

# Edge Hill University

FACULTY OF ARTS & SCIENCES

Department of English and History  
BA (Hons) History  
Level 4



John Stuart Mill

## **HIS 1014 Ideology: Theories and Practice**

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2014 – 2015: Semester 1

### **HIS1014: Handbook**

# **HIS1014 – Ideology: Theories and Practice**

## **2014/2015 Academic Year – Semester 1**

### **Module Tutors:**

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### **Attendance and submission of work:**

It is your responsibility to ensure that you are registered by the tutor for each seminar session. Reasons for any justifiable non-attendance should be reported to the tutor.

The history area recognizes that for the learning outcomes of this module to be met students need to maximize their attendance at seminars. Whilst it is recognized that illness or other unforeseen factors may lead to justifiable and unavoidable absence, the department takes the view that it is the student's responsibility to demonstrate that this is the case by providing full explanations for all absences and, where appropriate and possible, supporting evidence.

### **Introducing the module**

The module is divided into two main areas. These are:

- **Evidence and Argumentation.** This will be concerned with looking at how arguments are built in a variety of contexts, for example in the popular and quality press, and in history websites. It will look at how historians build arguments and handle evidence, particularly primary documents.
- **Ideologies/Ideas/Movements.** This part of the module will introduce some of the key political and other ideas which are

central to understanding history. These include Marxism, Conservatism, Gender, Liberalism, Racism/Fascism, and Globalisation. Again, the emphasis will be upon learning by doing.

## **HEA Project**

The Edge Hill History programme is currently involved, in partnership with Roehampton University, and the Higher Education Academy (HEA) in a project that is exploring online methods of developing historical thinking. At Edge Hill the HEA project is focused on this module, HIS 1014.

Every week materials, documents, images, film clips, podcasts and recorded lectures will be posted on a dedicated Blackboard (VLE) site that you, as a student registered on HIS 1014 will have access to.

It is expected that, week-by-week, you will engage with these materials, which are directly related to the issues be dealt with in the module teachings sessions in that week. This is an extremely valuable resource, that will enable you to develop a much more in-depth understanding of the topics you are learning about.

The dedicated Blackboard site also contains a discussion board, where you can ask questions, air you thoughts and discuss the issues raised by the module. Post-graduate students, students that is who are registered for PhDs, will regularly review the discussion board, and respond to the points and questions raised. The discussion board is also open to students who can participate in the exchange of ideas, views and questions. There is also a Personal Diary section. This is only open to the named individual student, and the designated post-graduate. Here it is possible to post ideas, thoughts and questions that you might not wish the whole body of the students on the module to see. The Post-graduate student will reply to these only to the individual who posted them

Success on a degree course is based as much on the work you conduct yourselves, as what you do in the seminar room. The HEA project provides a structure within which you can develop your skills and knowledge in your own time. It is vital that you engage with this material.

## **Inclusive Services**

Based in the University Library (1<sup>st</sup> floor) and the Student Information Centre (SIC, ground floor), we provide information, guidance, support and resources for:

Academic Skills Development  
Accessing Information and ICT  
Disability / Health Conditions  
Irlen Syndrome / Colour Sensitivity  
Specific Learning Difficulties / Differences (SpLDs) e.g. Dyslexia

If you have specific requirements due to a disability or learning difficulty (e.g. physical or sensory impairment, mental health/anxiety issues, health condition, dyslexia or an autistic spectrum condition) or needs emerge when you are studying here, we can advise you on:

Applying for Disabled Students' Allowances (DSA)  
Specialist and/or personal support  
Dyslexia assessments  
'Reasonable adjustments' to learning, teaching and assessment  
Accessible facilities and equipment

**Our approach is friendly yet professional and you can discuss your individual learning requirements in complete confidence. It is essential that you contact us as early as possible.**

### **To contact the Inclusive Services Team:**

In person: University Library, 1<sup>st</sup> floor and SIC, ground floor, Ormskirk

Tel: 01695 584372 / 584190

E-mail: MACROBUTTON HtmlResAnchor

[inclusiveservices@edgehill.ac.uk](mailto:inclusiveservices@edgehill.ac.uk)

Also visit our Inclusive Services webpage at:

MACROBUTTON HtmlResAnchor

<http://www.edgehill.ac.uk/ls/support/inclusiveservices/>

## **Submission of Coursework**

Assignments must be submitted electronically via the Turnitin drop boxes, which can be found in the module assessment folder on the module Blackboard site, BEFORE 4.00 pm on the day of the deadline.

Marked essays with feedback will be made available through Turnitin, accessed as described above.

## **Classroom Sessions/Tutorials**

There are no separate lectures and seminars for this module. Each weekly classroom session involves inter-active workshop-based activities, designed to develop your skills to the maximum. Time will also be allocated for the tutor who takes you for this module to provide you with individual help and advice. Below is a short outline of what the sessions will involve. Please note that the schedule and content of the sessions may change in accordance with your tutor's assessment of your/the group's needs.

## **Learning Outcomes**

Students who successfully complete this module will be able to:

- Identify and apply the norms of history as an academic subject;
- Construct and present a supported case;
- Use ICT facilities for research and presentation;
- Identify the main ideological developments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

## **Assessment**

### **How you will be assessed:**

1. **'Balloon debate'**, involving:
  - a) a critical self-examination of each individual's work in the pair, by the other member of the duo
  - b) a critical examination of another student's work

This exercise will be conducted in pairs. The assessment criteria will be based on the ability to deliver a supported argument. It is

envisaged that the element of peer assessment will reinforce the notion of the supported argument.

**This exercise will account for 10% of the module assessment.  
LOs 1, 2**

**The Debate will take place on 13/10/14**

**The written work will be submitted by 4.00 pm 20/10/14**

## **2. The de-construction of a provided 'argument'.**

An example of how to approach this exercise will be provided. The task is designed to assess students' ability to understand how an argument 'works', and how academic apparatus is deployed to strengthen a case. The extracts/arguments will be provided via the module Blackboard site. **This case will account for 30% of the modules assessment. LO 1**

**Deadline W/C 17/11/14**

## **3. A class-based analysis (under exam conditions) of an unseen text.**

The objective of the exercise is to assess the ability of students to employ their knowledge of ideologies to enhance their understanding of texts employing them. **This task will account for 60% of the module assessment. LO 4**

**Deadline W/C 8/12/14**

## **The Programme**

### **1. W/C 29/9/14**

## **What is Academic History?**

Read the following passage:

The relation of man to his environment is the relation of the historian to his theme. The historian is neither the humble slave nor the tyrannical master of his facts. The relation between the historian and his facts is one of equality, of give-and-take. As any working historian knows, if he stops to reflect what he is doing as he thinks and writes, the historian is engaged on a continuous process of moulding his facts to his interpretation and his

interpretation to his facts. It is impossible to assign primacy to one over the other.

The historian starts with a provisional selection of facts, and a provisional interpretation in the light of which that selection has been made – by others as well as by himself. As he works, both the interpretation and the selection and ordering of facts undergo subtle and perhaps unconscious changes, through the reciprocal action of one or the other. And this reciprocal action also involves reciprocity between present and past, since the historian is part of the present and the facts belong to the past. The historian and the facts of history are necessary to one another. The historian without his facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless. My first answer therefore to the question 'What is History?' is that it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the past and the present.

E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (1961)

Questions for discussion:

1. What is the relationship between history and the past?
2. Do historical facts (evidence) exist independently of their use by an historian?
3. What is the principal focus of the historian?
4. What is an interpretation?
5. What does this passage mean for the history student, and how they conduct their work?

This session will also introduce the first piece of assessment, the Balloon Debate.

## 2. W/C 6/10/14

### Approaches to Evidence I: Lexington Green

#### **Accounts of the Events on Lexington Green**

#### **Lexington Green: 19<sup>th</sup> April 1775**

On 19<sup>th</sup> April 1775, a unit of the British army en route to Concord in Massachusetts to deal with unrest there, encountered a group of colonial militiamen at Lexington Green. The fighting which ensued is regarded by many as the beginning of the revolutionary conflict which led to the loss of America and the foundation of the United States of America.

Your basic task is to decide who fired first at Lexington Green? To help you reach your conclusion you have 8 documents to consider. In reaching your conclusion, you must rank the documents in order from the most credible (i.e. believable and reliable) to the least credible.

You will be asked to justify your decisions.

### **Document 1**

TO THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN:  
APRIL 26, 1775:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS: Hostilities are at length commenced in the Colony by the troops under command of General Gage; and it being of the greatest importance that an early, true, and authentic account of this inhuman proceeding should be known to you, the Congress of this Colony have transmitted the same, and from want of a session of the honourable Continental Congress, think it proper to address you on the alarming occasion.

By the clearest depositions relative to this transaction, it will appear that on the night preceding the nineteenth of April instant...the Town of Lexington... was alarmed, and a company of the inhabitants was mustered on the occasion; that the Regular troops, on their way to Concord, marched into the said town of Lexington, and the said company, on their approach, began to disperse; that notwithstanding this, the regulars rushed on with great violence, and first began hostilities by firing on said Lexington Company, whereby they killed eight and wounded several others; that the Regulars continued their fire until those of said company, who were neither killed nor wounded, had made their escape.

These, brethren, are marks of ministerial vengeance against this colony, for refusing, with her sister colonies, a submission to slavery. But they have not yet detached us from our Royal Sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects and so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown, and dignity. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel ministry we will



not tamely submit; appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die to be free.

*Joseph Warren, President pro tem of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, in a covering letter for 21 sworn depositions about the events at Lexington and Concord sent to Benjamin Franklin, the colonial representative in London.*

## **Document 2**

WE, NATHANIEL MULLIKEN, PHILIP RUSSELL, (*followed by the names of thirty-two other men present on Lexington Green on April 19, 1775*)...all of lawful age, and inhabitants of Lexington, in the County of Middlesex...do testify and declare, that on the nineteenth of April instant, about one or two o'clock in the morning, being informed that...a body of regulars were marching from Boston towards Concord...we were alarmed at having met at the place of our company's parade (Lexington Green), were dismissed by our Captain, John Parker, for the present, with orders to be ready to attend at the beat of the drum, we further testify and declare, that about five o'clock in the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the parade, and soon found that a large boy of troops were marching towards us, some of our company were coming up to the parade, and others had reached it, at which time the company began to disperse, whilst our backs were turned on the troops, we were fired on by them, and a number of our men were instantly killed and wounded, not a gun was fired by any person in our company on the regulars to our knowledge before they fired on us, and they continued firing until we had made all our escape.

*Lexington, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1775. Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Russell (and the other 32 men), duly sworn to by 34 minutemen on April 25<sup>th</sup> before three justices of the peace.*

## **Document 3**

*Major Pitcairn screamed at us: "Lay down your arms, you lousy bastards! Disperse, you lousy peasant scum!" ...At least, those were the words that I seem to remember. Others remembered differently; but the way he screamed, in his strange London accent, with the motion and excitement, with his horse rearing and kicking...with the drums beating again and the fixed bayonets glittering in the sunshine, it's a wonder that any of his words remain with us...We still stood in our two lines, our guns butt end on the ground or held loosely in our hands. Major Pitcairn spurred his horse and raced between the lines. Somewhere away from us, a shot sounded. A redcoat soldier raised his musket, levelled it at Father, and fired. My father clutched his breast, then crumpled to the ground like an empty sack...Then the whole British front burst into a roar of sound and flame and smoke.*

Excerpt from the novel, *April Morning*, by Howard Fast (1961)

#### **Document 4**

19<sup>th</sup>. At 2 o'clock we began our march by wading through a very long ford up to our middles; after going a few miles we took three or four people who were going off to give intelligence; about five miles on this side of a town called Lexington, which lay in our road, we heard there were some hundreds of people collected together intending to oppose us and stop our going on; at 5 o'clock we arrived there, and saw a number of people, I believe between 200 and 300, formed in a common in the middle of the town, we still continued advancing, keeping prepared against attack though without intending to attack them; but on our coming near them they fired one or two shots, upon which our men without any orders, rushed in upon them, fired and put them to flight; several of them were killed, we could not tell how many, because they were got behind walls and into the woods. We had a man of the 10<sup>th</sup> light Infantry wounded, nobody else hurt. We then formed on the Common, but with some difficulty, the men were so wild they could hear no orders; we waited a considerable time, and at length proceeded on our way to Concord.

*Entry for April 19<sup>th</sup> 1775, from the diary of Lieutenant John Barker, an officer in the British army.*

#### **Document 5**

Lieutenant Nunn, of the Navy arrived this morning at Lord Dartmouth's and brought letters from General Gage, Lord Percy, and Lieutenant-

Colonel Smith, containing the following particulars of what passed on the nineteenth of April last between a detachment of the King's Troop in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay and several parties of rebel provincials....Lieutenant-Colonel Smith finding, after he had advanced some miles on his march, that the country had been alarmed by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, dispatched several companies of light infantry in order to secure two bridges on different roads beyond Concord, who, upon their arrival at Lexington, found a body of the country people under arms on a green close to the road; and upon the King's Troop marching up to them, in order to inquire the reasons of their being so assembled, they went off in great confusion, and several guns were fired upon the King's troops from behind a stone wall, and also from the meeting-house and other houses, by which one man was wounded, and Major Pitcairn's horse shot in two places. In consequence of this attack by the rebels, the troops returned the fire and killed several of them. After which the detachment marched on to Concord without any thing further happening.

Newspaper Account from *The London Gazette* June 10<sup>th</sup> 1775

### **Document 6**

There is a certain sliding over and indeterminateness in describing the beginning of the firing. Major Pitcairn who was a good man in a bad cause, insisted upon it to the day of his death, that the colonists fired first...He does not say that he saw that the colonists fired first. Had he said it, I would have believed him, being a man of integrity and honour. He expressly says he did not see who fired first; and yet believed the peasants began. His account is this – that riding up to them he ordered them to disperse; which they not doing instantly, he turned about to order his troops so to draw out as to surround and disarm them. As he turned he saw a gun in a peasant's hand from behind a wall, flash in the pan without going off; and instantly or very soon two or three guns went off by which he found his horse wounded and also a man near him wounded. These guns he did not see, but believing they could not come from his own people, doubted not and so asserted that they came from our people; and thus they began the attack. The impetuosity of the King's Troops were such that a promiscuous, uncommanded but general fire took place, which Pitcairn could not prevent; though he struck his staff or sword downwards with all earnestness as a signal to forbear or cease firing. This account Major Pitcairn himself gave Mr. Brown of

Providence who was seized with flour and carried to Boston a few days after the battle; and Gov. Sessions told it to me.

*From the diary of Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, entry for August 21, 1775*

### **Document 7**

In April 1775, General Gage, the military governor of Massachusetts, sent out a body of troops to take possession of military stores at Concord, a short distance from Boston. At Lexington, a handful of “embattled farmers,” who had been tipped off by Paul Revere, barred the way. The “rebels” were ordered to disperse. They stood their ground. The English fired a volley of shots that killed eight patriots. It was not long before the swift-riding Paul Revere spread the news of this new atrocity to the neighbouring colonists. The patriots of all New England, although still a handful, were now to fight the English.

Transcribed from *The United States: Story of a Free People* by S. Steinberg, published Allyn and Bacon (1963)

### **Document 8**

To the best of my recollection about 4 o'clock in the morning being the 19<sup>th</sup> of April the 5 front companies was ordered to load which we did...It was at Lexington when we saw one of their companies drawn up in regular order. Major Pitcairn of the Marines second in command called to them to disperse, but their not seeming willing he desired us to mind our space which we did when they gave us a fire then run off to get behind a wall. We had one man wounded of our Company in the leg, his name was Johnson, also Major Pitcairn's horse was shot in the flank; we returned their salute, and before we proceeded on our march from Lexington. I believed we killed and wounded either 7 or 8 men.

*Ensign Jeremy Lister, youngest of the British officers at Lexington, in a personal narrative written in 1782.*

## **Reading for Levels of Meaning**

**Literal Level** (Reading the lines – what does the author actually say?)

**Interpretive Level** (Reading between the lines – what does the author imply or assume)

**Evaluative Level** (Reading beyond the lines, does the extract/document embody some more general idea or principle.)

### 3. **W/C 13/10/14**

#### **Balloon Debate**

See Assessments, above.

### 4. **W/C 20/10/14**

#### **The Concept of Class**

##### 1. **Brainstorm**

- a) What do we mean by social class?
- b) What social class do you belong to?
- c) Why do you think you belong to that class?
- d) How are class distinctions recognised

##### 2. **Class and Historians**

- a) The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* First pub 1848 (Penguin, 1967) p.79

- b) A one-class society may appear at first sight to mean one where there is no inequality, because everyone belonged to the same class. But it has already been laid down that this cannot have been so in the pre-industrial world, at least in Europe. The *ancien regime* as the historians call it was marked by a very sharply delineated system of status, which drew firm distinctions between persons and made some superior, most inferior. There were various gradations, all authoritatively established and generally recognised. If class were simply a matter of social status, of the various degrees of respect in which men are held by their fellows, then it could not be said that the world we have lost was a one-class society. On the contrary, it would have to be described as a society with a considerable number of classes, as many as there were distinct steps in the graduated system of status.

But when the word 'class' is used, in conversation and by historians, it does not merely refer to status or respect. The distribution of wealth and power is also at issue. This is obvious when the phrase 'class-conflict' appears. For it nearly always seems to imply the clash of groups of persons defending and enhancing not simply a common status but also interest and power. The emphasis is on the solidarity of classes as groups of persons which act in championship of their conflicting aims. Such classes have a further characteristic in ordinary usage: they are nation-wide.

It is in this sense that we shall claim that there was, in England at least, only one class in pre-industrial society. A distinction will be drawn between a status group, which is the number of people enjoying or enduring the same social status, and a class, which is a number of people banded together in the exercise of collective power, political and economic. The argument will be that there was a large number of status groups but only one body of persons capable of concerted action over the whole of society, only one class in fact.

Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost Further Explored* (2000) pp.22-3 (Laslett is discussing the nature of pre-industrial England)

- c) The most profound and far-reaching consequence of the Industrial Revolution was the birth of a new class society. A class society is characterized by class feeling, that is, by the existence of vertical antagonisms between a small number of horizontal groups, each based on a common source of income.

Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (1991)

- d) By class I understand a historical phenomenon, unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in consciousness. I emphasize that this is a *historical* phenomenon. I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships. More than this, the notion of class entails the notion of historical relationship. Like any other relationship, it is a fluency which evades analysis if we attempt to stop it dead at any given moment and anatomise its structure. The finest meshed sociological net cannot give us a pure specimen of class, any more than it can give us one of deference or of love. The relationship must always be embodied in real people and in a real context. Moreover, we cannot have two distinct classes, each with an independent being, and bring them *into* relationship with each other. We cannot have love without lovers, nor deference without squires and labourers. And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born – or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms:

embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class-consciousness does not.

E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963)

1. Compare and contrast these comments on social class and history
2. List the differences and similarities.
3. Which do you find the most convincing? Give reasons for your comments.

## **Class Today?**

The Following extracts are taken from a document, drawn up by the Financial Services industries. The document identifies 31 separate social categories, including the following:

### **Type A.1 Aspirant Millionaires**

Aspirant Millionaires are people whose earnings and assets way exceed what could be earned from a salaried position, Most of these people are in later middle age and are either owners of their own companies or directors or partners in professional practices. But this group also increasingly includes the younger rich, such as city high fliers and media and sports personalities.

Assets take the form of illiquid assets, such as private companies, as well as stocks and shares in publicly quoted companies, investment trusts and residential property. These people outsource the management of their wealth to financial advisers, a key part of whose role is to minimise tax liabilities.

Mostly men, these people are precisely the types of customers that most financial services/organisations would like to recruit – they use a wide range of different personal financial services, they use them in a large way and they constitute good credit risks.

These people are particularly likely to live in very expensive houses, to apply for very large mortgages and to have high holdings of stocks and shares. They are particularly likely to use Amex and Diners cards, to



take out health insurance and to pay heavy premia for both home and car insurance. Very few have County Court Judgements.

People in this group pay their bills by post and are enthusiasts for telephone banking.

#### Type A4 Higher Rate Salariat

Higher Rate Salariat contains highly paid mid-career executives and managers whose financial interest in the company they work for is, restricted to annual bonuses and profit related pay, rather than the appreciation of equity shares.

As a result, these people use their job security and high salaries to build up significant capital investment, both in residential property and in stocks and shares. They live in fairly expensive, but not outrageously luxurious homes, on which they still have a mortgage, which is now low in relation to the house value. Surplus income is invested in a variety of savings schemes, in such a way as to minimise tax liability, for example through children's accounts, personal pensions, Peps, Tassas and Isas.

This is not a particularly good market for personal loans, whilst most credit card balances are paid off at the end of the month.

Brand loyalty counts less than convenience and competitive rates for these people, who are enthusiasts for internet and telephone banking and who are also particularly likely to have current accounts with supermarket chains.

#### Type D17 Lone Parent in Debt

Lone Parents in Debts is a group of young women in their 20s and 30s, mostly living in poor quality council housing, either as single parents or cohabiting with a partner. Most are living off state benefits, although a few work as shop assistants or in other low wage service jobs.

This group suffers serious financial hardship. On average it has negative net worth and it is not uncommon for people not to have access to a telephone. Where people have current accounts, many do not have access to cheques and payments of bills are made in cash at Post Offices, or are collected on a monthly basis by people calling at the door.

Among this group there is little opportunity to save, let alone invest, and when you are below the tax threshold the niceties of tax exempt saving products are academic. Though many would like to borrow, few can afford and even fewer can pass through the hurdle of a credit scorecard as the large number of County Court Judgements attest.

### Type E20 Anxious Breadwinners

Anxious Breadwinners consists of young married men, many of them on low incomes, who work hard but still struggle to create an affluent lifestyle for their families. They can be found both in modern owner occupied estates and living in council houses.

These people have very few savings, other than in children's accounts, and search for credit by whatever means are available. They constantly run into debt at the bank, they rely on personal loans to fund every home improvement, and they battle relentlessly to clear the balances on their credit cards. These are people to whom lower interest rates are a godsend and for whom personal debt consolidation is often a necessity.

It is for these people that the threat of disconnection of their utilities is a real worry. Many have current accounts without chequebooks.

These people are not in prestige jobs but nonetheless many bring home good wages. But their consumerist ambitions are likely to get the better of them and many have become subject to County Court Judgements

- a) Are these valid social categories?
- b) How do these categories compare to the other approaches to class you have considered?
- c) What approaches are used to construct these categories?  
Is 'class' still a valid concept in 21<sup>st</sup> century Britain?

### 5. W/C 27/10/14

## Socialism and Communism

## **Activity 1**

Brainstorm and record responses to the question: What do the above terms mean?

## **Extract A**

Why is it that 100 years after the Labour Party came into being to eradicate poverty there are still millions who live without hope? Why is it that thousands of adults still cannot read and write? Why is it that people still have to live in rundown estates, in unfit housing, fearing the crime that mars their lives? Why is it that after 100 years of the Labour Party the challenges are as great as ever?

I feel the frustration, the impatience, the anger at the waste of lives unfulfilled, hopes never achieved, dreams never realised. I know that we have not done enough.

Yes, the Labour Party has many achievements in which we can rightly take pride – the National Health Service, the Open University, raising the school leaving age. Race and sex discrimination laws. Better pensions.

But Keir Hardie would surely be disappointed to find how little of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was dominated by Labour. Downing Street is steeped in history – but too little of it is Labour history.

There are a lot of reasons for this. Some of it bad luck or timing, some of it bad policies. But we also have to accept that, at times we failed as a party to keep the trust of the people. This was not because of our values, which remain those of the overwhelming decent majority of the people of this country, but because the ideology on which they were built became fossilised and out of date.

Today our vision is one that cherishes the values of our founders, but addresses them to the realities of a totally changed world.

I know that the Labour Party is nothing if it is not a force for modernisation and progress: a force capable of tackling the great challenges ahead of us.

For me our greatest achievement so far is to demonstrate that enterprise and fairness can be the twin driving forces of a Labour government, indeed that they may go hand in hand if we are to build the kind of Britain the country wants. It is an extremely important breakthrough.

For decades, people's hearts have told them to vote Labour. They rightly associated us, the creators of the National Health Service, with compassion. But it was their heads which told them to vote Conservative. They did not believe we could deliver the economic prosperity and increased opportunity they want for themselves and their families.

Independence for the Bank of England, tough action on debt and sound management of the economy have given us the platform from which we can go on to carry through radical reform. As the party of the heart and the head we can achieve much more.

The key to economic success and to a decent society is the same: the liberation of human potential.

[Tony Blair, 'My Vision of the Future' *Inside Labour* Feb 2000 – NB this information will not be included in the student version]

### **Extract B**

You cannot build up a socialist society without first getting the power to build it. The question of power is the great question of political life.

Who rules in any given community? The answer is, those people rule who own the industries and land of the country. This is a fundamental political truth. It is only on the basis of this truth that one can talk sense about politics.

Surely this truth is obvious enough? Put it this way. Imagine a country in which a certain group of men owned the entire water supply. Would not this group of "water-supply-owners" rule that country? Could not a child tell you that so long as they managed to hold on to the water supply they could dictate to the rest of the people? It might be that the rest of the people had the right to elect their rulers. But the owners of the water supply would say, "If you do not elect us, we will cut off the water." Therefore the people's right to elect whom they pleased to rule them would be, in practice, almost worthless.

The position in Britain today is not as bad as that, but it is something like it. The 4 million own the means of production without the use of which we cannot get our livelihoods. We have a perfect right to refuse to elect a single one of the 4 million to sit in Parliament or form the Government. But, if we do, the 4 million may begin to cut off the water supply. They may begin, to be plain, to refuse to use the means of

production or to let us use them. They may create what is called a financial crisis, or panic, or slump in which more and more of us become unemployed and destitute. And, unless we take the counter-measures described in the last chapter (mainly exchange control) we shall remain so until we become good boys and girls again and re-elect the representatives of the 4 million to govern us!

He who owns “the means of production” rules the country, whatever its constitution may be, until and unless he is effectively turned out either of the control or the ownership of them.

John Strachey, *Why You Should Be a Socialist* (1944).

### **Extract C**

We have described in the broadest outline what socialism could mean for Britain, indicated the most general features of a socialist programme, which, with the aid of a socialist government, the people would struggle to fulfil. With all the difficulties that we are bound to face in building socialism it is easy to see how great an advance it would mean on our present capitalist conditions.

Socialist countries do not claim to be utopias, free of problems. They are countries in which difficulties occur and have to be overcome in the best interests of the working people. But they are countries which make full use of their material and spiritual resources, which are free of economic crises and unemployment, countries in which progress can be continuous, and where it is directed towards the satisfaction of human needs and aspirations.

The achievements of socialism, once a distant dream, are now a reality for all to see, in many countries of the world. But we are not claiming that Britain should copy others exactly in the way it advances to socialism and establishes socialist institutions. On the contrary we have outlined a *British* road to socialism.

Communist Party of Great Britain, *The British Road to Socialism* 1968.

### **Extract D**

“Are you a socialist?” I asked a fellow speaker at an anti-war rally the other day. I knew the answer was yes. The speaker had taken the whole of his time exposing the dreadful gap between the world’s rich and poor,

between the handful of billionaires on the one hand and the “world pining in pain” on the other. He had said more than enough to convince me that he didn’t believe these frightful facts were caused by accident or sent by god. On the contrary – they were connected. The poor are poor because the rich are rich and vice versa.

The explanation for this, the most frightful fact about our civilisation, is exploitation. That is the control of the means of production by a small minority who organises the wealth they control to their own advantage, and to the disadvantage of the people who work for them.

This exploitation explains the horrors we see around us, including the horror of 11 September, and drives our rulers to “settle” such horrors with more horrors and more killings. Capitalism, the rule of the rich minority, is the enemy.

The antidote to capitalism is socialism, a democratic system of society where the wealth is owned and controlled by the people who produce it. It is easy to set out these simple principles, and easy to answer yes to the question I asked.

But other questions flow directly from that answer. The easiest, it seems to me, is “Can I be a socialist on my own?” The whole point about socialism is that it is a society run by collective effort. Instead of splitting people one from another, socialism encourages cooperation. None of us individuals know more than a little or can contribute more than a little.

In a cooperative society we can pool our abilities and resources to create more for everyone, and to share it out fairly. The same principle applies to changing from capitalism to socialism. Though it is corrupt and decadent to the core, capitalism is an extremely powerful system, bolstered all the time by class solidarity.

The rich and mighty combine to confuse and humiliate workers and the poor. The only answer is for workers and the poor to combine to fight back.

The weakest organisation on the left, therefore, is the NANAS – the National Association of Non-Aligned Socialists, the people who profess to know everything and do nothing. They cause no problem at all to capitalists and militarists. Not much better are the socialists who believe that the best road to socialism is to wait for it to be ushered in by parliament.

These prevaricators always seem to have a reason to do nothing themselves and leave the campaigning, and the challenge, to someone else. Those few socialists who have joined the Labour Party have found themselves sidelined, patronised and vilified.

As a result many of them have left, and many more are thinking of leaving. If they are to make any real impact on capitalist society, socialists have to come together in an organisation committed to campaigning against capitalist society in whatever guise it appears.

In any area or workplace the ceaseless struggle between exploited and exploiters shows itself in countless different ways. Workers may go on strike, tenants may combine to fight the threat of eviction, black people may be victimised or attacked because of the colour of their skin, women and gays may be discriminated against.

There may be- indeed there is right now – a monstrous war in which the forces of the rich have combined their military might to pulverise the poor. In all these struggles the crying need is for socialist organisation, in which socialists can combine to produce their own newspapers, magazines and propaganda, and organise solidarity for those who have had the guts to take the bosses on.

Socialists are no better, cleverer or sharper than anyone else. But if and when they act together they have far more influence on society than they had when they were isolated individuals.

[Paul Foot, 'I Urge You to Join Socialists' *Socialist Worker* 17<sup>th</sup> Nov.2001  
<http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/1775/sw177520.htm> .

## **Task 2**

In pairs discuss the following question: Which term - Marxist, Socialist, Communist - best fits each of the above extracts. Give at least three reasons – drawn from the extracts – for each answer.

## **Task 3**

In pairs discuss what elements separate each extract from the others.

## **Task 4**

Plenary and sharing session, in which the pairs report back....leading to general discussion.

### **Learning Points:**

- a. Marxists and communists are socialists, but socialist are not always marxists, and never communists.
- b. Definitions of socialism change over time.
- c. The nature of communism changes significantly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- d. The development of 20<sup>th</sup> century communism is intimately bound up with the Soviet Union
- e. Contemporary Marxist activists do not describe themselves as Communists.
- f. Contemporary Marxists continue to emphasise the idea of class struggle, and the importance of the revolutionary party.
- g. The projected means of the socialist transformation – revolution or parliament – is a key element defining the different strands of socialism.

### **6. W/C 3/11/14**

### **Independent Study Week**

### **7. W/C 10/11/14**

### **Conservatism and Liberalism**

1. Where it all began: Whigs and Liberals. General discussion
2. Discuss the Peel and Mill Extracts. Which is Liberal, and which Conservative? Are there are general principles that can be extracted from them?
3. Read the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> extracts. Which is Liberal and which Conservative? Do they bear any relationship to the Mill and Peel



extracts? (NB Students handouts should have the names removed from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> extracts.

#### 4. Conclusions?

### **Sir Robert Peel, *The Tamworth Manifesto* 1834**

#### **To the Electors of the Borough of Tamworth.**

Gentlemen,

On the 26th of November last, being then at Rome, I received from His Majesty a summons, wholly unforeseen and unexpected by me, to return to England without delay, for the purpose of assisting His Majesty in the formation of a new government. I instantly obeyed the command for my return; and on my arrival, I did not hesitate, after an anxious review of the position of public affairs, to place at the disposal of my Sovereign any services which I might be thought capable of rendering.

My acceptance of the first office in the Government terminates, for the present, my political connection with you. In seeking the renewal of it, whenever you shall be called upon to perform the duty of electing a representative in Parliament, I feel it incumbent on me to enter into a declaration of my views of public policy, as full and unreserved as I can make it, consistently with my duty as a Minister of the Crown.

You are entitled to this, from the nature of the trust which I again solicit, from the long habits of friendly intercourse in which we have lived, and from your tried adherence to me in times of difficulty, when the demonstration of unabated confidence was of peculiar value. I gladly avail myself also of this, a legitimate opportunity, of making a more public appeal - of addressing myself, through you, to that great and intelligent class of society of which you are a portion, and a fair and unexceptionable representative - to that class which is much less interested in the contentions of party, than in the maintenance of order and the cause of good government, that frank exposition of general principles and views which appears to be anxiously expected, and which it ought not to be the inclination, and cannot be the interest of a Minister of this country to withhold.

Gentlemen, the arduous duties in which I am engaged have been imposed on me through no act of mine. Whether they were an object of ambition coveted by me - whether I regard the power and distinction they confer as of any sufficient compensation for the heavy sacrifices they involve - are matters of mere personal concern, on which I will not waste a word. The King, in a crisis of great difficulty, required my services. The question I had to decide was this - Shall I obey the call?

Or shall I shrink from the responsibility, alleging as the reason, that I consider myself, in consequence of the Reform Bill as labouring under a sort of moral disqualification, which must preclude me, and all who think with me, both now and for ever, from entering into the official service of the Crown? Would it, I ask, be becoming in any public man to act upon such a principle? Was it fit that I should assume that either the object or the effect of the Reform Bill has been to preclude all hope of a successful appeal to the good sense and calm judgement of the people, and so fetter the prerogative of the Crown, that the King has no free choice among his subjects, but must select his Ministers from one section, and from one section only, of public men.

I have the firmest convictions that that confidence cannot be secured by any other course than that of a frank and explicit declaration of principle; that vague and unmeaning professions of popular opinion may quiet distrust for a time, may influence this or that election but that such professions must ultimately and signally fail, if, being made, they are not adhered to, or if they are inconsistent with the honour and character of those who made them.

Now I say at once that I will not accept power on the condition of declaring myself an apostate from the principles on which I have heretofore acted. At the same time, I never will admit that I have been, either before or after the Reform Bill, the defender of abuses, or the enemy of judicious reforms. I appeal with confidence in denial of the charge, to the active part I took in the great question of the currency - in the consolidation and amendment of the Criminal Law - in the revisal of the whole system of Trial by Jury - to the opinions I have professed, and uniformly acted on, with regard to other branches of the jurisprudence of this country - I appeal to this as a proof that I have not been disposed to acquiesce in acknowledged evils, either from the mere superstitious reverence for ancient usages, or from the dread of labour or responsibility in the application of a remedy.

With respect to the Reform Bill itself, I will repeat now the declaration I made when I entered the House of Commons as a member of the Reformed Parliament - that I consider the Reform Bill a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question - a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of this country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or by insidious means.

Then, as to the spirit of the Reform Bill, and the willingness to adopt and enforce it as a rule of government: if, by adopting the spirit of the Reform Bill, it be meant that we are to live in a perpetual vortex of agitation; that public men can only support themselves in public estimation by adopting every popular impression of the day, - by promising the instant redress

of anything which anybody may call an abuse - by abandoning altogether that great aid of government - more powerful than either law or reason - the respect for ancient rights, and the deference to prescriptive authority; if this be the spirit of the Reform Bill, I will not undertake to adopt it. But if the spirit of the Reform Bill implies merely a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper combining, with the firm maintenance of established rights, the correction of proved abuses and the redress of real grievances, - in that case, I can for myself and colleagues undertake to act in such a spirit and with such intentions.

Such declarations of general principle are, I am aware, necessarily vague: but in order to be more explicit, I will endeavour to apply them practically to some of those questions which have of late attracted the greater share of public interest and attention.

### **John Stuart Mill *On Liberty* 1859**

But there is a sphere of action in which society, as distinguished from the individual, has, if any, only an indirect interest; comprehending all that portion of a person's life and conduct which affects only himself, or, if it also affects others, only with their free, voluntary, and undeceived consent

and participation. When I say only himself, I mean directly, and in the first instance: for whatever affects himself, may affect others through himself; and the objection which may be grounded on this contingency, will receive consideration in the sequel. This, then, is the appropriate region of human liberty. It comprises, first, the inward domain of consciousness;

demanding liberty of conscience, in the most comprehensive sense; liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological. The liberty of expressing and publishing opinions may seem to fall under a different principle, since it belongs to that part of the conduct of an individual which concerns other people; but, being almost of as much importance as the liberty of thought itself, and resting in great part on the same reasons, is practically inseparable from it. Secondly, the principle requires liberty of tastes and pursuits; of framing the plan of our life to suit our own character; of doing as we like, subject to such consequences as may follow; without impediment from our fellow-creatures, so long as what we do does not harm them even though they should think our conduct foolish, perverse, or wrong. Thirdly, from this

liberty of each individual, follows the liberty, within the same limits, of combination among individuals; freedom to unite, for any purpose not involving harm to others: the persons combining being supposed to be of full age, and not forced or deceived.

No society in which these liberties are not, on the whole, respected, is free, whatever may be its form of government; and none is completely free in which they do not exist absolute and unqualified. The only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether bodily, or mental or spiritual. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.

**Lloyd George (Chancellor of the Exchequer) addressing a meeting on the People's Budget of 1909. Reported in *The Times* 31<sup>st</sup> July 1909**

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, who on rising had an enthusiastic reception said, - A few months ago a meeting was held not far from this hall. In the heart of the City of London, demanding that the Government should launch out and run into enormous expenditure on the Navy. That meeting ended up with a resolution promising that those that passed that resolution would give financial support to the Government in their undertaking. There have been two or three meetings held in the City of London since (laughter and cheers), attended by the same class of people, but not ending up with a resolution promising to pay. (Laughter). On the contrary we are spending the money, but they won't pay (Laughter). What has happened since to alter their tone? Simply that we have sent in the bill (Laughter and cheers). We started our four Dreadnoughts. They cost eight millions of money. We promised them four more; they cost another eight millions. Somebody has got to pay, and those gentlemen say "Perfectly true; somebody has got to pay, but we would rather that that somebody was somebody else." (Laughter). We started building; we wanted money to pay for the building; so we sent the hat round. (Laughter). We sent it round amongst the workmen (hear, hear), and the miners of Derbyshire (loud cheers) and Yorkshire, the weavers of High Peak (cheers), and the Scotchmen of Dumfries (cheers) who, like all their countrymen know the value of money. (Laughter), They all brought in their coppers. We went round Belgravia,

but there has been such a howl ever since that it has completely deafened us.

### OLD-AGE PENSIONS

But they say “It is not so much the Dreadnoughts we object to, it is the pensions.” (Hear, hear). If they object to the pensions why did they promise them? (Cheers). They won elections on the strength of their promises. It is true they never carried them out. (Laughter) Deception is always a pretty contemptible vice, but to deceive the poor is the meanest of all crimes. (Cheers) But they say, “When we promised pensions we meant pensions at the expense of the people for whom they were provided. We simply meant to bring a Bill to compel workmen to contribute to their own pensions (Laughter). If that is what they meant why did they not say so? (Cheers) The Budget, as your chairman has already so well reminded you, is introduced not merely for the purpose of raising barren taxes, but taxes that are fertile taxes, taxes that will bring forth fruit – the security of all the country which is paramount in the minds of all. The provision for the aged and deserving poor – it was time it was done. that will bring forth fruit – the security of all the country which is paramount in the minds of all. The provision for the aged and deserving poor – it was time it was done. (Cheers) It is rather a shame for a rich country like ours – probably the richest country in the world, if not the richest the world has ever seen – that it should allow those who have toiled all their days to end in penury and possibly starvation. (Hear, hear) It is rather hard that an old workman should have to find his way to the gates of the tomb bleeding and footsore, through the brambles and thorns of poverty (Cheers). We cut a new path through it (Cheers), an easier one, a pleasanter one, through fields of waving corn. We are raising money to pay for the new road (Cheers), aye, and widen it so that 200,000 paupers shall be able to join in the march. (Cheers). There are many in the country blessed by Providence with great wealth, and if there are amongst them men who grudge out of their riches a fair contribution towards the less fortunate of their fellow countrymen they are shabby rich men. (Cheers) We propose to do more by means of the Budget. We are raising money to provide against the evils and the suffering that follow from unemployment (Cheers). We are raising money for the purpose of assisting our great friendly societies to provide for the sick and the widows and the orphans...I do not believe any fair-minded man would challenge the justice and the fairness of the objects which we have in view in raising this money.

## **Mr. Churchill's Declaration to the Electors, 1945**

I had hoped to preserve the Coalition Government, comprising all parties in the state, until the end of the Japanese war, but owing to the unwillingness of the Socialists and Sinclair Liberal Parties to agree to my proposal, a General Election became inevitable, and I have formed a new National Government, consisting of the best men in all Parties who were willing to serve and some who are members of no Party at all.

Having poured out all we could to beat the Germans, holding nothing back, we must now take stock of our resources and plan how the energies of the British people can best be freed for the work that lies ahead.

This is the time for freeing energies, not stifling them. Britain's greatness has been built on character and daring, not on docility to a state machine. At all costs we must preserve that spirit of independence and that 'Right to live by no man's leave underneath the law.

### Four Year Plan

More than two years ago, I made a broadcast to the nation in which I sketched a four year plan which would cover five or six large measures of a practical character, which must all have been the subject of prolonged, careful and energetic preparation beforehand, and which fitted together into a general scheme.

The plan has now been shaped, and we present it to the country for their approval. Already a beginning has been made in carrying it out, and the Education Act for which our new Minister of Labour is greatly respected is already the law of the land.

### Work

In the White Paper presented to Parliament by the late administration are plans for avoiding the disastrous slumps and booms from which we used to suffer, but which all are united in being determined to avoid in the future.

The Government accepts as one of its primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment. Unless there is steady and ample work, there will not be the happiness, the confidence, or the material resources in the country on which we can all build together the kind of Britain that we want to see.

To find plenty of work with individual liberty to choose one's job, free enterprise must be given the chance and the encouragement to plan ahead. Confidence in sound government – mutual co-operation between industry and the State, rather than control by the state – a lightening of the burden of excessive taxation – these are the first essentials.

8. 17/11/14

**Fascism**

1. Consider Extract 2. What are the essential ideas contained there?
2. What does Hitler mean by the 'basic aristocratic idea of nature'?
3. What might be the source of this idea?
4. Compare and contrast the Hitler extract with the Mussolini extract, and answer the following question: Is Fascism necessarily racist?
5. Was Calvin Coolidge a fascist?
6. Does Trotsky's interpretation offer anything to the understanding of Fascism?

**Extract 1**

In opposition to [the bourgeois and the Marxist-Jewish worlds], the folkish philosophy finds the importance of mankind in its basic racial elements. In the state it sees only a means to an end and construes its end as the preservation of the racial existence of man. Thus it by no means believes in an equality of races, but along with their difference it recognises their higher or lesser value and feels itself obligated to promote the victory of the better and stronger, and demand the subordination of the inferior and weaker in accordance with the eternal will that dominates this universe. Thus, in principle it serves the basic aristocratic idea of nature and believes in the validity of this law down to the last individual. It sees not only the different values of the races, but also the different value of individuals. From the mass it extracts the importance of the individual personality and thus...it has an organising effect.....But it cannot grant the right to existence even to an ethical idea if this idea represents a danger to the racial life of the bearers of a higher ethics; for in a bastardised and niggerised world all the concepts of the humanly beautiful and sublime, as well as all ideas of an idealised future of our humanity, would be lost for ever...

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* 1923 Taken from William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1969) pp.117-8)

## **Extract 2 Benito Mussolini (with Giovanni Gentile) *What is Fascism?* 1932**

...Fascism [is] the complete opposite of...Marxian Socialism, the materialist conception of history of human civilization can be explained simply through the conflict of interests among the various social groups and by the change and development in the means and instruments of production... And if the economic conception of history be denied, according to which theory men are no more than puppets..... while the real directing forces are quite out of their control, it follows that the existence of an unchangeable and unchanging class-war is also denied - the natural progeny of the economic conception of history. And above all Fascism denies that class-war can be the preponderant force in the transformation of society....

.... Fascism combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology, and repudiates it, whether in its theoretical premises or in its practical application. Fascism denies that the majority, by the simple fact that it is a majority, can direct human society; it denies that numbers alone can govern by means of a periodical consultation, and it affirms the immutable, beneficial, and fruitful inequality of mankind, which can never be permanently levelled through the mere operation of a mechanical process such as universal suffrage....

The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State, its character, its duty, and its aim. Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the State. The conception of the Liberal State is not that of a directing force, guiding the play and development, both material and spiritual, of a collective body, but merely a force limited to the function of recording results: on the other hand, the Fascist State is itself conscious and has itself a will and a personality -- thus it may be called the "ethic" State....

...The Fascist State organizes the nation, but leaves a sufficient margin of liberty to the individual; the latter is deprived of all useless and possibly harmful freedom, but retains what is essential; the deciding power in this question cannot be the individual, but the State alone....

...For Fascism, the growth of empire, that is to say the expansion of the nation, is an essential manifestation of vitality.....

Available at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/mussolini-fascism.html>



### **Extract 3. Calvin Coolidge, Vice-President USA, *Good Housekeeping* 1921**

There are racial considerations too grave to be brushed aside for any sentimental reasons. Biological laws tell us that certain divergent people will not mix or blend. The Nordics propagate themselves successfully. With other races, the outcome shows deterioration on both sides. Quality of mind and body suggests that observance of ethnic law is as great a necessity to a nation as immigration law.

### **Extract 4. Leon Trotsky *Fascism: What it is and how to fight it* (1932)**

Of course, in France, as in certain other European countries (England, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries), there still exist parliaments, elections, democratic liberties, or their remnants. But in all these countries, the same historic laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries, the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy. It is capable of assuring the people neither bread nor peace. This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the democratic order. It is forced to smash the workers and peasants by the use of physical violence. The discontent of the workers and peasants, however, cannot be brought to an end by the police alone. Moreover, if it often impossible to make the army march against the people. It begins by disintegrating and ends with the passage of a large section of the soldiers over to the people's side. That is why finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers just as certain breeds of dog are trained to hunt game. The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery.

The fascists find their human material mainly in the petty bourgeoisie. The latter has been entirely ruined by big capital. There is no way out for it in the present social order, but it knows of no other. Its

dissatisfaction, indignation, and despair are diverted by the fascists away from big capital and against the workers. It may be said that fascism is the act of placing the petty bourgeoisie at the disposal of its most bitter enemies. In this way, big capital ruins the middle classes and then, with the help of hired fascist demagogues, incites the despairing petty bourgeoisie against the worker. The bourgeois regime can be preserved only by such murderous means as these. For how long?

Until it is overthrown by proletarian revolution.

#### 9. W/C 24/11/14

### Feminism and Gender

Gender historians argue that gender of identities of both men and women are not natural, but are socially constructed and change over time

What do the two images of women below tell you about the changing identities of women?

1.



Cartoon from *Punch* 1860



Louise Brooks 1920s film star and classic 'flapper'

**Gender historians also seek to make the process of gender identities and their construction clear by, as they say gendering history. Can you 'gender' the following extracts and picture?**

Lancashire has long been celebrated for the beauty of its women; 'the Lancashire witches' being a standing toast in all private and public convivialities. In the higher and middle classes of society, there are certainly to be found many exquisite specimens of female loveliness - many exceedingly graceful and feminine beings. They may be seen in abundance in all the social circles, in places of amusement and parade in which; like the sex all the world over, they naturally assemble - a passion for admiration and attention forming an essential and important part of woman's character, and one too of the utmost value, and worthy every cultivation.

But these must not be sought for amongst the precociously developed girls herding in factories. Here, on the contrary, will be found an utter absence of grace and feminine manners - a peculiar raucous or rough timbre of voice - no such thing as speaking soft and low, 'that most

excellent thing in woman', a peculiarity owing to various causes, a principal one of which is, too early sexual excitement, producing a state of vocal organs closely resembling that of the male.

Here is no delicacy of figure, no 'grace in all her steps', no 'heaven within her eye', no elegance of form, no retiring bashfulness, no coy reserve, no indication that a woman's soul dwells there in all its young loveliness, with its host of hidden delights, waiting but the touch of some congenial spirit to awaken all its sensibilities and passions; but in their place an awkward and ungainly figure; limbs badly moulded from imperfect nutrition - a bony frame-work, in many points widely divergent from the line of womanly beauty - a beauty founded upon utility - and a general aspect of coarseness and a vulgarity of expression quite opposed to all ideas of excellencies in the moral and physical attributes of the sex.

There is something in the female figure strongly indicative of its aptitude for the performance of certain functions peculiar to her sex. Child bearing is one of these, and the nourishment she is subsequently destined to afford her offspring is another. The gait of women who labour under any material alteration in the axis of the thigh bone is singular - a sort of waddle, an alternate sidelong progression... This gait may be detected in great numbers of factory girls and women, and is exceedingly ungraceful - ungraceful in itself, and still more so in its impression upon the mind, by the evidence it gives of certain alterations in form peculiarly unsexual.

Neither is the condition of those organs from which the child is to derive its first aliment less strikingly illustrative of their habits. Very early in life, from ten to fourteen years, the breast are often found large and firm, and highly sensitive, whilst at a later period and a period indeed when they should shew the greatest activity and vital energy - when in fact they have children to support from them, they are soft, flaccid, pendulous, and very unirritable - both states giving the most decisive proofs of perversion in the usual functional adaption of parts...

P.Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England* (1833)

"The number of girls at nailing considerably exceeds that of boys; it may be termed the district of female blacksmiths; constantly associating with depraved adults, and young persons of the opposite sex, they naturally fall into all their ways; and drink, smoke, swear etc.etc., and become as bad as men. The men and boys are usually naked, except a pair of trowsers; the women and girls only have a thin ragged petticoat, and an

open shirt without sleeves" Look to Warrington; the Honourable and Reverend Horace Powys, the rector, says, and there is no man more capable from talent and character, of giving an opinion - "My conviction is - and it is founded on the observation of some years - that the general condition of the children employed in labour in this town is alarmingly degraded, both religiously, morally and intellectually." And here, too, is the evidence of the Rev. John Molyneux, a Roman Catholic priest, who began by stating his peculiar qualifications to give testimony, having a congregation of 3,000 persons, and chiefly among the poorer classes. "Children in pin-works", he said, "are very immoral - they sit close together, and encourage each other in cursing and swearing, and loose conversation, which I grant you they do not understand," a conclusion in which I cannot agree :- "but it renders them," he adds, "prone to adopt the acts of immorality on which they converse" - "These girls who from very early labour at pins go to factories, do not ever make good housekeepers: they have no idea of it; neither of economy, nor cooking, nor mending their clothes."

Lord Shaftesbury, speaking in Feb. 1843.

Here Shaftesbury is quoting from the evidence provided by correspondents.

1. AS WITH THE COMMANDER OF AN ARMY, or the leader of any enterprise, so it is with the mistress of a house. Her spirit will be seen through the whole establishment; and just in proportion as she performs her duties intelligently and thoroughly, so will her domestics follow in her path. Of all these acquirements, which more particularly belong to the feminine character, there are none which take a higher rank, in our estimation, than such as enter into a knowledge of household duties; for on these are perpetually dependent the happiness, comfort, and well-being of a family. In this opinion we are borne by the author of "The Vicar of Wakefield," who says: "The modest virgin, the prudent wife, and the careful matron, are much more serviceable in life than petticoated philosophers, blustering heroines, or virago queens. She makes her husband and her children happy, who reclaims the one from vice and trains up the other to virtue, is a much greater character than ladies described in romances, whose whole occupation is to murder mankind with shafts from their quiver, or their eyes."

Isabella Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Household Management* 1861



Louis XIV b.1638 d.1715

## **What Connection does feminism have to the concept of Gender? Are all feminists the same?**

Discuss the following three statements, all from self-avowed feminists:

1. Women's liberation is part of this awakening (the revolutionary awakening of 1968 – RS) and a socialist feminism is again possible in the world. Such beginning though are very fragile and the fortunes of the new feminism will depend on our capacity to relate to the working class and the action of working-class women in transforming women's liberation according to their needs.  
Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden From History* (1974) pp.168 -9
2. The heterosexual couple is a political relationship within which the woman's labour is extracted and the woman's life is controlled and harnessed to the satisfaction of man's needs.  
Sheila Jeffreys, 'Sex reform and anti—feminism in the 1920s' in *The Sexual Dynamics of History* (1983) p.178
3. The reluctance that many women feel in saying that they are feminist is understandable; they feel alienated from the label because they feel it puts them in some sort of ghetto, that it defines them as an activist or a socialist or a lesbian or somebody who is humourless or dowdy or celibate.  
Elizabeth Wutzel, *Bitch: In Praise of Difficult Women* (1999)



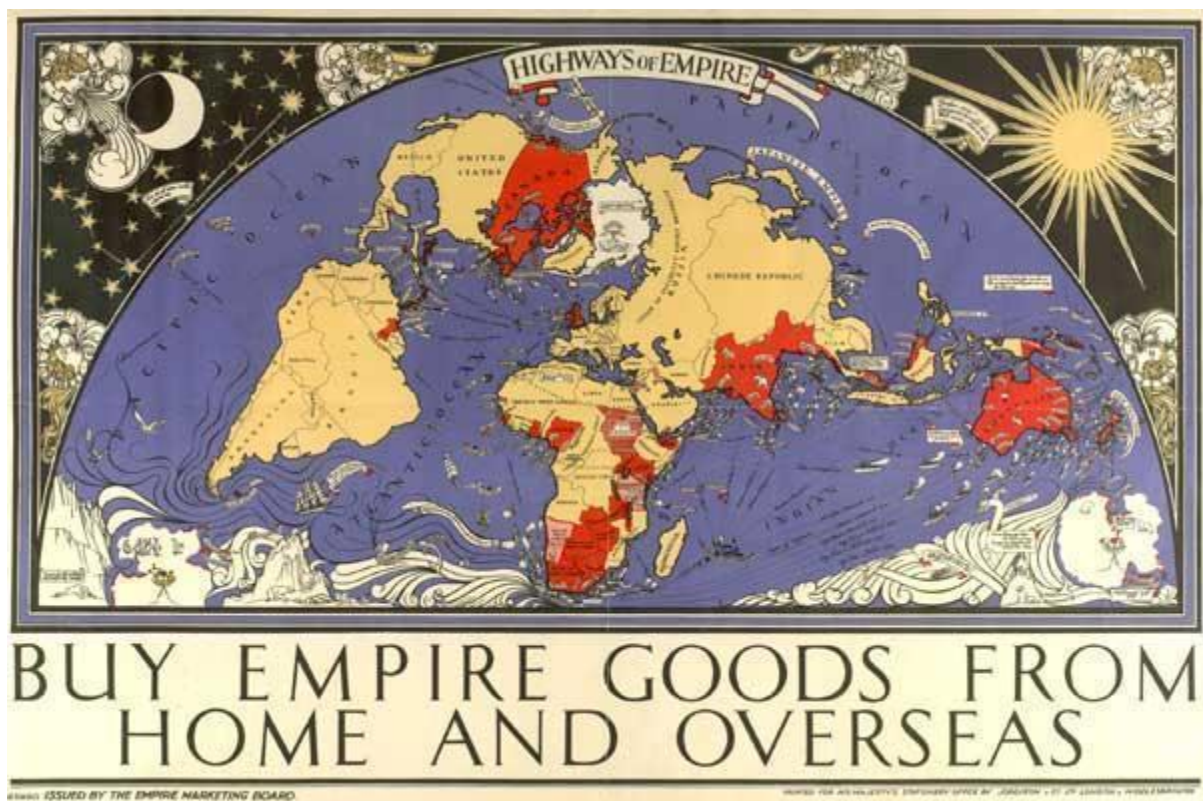


2011 'Slut Walkers'

#### 10. W/C 1/12/14

### Imperialism

What understanding of Imperialism can be developed from the following texts?

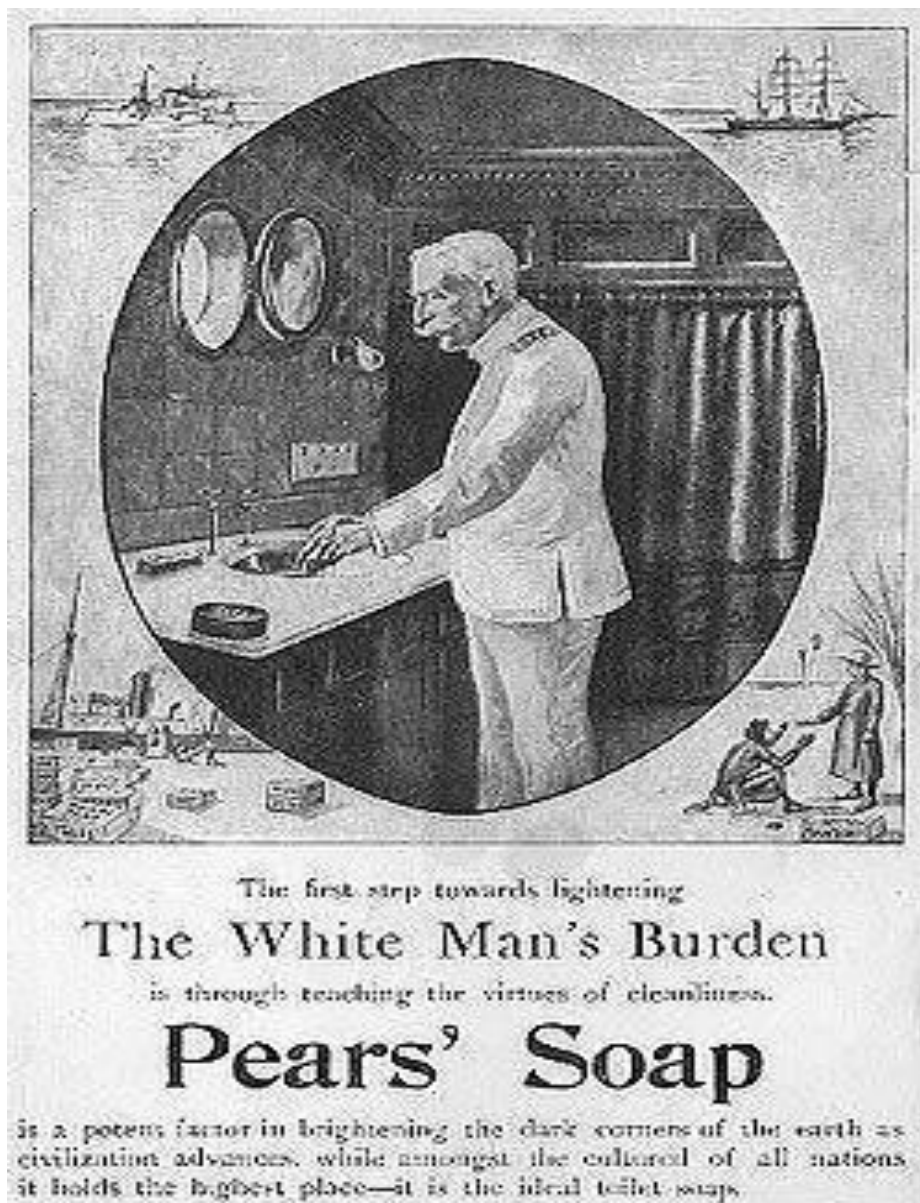


'There has never been anything so great in the world's history as the British empire, so great an instrument for the good of

humanity.' (Lord Curzon, British Viceroy of India, 1898-1905)

'English supremacy should last until the end of time, because it means universal freedom, universal liberty, emancipation from everything degrading.' (Alexander Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada, 1873-78)

'Without the empire we would be victims of world politics, pushed and bullied. Being part of the empire is both our sword and our shield.' (William Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, 1915-23)



Take up the White Man's burden--  
Send forth the best ye breed--



Go bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captives' need;  
To wait in heavy harness,  
On fluttered folk and wild--  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden--  
In patience to abide,  
To veil the threat of terror  
And check the show of pride;  
By open speech and simple,  
An hundred times made plain  
To seek another's profit,  
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden--  
The savage wars of peace--  
Fill full the mouth of Famine  
And bid the sickness cease;  
And when your goal is nearest  
The end for others sought,  
Watch sloth and heathen Folly  
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden--  
No tawdry rule of kings,  
But toil of serf and sweeper--  
The tale of common things.  
The ports ye shall not enter,  
The roads ye shall not tread,  
Go mark them with your living,  
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden--  
And reap his old reward:  
The blame of those ye better,  
The hate of those ye guard--  
The cry of hosts ye humour  
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:--  
"Why brought he us from bondage,  
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Take up the White Man's burden--  
Ye dare not stoop to less--  
Nor call too loud on Freedom  
To cloke your weariness;  
By all ye cry or whisper,  
By all ye leave or do,  
The silent, sullen peoples

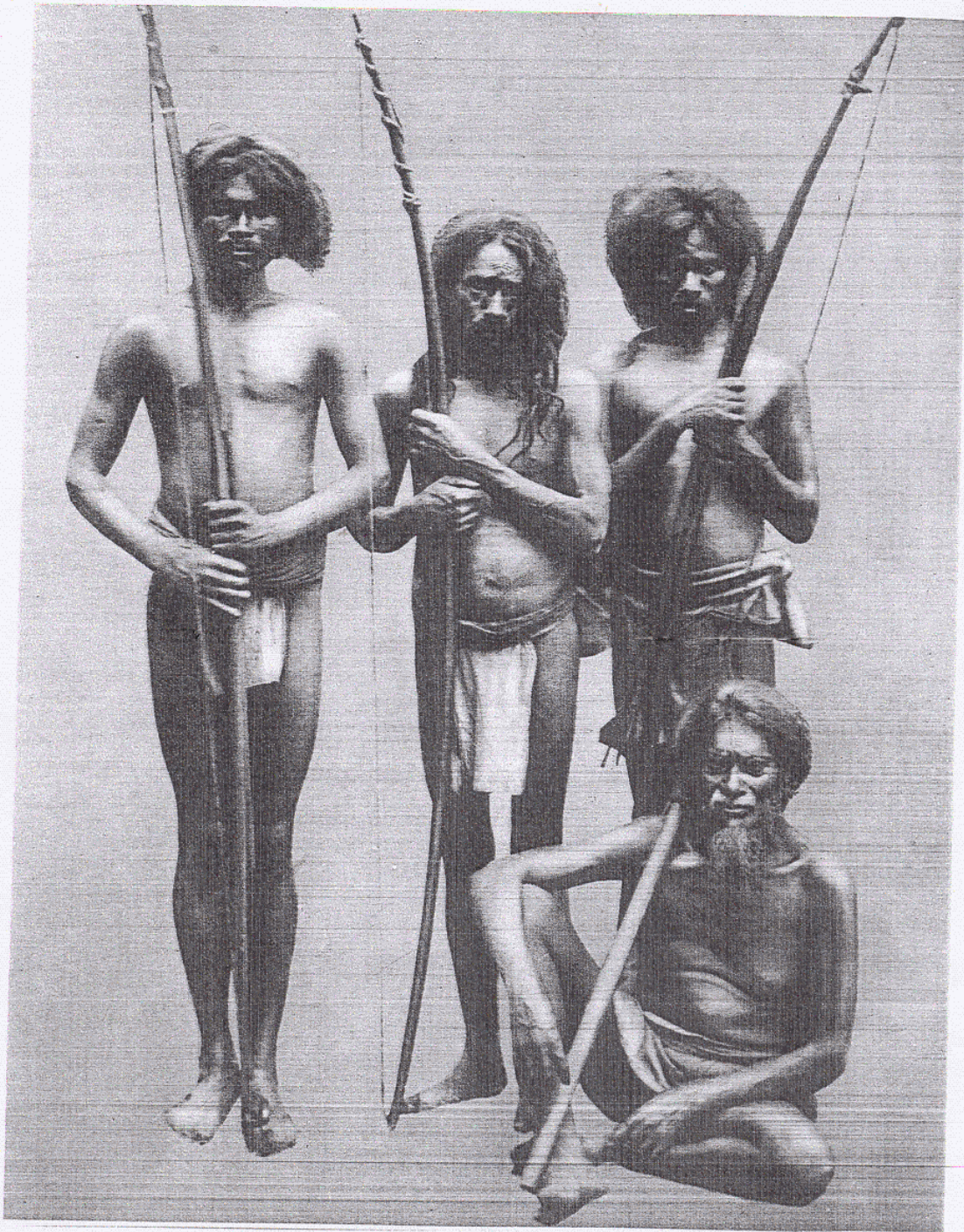
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden--  
Have done with childish days--  
The lightly proffered I  
The easy, ungrudged praise.  
Comes now, to search your manhood  
Through all the thankless years  
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,  
The judgment of your peers!

Rudyard Kipling 1899



*Punch* cartoon showing Prime Minister Disraeli offering Queen Victoria the crown and title of Empress of India, 1876.



THE HUNTING CAVEMEN OF CEYLON

E.N.A.

In Ceylon, the Veddas, the lower savages, are forest dwellers living in rock shelters, though they occasionally build huts of leaves. Their only weapons are the bow and arrow, and their food, fish, game, honey, and yams, which are grown like potatoes, and which they obtain with a digging stick. The pulling of these bow-strings demands considerable strength.





THE ORIGINAL FUZZY-WUZZIES—CARD PLAYERS!

This name was given to the warriors of Somalil and in the Mahdist war, because of their habit of frizzing out their hair. They are a pastoral people, keeping camels, goats and sheep, and are expert basket makers. They also play cards.

We have seen that in its economic essence imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This in itself determines its place in history, for monopoly that grows out of the soil of free competition, and precisely out of free competition, is the transition from the capitalist system to a higher socio-economic order. We must take special note of the four principal types of monopoly, or principal manifestations of monopoly capitalism, which are characteristic of the epoch we are examining.

Firstly, monopoly arose out of the concentration of production at a very high stage. This refers to the monopolist capitalist associations, cartels, syndicates, and trusts. We have seen the important part these play in present-day economic life. At the beginning of the twentieth century, monopolies had acquired complete supremacy in the advanced countries, and although the first steps towards the formation of the cartels were taken by countries enjoying the protection of high tariffs (Germany, America), Great Britain, with her system of free trade, revealed the same basic phenomenon, only a little later, namely, the birth of monopoly out of the concentration of production.

Secondly, monopolies have stimulated the seizure of the most important sources of raw materials, especially for the basic and most highly cartelised industries in capitalist society: the coal and iron industries. The monopoly of the most important sources of raw materials has enormously increased the power of big capital, and has sharpened the antagonism between cartelised and non-cartelised industry.

Thirdly, monopoly has sprung from the banks. The banks have developed from modest middleman enterprises into the monopolists of finance capital. Some three to five of the biggest banks in each of the foremost capitalist countries have achieved the “personal link-up” between industrial and bank capital, and have concentrated in their hands the control of thousands upon thousands of millions which form the greater part of the capital and income of entire countries. A financial oligarchy, which throws a close network of dependence relationships over all the economic and political institutions of present-day bourgeois

society without exception—such is the most striking manifestation of this monopoly.

Fourthly, monopoly has grown out of colonial policy. To the numerous “old” motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for spheres of influence, i.e., for spheres for profitable deals, concessions, monopoly profits and so on, economic territory in general. When the colonies of the European powers, for instance, comprised only one-tenth of the territory of Africa (as was the case in 1876), colonial policy was able to develop—by methods other than those of monopoly—by the “free grabbing” of territories, so to speak. But when nine-tenths of Africa had been seized (by 1900), when the whole world had been divided up, there was inevitably ushered in the era of monopoly possession of colonies and, consequently, of particularly intense struggle for the division and the re-division of the world.

V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916)

#### **11. W/C 8/12/14**

### **Assignment 3; Class-based assessment.**

#### **12. W/C 15/12/14**

### **End of Semester tutorial and feedback session.**

## **READING LIST**

Since this module is based around active exercises in class, and since we want to allow you as much time as possible for the regular reading that is essential for your other modules, we have kept this list deliberately short. Therefore only highly recommended texts are included.

Starred items are recommended for purchase.

## 1. **What is history and why do it?**

\*E.H.Carr, *What Is History?* (first published 1961, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 2001). The classic short explanation of how historians approach their subject. For an update, see also either Richard Evans' introduction to the 2001 edition, or David Cannadine, ed., *What Is History Now?* (2002).

Richard Evans, *In Defence of History* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2000). The most outstanding recent explanation. Lively, controversial and accessible.

\*John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2002). An excellent summary of the different sub-disciplines within history: you may also find Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore, *Writing History: Theory and Practice* (2003) useful on this subject.

This is not an exhaustive list: approaches to the study of history are constantly changing, and you will have the opportunity to find out more about different approaches later in the BA History course.

Roger Spalding, Christopher Parker, *Historiography: An Introduction* (2007) discusses the nature of the subject, and how it has developed over time. Contains a useful chapter on the writing of essays.

## 2. **How to study history: practical advice**

\*Jeremy Black and Donald M. MacRaild, *Studying History* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2000), especially Chapters 6 and 7. The clearest available guide to the study skills you should be adopting.

Mary Abbott, ed, *History Skills: a student handbook* (1996), Jules R. Benjamin, *A Student's Guide to History* (1998) and Patrick Dunleavy, *Studying for a Degree in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (1986), are useful alternatives to the above.

William Kelleher Storey, *Writing History: a guide for students* (1999). Focuses particularly on how to write essays well – a key skill that you will neglect at your peril.

Roger Spalding

July 2014





