Creation of Renter class of capitalistic large farmers
3. Dissolution (ch. vi, cont.)
  - 1) Causes
    - 1) Motivating cause internal & economic
      - (1) Development of market interests of lords & peasants
      - (2) Development of market opportunities
    - 2) But main causes were external
      - (1) Commercial interest of newly established urban bourgeoisie

(2) Feudal relations interfered with rising market interests

- Wanted rural mass consumer base
- Wanted free labor market
- Needed this to circumvent the guilds
- Urban bourgeoisie wanted to buy land for prestige reasons

(3) Also, fiscal interests of the state: wanted higher taxes

3) Abolition of hereditary judicial authority of lords

4) Abolition of socage rights & banalites

5) Abolition of polit & relig feudal restrictions on land

2) Mutual dependence of proprietor & peasant brought about dissolution

3) Forms of liberation of peasantry (92f, 98ff)

1) Expropriation of peasantry, who became free but landless (e.g., England)

2) Expropriation of lord: peasant free landholder (e.g., France, SW Germany)

3) Combination (e.g., Prussia)

4) Consequences of Dissolution - not only economic, but political (109f)

1) Question of creation of landed aristocracy - esp. England, also Prussia

2) NB sociological definition of aristocracy: economic position sets him free for political activity.

(1) This class set free for political activities

(2) Need to have free time & economic independence

(3) (Therefore England better example than Prussia)

## 8. Pre-capitalist industry

1. Industry becomes of economic interest only when it is extended beyond the household (115)
2. Types of industrial organization (118f)
  1. Skilled craftsman may produce freely for the market, selling as independent enterpriser
  2. Craftsman may work in the service of the consumer: wage-work for a clientele.
  3. Craftsman may be in the service of another as a wage worker or as a worker for an entrepreneur: resulted in downfall of guild system and rise of industrial capitalism (120-1).
3. Development of industry (chap. viii)
4. Craft guilds (chap. ix)
  1. Guilds followed livelihood policy (138)
  2. Measures by which guilds opposed large-scale industry and capitalism (136ff; sum 142)
  3. Emergence of master-apprentice distinctions (142f)
5. Origins (chap. x)
6. Disintegration (chap. xi: 153f)
  1. Because one craftsman rose to become a merchant or capitalist-employer (160f)
  2. One guild might rise at expense of another
  3. Guilds might become dependent on importers
  4. Guilds might become dependent on exporters
7. Development of the factory (chap. xii)
  1. Definition: entrepreneurial production with free labor and fixed capital (163)

2. Economic prerequisites: steady mass demand, money economy, inexpensive technical production process, sufficient supply of free laborers (created in England with enclosures) (163f; 169)
  3. Military and luxury demand economies (170f)
  4. Factors which prevented the emergence of the factory system outside the West (175f)
    - 1) Castes, as in India
    - 2) Clans, as in China
    - 3) Slave capital, as in Western antiquity
    - 4) Scarcity of unfree labor, other opportunities for lower classes than wage labor, or guild laws, as in Western middle ages
  5. Impulse to mechanization came from mining
9. Pre-capitalist commerce
1. Ethnic groups and trading ethics

Weber Lecture - Political Sociology I

1. "The Types of Legitimate Domination"
  1. The concepts of domination and legitimacy
    1. Domination: probability that commands will be accepted
      - 1) From Herrschaft: etymology
      - 2) NB Interest in compliance
      - 3) Necessity of a Staff
        - 1) Form of staff defines form of legitimacy
    2. Legitimacy: acceptance of claims of domination
      - 1) Question: what is sociology of this popular acceptance
      - 2) also NB: Hobbesian subversive democratic element
        - 1) However hierarchical, rule must be accepted
  2. Three Pure types of Authority
    1. Legal/rational, Bureaucratic
      - 1) Modern bureaucracy taken as point of departure
      - 2) NB Legal norms (norms vs. rationality)
      - 3) Characteristics
        - 1) Rule-bound
        - 2) Impersonal
        - 3) Hierarchical
        - 4) Specialized
        - 5) Separated from ownership
        - 6) Career
      - 4) Efficient and powerful

- 1) Contrast to dilettantism
  - 2) Indifference to capitalism or socialism
  - 3) Extremely powerful (but NB later: also brittle)
  - 4) Bureaucracy can only be overthrown by another bureaucratic organization
  - 5) Domination through knowledge, official secrets
2. Traditional
- 1) Sanctity of age-old rules and powers
  - 2) Obedience not to rules but to persons
  - 3) Patriarchalism
  - 4) Patrimonialism - sultanism
  - 5) Estate-type (staendische): feudalism
    - 1) benefices & fiefs
    - 2) judicial & military
  - 6) Effects on economy
    - 1) only certain forms of capitalism possible under empires
3. Charismatic
- 1) Tautological: exists when believed in
  - 2) communism of followers
  - 3) revolutionary with regard to traditionalism
  - 4) foreign to economic considerations
4. Combinations of the pure types (262ff)
- 1) Forms of belief almost always mixed

- 2) Importance of education & culture (265)
- 3) NB comments about the breakdown of bureaucratic authority in Germany, 1918
  - 1) Problem of anarchy: brittleness
3. Routinization of Charisma: General considerations
  1. problem of succession
  2. can be traditionalized or rationalized
    - 1) NB charisma of person or of office
  3. Interests of staff
  4. anti-economic character must be altered to be routinized
4. Routinization of Charisma: Feudalism
  1. NB reciprocity
5. Routinization of Charisma: Democratic direction
  1. a form of rationalization
  2. NB Fuehrerdemokratie: devotion to leader
  3. anti-authoritarianism generally moves in direction of rationality
  4. NB collegiality not necessarily democratic
  5. Only Western collegial bodies capable of expropriating monarch
    - 1) monarch had become dilettante
  6. Separation of powers in West began on estate basis
  7. Parties
    - 1) to secure power
    - 2) patronage, ideological

8. Administration

1) direct democracy (he doubts)

2) administration by notables

1) inadequate on large scale

3) Representation

1) appropriated

2) estate-type

3) instructed

4) free

(1) elections

(2) parties

(3) NB relation of this democracy to capitalism (296f)

- calculable law

- capitalism emerged before extension of franchise

- but also NB undermining of old status groups

5) agents of groups

Weber Lecture - Political Sociology II2. "Class, Status and Party"3. "Bureaucracy"

## 1. Characteristics

1. most developed in modern state, capitalism
2. hierarchy; monocratically organized
3. specialization
4. general rules
5. vocation
  - 1) impersonal
  - 2) high prestige [NB more appropriate to Europe than U.S.]
  - 3) appointed
  - 4) tenure for life; career
  - 5) fixed monetary salary

## 2. Examples

1. Egypt
2. Late Rome
3. Catholic Church
4. China
5. European states
6. Modern Capitalist enterprise

## 3. The power of bureaucracy

1. A question of power & exercise of power
  - 1) Its technical superiority
    - 1) esp. compared to amateur, collegiate, honorific organizations
  - 2) Corresponds to decline or leveling of status honor
2. More dependent on intensiveness of power than extent of power
  - 1) Corresponds to demands for internal pacification (police power)

- 2) Corresponds to demands for social welfare policies
3. Politically, corresponds to level of development
  - 1) U.S. less bureaucratic since extent of state control not fully extensive
  - 2) but U.S. parties are quite bureaucratic
4. Capitalistic market economy
5. Rational law
  - 1) NB this does not correspond to "substantive" justice
4. Some causes, preconditions, and consequences
  1. Presupposes money economy
  2. War
  3. Status honor must recede
    - 1) democratization of bureaucracy
    - 2) Bureaucracy accompanies political mass democracy
      - 1) Not because of demands for reduction of state power (on the contrary)
      - 2) Because of demands for equality before the law
      - 3) Because of horrors of privilege
      - 4) Also because of bureaucratic mass parties
  4. Bureaucracy almost impossible to destroy
    - 1) superior to all other forms of power
    - 2) requires another bureaucracy
    - 3) its destruction entails breakdown of social order
    - 4) easy for any new master to gain control of it

- 1) since it does not rest on personal loyalty
- 2) NB weakness of master vis a vis bureaucracy
  - (1) master is in position of dilettante
  - (2) immaterial whether master is king or "the people"
- 5) Only private, economic bureaucracy can oppose state bureaucracy
  - 1) question of expert knowledge
  - 2) know their own business better than state control agencies
- 6) "revolutions" replaced by "coups d'etat"
5. Indeterminate economic consequences

Durkheim Lecture - The Division of Labor in Society

A. Functions of Social Solidarity

B. Mechanical Solidarity

1. Solidarity of likeness

- a. Related to punitive, repressive law
- b. NB excursus on religion (118-123)
- c. The horde: clan based societies
  - 1) Purely mechanical
  - 2) A “system of segments homogeneous and similar to each other” (132)
  - 3) Communistic

C. Organic Solidarity

- 1. Solidarity of complementarity
- 2. Related to restitutive law
  - a. Have form of contractual relations
  - b. But collective forces hold individuals to their commitments

D. Happiness

- 1. Against utilitarian theory
- 2. Concerns not excess, but “health” of the society
- 3. Well-regulated social relations

E. Development of Organic from mechanical

1. Proceeds with the division of labor
2. Corresponds to “moral density”
3. Concentration of society (205)
  - a. Darwinian formulation (208)
  - b. Points of contact lead to points of conflict (209-210)
    - 1) Therefore, diversification to avoid conflict
    - 2) This division of labor entails organic solidarity

F. Abnormal Forms

1. Anomic division of labor
  - a. When specialization proceeds too far, coordination becomes more difficult
    - 1) Conflict increases
    - 2) Examples
      - a) Labor-capital conflicts
      - b) Over-specialization & isolation in science
  - b. Under (healthy) development, State coordinates diversity
    - 1) An expression of mechanical solidarity in face of organic
  - c. Contacts need regulation to prevent their leading to conflict
    - 1) Should be regular and routinized
    - 2) Self-regulation has declined
    - 3) Lack of regulation (coordination) is called Anomie

- 4) Economists recognize dynamic equilibrium, but neglect adjustment crises
- d. Source of problem: Size
  - 1) Surface over which contacts take place becomes too great
  - 2) Quality of contacts degraded
  - 3) Not yet enough time for new equilibration
  - 4) Part of solution: information to workers about the nature of their role
    - a) Then they see how they fit in
2. Forced division of labor
  - a. Not sufficient only that each have his task: must fit him
    - 1) Constraint arises when people are forced into tasks that don't fit them
    - 2) Not the same as regulation
      - a) Only when regulation doesn't "correspond to the true nature of things" (312-313)
    - 3) Division of labor is spontaneous when it corresponds to natural inequalities
  - b. Contracts must be freely consented to
    - 1) Force not sufficient to hold one to contract
    - 2) External conditions must be equal between contracting parties (318)
      - a) Services exchanged must be equal
      - b) No class inequalities (319)
  - c. Liberty (320f)
    - 1) Derives from law (& thus social solidarity)

- 2) Subordination of external to social forces
- 3) Corresponds to justice
- 4) Just as goal of primitive societies is homogeneity, ours is equity
  - a) Free development of all socially useful forces
- 5) Need this justice as social cement

#### G. Individualism

1. Derives from social life, not the reverse (220-221)
2. Individuality derives from division of labor (334f)
  - a. Thus, div of labor corresponds to development of human personality
  - b. Also to individual morality (all morality social)

#### H. Occupational Groups

1. Economic realm very important to us
2. Professional ethics of certain occupations
3. Not sufficient regulation between occupations
4. For anomie to end, group must exist which can constitute rules needed (xxxv)
  - a. State cannot take on this function
    - 1) economic life too detailed
    - 2) escapes its competence
  - b. But regulatory entity must have legal authority

5. Corporation

- a. Analogous to the family
- b. Grew up in the city
  - 1) Opposed, partly for this reason, by the medieval State
  - 2) Another reason State cannot take this role
- c. Need for elective assemblies to regulate industry
- d. [A form of corporatism]
  - 1) [But also a form of workers' control]
  - 2) [NB Durkheim would have opposed fascism]

Durkheim Lecture - Suicide

## A. Method

1. Investigate social phenomenon by looking at its individual manifestations
2. Compare cases and reduce to groups with essential similarities
3. Thereby create typologies and establish underlying social forces
  - a. “as many suicidal currents as there were distinct types (145)

## B. Types of Suicide

## 1. Egoistic Suicide

## a. Religious denomination

- 1) higher rates of suicide in Protestantism than Catholicism or Judaism
  - a) permits freer inquiry
  - b) entails overthrow of traditional beliefs
  - c) less strongly integrated Church or community (as with Judaism)
  - d) argument supported by Protestant England due to character of C of E
    - Anglicanism equally integrated as Catholicism
- 2) Religion protects one from suicide not because of doctrine but community
- 3) Higher educational levels have higher suicide rates
  - a) weakening of traditional beliefs
  - b) more independent thinking

- c) but learning not cause of suicide in same sense
  - rather, also a consequence of decline of religious cohesion
- b. Family
  - 1) married persons have lower rates of suicide
  - 2) role of family and role in family integrates individual in collectivity
  - 3) especially true when married people are also parents
- c. Political society
  - 1) e.g., suicides actually decline during revolutionary periods
- d. Generalizations
  - 1) Features common to all these phenomena
    - a) All strongly integrated groups
      - suicide varies inversely with degree of integration (209)
  - 2) Suicide here the result of excessive egoistic detachment from group
    - a) collective force restrains suicide
    - b) social bond unites individuals to common cause
    - c) collectivity creates loftier goals than the individual could attain
      - “The individual alone is not a sufficient end for his activity.” (210)
  - d) Individual “yields to the slightest shock” because of this detachment (215)
- 3) Man is double (213)
  - a) social man superimposed on physical man

## 2. Altruistic Suicide

- a. Suicide increases also with too strong integration in society
- b. Suicide because it is felt to be one's duty (obligatory)
- c. Suicide because of a sense of honor or social prestige (optional)
- d. Mystical suicide (acute)
- e. Example of the army

## 3. Anomic Suicide

- a. Caused by change, good or bad
- b. Social forces regulate our expectations and hence, happiness
  - 1) good fortune can cause expectations which exceed circumstances
    - a) leads to unhappiness
- c. A state of de-regulation or anomie (253)
  - 1) man's activity lacks regulation (258)
- d. NB immunity of poor countries to this sort of suicide
  - 1) wealth makes us think we can depend only on ourselves
    - a) restrictions now become intolerable
- e. Typical situations
  - 1) Anomic situation chronic in trade and industry (254)
    - a) accompanied by extension of the free market
  - 2) Anomic situations arising from disruption of marriage
    - a) widowhood or divorce

#### 4. Fatalistic Suicide

- a. Not really discussed; mentioned in footnote (276)
- b. Derives from excessive regulation

### C. The social element of suicide

#### 1. The suicide-rate can only be explained sociologically (299)

- a. “The moral constitution of society establishes the contingent” of suicides
- b. A collective force; a collective inclination
- c. “Currents of egoism, altruism or anomy running through the society”
- d. Private experiences derive from moral predisposition
  - 1) “itself an echo of the moral state of society” (300)

#### 2. Collective tendencies

- a. Have an existence of their own (309)
  - 1) “they are forces as real as cosmic forces”
  - 2) “this reality is demonstrated in the same way, by the uniformity of effects”
- b. A mistake to confuse the collective type with the average type (317)
  - 1) collective conscience surpasses average conscience (318)
- c. “Suicidogenetic current” (323)

### D. Methodology

- 1. Must raise sights above individual cases
- 2. Whether rate should be considered normal/abnormal
  - a. NB functionalist argument: existent serves a purpose (362)

- b. Excesses in some direction have their uses (364)
- c. Currents useful as long as they are not excessive (365)
- 3. High rates often caused by too-rapid social change [Pathologies]
  - a. What integrates people today in light of rapid development (378f)
    - 1) Not State: too remote
    - 2) Not religion: too great sacrifices to intellect
    - 3) Not family: too decayed
    - 4) Occupational groups or corporation
  - b. State, almost alone, survived changes (388f)
    - 1) Need for decentralization, maybe through occupational group

Durkheim Lecture - The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life

A. Social bases of philosophy, metaphysics

1. Notion of causality
  - a. stems from social sources
  - b. the notion of force
  - c. cannot know natural forces directly as we can collective forces
  - d. dependence and subordination
2. Notion of the concept (436f)
  - a. impersonality and stability: permanence
  - b. coeval with society
  - c. collective representations (439)
    - 1) these are products of public opinion (439-440)
    - 2) sociology is science of opinion
    - 3) faith in religion, in science
    - 4) discussion of language (439)
    - 5) [NB relativism]
3. Notion of the category (441f)
  - a. entails time, space, efficient force, totality
  - b. idea of totality is abstract form of concept of society
  - c. expansion of society entails universalization of concepts

B. Nearly all social institutions born in religion (421)

1. except economics (fn, 421)
  - a. [cf. Weber]

C. Outline of account

1. Definition of religion (1.1)
  - a. Sacred vs. profane
    - 1) “Sacred things are those which the interdictions protect and isolate; profane things, those to which these interdictions are applied and which must remain at a distance from the first.” (38)
  - b. Definition: “A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.” (44)
2. Totemism (1.4)
  - a. The most elementary level of religion (within tribal animism)
3. Clan (2.1)
  - a. Clans are kinship groups
    - 1) They are represented by totems
    - 2) Totems are emblems of the clans
    - 3) Totems have a religious character
4. Totemism offers a conception of the universe (2.3)
  - a. The systems of classification within totemic cosmology correspond to the structure of the clans and tribes
    - 1) “The unity of these first logical systems merely reproduces the unity of the society.” (146)

- b. The extent of society determines the extent of the conceptual world
  - 1) “The domain of totemic religion extends to the final limits of the known universe.” (155)
- 5. Totemic principle: Mana, Force (2.6)
  - a. Totems have a moral character
  - b. Totems give rise to the notion of “mana” or force
- 6. Origins of the Totemic Principle (The source of Religion) (2.7)
  - a. Thus, the totem is above all a symbol, a material expression, of society
  - b. God and society are identical
    - 1) “So if it is at once the symbol of the god and of the society, is that not because the god and the society are only one? ...The god of the clan, the totemic principle, can therefore be nothing else than the clan itself, personified and represented to the imagination under the visible form of the animal or vegetable which serves as totem.” (208)
  - c. Society is the source of the notion of power
    - 1) “A society has all that is necessary to arouse the sensation of the divine in minds merely by the power that it has over them; for to its members it is what a god is to his worshipers.” (208)
  - d. Society is also the source of moral authority
  - e. The idea of force is born in a state of social effervescence
    - 1) “In the midst of an assembly animated by a common passion, we become susceptible of acts and sentiments of which we are incapable when reduced to our own forces; and when the assembly is dissolved and when, finding ourselves alone again, we fall back to our ordinary level, we are then able to measure the height to which we have been raised above ourselves.” (211-212)
      - a) Example: August 4, 1789, the French Revolution

- 2) Besides intermittent states, there are also more durable ones, like the crusades, revolutionary epochs, etc.
  - 3) We find this sort of effervescence in the ceremonies of tribal societies
    - a) Considering that “the ceremonies generally take place at night in a darkness pierced here and there by the light of fires, we can easily imagine what effects such scenes ought to produce on the minds of those who participate.” (218)  
NB the yell “*Yrrsh! Yrrsh! Yrrsh!*” (219)
    - b) This is where the notion of the sacred is born
      - (1) “How could such experiences as these, especially when they are repeated every day for weeks, fail to leave in him the conviction that there really exist two heterogeneous and mutually incomparable worlds? One is that where his daily life drags wearily along; but he cannot penetrate into the other without at once entering into relations with extraordinary powers that excite him to the point of frenzy. The first is the profane world, the second, that of sacred things. So it is in the midst of these effervescent social environments and out of this effervescence itself that the religious idea seems to be born.” (220, emphasis added)
- f. Role of symbols
- 1) Symbols represent these social forces
  - 2) They are needed to perpetuate force and religious notions at moments when the social effervescence is absent, or to call it back into being
  - 3) Cf. Wittgenstein on language and continuity
- g. intensity and symbols needed for solidarity

#### D. Evolution and Development (427f, 445f)

1. Individualism
  - a. as individuals have differentiated themselves more, ideal of Individualism rose
2. Universalism
  - a. advances with development

- b. development of international life universalizes thought (446)
  - 1) really and truly human thought
  - 2) ideals toward which we are proceeding, will probably not reach
  - 3) this overcomes gulf between religion and science
  - 4) science of man: sociology
- 3. At present, a period of moral mediocrity
  - a. creative effervescence will come again
    - 1) cf. French Revolution
    - 2) [cf. fascism]
- 4. Science
  - a. scientific thought more perfected form of religious thought (431)
  - b. accounts for conflict between religion and science
    - Cf. Wittgenstein on language
    - Freud on socialization (NB dualism)

Lectures on Simmel

A Methodology

1. Distinction between form and content
  - a. This has Kantian roots; it is not mere “formalism”
2. Sociology is primarily the study of interaction (Wechselwirkung) and sociation (Vergesellschaftung)
3. Form and content (or substance) are related in a dialectical fashion
4. Pure or formal sociology is the study of “the societal forms themselves”

B Group Dynamics

1. Group Affiliations: Intersecting Social Circles
  - a. Spencerian notion. As society becomes more complex and larger, people’s roles become more specialized and differentiated.
  - b. Group membership moves from “organic” (ascriptive) criteria to “rational” criteria.
  - c. People join multiple groups corresponding to different aspects of their (differentiated) activities.
  - d. This has consequences for society in the dialectic of conflict and solidarity (will return to this)
  - e. It also has consequences for the individual because it defines his or her identity and personality.
2. Group Size has independent consequences
  - a. As groups grow, their regulation will progress from personal morality to mores, conventions, and positive law.
  - b. Larger groups are more differentiated.

- c. Relations in larger groups are more superficial and selective. Relations become less dependent on any given individual.
- d. Dyads are the simplest form of group (two people), but groups can be as big as all of society.
- e. In triads and larger groups, third parties have the opportunity to play the role of mediator.

### C Conflict

1. Conflict often promotes social solidarity as much as disunity.
2. Conflict between similar people is often very intensive, sharp, or violent.
3. When conflict is regulated by norms, it tends to be depersonalized. And the more that people in such conflict understand each other, the more they can engage in intense and sharp conflict without breaking the relationship.
  - a. Examples are party competition, market competition.
4. Conflict between groups has several consequences:
  - a. It increases centralization of authority within the group.
  - b. It increases social solidarity and reduces tolerance of deviance within the group.
  - c. It encourages alliances between groups having a common opponent.

### D Stratification and Power: Superordination and Subordination

1. Domination is an interactive relationship: subordinate parties express at least tacit consent.
2. One person rule produces solidarity among the ruled by leveling
3. When the subordinated are stratified, control is differentiated and less unified.
  - a. When there is stratification, there are reciprocal sub-rules.

### E Individuality

1. Individual freedom is determined by the interaction between individual and society.
2. Freedom means liberation from control, and choosing one's group including the domination of that group over oneself.
3. Larger groups control individuals less: individual differentiation and cosmopolitanism grow.
4. Individuality grows the more social circles one belongs to, and the more differentiated they are.

#### F The Philosophy of Money

1. The study of money is part of the study of individuation.
2. Money is a tool for social exchange that:
  - a. Speeds up the exchange;
  - b. Allows for greater continuity of exchange;
  - c. Facilitates multiple social ties;
  - d. Permits exchange across greater distances;
  - e. Increases social solidarity and trust;
  - f. Increases the central authority that guarantees the value of money;
  - g. Creates new forms of social solidarity because everyone is subjected to taxes.
3. At the same time, people resist money's incursion into certain personal spheres of life, and anomie may increase.
4. Money permits individuals to:
  - a. Engage in more diverse activities and types of interaction;
  - b. Have more options for self-expression.
5. But money also makes it less necessary for people to know each other personally, because money "speaks" for them.
6. Thus, money also permits greater individuation because it creates more intersecting circles of sociation.

- a. As this happens, it becomes less easy for any one person to control all others.

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Lectures on Mead

- A Mead's microinteractionism is very similar to Adam Smith's theory in the Theory of Moral Sentiments. (Note that Mead studied Smith.)
1. According to Smith, human nature is not completely selfish; it involves sympathy. But this leads to comparison and, by implication, envy. So despite sympathy, man is dangerous to man "like wild beasts."
  2. Sympathy comes from our imagination, e.g., dread of death.
  3. Approval and disapproval take place in a social setting: we put ourselves in others' place. Society provides a "mirror" for the self.
  4. We begin by judging others; we imagine others judging ourselves. The self is thus divided in two.
  5. The Impartial Spectator, the Man within the Breast, stems from this. It leads to the formation of general rules of morality.
- B Mead proposes a similar, reflexive theory that is divided into three parts, Mind, Self, and Society.
- C Mead views Mind in a behavioristic fashion.
1. Behaviorism conceives of behavior in terms of stimulus and response.
    - a. For higher animals, like humans, stimuli include gestures.
  2. Two organisms meet and coordinate their activities by means of gestures. Mead calls this the "conversation of gestures."
    - a. Gestures include language and symbols.
    - b. The more language and symbols are used, the more complex the interaction can be. This can develop into very long chains of possible conduct and response.
  3. "Mind" (and thinking) develops in a social setting, it is not simply a physical organism.
    - a. Thinking is internalized communication.

- b. As children, we learn to respond to our parents and other people in our environment.
    - c. As children, we continue this responsive behavior with role-playing games, including games we play alone (that is, children talk to themselves).
  4. In this way, the human mind evolves from social communication.
    - a. This theory is pragmatist because it describes goal-oriented behavior.
- D The Self is the organizing center of the individual's experiences, thoughts, motives, and plans. It is the mediating unit between the human organism and its social environment.
  1. Whereas the human organism is present from birth, the Self needs time to develop.
  2. The Self evolves out of the (behavioristic) interactions between an individual and other people.
  3. The Self develops when we realize that other people respond consistently to us, and we learn to view ourselves as objects of other peoples' perception, not just subjects of our own desires.
    - a. The more consistently we interact with others, the more consistent our Self will become.
    - b. Likewise, the wider the range of interaction we have, the broader our Self will become. (The different spheres in which we interact creates the different roles we play.)
  4. The Self is a reflexive entity because a person can be both a subject and also an object for himself/herself: an "I" and a "Me"
    - a. As children, we begin by imaginary role playing, and eventually acquire an idea of rules for games and rules for life
    - b. We apply these rules to others and to ourselves. In this sense, we both enforce and internalize the rules
  5. As we grow older, we realize that these rules are created socially, interactively, by what Mead calls "the Generalized Other"

- a. The Generalized Other is the repository of social standards: rules, norms, values - but also language, signs and symbols.
  - b. The Generalized Other is also society, but it is not external to us because we are a component part of it
  - c. Thus, we both internalize social standards, and we can also influence social standards.
  - d. The Generalized Other is very similar to Smith's Impartial Spectator, or the Man within the Breast.
6. The self is not completely determined from outside, but it has an element of freedom and initiative.
- a. The more an individual outgrows dependency on a small set of significant others and learns the underlying unity and ideas of conduct and games of ever wider groups and communities, the more autonomous he or she becomes.
  - b. This dynamic and balance between individual and society determines how much power society has over the individual and, contrariwise, how much autonomy or freedom the individual has from society.
- E In this respect, Society is a looking-glass world. We regard ourselves according to the standards of the Generalized Other, and we judge others according to these standards, which we internalize, but can also influence.
1. Since we exist in different social situations (as child, parent, spouse, friend, employee, etc.), our Self is also divided into different roles, each of which may correspond to a somewhat different Generalized Other - i.e., into different sets of norms.
  2. However, Mead's conception of Society is fairly undifferentiated.
    - a. It is a democratic conception because it describes the interaction of autonomous individuals.
    - b. It is not well adapted to describe sociological phenomena like power, dominance, class, conflict, alienation or anomie.

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**Du Bois, The Philadelphia Negro, University of Pennsylvania Press; Reprint edition, 1995 [1899], ISBN-10: 0812215737, ISBN-13: 978-0812215731. Chs. XII-XVI, pp.197-367.**

Elijah Anderson Intro.

xviii. Notes that DB follows Booth (London) & Addams' (Chicago) city studies, in the context of the Settlement Movement.

xix. Notes how capitalists set Blacks & white immigrants in competition with each other.

xxii. DB was disillusioned that elites did not emerge as benevolent.

xxvi ff. Describes Philadelphia today: gentrification and problems due to the crack epidemic.

## XII. THE ORGANIZED LIFE OF NEGROES

### 31. History of the Negro Church in Philadelphia

197. Black Church is what is left of African tribal life.

### 32. The Function of the Negro Church

201. NB the Mother AME Church.

### 33. The Present Condition of the Churches

207. Church is the center for all efforts at social betterment, incl mutual aid societies, secret societies, charitable activities.

### 34. Secret and Beneficial Societies, and Co-operative Business

221. Art of organization hard to learn, & Blacks show their deficiencies here.

222. Mutual aid societies go back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century & are the most important form of organization in the Black community today.

224. Secret societies furnish a pastime from monotony. They hold parades, organize insurance. Some insurance schemes are swindles.

### 35. Institutions

### 36. The Experiment of Organization

233-4. These organizations represent the best hope for the advancement of Blacks. However, they are not well organized. Too much intrigue & extravagance, dishonesty & inefficiency. The Black community needs more education & civic education.

## XIII. THE NEGRO CRIMINAL

### 37. History of Negro Crime in the City

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

235. Immigration causes a lack of harmony with the environment, & hence, crime.

### 38. Negro Crime Since the War

#### 39. A Special Study in Crime

252. Most criminals are young single men under 30.

#### 40. Some Cases of Crime

## XIV. PAUPERISM AND ALCOHOLISM

### 41. Pauperism

#### 42. The Drink Habit

#### 43. The Causes of Crime and Poverty

282. Causes of crime are the same for whites & blacks & covary. But they are higher for blacks because there is more poverty among blacks.

283f. Particular causes of crime among Blacks. 1. Slavery & emancipation. 2. Immigration from the South to Philadelphia. 3. Color prejudice.

## XV. THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE NEGRO

### 44. Houses and Rent

295f. Blacks pay much higher rents. This is due to: 1. Segregation & shortage of housing in the Black neighborhoods; 2. Need to live near work & bad transportation [spatial mismatch]; 3. Prejudice. This also leads to great crowding & bad housing conditions.

### 45. Sections and Wards

### 46. Social Classes and Amusements

310ff. The four social classes. I. Higher class of educated white-collar workers & professionals w wives at home & kids in school & stable homes. II. Respectable working class. III. The honest poor. IV. The "submerged tenth" of criminals, prostitutes & indigent. [longer descriptions of each]

316f. Upper classes. Duty of the upper class is to serve & lead the lower classes. Mostly born in Phil & descendants of house servants & often of mixed race.

## XVI. THE CONTACT OF THE RACES

### 47. Color Prejudice

322ff. One of the chief causes of problems of Blacks. Enumerates different spheres where it causes problems: Work, expenditures, children, social intercourse.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

351. Partial cause of crime.

48. Benevolence

49. The Inter-marriage of the Races

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**Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Dover, 2016 [1903], ISBN-10: 9780486280417, ISBN-13: 978-0486280417. Chs. I, II, IV, VII, IX, XIII.**

### I. Of Our Spiritual Strivings

1. "How does it feel to be a problem?"
2. Veil. Second sight. Double consciousness.

### II. Of the Dawn of Freedom

9. "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."
10. History of the Freedmen's Bureau, 1861-72.
22. Accomplishments: established the beginnings of peasant proprietorship, recognition of Blacks before courts, founded free public schools. Failed to improve race relations, discouraged self-reliance, failed to provide land.
24. Present situation of the Negro: not free, can't leave plantation of birth, economic slavery, unequal before courts, segregation, penitentiary, crime. These are all shortcomings of what the Freedmen's Bureau failed to fix.

### IV. Of the Meaning of Progress

Describes the summer teaching he did as a student at Fisk in the countryside of Tennessee, and the aftermath when he re-visited people some years later.

### VII. Of the Black Belt

Describes a trip to the Black Belt of southern Georgia, cotton land. Note the many negative comments about Jews as exploiters, who own plantations now. He's generally speaking of Northern capitalists, but again & again of Jews, often Russian Jews.

78. "The Jew is the heir of the slave baron..."

### IX. Of the Sons of Master and Man

Intergroup relations between Blacks & whites in the South.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

100f. Physical dwelling: segregation.

101f. Economic conditions: the crop lien (& share-cropping). Again, frequent mention of Jews as new exploiters.

104f. Political activity.

107f. Crime: 1. Result of Emancipation was increase in crime, 2. Police system of south was mainly to control slaves. But Blacks also have a responsibility to reduce crime among them.

111f. Social contact. Cites with approval the relations between some masters & house servants.

113. Bad conditions & prejudice feed on each other; not possible to reduce one without reducing both.

### XIII. Of the Coming of John

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#### **Du Bois, "The Negro Question in the United States," Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, 1906 [Weber's journal]**

243. Emancipation changed little for Blacks in the South. "Negroes had become an unfree caste of laborers. No law changed any of this."

245ff. The sharecropping system. Merchant was in the middle, but made the biggest profits.

248f. The four classes of Black labor. Renters, croppers, sharecropper (vast majority), tenant.

251ff. Crime & convict labor. Origins of the Southern police in the slave patrols. Blacks bound to the soil; resistance to Northern labor recruiters. Antebellum police became Ku Klux Klan. Imprisonment for vagrancy. State made great profits by renting out convicts. Blacks lost faith in the law & prisons became schools for criminals.

264f. Segregation.

267. Exploitation; mentions "clever and unscrupulous Jews."

268ff. Discussion of trade unions & Blacks' exclusion. Supported divisions in the working class.

273ff. Disenfranchisement after the Postbellum amendments.

280f. No social interaction between Blacks & whites. "Before and immediately after the war, as the best Negroes were house servants in the best white families, bonds of intimacy, of affection and sometimes of blood relations between the races existed."

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

281f. Decline of democratic ideology in the US. "The causes of this are (1) the growing inequality in the distribution of wealth, (2) the rise of imperialism and (3) the color line."

284. "The Negro question is only one indication of the increasing class and racial privileges and not, as many optimistically believe, its cause."

286. Cause of antipathy of Blacks by white workers: fear that they will lose their precarious advantage & sink lower.

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**Du Bois, Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil, 2014 [1920], Martino Fine Books, ISBN-10: 1614276889, ISBN-13: 978-1614276883. chs. 2, 4, 6, 7.**

### II. The Souls of White Folk

On colonialism, exploitation, & the World War.

20. Europe is great because of the non-European heritage on which it was built. The World War was caused by competition for colonies to exploit.

21. Exploitation is age-old, but only in the European age has it been based on race. White workers are gaining advantages, but the exploitation of dark-skinned people world-wide means that even modest-income people in the homeland can live better.

22f. Competition for colonies was the cause of the World War. Example of Germany. America lost its right to claim it stood for freedom as it joined this competition for colonies.

### III. The Hands of Ethiopia

29. "Today instead of removing laborers from Africa to distant slavery, industry built on a new slavery approaches Africa to deprive the natives of their land, to force them to toil, and to reap all the profit for the white world."

31. "If the slave cannot be taken from Africa, slavery can be taken to Africa."

34. American Blacks could provide leadership to Africans for their liberation.

### IV. Of Work and Wealth

Class struggle & race hatred in East St. Louis

41. Three groups: the Northern capitalists, the Eastern immigrant workers, and the Southern Black workers.

43. As immigration was cut off after the World War, Northern industrialists looked to Southern Blacks for labor.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

45f. Blacks were willing to engage in solidarity with the white workers & join unions, but the whites were afraid that their control of the labor market would be threatened by the ongoing migration from the South. The result was the race riots in East St. Louis.

### VI. Of the Ruling of Men

Industrial democracy and political democracy. In the face of tyranny of the majority, calls for Proportional Representation.

66. Shortcomings of developments after the Civil War & the constitutional amendments. Capitalists of the North & South divided labor by race.

67f. Socialism or communism as an answer to industrial democracy limited by restrictions on participation by women, Blacks, & others.

73f. Problem of permanent minorities like Blacks who can never be a majority. Answer may be proportional representation & multiple parties, leading to shifting coalitions in legislation. Notes the tyranny of the many over the few. Notes that minorities do not always want to be just like the majority; they just want to be themselves.

### VII. The Damnation of Women

82. The cruelty of the white South to Black women. DB says he can even forgive slavery because it is an old world practice, but he cannot forgive the abuse & rape of Black women.

83. Notes Black women's role in the founding & maintenance of the Black church.

84ff. Mini-biographies of several Black women, among them Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, & several others.

### VIII. The Immortal Child

Largely on the issues in raising Black children, incl when to introduce to them how to deal with race prejudice & discrimination. How to introduce dignity & self respect, integrity, citizenship.

104. "All our problems center in the child. All our hopes, our dreams are for our children. Has our own life failed? Let its lesson save the children's lives from similar failure."

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**Du Bois, Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880. Free Press, 1998 [1935]. ISBN-10: 0684856573, ISBN-13: 978-0684856575. Ch. xiv, "Counter-Revolution of Property."**

Note: Du Bois sometimes confuses things by using terms like democracy and dictatorship in idiosyncratic fashions. He sometimes uses democracy simply to mean a particular coalition of forces like the Northern carpetbaggers & Black & White workers, or sometimes to mean socialism. He often uses

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

dictatorship to refer to a dominant coalition, including the carpetbagger-worker coalition, but also Northern industrial capitalists & Southern plantation owners. His meaning must be interpreted by context in the text, but it's not always easy.

### XIV. Counter-Revolution of Property 580-635

580f. Du Bois' preferences that were not achieved. The abolitionists/carpetbaggers & B/W labor could have set up a coalition that would have led to democracy & socialism, but their leadership lacked vision (i.e. did not agree with Du Bois), and they fell short. However, the Reconstruction military occupation ended, the KKK used violence, and Northern & Southern property owners were repelled by the prospect of this democracy/socialism & formed a coalition against this movement.

581. Northern capitalists were getting unprecedented profits, based on new technologies, tariff protection from foreign competition, massive labor supplies from foreign immigration, gifts of federal access to raw materials, massive govt investment assistance in building privately owned railroads. This was accompanied by massive government corruption in the North.

583. Southern elites claimed falsely that Reconstruction failed because of the corruption of Black elected representatives, based on Black enfranchisement.

583f. The carpetbagger/labor coalition was based on small, petty-bourgeois property ownership – and Blacks aspired to land ownership. It was overcome by the emerging monopoly property ownership of large capitalists. [Thus, this was also a struggle between earlier & later versions of capitalism]

584. Monopoly capital proceeded by advocating cleaning up govt corruption (which they didn't mean), advocating for property rights to small-scale owners, making alliances with the upper working class of skilled workers, whom they paid higher wages against immigrant – and eventually Black – labor, to whom they paid starvation wages (this split the solidarity of the working classes). At first, they seemed to appeal to Black labor, but after monopoly capital caused Reconstruction to fail, they abandoned the Blacks.

585. A B/W working-class coalition could have defeated this, but the electorate was ignorant. It would have needed a (Marxist) benevolent dictatorship of the proletariat, led by enlightened leaders.

586f. Immediately after the Civil War, the Southern plantation owners were impoverished and their property ownership was being challenged. Northern capital entered the scene as carpetbaggers & made alliances with labor, esp Black, to gain control of legislatures. Blacks called for education & uplift, paid for with taxes – plus land, which would have come from expropriating the plantation owners. The carpetbaggers called for investment help for infrastructure, esp railroads. This tax burden & potential land expropriation fell on the shoulders of the Southern plantation owners, who massively resisted these developments. Also, the freed Blacks could not conceive of a form of production beyond small-farm ownership, & didn't understand the emerging big-industry model.

591. Recaps the lost opportunity for democracy (i.e. socialism) with the failure of a B/W labor coalition that would have expropriated capital. Cites Marx.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

595. Even the abolitionist-democracy movement was based on (small) property ownership, and the protest of the Southern plantation owners aroused their sympathy. The Northerners could support emancipation, but not the abolition or govt redistribution of property. The Panic of 1873 reinforced these sentiments.
- 596f. Big capital moved to split the working class into well-paid high skilled native white workers on one side, and immigrant & Black workers on the other side who were paid poverty wages.
597. "Labor war ensued in the North, and serfdom was established in the South."
598. The poverty in the South after the Civil War was extreme & engulfed both Black & White workers, as well as plantation owners.
- 599ff. The land-hunger of the Blacks and the thrift channeled into the Freedmen's Saving & Trust Company. Note 40 acres (601).
601. Against this was arrayed the determination of the plantation owners to keep Blacks landless and the sympathy of Northern capitalists against property expropriation.
602. "To have given each one of the million Negro free families a forty-acre freehold would have made a basis of real democracy in United States that might easily have transformed the modern world."
607. Three classes in the South after the Civil War: Black labor, which was mainly ignorant; impoverished plantation owners who still retained their land & their knowledge of politics; and impoverished & ignorant white workers & peasants. The carpetbaggers entered into this scene.
- 608ff. Three factors complicated any attempt at a carpetbagger + B/W labor democratic alliance: (1) the carpetbaggers proposed to ally with planters in dominating labor. (2) Planter concessions to Black met with massive resistance from poor whites & also white shopkeepers & former overseers, who wanted to join the planter class politically against Blacks. Note that Northern & Southern capitalists were split, & the latter hated the former, while the Northerners didn't understand why united property owners could not divide & dominate labor in the South as they did in the North. And (3) poor whites could not initially decide whether to ally with plantation owners, carpetbaggers, or Black workers.
611. As compared to Black demand for land: land was redistributed in European cases with the emancipation of serfs & peasants. [Unclear except in the cases of the French or Russian revolutions.]
- 612ff. Struggle for control of the state. NB issues of taxation, debt, corruption. Issues of Negro uplift & railroad subvention. Blacks and/or carpetbaggers mainly benefitted from these policies, while plantation owners mainly bore the costs.
622. "The overthrow of Reconstruction was in essence a revolution inspired by property, and not a race war." That is, racism was an outcome of the class struggle, not a cause of the failure of Reconstruction.
- 623f. Poor whites feared any alliance that left them out and created disadvantages for them, as they had been disadvantaged before Emancipation by slave labor. Therefore, they aimed at an alliance

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

with the plantation owners & created the Klan & carried out violence directed at Blacks. This white cross-class coalition began to blame Blacks for corruption & move toward disenfranchisement & eventually Jim Crow. It also allied with Northern capital at the expense of the carpetbagger-B/W labor coalition. The only thing that could have saved the latter coalition would have been the US army, but it withdrew and Reconstruction failed. Ironically, it was not Black corruption, but Black success that generated this fear, originating in poor whites.

625f. Northern capitalists also began to fear a labor coalition against them, and they also feared that this coalition would be supported with Black enfranchisement. They therefore turned to an alliance with Southern planters in a pro-capitalist, anti-labor alliance. This led to the *Bargain of 1876* to end Reconstruction.

630. "The bargain of 1876 was essentially an understanding by which the Federal Government ceased to sustain the right to vote of half of the laboring population of the South, and left capital as represented by the old planter class, the new Northern capitalist, and the capitalist that began to rise out of the poor whites, with a control of labor greater than in any modern industrial state in civilized lands. *Out of that there has arisen in the South an exploitation of labor unparalleled in modern times*, with a government in which all pretense at party alignment or regard for universal suffrage is given up. The methods of government have gone uncriticized, and elections are by secret understanding and manipulation; the dictatorship of capital in the South is complete. The military dictatorship was withdrawn, and the representatives of Northern capital gave up all efforts to lead the Negro vote. The new dictatorship became a manipulation of the white labor vote which followed the lines of similar control in the North, while it proceeded to deprive the black voter by violence and force of any vote at all. *The rivalry of these two classes of labor and their competition neutralized the labor vote in the South*. The black voter struggled and appealed, but it was in vain. And *the United States, reinforced by the increased political power of the South based on disfranchisement of black voters, took its place to reinforce the capitalistic dictatorship of the United States, which became the most powerful in the world, and which backed the new industrial imperialism and degraded colored labor the world over.*" [emphases added]

631. "*The United States was turned into a reactionary force. It became the cornerstone of that new imperialism which is subjecting the labor of yellow, brown and black peoples to the dictation of capitalism organized on a world basis; and it has not only brought nearer the revolution by which the power of capitalism is to be challenged, but also it is transforming the fight to the sinister aspect of a fight on racial lines embittered by awful memories.*" [emphases added]

631-2. The North accepted the argument that emancipation had failed because of the incompetence of Blacks. While untrue, it led to a racist social Darwinism survival of the fittest ideology, a theory which was then applied internationally.

632. "Americans saw throughout the world the shadow of the coming change of the philanthropic attitude which had dominated the early nineteenth century, with regard to the backward races. International and commercial imperialism began to get a vision. *Within the very echo of that philanthropy which had abolished the slave trade, was beginning a new industrial slavery of black and brown and yellow workers in Africa and Asia*. Arising from this, as a result of this economic foundation, came the change in the attitude toward these darker people. They were no longer "Brothers in Black"; they were inferiors. *These inferiors were to be governed for their*

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*own good. They were to be raised out of sloth and laziness by being compelled to work. The whole attitude of Europe was reflected in America and it found in America support for its own attitude. [emphases added]*

634-5. "The immense profit from this new exploitation and world-wide commerce enabled a guild of millionaires to engage the greatest engineers, the wisest men of science, as well as pay high wage to the more intelligent labor and at the same time to have left enough surplus to *make more thorough the dictatorship of capital over the state and over the popular vote, not only in Europe and America but in Asia and Africa*. The world wept because within the exploiting group of New World masters, greed and jealousy became so fierce that they fought for trade and markets and materials and slaves all over the world until at last in 1914 the world flamed in war. The fantastic structure fell, leaving grotesque Profits and Poverty, Plenty and Starvation, Empire and Democracy, staring at each other across World Depression. And the rebuilding, whether it comes now or a century later, *will and must go back to the basic principles of Reconstruction in the United States during 1867-1876 – Land, Light and Leading for slaves black, brown, yellow and white, under a dictatorship of the proletariat*." [emphases added]

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**Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn (The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois), Oxford University Press; 1st edition, 2014 [1940], ISBN-10: 0199386714, ISBN-13: 978-0199386710. Chs. VI-VII, pp. 68-110.**

### VI. The White World 68

82. Table of the characteristic traits of: Christian, Gentleman, American, White Man. The traits of the first three are mostly positive; those of the last are violent.

85-7. Democracy cannot exist without reduction of class differences & without ending the exploitation of Black, brown, & yellow people at home & around the world.

### VII. The Colored World Within 88

Strategies for the advancement of Blacks.

95f. Role & dilemma of the talented tenth: assimilation to whites or betterment of poorer Blacks.

97. Blacks cannot duplicate the class structure of whites because they do not have the political power or wealth to get capital & command a labor force.

97ff. Three strategies: Protest, but this depends on the response of whites; emigration, which has failed, but which may one day be viable; self-segregation, which he will describe below.

103ff. Four Black responses to the Depression: Communism; joining labor unions; joining labor unions & also seeking to become capitalists; his proposal: consumer cooperatives.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

105-110. Description of consumer cooperatives. It's a form of self segregation. It builds on the consumer power of the large Black population, & aims to direct their consumption to Black businesses.

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### Du Bois, "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom," 1944.

57. His summary:

"To achieve this freedom, I have essayed these main paths:

#### 1. 1885-1910

"The Truth shall make ye free." This plan was directed toward the majority of white Americans, and rested on the assumption that once they realized the scientifically attested truth concerning Negroes and race relations, they would take action to correct all wrong.

#### 2. 1900–1930

United action on the part of thinking Americans, white and black, to force the truth concerning Negroes to the attention of the nation. This plan assumed that the majority of Americans would rush to the defense of democracy, if they realized how race prejudice was threatening it, not only for Negroes but for whites; not only in America but in the world.

#### 3. 1928-to the present

Scientific investigation and organized action among Negroes, in close cooperation, to secure the survival of the Negro race, until the cultural development of America and the world is willing to recognize Negro freedom. This plan realizes that the majority of men do not usually act in accord with reason, but follow social pressures, inherited customs and long-established, often sub-conscious, patterns of action. Consequently, race prejudice in America will linger long and may even increase. It is the duty of the black race to maintain its cultural advance, not for itself alone, but for the emancipation of mankind, the realization of democracy and the progress of civilization."

41. First plan was naïve. "I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history."

42f. 1890-1910 very consequential for Blacks. Consolidation of big capital & great efficiency of agricultural production in the South, with capital keeping Black & white workers at odds. Fraudulent government & Jim Crow. Thus, he left Atlanta U & went to the NAACP.

49. Pan African Congresses of 1919, 1921 and 1923. After Russian revolution, began to read Marx.

## Du Bois – Reading Notes

50. Visited Russia in 1928. "Russia was and still is to my mind, the most hopeful land in the modern world." Became more oriented to economics & developed a plan for consumer cooperatives.
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**Du Bois, The World and Africa and Color and Democracy (The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois), Oxford University Press; 1st edition, 2014 [1945, 1947], ISBN-10: 0199386749, ISBN-13 : 978-0199386741. Chs II-III, pp. 11-51.**

II. The White Masters of the World 11

III. The Rape of Africa 28

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**Du Bois, "Socialism and the American Negro," 1960.**

Full advocacy for socialism.

3. He felt that his advocacy of consumer cooperatives failed because it really needed government support, which it did not have.

Table of Contents:

Introduction / Judith Thurman

Translators' note

**Volume 1: Facts And Myths**

Introduction

7f Women are not a minority like Blacks or Jews

8 "They have no past, no history, no religion of their own; and unlike the proletariat, they have no solidarity of labor or interest; they even lack their own space that makes communities of American blacks, the Jews in ghettos or the workers in Saint-Denis or Renault factories."

9 "The tie that binds her to her oppressors is unlike any other. ...This is the fundamental characteristic of woman: she is the Other at the heart of a whole whose two components are necessary to each other."

12 Compares women to Blacks & Jews: liberated, but kept in place by upper status white gentile men. They are "good" when they behave. The "true woman" is "frivolous, infantile, irresponsible."

15 Men cannot know women's situation fully because they are not embedded in it. Women must tell the story.

*Part 1: Destiny. Biological data*

The psychoanalytic point of view

Basically, rejects the Freudian perspective. Women have agency & freedom, & she rejects Freud's purely male perspective.

The point of view of historical materialism

62 Technical developments cancel out physiological differences. Women don't have to be as strong as men if there are machines.

63 Engel's thesis in *The Origins of the Family* – a version of the agricultural revolution thesis. In hunter-gatherer societies, women's strength & productivity was equivalent to men's. When agriculture starts, she is subordinated, and oppression of other men also emerges. Property emerges, as does patriarchy: goods are inherited through the male

line. Men become polygamous & possess women. Her only revenge is through infidelity. "Her social oppression is the consequence of her economic oppression."

64 But Engels' account is superficial, and he doesn't know how/why the agricultural revolution occurred.

66 In particular, woman is complicit in the arrangement, becoming the Other. And her worth cannot be reduced to labor: she also serves in *reproduction*, birth.

*Part 2: History*

71f In hunter-gatherer societies, women may have possessed similar strength as men and have been similarly productive.

74-5 But this productivity, maintaining life, is not the point. The point is in taking life, in killing. Men are the warriors. "The worst curse on woman is her exclusion from warrior expeditions; it is not in giving life but in risking his life that man raises himself above the animal; this is why throughout humanity, superiority has been granted not the sex that gives birth but to the one that kills." Existentialism teaches that Ideas & Becoming transcend mere physical life, and men create that transcendence by not remaining in mere reproduction of life, but in conceiving of new ways of being. She cites Hegel's master-slave dialectic as a model for men-women.

126 The French Revolution did not change the bourgeois arrangement because it was a bourgeois revolution. "It must be pointed out that during the entire ancient regime working-class women as a sex enjoyed the most independence. A woman had the right to run a business, and she possessed all the necessary capacities to exercise her trade autonomously."

127 Noble & bourgeois women were parasitic. Only in a working class revolution will it be possible for women to gain the capacities that the former never attained.

130 "The bourgeois woman clings to the chains because she clings to her class privileges." Liberation would mean she would have to work. Thus, she feels no solidarity with working-class women.

132 Woman regains economic importance in the industrial revolution because it reduces the physical requirements of production.

135 But this created no solidarity among working class men & women, because women were able & willing to work for lower pay. Similar to Blacks in the US.

136f But over & above this was woman's reproductive question: she could not work if she was constantly pregnant & having babies. The Malthusian movement from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century led the search for contraception & smaller families, & even abortion. Christianity opposed abortion because it endowed the embryo with a soul.

Beauvoir, Second Sex, reading notes

140 Calls for political rights emerged with John Stuart Mill.

149 Reviews role of property & then technology & contraception in the development of woman's role in society. Women never formed a separate caste; she was always complicit in the arrangements.

153 Women have a harder time reconciling work & family life than men, who consider childcare & housekeeping beneath them.

153-5 Brief overview of social classes in modern society. Peasant women are reduced to beasts of burden. Female shop-keepers & business owners have always been privileged & are more equal to men. [cf. Glikl of Hameln] Women workers & employees have a hard time maintaining work & household labor. Women in the learned professions still have household chores despite domestic servants & labor-saving household appliances; she is also paid less than her male counterparts. Women retain the right to be paid for sex, whether as prostitutes or as wives; and the bourgeois woman desires to hold this parasitic position.

*Part 3: Myths. Montherlant or the bread of disgust*

271 The empirical woman, like all oppressed people "deliberately dissimulates," lies, deceives. "She is prudent, hypocritical, playacting." But the eternal feminine Mystery is deeper. "In fact, it is immediately implied in the mythology of the absolute Other."

D H Lawrence or phallic pride

Claudel or the handmaiden of the lord

Breton or poetry

Stendhal or romancing the real

## **Volume 2: Lived Experience**

Introduction

279 Women are brought up in a feminine world, the world of the family. Beauvoir will examine this & look at what "escape mechanisms are permitted her."

*Part 1: Formative years. Childhood*

The girl

Sexual initiation

The lesbian

*Part 2: Situation. The married woman*

The mother

Social life

Prostitutes and hetairas

From maturity to old age

Woman's situation and character

638 Why does woman's "character" appear to be constant over the ages? "She is argumentative, she is cautious and petty, she does not have the sense either of truth or of accuracy, she lacks morality, she is vulgarly self-serving, selfish, she is a liar and an actress. There is some truth in all these affirmations. But the types of behaviors denounced are not dictated to woman by her hormones or predestined in her brain's compartments: they are suggested in negative form by her situation." Beauvoir will seek "to grasp the Eternal Feminine in her economic, social, and historical conditioning as a whole." Even though the feminine world is sometimes contrasted with the masculine, "it must be reiterated that women have never formed an autonomous and closed society; they are integrated into the group governed by males, where they occupy a subordinate position." They have mechanical, not organic solidarity.

646 A free individual accepts blame for failures, but woman know her failures are caused by men, so she furiously rejects all suggested remedies. "Suggesting solutions to a woman determined to complain does not help: no solution seems acceptable. She wants to live her situation exactly as she lives it: in impotent anger."

647 "She is always *against* someone or something." She does not move away from the husband or man she feels hostile toward: "She wants to have the man she hates nearby to make him pay. Choosing to recriminate is choosing not to get rid of one's misfortunes but to wallow in them; her supreme consolation is to set herself up as martyr. Life and men have conquered her: she will make a victory of this very defeat. Thus, as she did in childhood, she quickly gives way to the frenzy of tears and scenes."

649 Much feminine behavior must be interpreted as protest: cheating on her husband, spendthrift behavior, being late.

650 Passive aggressive resistance: woman's famous "contrariness." "As she does not possess an autonomous domain, she cannot put forward truths or positive values different from those that males assert; she can only negate them." Limits of male technological power: "There is a whole region of human experience that the male deliberately chooses to ignore because he fails to *think* it: this experience, the woman *lives* it."

651 Principle of Negation. Woman disagrees with male logic because it's formulated against her. "She does not have the means to create another society: yet she does not agree with this one." "The woman does not positively think that the truth is *other* than what men claim: rather, she holds that there *is* no truth."

653 Women are cynical about lofty male virtues. "They particularly snigger when virtuous males reproach them for being calculating, actresses, liars: they know well that no other way is open to them." "The woman has been assigned the role of parasite: all parasites are necessarily exploiters. ...She uses the service of sex to ensure her benefits. ...Man even requires her to playact: he wants her to be the *Other*." But even though she complies, she is still "watching and judging him."

654 These are the same dynamics as those of the servant. "She has the same cynicism because she sees the man from head to toe as a valet sees his master."

655 Emancipation, the negation of the negation, is blocked. Women do not build a counter universe where they can defy males; they just complain.

664 Any women's liberation must be collective. There are some women who think they can achieve it as individuals, hence the woman in love or the mystic.

*Part 3: Justifications. The narcissist*

The woman in love

The mystic

*Part 4: Toward liberation*

Independent woman

721 Work can give woman a measure of freedom. "The system based on her dependence collapses as soon as she ceases to be a parasite." However, enfranchisement and work alone are not sufficient for total liberation. "Only in a socialist world would the woman who has one be sure of the other. Today, the majority of workers are exploited."

723 "There are quite a lot of privileged women today who have gained economic and social autonomy in their professions." But such women are still in a man's world.

731 Masochism might seem like a way out.

735 But motherhood remains an almost unsolvable problem, tho in the US & GB, she can refuse it with contraception or abortion.

741 For one category of women, their careers affirm their femininity: actresses, dancers, & singers. Their work also gives them sexual affirmation. They do risk imbalance due to their narcissism.

742 Literature and art also promise salvation, but without the risks of narcissism. She can express herself through these media. However, writing & art risk feelings of isolation.

744 And women in literature & art need perseverance; but then they may "remain divided between their narcissism and an inferiority complex."

747 Journalism may also be a viable choice. Women's perspectives are unique and can't be replicated by men.

749 But in all these endeavors, women are still in danger in a man's world. They can't go out travelling alone & seeking adventures as young men can.

### *Conclusion*

753f Summary of much of the above. Woman's castration desires are not so much to rob man of his transcendence as to have it for herself.

754 "All oppression creates a state of war. This particular case is no exception." But today, women are trying, not to imprison men, but to escape prison themselves.

755 Women's emancipation requires that she be treated as a subject as well as an object, a Self as well as an Other. When she "makes a weapon of her weakness," she is trying to assert her Selfhood, even if it is an unfair way, because the situation is "imposed on her." "The conflict will last as long as men and women do not recognize each other as peers, that is, as long as femininity is perpetuated as such."

755f Blame is useless because it is a vicious circle. Each sex feels itself a victim of the other. A solution would be beneficial because the "war does not benefit anyone; but the complexity of this whole business comes from the fact that each camp is its enemy's accomplice."

760 Communism as a solution. "A world where men and women would be equal is easy to imagine because it is exactly the one the Soviet revolution *promised*," tho it has not been accomplished. It promised equal childhoods, jobs, salaries; erotic freedom, marital freedom, free choice of motherhood; maternity leave and guaranteed support for children.

763-4 This is not utopian. Freedom creates freedom. "Freedom can break the circle; let blacks vote and they become worthy of the vote; give woman responsibilities and she knows how to assume them." [cf. Tocqueville & Mill on citizenship]

Beauvoir, Second Sex, reading notes

765 Still, certain differences will always remain between men & women: their experiences of their bodies, of their sexuality, of their children.