

# SOCIALISM

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28.03.26



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2026  
Sydney Australia

## 1. SOCIALISM

### a. Thomas More -Utopia

Thomas More was an English Lawyer, judge, social philosopher and chancellor who lived between 1478 and 1535. King Henry VIII executed him for refusing to accept him as head of the Church of England. The Catholic Church venerated him as a saint in 1935 due to his staunch support and rejection of the Reformation.

In 1516 More completed his book describing an ideal commonwealth in a far off land called Utopia. It is difficult to determine if More regarded this work as a serious commentary on contemporary political life or a flight of idealistic fantasy. The book is framed as a discussion between him and a character called Raphael Hythlodæus who recalls the distant commonwealth to More. An indication that it is not a serious work is the title of the book Utopia, which in Greek means 'not' (ou) and 'place' (topos), meaning 'nowhere'.

The first part of the book is a discussion on the harsh penalty of death by hanging for theft in England at the time. More argues that when people are starving they can either beg or steal to survive. He objects to the injustice inherent in the state and tries to understand how to deal with theft driven by poverty and misery. This sets the scene for his Utopian ideal of no money or private property on an island that is the happiest in the world without the curse of avarice.

He obviously felt strongly about the injustices and severity of punishment he perceived during his time as Chancellor. As a staunch Catholic he took the commandment of 'thou shall not kill' seriously and looked at a political solution in his ideal state. He regarded theft less serious than murder and in his ideal state would be punished by restitution to the owner. Repeat offenders were punished by enslavement. In his ideal state, slaves carry out most of the hard labour.

More describes a kingdom where it is preferable to support their subjects and ensure their wellbeing and happiness rather than ruling over beggars and thieves. His ideal state is one of equality and happiness with the removal of money, private property and personal ownership.

Therefore, when I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well governed and with so few laws, where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is such an equality that every man lives in plenty.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> MORE, THOMAS, Utopia, Project Gutenberg eBook, page 85

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Utopia is described as a peninsula 200 miles broad and shaped like a crescent with an 11-mile bay protected from the winds and currents. The peninsula was made an island by digging 15-mile channel disconnecting it for the mainland. The island has 54 cities with the capital called Amaurot. No one owns their home as they take turns living between the country and city giving everyone a chance to learn agriculture. Every 30 families has a magistrate selected by the people who organises the manpower from the surrounding towns for the agricultural harvest which provides nutritional needs for everyone at no cost.

More give a curious description of the tidal influence on the river Anider that flows past the central city of Amaurot. The water in the river ebbs and flows every six hours and extends 30-miles inland so that the city experiences a river that regularly changes from salt to fresh water. This cycle has a determining factor on their fresh water supply for general use and agriculture. Considering this is an imaginative and ideal view of what a culture could be, it can be interpreted symbolically. The salt water and ocean is a collective representation of the origin of life yet has many dangers. The fresh water provided by the river purifies the salt water with life giving and sustaining properties. It is as if the natural cycles of the ebb and flow of a watercourse reflects the ebb and flow of the inhabitants from city to country.

The town plan of Amaurot is designed to protect against perceived enemies and against attack. The inhabitants fortified a tributary of the main river Anider, to avoid their water supply being diverted or poisoned. High thick walls with towers and fortifications surround the city with a ditch dug and filled with thorns on three sides and the river the fourth side. The houses each have a garden at the rear and all house street frontages look similar. Every ten years the people relocate houses selected by lots. All the houses are the same and there is no privacy due to the free access by any citizen.

Their doors have all two leaves, which, as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and, there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years' end they shift their houses by lots.<sup>2</sup>

It is an interesting ideal in that personal privacy is reduced by a collective system of management. Being alone in this system would be difficult and feeling settled even more due to the lack of personal space.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, page 104

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Each city is divided into four equal parts with a communal marketplace in the middle. This is reminiscent of the ideal cities based on the mandala<sup>3</sup> such as the medieval city of Palmanova in Italy, the Angkor Wat Buddhist temple in Cambodia as well as the town plans of cities such as Paris, Washington and Canberra in Australia. The sizes of the cities and families themselves are regulated. No city can have more than 6 thousand families and each family must have between 10 and 16 members. If a family has more children they are moved to another family, which is strictly enforced.

As mentioned previously, every 30 families have a magistrate called a Syphogrant. For every 10 magistrates there is another magistrate called the Archphilarch of which there number 200 and they in turn select a Prince. Agriculture is the main source of food and every person in Utopia is trained in its operation. In addition, every person has a trade that contributes to the functioning of the state. The Utopians wear the same clothes only distinguish with slight variations for gender and marital status.

The magistrates that govern 30 families are responsible for enforcement of the laws and ensure no person is idle. The people only work 6 hours a day, three before dinner (lunch) and three after. They then have supper and go to sleep at eight o'clock. In their free time the people are encouraged to read and study or entertain through music or discourse. There are strict boundaries placed on sensual pleasure. However, flexibility is built into the system depending on the population's needs and if more work is required for the sustenance of the community.

There is no reason for giving a denial to any person, since there is such plenty of everything among them; and there is no danger of a man's asking for more than he needs; they have no inducements to do this, since they are sure they shall always be supplied: it is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous; but, besides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and excess; but by the laws of the Utopians, there is no room for this.<sup>4</sup>

More's believed that a system of plenty can eradicate natural human emotions such as fear, greed and hunger. If it were that easy, humanity would have overcome these emotions by now. The fact is that we have not and cannot because they are an inherent part of our nature. He also fails to recognise that such emotions have both positive and negative aspects. For example, fear is a necessity as it keeps us from danger and

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<sup>3</sup> The term 'mandala' is a Sanskrit meaning circle and regarded as a focus and spiritual guiding tool. Carl Jung identified the mandala reflecting the mind's inner state at the moment of creation and as a symbol of their idea of unity.

<sup>4</sup> MORE, THOMAS, Utopia, Project Gutenberg iBook, page 127

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doing foolish things. Greed is the emotion and energy to hoard resources for a potentially uncertain future.

The greed he speaks of has in his Utopia been moved from a personal realm to a collective realm. Instead of the individuals taking care of themselves and accumulating food, resources and belongings, the inhabitants of Utopia do it for everyone. The fear an individual has that he might not have enough to eat is the same fear the group now feel collectively. The instinctual motivation is the same, just moved away from the individual to the group.

Another example of how the ideal removes the Utopians from their animal nature is making slaves carry out hunting and the slaughter of cattle near running water to wash away the filth. More's attitude to the 'dirty' work shows his need for purification and spiritual cleansing from the needs of the body: "nor do they suffer (the towns people) anything that is foul or unclean".<sup>5</sup> The fact that they include slaves in their culture shows that they still oppress and abuse other human beings, which itself is spiritually unclean. Every task they feel beneath them is allocated to slaves by force.

It is curious that shortly after mentioning slaves carry out the so called 'dirty' or unsavoury tasks, More mentions nursing mothers and their baby's.<sup>6</sup> If anyone has experienced childbirth, and I speak here as a man, it is a messy, bloody and truly mammalian experience and shows that the process of birth relates us to a high degree to other mammals.

Travel by the Utopians is strictly regulated and a passport required from the Prince with conditions attached. These include the time away for the community and date of return. Travelling without a passport condemns the individual as fugitive and potential slavery. Utopia has no taverns for drinking as no individual is excused from labour and the ability to be idle.

They also put no value on gold and silver because they do not use money. The government does however stockpile it for use in emergencies and times of war. These precious metals are not held in high esteem because they have no use in their culture in contrast to more abundant and useful metal such as iron. They feel the same way about any kind of aesthetic adornment or vanity.

These are their religious principles: That the soul of man is immortal, and that God of His goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, page 128

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, page 131

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He has, therefore, appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life.<sup>7</sup>

They define virtue thus—that it is a living according to Nature, and think that we are made by God for that end; they believe that a man then follows the dictates of Nature when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason.<sup>8</sup>

The flaw in the argument that ‘living according to nature’ is that nature is full of brutality and a murderous instinct for survival. Species in nature have love and nurturing within a species as part of the instinct to propagate, but outside of a species the carnivores hunt and kill or die of starvation. The herbivores on the other hand, have evolved techniques not to become prey. These include size like elephants and rhinos, speed like gazelles and antelope, numbers as protection in a herd, burrows and camouflage to hide and so on. The dominant form of survival outside of a species is based on power, not love.<sup>9</sup> The Utopians seem to side with all that is good in nature and project the negative beastly aspect to their slaves.

It is clear the Utopians seek pleasure in honouring their God with good intentions. Physical desires and pleasure is frowned upon and replaced with the search for knowledge and truth of spirit. “They are also persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures with a vast and endless joy, of which religion easily convinces a good soul.”<sup>10</sup> They do however not dismiss other sensual pleasures such as eating and the creation of music as an aspect of their health.

But, of all pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind, the chief of which arise out of true virtue and the witness of a good conscience.

With all the emphasis on kindness, tolerance and love they still make use of slaves. This Utopian ideal shows that their love has its limits. They only take slaves from prisoners of war captured in battle or their own citizens that have committed a crime who are treated more harshly than other slaves. Relationships between genders also have restrictions. Sex before marriage is punished with denial of marriage in the future. They have a pre marriage ritual where a matron presents the bride naked to the fully clothed groom. The groom then presented naked to a fully clothed bride. Adultery is punished by dissolution of the marriage and the guilty never allowed to marry again and condemned to the chains of slavery.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, page 154

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, page 156

<sup>9</sup> See the chapter called ‘The Idea of Power’

<sup>10</sup> MORE, THOMAS, Utopia, Project Gutenberg iBook, page 160

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Rebellious slaves are treated like wild beasts and put to death if they do not submit.

The Utopians detest war but train their men and women in military exercises and discipline for when war is unavoidable. During war they use subterfuge as a starting point to avoid the killing of people. One tactic is to use the stored wealth of gold and silver to offer reward to the people in the enemy's cities to turn on and kill their own prince or others that are seeking war. The Utopian believe that this tactic can prevent or shorten a conflict and save lives. Another tactic is to sow seeds of discontent amongst their enemies.

They do not force their citizens to fight but seek volunteers. Retreat is condoned when the enemy appears overwhelming. Instead of swords, the Utopians use bows, arrows and pole axes of which they are very skilled. They disguise their war machines until they are required to fight the enemy. They never plunder the food or horses of a defeated enemy but do take their gold and silver for the next occasion.

The Utopians were very tolerant of differing religions. Some worship the sun, moon, planets, eminent men from former times for their glory or virtue, but the main form of worship is for the supreme, eternal, invisible, infinite and incomprehensible deity of power and virtue they call the 'Father of All'. The priests represent their father God and concentrate on learning rather than participate in the labour of the community. Some live unmarried, chaste and abstain from eating flesh while others marry and do not deny themselves bodily pleasure. They are the educators of the youth and like the magistrates, chosen by the people.

The people worship in magnificent spacious temples designed to be deliberately dark inside to 'recollect the mind and raise devotion'. The genders are separated with men on the right and women on the left side of the temples. They make no animal sacrifices but burn candles and incense. The patrons wear white and the priests' multi coloured garments during their services.

In the final analysis, we cannot divorce the idealism of Utopia from the life and experience of its author Thomas More. He was a man of the world and high achiever and dedicated to the legal system, king, state and church being a devout catholic. In the end, it was this worship and staunch rejection of the reformation that cost him his life. His friend the theologian Erasmus explained that More wanted to become a monk and indeed spent a year near the Carthusian monastery to join in the monks spiritual exercises. Here he learned to live an ascetic life and wore a hair

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shirt and practiced the occasional self-flagellation, even though he later adopted a normal family life of marriage and children.

When More succeeded to the office of Lord Chancellor in 1529 he presided over the prosecution of over forty suspected or convicted heretics. He was accused of using torture while interrogating heretics, which he vehemently denied. Execution by burning at the stake was the standard punishment by the English state for major seditious and proselytizing heresy. Six individuals were killed by such a method under More's chancellorship.

It is no surprise that his book *Utopia* is based on an ideal that attempts to deny and remove natural human needs, wants and emotions. It is a collectivist view where the individual is secondary and serves what they consider the greater good of the community. More considered the removal of private property and money from his ideal community and a reason for a peaceful and content population. Yet they did store money in the form of gold and silver in case their *Utopia* was disturbed by war. Rather than personal restraint on behaviour, they used collective punishment to ensure what they deemed, correct behaviour.

More's vision of an ideal state is based on personal sacrifice, removal of wealth and its hierarchy, prestige, poverty, idleness, as well as the democratic selection of magistrates and priests, equality of education and citizenship. These are balanced by strict community laws for adultery, theft, the acceptance and abuse of slaves, the loss of individuality in dress, behaviour and manner. In addition *Utopia* includes the uniformity of housing and lack of individual expression, the removal of 'dirty' practices such as hunting and the slaughter of stock to the slaves and the subterfuge practiced in time of conflict with other commonwealths.

The second part of the book is a creative solution to the problems identified in the first part of the book. These include theft due to poverty and its deterrence of the death penalty. He attempted to find a solution by addressing the root cause of the poverty and harsh penalties he experienced as a chancellor in England. He believed that the desire for money was the cause of all fraud, theft, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries and witchcrafts.<sup>11</sup>

Unfortunately, money has some influence over these natural emotions but its removal does not change the emotion. Greed for example, is an emotion based on desire for an object.<sup>12</sup> That desire can be based on fear

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, page 260

<sup>12</sup> I use the term 'object' as a philosophical term to differentiate it from the subject.

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of not having enough or losing what one has. These emotions are independent from money as they apply to all objects. For example, the removal of money does not change the desire to have an object. Money is simply a token of value to get the object but is not the object itself. To put that in concrete terms, the desire for a horse to do the ploughing does not change if money is removed. It simply means that another form of exchange is adopted to satisfy the desire for a horse.

More's solution was to remove money from the equation, which he believed, removes the emotions of greed, desire, envy and so on. Emotions can be repressed by the individual but cannot be removed. The idea of removing an emotion or the object of the emotion is a mutilation of the human being. As mentioned previously, emotions have both positive and negative attributes and attempting to repress an emotion removes the positive aspect of it as well. Only individuals experience emotions whether alone or in a collective. What More believes is that removing the medium of exchange removes the emotions.

He does however acknowledge other emotions such as jealousy, betrayal and deceit as in the case of infidelity in marriage having nothing to do with money. They too are strictly regulated with the penalty of restriction to marry or turned into a slave. This is where his ideal falls over. Another aspect of More's solution is to remove private property. The consequence of this would in itself cause emotions that he wishes to overcome. Without a place we can call our own, we would never feel settled and always have the anxiety that we have no permanent dwelling place. Another point is that all the dwellings are the same, which in itself makes movement from one to another mute.

On a positive note the forced movement of the Utopians from city to country and back again has some psychological benefits for the wellbeing of the individual. It gives one the contrast of nature and culture and the benefits of both. The problem with More's ideal is that it needs to be forced. This is the biggest issue that the ideal Utopia makes on the individual.

The individual is secondary to the running of the collective. The freedom and independence associated with having one's own money and property is removed. Freedom of expression both in building and dress is also removed and enforced with the strictest regulation. The democratic selection of magistrates and other officials is laudable as is the volunteer of individuals to fight in times of conflict. What do the magistrates and prince do if the people don't want to fight? What do they do if an individual has a propensity for the creative arts of painting or architecture? There are many unanswered questions that he offers no solution.

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In conclusion, More feels that his Utopia solved some of the problems of his time, but in doing so removed individual freedom and expression and kept the population in a state of childhood where they could never feel the connection of ownership to land or the independence associated with taking care of one self as an adult. We can see in history how this Utopian ideal is referred to in later forms of Socialism and Communism.

Utopia and the life of Thomas More cannot be removed from its epoch, as there were systems of government we may find abhorrent today. For example the harsh punishment for minor offenses as well as the use of slaves for forced labour. More in his ideal community sought to mitigate the unfair punishments for minor offences but celebrated slavery as part of his community.

The loss of currency as a token of exchange and private property makes Utopia a somewhat controlled environment verging on totalitarianism, especially when considering the lack of privacy and ownership of property and land. In the addition, the restrictions of sexual activity, marriage and associated rituals, travel restrictions, rigid work practices, lack of Dionysian outlets and personal expression make Utopia less of an ideal and perfect community and more of a prison camp by contemporary standards.

### b. Fabian Socialism

The Fabian Society was founded in 1884 in London as an offshoot from The Fellowship of the New Life. In some respect, the Fabian Society was founded as a reaction to the strict morality of the Victoria era and its urge to liberalise the culture with an emphasis on supporting the working class from exploitation. Their thinking was heavily influenced by the writings of Karl Marx but opted for a gradual erosion and transformation of culture rather than direct revolution.

The name of the society stems from the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus with the nickname 'Cunctator' meaning the delayer. The General's strategy against the stronger army of Hannibal was to wear the enemy down through attrition, hence the strategy of the Fabian Society. The tortoise was chosen as the logo of the Society while its coat of arms had the later abandoned image of a 'wolf in sheep's clothing'.

The basic tenets of the early Fabians were to promote equality of power, wealth and opportunity, collective action and public services, democracy, liberty, human rights, sustainable development and multilateral international cooperation. They lobbied for the introduction of a minimum wage, universal health care, abolition of hereditary peerage, supported

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suffrage movements and a national education system. Some of the other ideals included the Communist wish for the state to co-ordinate the means of production and discouraging private activity, property ownership and entrepreneurship.

The Fabian manifesto published in 1900 was a compilation from several authors and edited by one of the most famous Fabians, George Bernard Shaw.<sup>13</sup> The Society criticised the absurdity of the hereditary aristocracy and lack of democracy. They believed a modern society where classes were ruled by money was a plutocracy. This includes the buying of one's seat in parliament and the use of foreign trade for personal gain.

The Fabians were critical of England's rule over India. They viewed the current governing as ineffective and disregarded Indian beliefs and right to self government.

Take the case of India, famine- stricken and plague- stricken. At present we govern India despotically and bureaucratically, treating the native as a child who must be governed for his own good. This is the kind of government that really deserves the epithet grandmotherly.<sup>14</sup>

Their solution to this perceived problem was to reduce Commonwealth exploitation by introducing the following:

- I. Western secondary education for the indigenous population;
- II. More positions and higher grades for the ingenious population in the Civil Service;
- III. More provincial councils
- IV. Movement towards self-government in the councils.

These slow and methodical systems for the Indians to self govern shows that the Fabians do indeed wish to overcome the exploitation inherent in English colonies. They believed that the English regarded the Indians as children in need of rule:

Now an Indian is a man; and to be treated as "half devil, half child" is intolerable to every man, white or brown.<sup>15</sup>

Above all the Fabians thought globally instead of nationally. In the following passage they clearly stated that they wish for one world government showing a definite idea of unity with Socialist values:

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<sup>13</sup> SHAW, BERNHARD, Fabianism and the Empire, A Manifesto, London Grant Richards, 1900

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, India, page 18

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, page 20

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Theoretically, they should be internationalized, not British-Imperialized ; but until the Federation of the World becomes an accomplished fact, we must accept the most responsible Imperial federations available as a substitute for it.<sup>16</sup>

Some of the Fabian ideals did include such basic Democratic rights as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of political combination for all parties and independence.<sup>17</sup> They were also in favour of 'Free Trade' rather than the imposition of import duties, state owned housing for the wage earning class, the nationalisation of land rent and equitable distribution of education funding.

Their views on Socialism did however vary over time. For example, Annie Besant regarded democratic socialism based on majority vote could not succeed and preferred an aristocratic socialism guided by duty and wisdom.<sup>18</sup> The background to Fabian thought was the English colonial expansion into all corners of the world. These included India, China, South Africa and the commonwealths of Australia, Canada and New Zealand. These colonies exploited or eradicated the ingenious population and used their own people as slave labour convicts as was the case in Australia.

Generally speaking, the Fabians wished to flatten the separation between rich and poor and introduce an equitable balance and reduce exploitation. Their soft approach to transforming their culture through gradual means in contrast to the Communist revolutionary spirit shows that they were not violent and preferred debate and written influence. Their methods were however somewhat subversive and they used cronyism and nepotism to take over institutions to implement their Socialist agenda.

### c. General Concepts of Socialism

Socialism as with Communism was a reaction to the feudalistic age where the upper classes owned all the property and the lower classes worked that property. It was complicated with the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the exploitation of the lower class workers by the wealthy in newly formed factories and mines. The early socialist solution was to reduce private ownership and replace it with social ownership and control means of production, capital and property. The emphasis was on the removal of individual ownership and reallocation towards public, community, collective ownership.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, South Africa, page 24

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, page 32

<sup>18</sup> BESANT, ANNIE, "The Future Socialism". Bibby's Annual (reprinted by Adyar Pamphlet). OCLC 038686071. Archived from the original on 16 January 2016. Retrieved 10 July 2012.

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The permutations of socialism are varied and cover a broad spectrum of society including economics, politics and culture. Socialism is an idealised collective view in contrast to individual achievement and success. The term 'socialism' came from the Latin word 'Sociare' which means to associate, combine or share. Ideas for alternative methods of managing and ordering society were a reaction to the cruel and exploitative methods of the wealthy. Thomas Mores book Utopia written in 1516 is often sighted as the first instance of the Socialist ideal. It is based on sharing resources equally amongst the community, no money, property ownership or personal privacy.

Socialism was also a reaction to the Age of Enlightenment of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and its doctrine of individual liberty. It was also a reaction to the preceding Scientific Revolution of Kepler, Galileo, Bacon and Newton. In 1637 the French philosopher Rene Descartes published 'Discourse on the Method', which clearly emphasised the individual as the subject of all perception. The talents of Michelangelo, Raphael and Da Vinci also emphasised individual accomplishment.

The early Socialists regarded their movement as a natural evolution and law of human nature rather than an abstract system. Thomas Kirkup mentions this in his book, 'The History of Socialism':

For the rational interpretation of Socialism we cannot too often emphasise the fact that it is not an abstract system, but a thing in movement. It is not wedded to any stereotyped set of formulas, whether of Marx or any other, but is rooted in reality, and, while moulding facts, it must adapt itself to them. Above all, we must ever remember that it claims to represent the aspirations after a better life of the toiling and suffering millions of the human race.<sup>19</sup>

Socialism, considered both as a movement and as a system of economic thought, is still in process of development...The whole movement must pass through the test, the tear and wear of experience, under the conditions prescribed by the fundamental laws of human nature, before its ideals can be realised.<sup>20</sup>

I'm not sure what "fundamental laws of human nature"<sup>21</sup> he refers, as human nature is not too different to animal nature in the wild. Nature is predominately based on physical strength or cunning or exotic weapons

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<sup>19</sup> KIRKUP, THOMAS, History of Socialism, A & C Black Ltd, 1920, page 405

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, page 406

<sup>21</sup> At the end of this chapter I'll endeavor to identify the psychological forces he may be referring to as "fundamental laws of human nature".

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such as horns, barbs, venom and so on.<sup>22</sup> It is not hard to see that human nature is no different and that in our geopolitical realm we still use physical strength in the form of the best trained, efficient armies, the biggest bombs, best weapons, subterfuge, deception and a myriad of other methods to gain the upper hand. Even our local law enforcement requires physical strength to maintain order. Human nature and nature in general, is aristocratic<sup>23</sup> and co-ordinated by the instinct for survival and its associated 'will to power'.

Within the context of exploitation of the working class people, it is understandable why the Socialists would want to equalise the disparity between the rich and poor. As with Communism, Socialism concerned itself solely with materialistic needs and ignored the yearnings of the individual to break free of cultural constraints and develop in their own way outside of its influence, in other words, individuation.

Kirkup believed the Socialists were aware of this problem and saw that their system may descend into totalitarianism with a centralised state necessary to enforce the ideal:

For them Socialism is a system of centralisation, of management from above under a bureaucracy. Such a view may suit people that are used to a centralising autocracy and bureaucracy associated with militarism, but it is entirely opposed to English ideas. An industrial and economic system which would remind us at every step of the Prussian army, the Prussian police, and Prussian officialism, is not attractive to those who have breathed a freer air.<sup>24</sup>

The ideal is further compromised by the wish that industry be carried out by 'free associated workers' and an 'equitable system of distribution'.<sup>25</sup> All this does is give control to an authority such as a Union or State to enforce. This is one of the biggest problems of an ideal such as Socialism. It believes it knows human nature but only sees its positive aspects. That is the kindness and equal loving care of Mother Nature and not her brutality, murderous intent and 'will to power'.

The idea of evolution has had a great influence in the history of socialistic speculation. Beginning with Saint-Simon most Socialists have recognised three stages in the economic development of mankind— slavery,

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<sup>22</sup> See the Chapter on 'The idea of Power'

<sup>23</sup> Late 15th cent.: from Old French aristocratie, from Greek aristokratia, from aristos 'best' + -kratia 'power'. The term originally denoted the government of a state by its best citizens, later by the rich and well born, hence the sense 'nobility', regardless of the form of government (mid 17th cent.). Oxford Dictionary

<sup>24</sup> KIRKUP, THOMAS, History of Socialism, A & C Black Ltd, 1920, page 407

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, page 412

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serfdom, and wage-labour—which last they believe will be displaced by an era of associated labour with a collective capital.<sup>26</sup>

Again, the Socialists view the evolution of the human race in purely economic terms rather than psychological and philosophical terms. That is to say, when the measure of freedom is the individual, then humanity is evolving from slavery, serfdom, wage labour, entrepreneurship, self-determination, independence and unity.<sup>27</sup> It is the ability to exercise one's will and choose to influence one's destiny. The fact that wage labour has a level of individual freedom built into it is due to the ability to choose alternative employment if dissatisfied. If the employer appreciates their employees then there is harmony and a fair reward for labour. If the employer decides to exploit their employees then there is disharmony and ill feeling. The employee can if they choose seek employment elsewhere or start ones' own business. In the following Kirkup recognised the doubt that Socialism denied the basic competition inherent in evolution and survival in general:

How does the theory of the struggle for existence consist with the harmony of interests contemplated by Socialism? Competition, that bete noire of the Socialists, is simply the social-economic form of the struggle for existence. Is not competition, therefore, the prime condition of social progress? And is not Socialism, therefore, inconsistent with progress? Thus we are confronted with the twofold problem, whether Socialism does not deny the cardinal principles of evolution, and thereby also deny the prime condition of social progress?<sup>28</sup>

The problem with the Socialistic approach although it has liberated individuals from exploitation, does not encourage growth and independence. It requires an external force such as a state or organisation to control the ideal and how it is implemented. This in itself does not encourage evolution or the development of the individual to their full potential. Nor does it encourage independence, as it requires a parental authority such as an institution to enforce its beliefs.

Idealism, the longing for a better life, has always been a force in human affairs, and its influence appears to be growing greater.<sup>29</sup>

The basis of idealism is as the term suggests, it is an ideal of potential rather than the current status. In other words, it is an imagined 'better life' and leads us forward to grow as a species. All of the human built

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, page 415

<sup>27</sup> I use the term unity as the integration of unconscious processes and characters, not a unity enforced by and external force such as a state, union or other organization.

<sup>28</sup> KIRKUP, THOMAS, History of Socialism, A & C Black Ltd, 1920, page 416

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, page 417

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environment, political ideals/institutions, cultures etc., came from these imagined aspects of unconscious contents. This is how we evolve as a species. We imagine a future life sometimes to the detriment of our current life.<sup>30</sup> This why conservatives and their values build on what already exists. They do not throw out what works for a new and imagined ideal of reality.

Unfortunately, this ideal, does not acknowledge reality in that they seem to believe we can simply deny our nature and move forward. Just because one does not acknowledge emotions like greed, hate, jealousy, fear etc., does not mean they go away, but sink back into the unconscious where they gain in strength and manifest as all sorts of illnesses, phobias and possessions. Kirkup does however, recognise that we as part of nature do struggle for existence:

The struggle for existence, therefore, has continued through human history, and will still continue. The only question is regarding the form it is likely to take in the economic and political conditions which now tend to prevail all over the world.<sup>31</sup>

In the following however, he promotes the ideal of the perceived positive from negative aspects of human nature. There is a problem with collective approaches to dealing with emotions and encouraging individuals to repress or even outlaw them. It cannot be done. It is one thing to set a behavioural standard for the smooth running of a culture, but another to encourage the individual to repress what is a natural part of their functioning. We have seen what happens when a culture is repressed in this way. There is a reaction of equal and opposite force, which flips the status quo to the compensating side. The process is called 'enantiodromia'<sup>32</sup> and usually accompanied by upheaval and conflict.<sup>33</sup>

The political, social, and ethical development of mankind is largely a record of the endeavour to place the struggle for existence under regulation. Progress chiefly and supremely consists in the growing control of ethical principle over all the forms of selfishness, egotism, unscrupulousness, and cruelty called forth by such struggle...In short, human progress has been a continual effort towards the realization of the

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<sup>30</sup> I refer to the escape from the struggle for existence where we are and into an idealized future. On occasion this future includes leaving this planet and exploration of others to realize the ideal. The popularity of our science fiction like Star Trek emphasizes this escape. In this fiction, earth too has become an idealized 'Utopia' without money, war, privacy or connection to one's individuality.

<sup>31</sup> KIRKUP, THOMAS, History of Socialism, A & C Black Ltd, 1920, page 418

<sup>32</sup> Enantiodromia- the tendency of things to change into their opposites, especially as a supposed governing principle of natural cycles and of psychological development:

<sup>33</sup> Repressing natural emotions always gain strength when ignored and upset the individual by disturbing the balance and stability of their personality. When many individuals have the same reaction, conflict results against those that caused the restriction.

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true, the beautiful, and the good, in such measure as was attainable by each succeeding generation of the race.

What we call natural selection in the animal world is in human history transformed, elevated, and idealised; it becomes social selection.<sup>34</sup>

Just as Kirkup promotes ethical development over instinctive struggle for survival, so do the Communists with their ideal to treat everyone similarly and distribute resources equally. To do so however, required a heavy hand to enforce their ideal. The argument against competition is also weak as it is part of our nature to compete. Most Western education systems are based on test scores, sporting competitions and reward for achievement. It is only in the last few decades that participants get an award for simply participating, which diminishes the meaning of effort and excellence.

Nothing, therefore, can be more narrow and one sided than to consider the struggle for existence as the sole lever of human progress. Such one-sided insistence on the idea of struggle is to deny the whole ethical development of the world.<sup>35</sup>

Indeed the opposites of struggle for survival and its associated 'will to power', and the development of cultural ethics do require a balanced approach.

Too much of the animal distorts the civilized man, too much civilization makes sick animals.<sup>36</sup>

Throwing out one for the sake of the other leads to one sidedness and a reaction by the other. This process has existed since the dawn of humanity and is a fundamental aspect of our nature. Individuals develop different aspects of their personality at different times and the reason we have different types of people. For example, a nine to five office job can be balanced by an exciting sport on weekends, which requires an instinctive approach. Some individuals go through a major change of attitude that is completely opposite to what they were concerned with previously. Generally, it involves a new psychological function<sup>37</sup> that is coming to consciousness and requires an existing function to be set aside for a time. A transition such as this usually comes with an upheaval or personal disaster. When it occurs on a national level it often includes war, death and destruction.

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<sup>34</sup> KIRKUP, THOMAS, *History of Socialism*, A & C Black Ltd, 1920, page 419

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, page 420

<sup>36</sup> JUNG, C. G., *Two Essays in Analytical Psychology*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1990, page 28

<sup>37</sup> These functions include Thinking, Feeling, Intuition and Sensation and oriented either inward (introverted) or outward (extraverted).

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As I have shown in the chapter on Communism supported by the thought of Aristotle, Rousseau and others, the family is the basis of all political and cultural life. Kirkup and the ideal of Socialism also recognised this aspect of our human development:

There is, however, one side of this ethical progress which deserves to be more particularly considered. The ethical progress of man is largely a development of the principle of sociality, community, or association. This principle has its centre in the family, with all that is implied therein; in the association of man and woman, in the sacrifices made by both and especially by the mother for the children. Historically, it has developed from the tribe into ever wider and more complex forms the city, nation, and race until it more and more embraces the whole human family.<sup>38</sup>

Indeed, it is a form of taming the instincts of the children to adapt to the prevailing cultural environment. The problem occurs when the prevailing cultural environment is too strict in its enforcement of laws that the instinctive aspect of the individual feels trapped as if restrained or caged. This leads to resentment and a loss of freedom that the instincts rebel against as it hampers personal development or individuation. Collective ideals such as Socialism fail to understand that human evolution is not static but a dynamic process of discovery in time.

To date no political solution has had the flexibility to contain the varying and vastly different points of view. This means that unity cannot be achieved collectively with our static and inflexible political ideals. On the other hand, unity can be achieved individually as a position where the external cultural and inner instinctive creative realms are balanced and united in a third option. The following passage shows that Socialism is still concerned with differentiating the opposites in all its forms but not able to unite them.

A rational Socialism might be defined as the mastery of associated human intelligence over the resources of nature for the general good. The struggle for existence is not only a struggle of individuals against each other. It has also been a struggle of tribe against tribe, of city against city, of nation against nation, and race against race. In the existing society it is, moreover, a struggle of classes against each other<sup>39</sup>.

Indeed, the divisions identified by the Socialists are natural to the human condition. The concern is when one side exploits another or as we saw with National Socialism, tries to wipe out the other side completely. It is a great feat to find the similarities between sides, embrace the differences

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<sup>38</sup> KIRKUP, THOMAS, *History of Socialism*, A & C Black Ltd, 1920, page 421

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, page 422

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and attempt reconciliation and cooperation as Kirkup identified in the following:

There are three forms of co-operation. — (1) Cooperation of consumers; (2) Co-operation of producers jointly owning and controlling the capital they use; (3) Co-operation of independent, usually small, producers for special purposes.<sup>40</sup>

The aspect of human nature that Socialism is against is free market competition and they fear monopoly. Yet his idea of Socialism contradicts his idea of freedom.

A return to the competitive method is neither possible nor desirable. Monopoly is incompatible with freedom. The only course for peoples who desire to be free is to adopt some form of social ownership and control.

The very competition the Socialists dislike makes products better, cheaper and gives the consumer more freedom of choice. Monopolies don't occur if corporations are free to compete and use their creativity and ingenuity to provide better products or services. It is the artificial control of an organisation by a state or some form of union that stifles creativity and monopolises the very things that it seeks to overcome. Any authority that seeks to control the means of production is the antithesis of freedom.

Obviously Socialism has its place in our society as it has liberated us from indentured slavery, provided safer and better conditions, less working hours, better pay and universal health care. Kirkup identifies these as the main pillars to the Socialist ideal.<sup>41</sup> Yet it is the social control of these ideals that stifles our human nature. To remove vital interests of human beings to strive, refine and compete is to remove our natural disposition. As we noted in the chapter on Communism, it is to remove the spirit of humanity, the idea of freedom, individuality and self-reliance for the comfort and security of an all-providing mother.

This shows that a political movement such as Socialism has its benefits for reducing exploitation but too often misses the true nature of our functioning. The ideal seeks to possess the means of production and take it away from exploitative capitalists. Yet as a collective solution, it reduces the individual to a mere entity within the ideal. As the following shows, it demands the individual deny one's natural instincts and give control to central management. This means that the ideal strives to take power away from those that provide the means of production to a Social

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid, page 430

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, page 438

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organisation that distributes resources more fairly. It is nevertheless, still a transfer of power from one group to another.

Socialism demands from its supporters the self-denial, which will suppress the many phases of an excessive, disorderly, morbid, and malignant egotism that has done so much harm in the past—no easy task for human nature.

The goal of the whole movement is to acquire possession of the means of production.<sup>42</sup>

In the following Kirkup frames the Socialist ideal in terms of the Christian teaching of brotherly love and sacrifice.<sup>43</sup> This would be acceptable if it were not for the complete overcoming of our natural instincts, rejection of sexuality and profession for an austere dependent existence of preaching and reliance on charity. The Christian ideal must be seen as a necessary milestone in human development in a context of Roman rule. To overcome the heavy-handed Roman rule and seek a purely psychic existence (Kingdom of Heaven) one has to repress or overcome our natural instincts and emotions. This again is an ideal and rarely occurs in reality. The psychology of the individual shows that to repress one's instincts and emotions also represses one's creative and spiritual aspect. That is to say, our instincts and emotions have a positive as well as a negative affect on our behaviour.

Emotions have ideas attached to them and repressing them also represses the ideas. Without ideas, culture stagnates and eventually withers. This is why the extreme and violent ideal of Communism always collapses, as it does not represent the true nature of humanity. If it doesn't collapse, it stagnates as creativity is repressed by the state and there is no growth. In the following Kirkup identifies the Old and New Testament, Greek and Roman ideals as the basis of Socialism.

The Hebrew ideal of truth, righteousness, and mercy, which on its ethical side was widened and deepened into the Christian ideals of love, brotherhood, and mutual service, and the Greek ideal of the true, the good, and the beautiful, all may and should be accepted by Socialism, and they should be supplemented by the Roman conceptions of law, order, and continuity, but with far wider aims and meanings.<sup>44</sup>

This broad application of ideals into Socialism shows that it has a historical basis. But once again, it is an ideal that does not always align with reality. Creating a system that accepts the positive aspects of cultures does not remove the negative aspects. The Hebrew ideal still had

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, page 445

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, page 449

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, page 454

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a murderous intent based on power, even on their own people if they disobeyed their god. The Christian ideal cannot be seen outside of the rule of the Romans and a retreat into a psychic idea of heaven, which was not of this world. Denying one's body and the physical reality and not fighting back just leads to persecution. The Greeks and Romans had wonderful ideals but were still conquerors and enslavers and ruled with armies of fighters.

Reality is always made of opposites. Ideals are made of wishes for a life that is less harsh than reality. It is good to strive for a positive future but it cannot be achieved if one denies reality. It is doubtful if a political solution is even possible for a stable and all encompassing system. Even the freedom of the democratic system tends to oscillate between the opposites. Individuals that have not recognised the opposites in themselves side with the party that is in tune with their needs, wants and psychological development. Kirkup believed that the negative human qualities should pass away once Socialism is installed.

It will be competition for social distinction and rewards. The reticence, secrecy, and hypocrisy, the jealousy and detraction, which are now so common will pass away...

The waste and demoralisation, the injustice and cruelty, which are so rife under the present system will pass away.<sup>45</sup>

Such a prospect offers the best remedy for the apathy and frivolity, cynicism and pessimism, which are now so prevalent; and it is the most effectual counteractive to restlessness, discontent, and all the evils and excesses of the revolutionary spirit.<sup>46</sup>

If it were that easy to get rid of emotions such as jealousy, injustice, cruelty, apathy, cynicism, pessimism and so on, we would have solved all our problems and live in peace and harmony long ago. Unfortunately, those emotions are an innate part of our functioning and all have a purpose. They can only be dealt with individually and not collectively. Repressing them by law just drives them back into the unconscious where they gain strength and burst into the world as collective conflagrations. A culture that does not take this into account will suffer the same oscillation between the opposites on a collective level that occurs on an individual level.

The difference is when large groups take a side and project all they perceive as wrong onto the other side; there is often conflict of

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, page 457

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, page 459

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unimaginable horror. An individual that withdraws from the world for a while to discover the opposites in them self only has their own personality to deal with. A conflict between the opposites may occur but it doesn't affect too many people. Unity can only be achieved on a personal level by every individual. The reason is that every individual has potentially a unique standpoint and idea of unity. This is why the only solution to collective issues has to start with the individual and their personal individuation.

Like Communism, Socialism reduces individual rights and liberty for the security and comfort to know that resources are shared equally amongst the people and control over the means of production. It is however not without its benefits. The reduction of exploitation by company owners, shorter working times, better conditions and wages can all be attributed to the Socialist model. The shift of power from private capital to collective ownership by the people is still simply a power shift from one group to another. It does not remove perceived negative emotions that motivate individuals and has the same potential for abuse and corruption. Worse still, is the accumulation of state power that wishes to treat all individuals as children with equity and equality programmes that ignore individual ability, creativity or a different point of view. Socialism can be viewed as an intermediate stage of less severity than Communism. Both require relinquishing personal liberty for the ideal of collective altruism. It feels good to be kind to others but it is not kind to stop others from growing, and their individuation process.

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