

only in its methods but also in its aims, as for example, the abolition of profits and the system of private property. It also differs from Marx's doctrine of the state, doctrine of class struggle, and the theory of surplus value.

As Clement Attlee, the leader of the British Labour party and the first post-war Labour Prime Minister, said: "Avoiding both fascism and communism, this country (England - D. C. B.), I believe, can afford to the world an example of how society can adapt itself to new conditions and base itself on new principles without breach of continuity and without violence and intolerance." It is also highly illuminating to quote Norman Thomas, the leader of American democratic socialist movement: "What socialists want now is not nationalisation, but socialisation, in which workers and consumers, rather than the State, directly participate in the ownership and management of a publicly owned industry."

## **5 Fabianism**

Fabianism, an important type of contemporary socialism, is a historical product of the English society; it is essentially English. Its principal sources were British and American. They included the writings of David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill in England and Henry George in the United States. Fabians drew inspiration also from Proudhon in France and Karl Marx in Germany. However, as Ernest Barker points out, Mill's was the chief influence.

Fabianism originated toward the close the 19th century in Britain. By that time Britain became a democratic state which was "prepared to take upon itself social reform duties." At the same time the working class through their trade unions had come to acquire influence and power. But the British labour movement, despite the spread of Marx's doctrines through the publication of translation of his works, was reformist rather than revolutionary in purpose. The existence of sufficient freedom in England tended to encourage the belief that the socialist goal might be achieved through gradual methods. Thus a group of intellectuals led by Frank Podmore and Edward Pease founded the Fabian Society on January 4, 1884, in which George Bernard Shaw and other distinguished intellectuals like Graham Wallas, Hubert Bland and Sidney Webb joined later. They called themselves Fabians because they wanted to establish socialism not by revolutionary overthrow of capitalism but in the manner of General Fabius, a Roman General, who defeated Hannibal by his delaying tactics. The Fabian Society declared its objects to educate the electorate along socialist lines, as the Fabians conceived it, and work for the victory of one small social reform after another until, finally, the whole campaign would be won.

The Fabians who had little contact with proletarianism until after 1909 based their socialism on the doctrine of evolution of society into socialism. They wanted to build up the socialist edifice on the foundations of the existing political and social institutions. They accepted Marx's historical method in the analysis of society and generally his primacy of the economic factor, but arrived at different conclusion as to the direction and meaning of economic



evolution. Like Marx, they held that socialism was but the next step in the development of society, and that changes following from the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century had rendered the advent of socialism inevitable. But they differed from Marx's view that the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and unfreedom could come only through revolution, followed by a transitional "dictatorship of the proletariat". They had great faith in democracy and regarded democracy and socialism as "co-efficient forms". The extension and perfection of democracy, they believed, would promote the growth of socialism.

The Fabians did not begin, like Marx, by attacking capital as the "stolen fruits of labour" which have been filched by the capitalist from the worker. They started, as says Barker, along the line suggested by John Stuart Mill with an attack on rent as the "unearned increment" of land which had been stolen by the landlord from the society which is its creator, and to which it properly belongs. This theory of "unearned increment" readily passes into the doctrine of "socially created values" and from this doctrine it is an easy step to socialism of the Fabian type. Thus Fabian economics was, for the most part, not Marxian but an extension of Ricardo's theory of rent to the accumulation of capital.

Accordingly, the object of the Fabian Society was to obtain for all members of society the values which society created. It aimed at the reorganisation of society by (a) nationalisation of land and abolition of the rent of land, the "unearned income" of the landlord, and (b) transfer to the community gradually, step by step, the administration of such industrial capital as could conveniently be managed socially, and this would be carried out without compensation but some relief should be given to their owners.

Thus gradualism was the very essence of Fabianism. The Fabian model of society was evolutionary, a model of piecemeal social engineering within the institutional framework of capitalist society. They concentrated on specific and usually half-way measures of taxation, public ownership, industrial regulation, and social amelioration. The end result would be, they held, a society where no idle class living on the labour of others shall exist.

Quite congruent with this strategy of reforming capitalism, the Fabians adopted a tactic which H. G. Wells derisively called "the backstair intervention" (or what they themselves called "permeation"). From the early days the Fabians confined themselves to permeating a very small group in modern society (high civil servants, professional men, engineers, technicians and politicians) and left popular propaganda to other socialist organisations. Believing that any sensible person, once posted with facts, would turn a socialist, the Fabians have always sought to advocate socialism on the basis of facts rather than emotions. They published hundreds of research publications, on various fields (industrial, educational or administration) which are characterised by their immense practicality. They saw themselves as educators rather than agitators, as independent "experts" rather than politicians. Instead



of organising a movement of their own, they became covert manipulators or lobbyists, specially concerned with influencing the governing classes.

In 1893, however, the Fabians joined some elements of the British trade union movement to form the Independent Labour Party as they failed in their permeative attempt to turn liberals in favour of a more radical programme. Later on, they supplied the theoretical foundation of the Labour Party. It was not, however, before the outbreak of the World War that the Fabians came to regard the Labour Party as the proper object of permeation, as the only instrument for socialism in England. After the war, the Fabians became identified with the Labour Party. Permeation—the characteristic method of Fabianism—bore fruit in 1945 when after the General Election 229 of 395 Labour MPs were members of the Fabian society, and more than half of the Labour Government was Fabian.

After the Labour Party committed itself to the Fabian programme, Fabianism as a separate movement came to an end. But the Fabians performed their theoretical task for the British labour movement which had been developing on constitutional lines long since. They provided the labour movement with a programme of reforms, constitutional socialism.

## 6 Anarchism

Anarchism is a political philosophy grounded in the repudiation of all constituted authority and the complete emancipation of the individual from all forms of control. Oscar Jaszi defines it as “an attempt to establish justice (that is, equality and reciprocity), in all human relations by the complete elimination of the State (or by the greatest possible minimisation of its activity), and its replacement by an entirely free and spontaneous co-operation among individuals, groups, regions and nations”.<sup>4</sup> Professor E. M. Burns thinks that anarchism is opposed to government based on force. “Correctly defined”, he says, “Anarchism means opposition to government based upon force. No Anarchist with pretensions to philosophical understanding has ever proposed to dispense entirely with government. He condemns the state conceived as an agency of coercion with armies, jails, and police, but he regards government as at least potentially a beneficent institution.”<sup>5</sup>

Anarchism, according to Coker, “is the doctrine that political authority, in any of its forms, is unnecessary and undesirable. In recent anarchism, theoretical opposition to the state has usually been associated with opposition to the institution of private property and also with hostility to organised religious authority”.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, historically anarchism falls into two schools: those who are individualists and those who have combined anarchism with socialism.

Though anarchism came into prominence in the 19th century, it had its roots in the past. The Protestant principle of private judgment was an early manifestation of the extreme repudiation of traditional and social disciplines in the name of the individual conscience, and the Anabaptists of Luther's name, followed by the Quakers and others of the “free churches” in Europe