

**WHY IS MARX CLASSICAL?:
THE 18TH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE AND
MARXIST LEGACY IN HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY***

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The purpose of this paper is to partially provide an answer for the critical question of "Why Is Classical Theory Classical," in the case of Karl Marx. This paper argues that Marx, as the canon of sociology is still relevant because of his contribution to contemporary sociology in his discussion of class formation and the comparative analysis of social revolutions, and that his classical work The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte has been extremely influential in shaping the theory and the method of contemporary sociology. I discuss how concepts and comparison in The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte provided a basis for further sociological studies, such as E. P. Thompson's study on English working class formation as well as Barrington Moore's comparisons among bourgeois revolution, revolution from above, and peasant revolution.

Key Words: *Marx, Class Formation, Comparison, Revolution, the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, the Canon*

INTRODUCTION

Why are we reading Marx for our classical theory? Is Marx still relevant in the 21st Century? As R. W. Connell (1997) points out in the article, "Why Is Classical Theory Classical," the canons of sociology are products of European modernity in the context of global expansion and colonization, hence "sociology was formed within the culture of imperialism and embodied a cultural response to the colonized the world (ibid, 1519)." Here, Connell discusses the orientalist origin of the sociological canon through the ideas of global difference, which contrasts the civilization of the metropole with that of the primitive others. According to Connell, the emergence of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim as the canon of sociology can be interpreted as the one to resolve the paradigm crises of sociology. However, Connell's provocative argument is more about "How is Classical Theory Classical," rather than "why," as Randall Collins (1997) argues in his rebuttal to Connell.

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This is precisely where this paper starts. The purpose of this paper is to partially provide an answer for the critical question of "Why Is Classical Theory Classical," in the case of Karl Marx. This paper argues that Marx, as the canon of sociology is still noteworthy because of his contribution to contemporary sociology in his discussion of class formation and the comparative analysis of social revolutions, and that his classical work has been extremely influential in shaping the theory and the method of contemporary sociology.

In this paper, I argue that one of the few Marx's empirical works *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (hereafter EB) has provided the future agenda for sociological studies of revolution and class in historical sociology. Thus, I will examine how concepts and comparison¹ in EB provided a basis for further sociological studies, such as E. P. Thompson's study on English working class formation as well as Barrington Moore's comparisons among bourgeois revolution, revolution from above, and peasant revolution.

In the past, the dominant hegemony of structural-functionalist paradigm in American sociology had made it difficult to investigate both radical historical change and the conditions of working class, due to functionalist assumption of social equilibrium and order. This structural-functionalist perspective has a danger of a historicity with absence of sociological imagination (Mill, 1959; Skocpol, 1984). Back then, Marx was not considered as a part of canon, the founding fathers of sociology. However, the revival of historical approaches in American sociology means that the issues of radical historical change and working class formation (Thompson, 1963), as well as studies revolution (Moore, 1966; Skocpol, 1979) has come back into the realm of mainstream sociology. This trend also coincides with a resurgence of Marxist perspective in American Sociology (Burawoy and Skocpol, 1982), because these two subjects-revolution and class formation are also main research project of Marxism (Bottomore, 1983).

The purposes of this paper is are two-fold; one is to make sense of Marx's use of concept 'class' and comparative methods in EB. In this matter, I argue

¹ Bonnell (1980) points out the three key ingredients of historical sociology-theory, concept and comparison. However, in this paper, I mainly discuss the two methodological issues in historical sociology-the concept and the comparative method. Marx's theory of history is the theory of historical materialism, and it covers the whole debate between structuralism and historicism on agency and structure (Althusser, 1969; Althusser and Balibar, 1970; Thompson, 1978; Anderson, 1980), which requires another paper. Thus, Marx's theory of history is not my main issue of discussion here although I try not to ignore the theoretical issues, but rather I focus on the use of concept and the comparative methods in EB, and investigate how later generations of historical sociologists developed Marx's use of concept and comparative method.

that Marx’s EB opened the door for studying revolution and working class formation in historical sociology by providing the comparative methods of examining the revolution as well as the concept of class. I see Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class* as a refinement of Marx’s concept of class in EB. I also see Barrington Moore’s *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* as the development of Marx’s comparative method on the studies of revolution. These two books are major examples of Marx’s legacy of the comparative methods on the revolution and the use of the concept of ‘class’ in historical sociology. In the second part, I attempt to analyze Thompson’s use of concept ‘class’ and Moore’s comparative methods of revolution in the context of their critical dialogue with Marx’s EB. This is what I called the Marxist Legacy in historical Sociology, that is, Thompson’s unfolding of Marx’s concept of class and Moore’s usages of comparative methods on three revolutions.

Why is Marx classical? In this paper, I argue that Marx is a classical sociologist because his work has become a classic that the future studies of sociology has learned and emulated from in terms of concepts as well as method. My framework for this paper is described in the following diagram.

The Marxist legacy of method and concepts in historical sociology, I argue, are the basis for studies of class struggle and revolution and works on working class formation. My focus does not lie in Marx’s discussion of the state (Block, 1977; Miliband, 1969; Poulantzas, 1980), which goes beyond the boundary of his legacy in sociology, thus a topic for another paper. In next section, I examine the methodological characteristics of EB, and analyze how comparative methods and concepts used in EB provide a basis for further refinement.

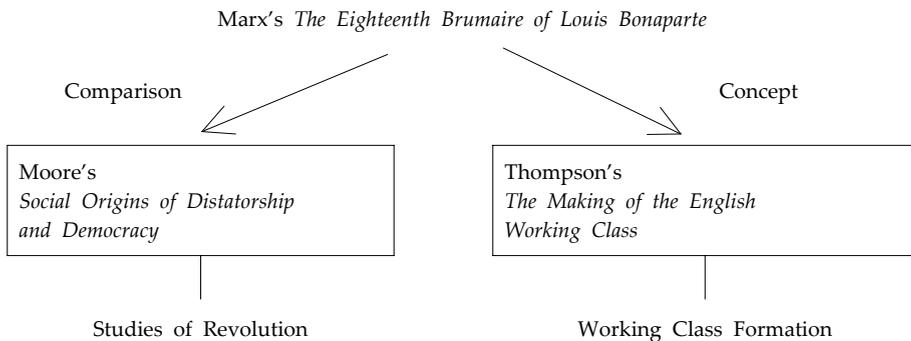


FIGURE 1. FRAMEWORK FOR THE PAPER

READING MARX'S *THE 18TH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE**Why The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte?*

For Marx, class struggle and revolution are the driving forces of history (Tucker, 1978: 164). Marx is always concerned about how to change the world, and the theory of revolution is the theory of historical change in Marx. This is, why Marx argues, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it" (Tucker, 1978: 145).

Revolution is the locomotive of history, and bringing revolution into socio-historical analysis is the distinguishing character of Marx's theory of history. Economic development itself is not sufficient to explain the emergence of a new society; rather, economic development is a precondition for revolution. Through collective action in revolution, human beings can change the society and make history. As Marx argues in the first page of EB,

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just they please: they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past (EB: 15).

Marx's EB begins with above passage. Unlike other writings such as *Communist Manifesto* or *Capital*,² Marx tackles in the issue of human agency in historical change in EB, and tests his theory of class struggle on the particular case of France from 1848. In EB, Marx seems to try to go beyond the economic determinism,³ and to bring 'politics' and 'agency' back into

² In *Capital*, Marx (1977) has more economic-deterministic idea, asserting that "individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are personifications of economic categories, the bearers of particular class-relations and interests." The image of individual is a mere 'bearers,' so it is hard to find arguments on the human agency, actively involved in the process of 'making history.'

³ Marx's more deterministic view on history can be found in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Here, Marx sees the possibility of revolution arising the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production: "At a certain stages of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production ... From forms of development of the productive force these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution" (Tucker, 1978: 4).

This deterministic version of Marx's view on history is elaborated by G. A. Cohen (1978). I do not think that Cohen's interpretation of Marx is right, because Cohen goes to far to insist that "Marx is not fundamentally concerned not with (historical) action, but with the forces and relations constraining and directing it" (Cohen, 1989). The same mistake can be found in

historical analysis. To Marx, the agents of history are classes, and class struggle is a key evidence that proves the involvement of human actions in historical change.⁴ The focus on class struggle and collective action makes Marx unique compared with other historians. History is the process through which human agents keep making and remaking their lives through social actions. This can be found in Marx's preface to the second edition of EB, when he compares his framework with Hugo and Proudhon.

Victor Hugo confines himself to bitter and witty invective against the responsible publisher of the coup d'état. The event itself appears in his work like a bolt from the blue. He does not notice that he makes this individual great instead of little by ascribing to him a personal power of initiative such as would be without parallel in world history.

Proudhon, for his part, seeks to represent the coup d'état as the result of an antecedent historical development. Unnoticeably, however, his historical construction of the coup d'état becomes a historical apologia its hero. Thus, he falls into the error of our so-called objective historians.

I, on the contrary, demonstrate how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part (EB: 8).

Here, Marx criticizes Hugo for having too much focus on a single individual, and also criticized Proudhon for his deterministic view on history without any analysis on the particular phrase of history.⁵ Instead, Marx tries to investigate how the class struggle created circumstances and relationships (structure) under which a single individual could play the role

Althusser (1969), for him history is a mere process without subjects or goals.

⁴ Perry Anderson (1980) discusses the relation between structure and subject. As Anderson argues,

the permanent oscillation, the potential disjuncture in Marx's own writings between his ascription of the primary motor of historical change to the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production, on the one hand ... and to the class struggle, on the other hand ... The first refers essentially to a structural, ... The second refers to the subjective forces contending and colliding for mastery over social forms and historical processes (ibid: 34).

In this paper, my discussion focuses on the second feature of Marx's view on historical change, and I consider Marx's EB to represent the second feature, and attempt to find this tradition in Thompson's use of the concept of 'class' and Moore's comparative method on revolutions.

⁵ Marx's attempt to overcome the two extreme perspectives on history can also be found in German Ideology, where Marx criticized both Hegel and Feuerbach.

of hero. Marx's emphasis on class struggle can be understood as an effect to go beyond Hugo's voluntarism and Proudhon's determinism at the same time.

This needs more empirical analysis of class struggle. In EB, Marx investigates the particular phrase of history to prove his theory of class struggle. Generally, Marx's analysis of history is at the level of modes of production (Callinicos, 1988).⁶ Unlike his other writings, Marx's analysis in EB is more concrete in its grasp of the dynamics of class struggle in a particular phase of history. This can be expressed in the following diagram. generally, as time goes by, history makes progress, but in a particular situation of history, there can be a regression. To me, Marx's discussion in EB is an example of his analysis of historical regression. As diagram shows, in France from 1848 to 1851, history had been regressing, not progressing. This three year period comprises a complex series of events from the institution of the Social Republic in February 1848 to the shifting alliances and the proletariat's suppression in June 1848, from the Republican bourgeoisie in March 1849 to the petty bourgeoisie in June 1849, and from the emergence of the Party of Order to Louis Bonaparte's dictatorial arrival in December 1851. Marx's point on the particular moment of history is well summarized

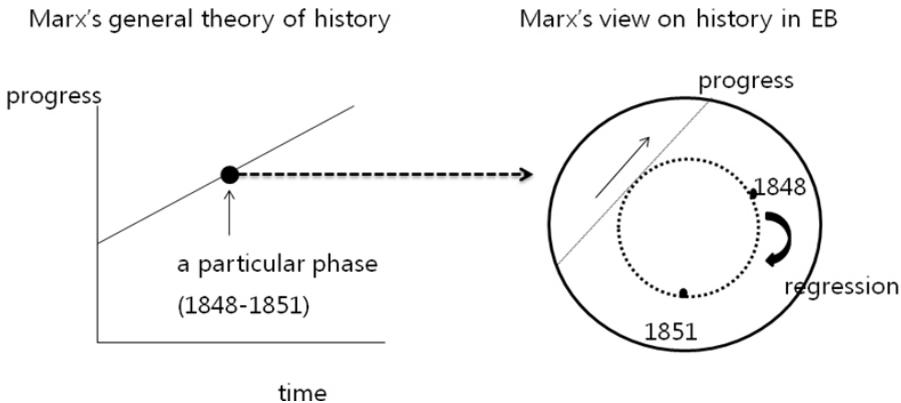


FIGURE 2. MARX'S VIEW ON HISTORY IN EB

⁶ Mode of production is a core concept in historical materialism (Althusser and Balibar, 1970; Callinicos, 1991). This is a stage of history according to Marx, and the each mode of production is distinguished by its own property relations. The property relations, to a large degree, determine the pattern of economic development of society (Brenner, 1986). Then, class is determined by its property relations, and class struggle is the motor of social change. This is why some (Wright et al., 1992) regard Marxism as class analysis. Marx's theory of class struggle is usually at very macro-world-historical level. As in *Communist Manifesto*, Marx claims that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle (Tucker, 1978: 473)."

in his letter to J. Weydemeyer.

What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society(EB: 139).

In this passage, it is clear that Marx's analysis begins from theory and moves to history not vice versa. Marx's intention is to apply his theory in a particular historical context, and it is plausible to sense that Marx is conducting theory-driven research to prove his theory of class struggle in France from 1848 to 1851. Engels summarized Marx's theory of class struggle, and its application to French case.

It was precisely Marx who had first discovered the great law of motion of history, the law according to which all historical struggles, whether they proceed in the political, religious, philosophical or some other ideological domain, are in fact only the more or less clear expression of struggles of social classes, and that the existence and thereby the collisions, too between these classes are in turn conditioned by the degree of development of their economic position, by the mode of their production and of their exchange determined by it. this law, which has the same significance for history as the law of the transformation of energy has for natural science - this law gave him here, too, the key to an understanding of the history of the Second French Republic, he put his law to the test on these historical events, and even after thirty-three years we must still say that it has stood the test brilliantly(EB: 14).

According to Engels, Marx's theory has law-like feature that can be applied to all historical struggles. Just like the law of development in natural science, Engels claims that Marx's theory is the laws of the development of human history. However, to me, Engels' assessment of Marx's theory is too mechanical, too deterministic. Rather, I see Marx's attempt in EB as effort to explain historical anomalies in his theory of class struggle through elaborating the concept 'class' vis-à-vis his implicit comparative method. Marx attempts to investigate why, and how the working class could not perform its class task, and also how different social classes are coopted into supporting the dictatorship of Louis Bonaparte, rather than the proletariat. In EB, Marx's class analysis is not only a study on class struggle and

revolution, but also a study of class formation. What Marx is saying here is that similar location in position in class structure does not necessarily lead to class action or class formation. Marx is trying to go beyond simple reductionist ideas of class struggle. The political action of classes can not always be determined by their class position. Thus, more discussion is needed of the concept of class.

*Use of Concept 'Class'*⁷

As discussed above, Marx's key concept in EB is class.⁸ According to Marx, class is defined by material conditions and social relations of production. Upon the different form of property, upon the social conditions of existence, rises an entire superstructure of distinct and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and view of life. The entire class creates and forms them out of its material foundations and out of the corresponding social relations (EB: 47).

To Marx, the material conditions and social relations means the mode of production, and mode of production is distinguished by its own property relations (Brenner, 1986). Thus, class is determined by its property relations, and class struggle is the motor of social change. This is the very general, universal nature of class in Marx's framework, In EB, Marx goes one step beyond the general characteristics of class, and distinguishes the class-in-itself from class-for-itself. Class-in-itself can be defined as "common relationship to the means of production (class position)." and class-for-itself

⁷ My aim is to discuss two methodological issues in EB – use of concept and comparison. However, the rhetorical strategy is also an interesting subject in EB. For more detail, see Whyte (1973) and Riquelme (1980).

⁸ Another important concept in EB is the state. Unlike *Communist Manifesto*, where Marx claims that "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeois" (Tucker, 1978: 475), Marx's discussion on the state in EB rejects the simple class reductionism. As Marx discusses,

But under the absolute monarchy, during the first revolution, under Napoleon, bureaucracy was only the means of preparing the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Under the Restoration, under Louis Philippe, under the parliamentary republic, it was the instrument of ruling class ... Only under the second Bonaparte does the state seem to have made itself completely independent (EB: 122).

Here, Marx has interests in how different regimes emerge in different forms, and recognized 'the relative autonomy of the state.' For more discussion on the state and its autonomy, see Skocpol et al. (1985).

means “class acts collectively for its collective interests” (Giddens and Held, 1982). This distinction is useful to analyze the limits of peasant, and to understand why the peasantry could not act on behalf of itself. Marx criticizes the problems of peasants, and explains why peasants can not form class-for-itself.

The small-holding peasants form a vast mass, the members of which live in similar conditions but without entering into manifold relations with one another. Their mode of production isolates them from one another instead of bringing them into mutual discourse ... Each individual peasant family is almost self-sufficient (EB: 123).

Although peasants share similar locations in means of production (small-holdings), they do not have mutual integration, and also lack of collective interdependence. This may provide a reason why peasants as class-in-itself did not act for class-for-itself. As Marx goes on,

In this way, the great mass of the French nation is formed by simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sack of potatoes ... In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond and no political organization among them, they do not form a class ... they cannot represent themselves, they must be represented (EB: 124).

Lacking interconnection among themselves, peasants can not act according to their true class interests. However, Marx is careful enough to point out that not all the peasants are conservative:

The Bonaparte dynasty represents not the revolutionary, but the conservative peasant; not the peasant that strikes out beyond the condition of his social existence ... It represents not the enlightenment, but the superstition of the peasant, not his judgment, but his prejudice, not his future, but his past; not his modern Cevennes, but his modern Vendee (EB: 125).

Marx not only points out the conservative nature of peasants, but he also admits to the existence of progressive peasants. Marx’s understanding of the

peasantry is not one-sided; the peasants have heterogeneous characteristics – both conservative and progressive, although Marx mainly discusses the reactionary nature of peasants in the EB. In the historical case of EB, the peasants are the obstacles to revolution, but it might be wrong to assume that the peasant always play a reactionary role. Then, under what conditions can the peasant play a revolutionary role? Marx does not clearly mention exactly when the peasant can play a revolutionary role, rather he points out that the true interests of the peasants can be accomplished in alliance with the working class:⁹

The interests of the peasants, therefore, are no longer, as under Napoleon, in accord with, but in opposition to the interests of the bourgeoisie, to capital. Hence the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the urban proletariat, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order (EB: 128).

Unlike his other writings, Marx's usages of class in EB is less deterministic, and these are some implications for 'relative autonomy' of class from material conditions, According to Marx, class division depends on whether one owns property or not, – a theory of class polarization. However, Marx's class analysis in EB is not binary opposition between ruling class and ruled class, but rather Marx discusses the various fractions among the same class. The below is a summary of the different class fractions in EB.

Marx mentioned various fractions within the ruling class, middle class and lower class. That is, large landlords, finance capitalists, commercial capitalists, and industrial capitalists existed within the ruling class, and the proletariat, lumpen proletariat, and peasantry comprised the lower class. Eventually, Louis Bonaparte successfully seized power using these various fractions of class. However, it is still unclear whether fractions are temporary or permanent, and how these fractions affect class struggle. Also, Marx's argument on class is still abstract, not explaining how they become a 'class.'

⁹ See notes in EB, "The idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry was further expounded in this work and Marx drew the conclusion that in bourgeois society irreconcilable contradictions develop between the interests of the peasants and the interests of capital, hence only the urban proletariat can be the natural ally and leader of the peasantry"(141). This is an interesting aspect of Marx's historiography.

Marx usually discusses both what is to be done and what actually happened at the same time. In France, peasants must have had an alliance with the working class, but they did not. Marx's comparative method on revolution has this aspect, too. Marx compared what actually happened (counterrevolution) with what is to be done (the communist revolution). As in EB, Marx interprets history through the eye of what is to be done, not what actually happened.

TABLE 1. CASS FRACTIONS IN EB.

Ruling Class:

Large Landlords (Legitimist)
 Finance Capitalists (Orleanist)
 Industrial Capitalists
 Commercial Capitalist

Middle Class:

Writers, lawyers, officers (Republican opposition to Philippe)
 State officials (including the army)
 Petit Bourgeoisie (Montagne): traders, shopkeepers, handicraftmen

Lower Class:

The Proletariat
 Lumpen proletariat (the mob, scum)
 Peasantry

Louis Bonaparte (a nephew of the Great Napoleon)

Marx has not fully developed explanations of the historical process of class formation, this requires more discussion in part 3, where Thompson's analysis of English working class formation can shed more light on the concept of class.

Comparison

In EB, Marx's comparison is not explicit,¹⁰ but implicit. Although implicit, Marx's comparisons are various. There are comparisons among revolutions, among classes, among persons, among times. In this part, my discussion focuses on Marx's comparison among revolution.¹¹ Like other writings, Marx's comparison is based on his so-called dialectical method between universalistic and particularistic.

To begin with, Marx's analysis on 1848 revolution is based on his

¹⁰ It is very controversial whether Marx actually uses the comparative method. Warner (1971) claims that since Marx uses four comparative dimensions (property, division of labor, state and society, and purpose of production), it is plausible to classify him as a comparative sociologist. However, structural Marxists (Althusser, 1969) assert that Marxism is not compatible with comparative sociology, by insisting that the logic of 'deep structure' can not be conceptualized in comparative method.

¹¹ Why revolution? Tucker argues that revolution is the main agenda for Marx's research. In a basic sense, therefore, revolution was the master-theme of Marx's thought, and an exposition of the Marxian revolutionary idea in complete form would be nothing other than an exposition of Marxism itself as a theoretical system (Tucker, 1969: 5).

comparison with bourgeois revolution in 1789 and incoming the communist revolution.¹² This also provides a clue for Barrington Moore's comparisons on three revolution – bourgeois revolution, revolution from above, and peasant revolution. In EB, Marx's analogy to French Revolution can be easily found:

Thus the awakening of the dead in those revolutions served the purpose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old; of magnifying the given task in imagination, not of fleeing from its solution in reality; of finding once more the spirit of revolution, not of making its ghost walk about again ... the French, so long as they were engaged in revolution, could not get rid of the memory of Napoleon (EB: 17-8).

Marx's analysis of the historical period from 1848 to 1851 is compared with the previous bourgeois revolution in 1789. This also can be found in another passage (p. 42), "In the first French Revolution, ...The revolution thus moves along an ascending line. It is the reverse with the Revolution of 1848." Here, Marx is very careful not to rely only on the revolution of the past, but also tries to relate to a forthcoming communist revolution in the future:¹³

The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future ... Earlier revolutions required recollections of past world history in order to drug themselves concerning their own content. In order to arrive at its own content, the revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead (EB: 18).

Comparison among revolutions is not only comparison among bourgeois revolution, counter-revolution,¹⁴ and communist revolution but also comparison among times, the temporal comparison of the past, the present, and the future. However, Marx's comparison among these three revolutions is not symmetrical. Marx presents bourgeois revolution and counter-

¹² Marx's comparison among three revolutions makes EB tragicomedy. Marx's interpretation of history has to be emplotted in the mode of tragedy and in the mode of comedy (Whyte, 1973). As Marx argues, Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce (EB: 15).

¹³ Again, this is another case of Marx's interpretation of the present (or past) from the perspective of the future, the representation of what actually happened from the perspective of what is to be done.

¹⁴ For this, see EB (29), "What it had conceived as the most revolutionary event turned out in reality to be the most counter-revolutionary."

revolution from the standpoint of the communist revolution. This viewpoint has a danger of 'negative comparison', assessing other historical events from one event.

Generally, Marx's understanding of social change is based upon the revolutionary transition from one mode of production to other. However, the revolution in France from 1848 to 1851 can not be classified as a revolution to new mode of production, rather a counter-revolution within same mode of production. Marx's analysis of Louis Bonaparte's seizure of power can not be understood without consideration of the period between bourgeois revolution and proletarian revolution:

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, storm swiftly from success to success; their dramatic effects outdo each other; men and things seem set in sparkling brilliants; ecstasy is the everyday spirit; but they are short-lived; soon they have attained their zenith, and a long crapulent depression lays hold of society before it learns soberly to assimilate the results of its storm-and-stress period. On the other hand, proletarian revolutions, like those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weakness and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, recoil over and anon from indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible (EB: 19).

I can summarize Marx's comparison of three revolutions in following way. In EB, Marx analyzes the counter-revolution in France in from 1848 to 1851, but his narrative of this historical event is based on his comparison with the revolution in 1789 and future communist revolution.¹⁵ This can be seen as his method of dialectics, diagnosing the rise of Louis Bonaparte as antithesis to previous bourgeois revolution. This antithesis can be solved by transformative synthesis – by the real worker's revolution in the future.

¹⁵ Marx's use of chiasmus provides a tool for comparing different revolutions. Marx's use of chiasmus not only indicates repetition with difference among revolutions, but also the relationships of action and reaction, and of cause and effect, and of complex and self-victimizing between original and repetition (Reiqueleme, 1980).

TABLE 2. MARX'S COMPARISON OF THREE REVOLUTIONS

Bourgeois Revolution (1789)	Counter Revolution (1848-51)	Communist Revolution(?)
Thesis	Antithesis	Synthesis
Past	Present	Future
Tragedy	Farce	Triumph

To Marx, the third kind of revolution, the communist revolution is still at the level of ideology, never fully realized in the world. In this sense, Marx's comparison has a problem because he is comparing the revolution in reality (1789, 1848-51) with the revolution in ideology (communist revolution). However, communist revolutions actually occurred in Russia and China in 20th century. Barrington Moore's comparison of three revolutions shows the continuity of Marx's comparative methods of three revolutions, but Moore could compare all three revolutions in reality.

MARXIST LEGACY IN HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

Previously, I have argued that Marx's EB is the basis for two traditions of Marxist research in historical sociology – the studies of revolution and of working class formation. The methodological characteristics of EB, especially, the use of concept 'class,' and the comparative method on Bourgeois revolution, counterrevolution and communist revolution in EB lay a foundation for the unfolding of the Marxist legacy in historical sociology. In this part, I discuss two historical sociologists who succeed to Marx's legacy in historical sociology – E.P. Thompson on the concept of class and Barrington Moore on comparative method.

1) Use of the Concept 'Class' to Analyze the Class Formation: Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*

E. P. Thompson's book, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (hereafter MEWC) is regarded as an effort to use concepts to develop a meaningful historical interpretation (Skocpol, 1984). Thompson tries to write a story about the unfolding of the English working class from 1780 to 1832, a biography of the English working class¹⁶ from its adolescence until its early manhood (MEWC, 11). With this historical task, Thompson's theoretical task

¹⁶ Skocpol (1984) calls this effort as historical critique of structuralist, and economist, evolutionist Marxism.

is to rescue Marxism from the degradation of Stalinism and the critique of rigid economic determinism (Althusser) through refining the Marxist concept of 'class' with and investigation of the formation the English working class. However, Thompson's concept of class is not purely 'theoretical.' The concept of 'class' only makes sense in the context of class struggle, the actual historical process of making class. Class does not lead to class struggle, rather class struggle leads to the making of class from Thompson's perspective.

Thompson's view on history is pretty similar to that of Marx in EB, conceiving it as bottom up process that should be presented from the perspective of the oppressed class, the working class. Just like Marx in EB, Thompson makes an effort to find agency in the working class, and to understand how the working class makes history. As Thompson criticizes other historians for their omissions, "Only the successful are remembered. The blind alleys, the lost causes, and the losers themselves are forgotten" (MEWC, 12).

With the working class at the center of his analysis, Thompson examines the process of 'making history,' arguing that 'The working class did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making (Ibid, 9).' However, unlike Marx, Thompson's notion of making history places more emphasis on the historical process, considering class formation as a becoming or happening. In addition, Thompson does not try to prove any universal theory, but uses the concept of class to interpret a particular historical process. Thompson sees class as an historical phenomenon, not as a 'structure,' nor even as a 'category,' but as something which in fact happens in human relationships. This is surely a new interpretation of the concept of class, perceiving class as relationships among people in history not a thing nor a theoretical category. Since it is not a thing nor a category, Thompson's notion of class has life, birth and death. This is why Thompson's writing can be seen as a biography of the English working class from its adolescences until its early manhood (ibid, 11). From this perspective, it is naive and vulgar to consider class as a structure, and is dangerous to distort class as a static category. Thompson's concept of class is less abstract, less general than Marx's class. As Thompson argues,

Class is a relationship, and not a thing. I am convinced that we cannot understand class unless we see it as a social and cultural formation, arising from processes which can only be studied as they work themselves over a considerable historical period (ibid, 11).

Here, Thompson's focus on the 'making' of the working class is opposed to that of structural Marxism, which does not regard historical process as important because of its emphasis on 'deep structure' (Althusser, 1969; Althusser and Balibar, 1970). Thompson tries to find 'subject' and 'experience' in the English working class formation. 'Subjectivity' and 'experience' not only come from material conditions¹⁷ but from political, cultural, and historical relationships:

The making of the working class is a fact of political and cultural, as much as of economic, history ... the working class made itself as much as it was made (ibid, 194).

Of course, economic condition is one of the most important factors in class formation, but political and cultural traditions also can not be neglected. Economic deterministic Marxists like Althusser do not capture the cultural, political, and subjective dimensions of historical process which English working class was made and made itself (Skocpol, 1984). Making class is possible through worker's collective lived experiences and class struggle, and the lived experiences and class struggle in a particular historical context can bring class consciousness to the working class. Class position is a starting point for class formation, but not an end, and lived experience vis-à-vis class struggle mediated between class position and class formation. Thompson's argument regarding social being and social consciousness is well explained in the following passages,

Class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences, fell and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as a against other men whose interests are different from theirs ... 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 ... Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way (ibid, 9-10).

Thompson's concept of class not only covers Marx's notion of class-in-

¹⁷ Thompson describes the economic determinism as "steam power and the cotton-mill = new working class (ibid, 191)." Rather, Thompson looks for political and cultural aspect of class, "too much emphasis upon the newness of the cotton-mills can lead to an underestimation of the continuity of political and cultural traditions in the making of working-class (ibid, 193)."

itself and class-for-itself, but also gives more emphasis to the aspect of human agency,¹⁸ the lived experiences and class-consciousness. In order to do this, Thompson brings the cultural factors (traditions, value-systems, ideas and etc.) to analyze the shaping, and making of the English working class, and these cultural, political factors play crucial roles in shaping class-consciousness, and developing political action. Therefore, according to Thompson, class is not only an economic concept, but also a political and cultural concept.¹⁹ Thompson's discussion of the concept 'class' can be understood as an elaboration of Marx's notion of making history in EB.

The English working class did make it just as they pleased; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under common experiences, embodied in cultural and political context from the past.

2) Comparative Method to Analyze Class Struggle and Revolution: Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*

Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (hereafter SODD) deals with three different roads to modernization, three types of revolution leading to different ways of the making the modern world. For Moore, class struggle²⁰ is a key issue for understanding the comparative dynamics of the transition from an agrarian society to modern industrial one. As Moore points out,

The book endeavors to explain the varied political roles played by the

¹⁸ Thompson's notion of class covers the various individuals and groups, including individuals such as John Thelwall, Thomas Paine, Thomas Hardy, and groups like weavers, factory workers, tradesmen, Ludditees, Methodists, and immigrants.

¹⁹ For example, Thompson (1963) points out the significance of political, cultural factors to making of class:

... too much emphasis upon the newness of the cotton-mills can lead to an underestimation of the continuity of political and cultural traditions in the making of working-class communities (193) ... In the end, it is the political context as much as the steam-engine, which had most influence upon the shaping consciousness and institutions of the working class (197).

²⁰ It is very true that class is the crucial concept in Moore's analysis (Wiener, 1976), but I agree with Skocpol, and see Moore's work as analytical history which analyzes causal regularities in history by using generic comparison (generic). It's not like Thompson's research which uses concepts to study the process of making the English working class (genetic). This difference leads to two research agenda in Marxist historical sociology- comparison among revolutions with comparative methods and the studies of working class formation using concepts.

landed upper classes and the peasantry in the transformation from agrarian societies to modern industrial ones. Somewhat more specifically, it is an attempt to discover the range of historical conditions under which either or both these rural groups have become important forces behind the emergence of Western parliamentary versions of democracy, and dictatorships of the right and the left, that is, fascist and communist regimes (SODD: xi).

To Moore, the dependent variables are the political outcomes of class struggle and revolution: 1) bourgeois revolution leading to democracy; 2) revolution from above resulting in fascism; and 3) the peasant revolution leading to communism. Here, the class struggle between landed upper class and the peasants²¹ is the key factor in this transformation:

... we seek to understand the role of the landed upper classes and the peasants in the bourgeois revolutions leading to capitalist democracy, the abortive bourgeois revolutions leading to fascism, and the peasant revolutions leading to communism. The ways in which the landed upper classes and the peasants reacted to the challenge of commercial agriculture were decisive factors in determining the political outcome (Ibid: xvii).

However, Moore's analysis is too sophisticated to be interpreted as a mere class analysis. His analysis includes the commercialization, the state, and class relations among peasant, urban bourgeois, and monarchy.²²

For Moore, comparative analysis is necessary to examine the features of particular cases of comparison, and draw theoretical generalizations based on these features. This is what Skocpol (1984) called *Analytic Historical Sociology* using comparative methods. More specifically, Moore seems to use Mill's method of agreement and the method of difference as well. When he discusses three different types of political outcomes, Moore uses the method

²¹ This is in sharp contrast to Marx's view on peasants as sacks of potatoes. Peasants are major agency of revolution in Moore's framework.

²² For example, Moore (1966) goes on So far the discussion has concentrated upon two major variables, the relationships of the landed upper classes with the monarchy and their response to the requirements of production for the market. There is a third major variable that has already crept into the discussion: the relationship of the landed upper classes with the town dwellers, mainly the upper stratum that we may loosely call the bourgeoisie (Ibid: 423).

Moore's analysis of class struggles focuses on the relational power balance among different classes, especially on the issue of 'extracting surplus' (459).

of difference. When he discusses the cases of democracies (France, USA, England), Moore uses the method of agreement. For example, although France and England had quite distinguished trajectories of democracy, but one of the same characteristics would be 'no bourgeois, no democracy' (ibid, 418). This bourgeois revolution is also characterized by the strong commercializing trends. On the other hand, revolution from above is a case of labor-repressive form of agriculture with strong political controls and weak peasants, and communist revolution is a combination of weak bourgeois impulse and strong peasant solidarity (Skocpol, 1973). The peasant's critical role in communist revolution is a bland spot for Marx's analysis in EB, where Marx does not really spell out the revolutionary potential for peasants.

Also, Moore uses narrative history to present a particular case, and uses comparative method to arrive at theoretical generalization. As Moore argues,

Generalizations that are sound resemble a large-scale map of an extended terrain, such as an airplane pilot might use in crossing a continent ... That is exactly what I shall try to do now, to sketch in very broad strokes the main findings in order to give the reader a preliminary map of the terrain we shall explore together (ibid: xiv).

Comparisons can serve as a rough negative check on accepted historical explanation. And a comparative approach may lead to new historical generalizations (ibid: xiii).

Moore's comparative analytical strategy attempts to reconcile the tensions between the explanation of a particular case and theoretical generalization. Moore's comparative strategy can be summarized in the following table.

This appears as an extension of Marx's comparison among three revolutions. However, unlike Marx, Moore does not interpret Bourgeois Revolution and Counter-Revolution from the standpoint of the communist revolution. Contrary to Marx, Moore has a preference for Bourgeois revolution, because democracy is the outcome of bourgeois revolution. Again, like Marx, this leads Moore toward the 'negative comparison,' asymmetrical comparison among three revolutions with a preference for a bourgeois revolution. To Moore, the outcome of bourgeois revolution, democracy is closer to a free and just society than fascism and communism due to his systematic moral evaluations of the consequences of each revolution, but his uncritical approach to democracy is a major weakness (Smith, 1984).

TABLE 3. MOORE'S COMPARISON OF THREE REVOLUTIONS

Bourgeois Revolution	Counter Revolution	Communist Revolution
	(Revolution from Above)	(Peasant Revolution)
England, France, USA	Germany, Japan,	Russia, China
Democratic Capitalism	Fascism	Communist Dictatorship
= +	=	+ =

Note: +: method of difference

=: method of agreement

Also unlike Marx, Moore's comparison became a more concrete, cross-national comparison of political regimes among democracy, fascism and communism, while Marx's comparison is still abstract, universal and theoretical level. In this sense, Moore's contribution to studies on comparative revolutions is making Marx's implicit, abstract comparison more explicit, concrete comparison.

CONCLUSION

Marx sees his theory as the revolutionary science. In other words, Marx's theory has both aspects – revolutionary and scientific. Science without revolutionary theory is merely a bourgeois science, and revolutionary theory without science is only utopia. Since Marx's theory claims to be a science, this should not be an 'iron doctrine,' but should be open to discussion and revision through continuous efforts and challenges by a new generation of sociology, and what I have discussed so far reveals this is the case.

Throughout my discussion in this paper, I attempt to trace the origins of studies of revolution and class formation in historical sociology from Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and interrogate how concepts and comparison in EB provided a basis for further sociological studies, E.P. Thompson's study on English working class formation as well as Barrington Moore's comparison among bourgeois revolution, revolution from above, and peasant revolution. This legacy of Marx to next generation of sociologists can be a clue to understand how and why Marx is classical or even neo-classical (Burawoy, 2001). Yes, indeed Marx is, and his work, EB has been most influential in shaping the sociological studies of the next generation.

Marx's EB could provide the concept of 'class' and comparative method for historical sociology because Marx, unlike his other writings, tries to go beyond the economic determinism, and makes efforts to understand the

process of 'making history.' However, Marx's use of concept and comparison in EB are still abstract, universal, asymmetrical. Thompson's concept of class is less abstract, less general than Marx's because Thompson's notion of class only makes sense in historical context of class struggle, especially through investigating the 'subjectivity' and 'lived experience.' Moore also goes one step ahead of Marx in a sense that he tries to reconcile the tensions between the explanation of a particular case and theoretical generalization through his comparative strategy. Yet, there are still unresolved issues. Moore's comparison has a danger of 'negative' comparison, and Thompson's notion of 'making' class needs more elaboration in interaction among cultural, political and economic factors. The concept of 'class' and comparative method of revolution requires more elaborations.

Despite these problems, Marx's EB, Thompson's MEWC, and Moore's SODD have brought the issues of history as 'bottom up process' – studies of revolution and working class formation – back into the realm of sociology. This is clearly a breakthrough from the hegemony of a structural-functionalist tradition of American sociology. Recently, there are more attempts to investigate the two methodological issues touched by Marx in EB – the concept of class (Biernacki, 1995; Katzenelson and Zolberg, 1986; Burawoy, 1985, 1990, 2000, 2002; Wright et al, 1992) and the comparative studies on revolution (Skocpol, 1979; Goldstone, 1986; Paige, 1997; Brenner, 1976, 1986). What contributions these works have made, and how they go beyond the limits of Marx, Thompson, Moore are my next task to be studied.

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