Revolution

Key Concepts in Political Science

GENERAL EDITOR: Leonard B. Schapiro

EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Peter Calvert

Other titles in the same series include:

ALREADY PUBLISHED

Martin Albrow
Ioan Davies

Bureaucracy
Social Mobility and
Political Change
National Interest

Joseph Frankel

IN PREPARATION

Shlomo Avinieri
Stanley Benn
Anthony H. Birch
Brian Chapman
Karl Deutsch
S. E. Finer
C. J. Friedrich
Julius Gould

Utopianism
Power
Representation
Police State
Legitimacy
Dictatorship
Tradition and Authority
Violence

E. Kamenka and
Alice Erh-Soon Tay

Law

J. F. Lively

Democracy

Robert Orr

Liberty

P. H. Partridge

Consent and Consensus

John Plamenatz

Ideology

John C. Rees

Equality

Bernard Schaffer

Modernization

Leonard B. Schapiro

Totalitarianism

Henry Tudor

Political Myth

Revolution

Peter Calvert

University of Southampton

Macmillan Education

ISBN 978-0-333-11263-2

ISBN 978-1-349-00918-3 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-00918-3

© 1970 by Pall Mall Press Ltd, London
First published in 1970 by Pall Mall Press Ltd
Reprint of the original edition 1970

This edition published in 1970 by Macmillan and Company Limited
Little Essex Street London WC2
and also at Bombay Calcutta and Madras
Macmillan South Africa (Publishers) Pty Ltd Johannesburg
The Macmillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd Melbourne
The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd Toronto
Gill and Macmillan Ltd Dublin

SBN (paper) 333 11263 6

Not for sale in the U.S.A.

Papermacs are sold subject to the condition that they shall not,
by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out, or
otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in
any form of binding or cover other than that in which they are
published and without a similar condition including this
condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

Contents

'Key Concepts' an Introductory Note	7
Acknowledgements	13
1/Revolution in the Ancient World	15
The origin of the concept	16
The impact of social upheaval	20
The importance of Egyptian experience	24
2/Plato, Aristotle and the Romans	29
Greek history and revolution	29
Plato's organic concept	32
The Aristotelian analysis	33
Rome and the changing concept	42
3/The Effects of Obedience	49
The new synthesis	49
The contribution of Aquinas	54
Italy and Machiavelli	56
4/The Sense of Rebellion	63
The secularization of the concept	63
Modern national revolutions	67
France and the democratic concept	73

5/The Theory of Inevitability	78
The idea of social revolution	78
Marx and Engels	80
Anarchism; the twentieth century	85
6/The Attraction of Permanence	89
Lenin's role and theories	89
Mussolini and the use of myth	93
Latin America	96
Armies and revolution	97
Revolution and self-determination	99
Guerrilla warfare	102
Mao's formulation and youth movements	106
The idealized way of life	109
7/The Possibility of Prediction	115
Prediction and self-fulfilment	115
Types of group behaviour	118
'Great revolutions' and change	121
'Internal war'	127
8/Revolution in the World of the Future	132
The definition of terms	132
Revolution and political science	140
Notes and References	145
Bibliography	157
Index	167

'Key Concepts' an Introductory Note

Political concepts are part of our daily speech—we abuse 'bureaucracy' and praise 'democracy', welcome or recoil from 'revolution'. Emotive words such as 'equality', 'dictatorship', 'élite' or even 'power' can often, by the very passions which they raise, obscure a proper understanding of the sense in which they are, or should be, or should not be, or have been used. Confucius regarded the 'rectification of names' as the first task of government. 'If names are not correct, language will not be in accordance with the truth of things', and this in time would lead to the end of justice, to anarchy and to war. One could with some truth point out that the attempts hitherto by governments to enforce their own quaint meanings on words have not been conspicuous for their success in the advancement of justice. 'Rectification of names' there must certainly be: but most of us would prefer such rectification to take place in the free debate of the university, in the competitive arena of the pages of the book or journal.

Analysis of commonly used political terms, their reassessment or their 'rectification', is, of course, normal activity in the political science departments of our universities. The idea of this series was indeed born in the course of discussion between a few university teachers of political science, of whom Professor S. E. Finer of Manchester University was one. It occurred to us that a series of short books, discussing the 'Key Concepts' in political science would serve two purposes. In universities these books could provide the kind of brief political texts which might be of assistance to students in gaining a fuller understanding of the terms which they were constantly using. But we also hoped that outside the universities there exists a reading public which has the time, the curiosity and the inclination to pause to reflect on some of those words and ideas which are so often taken for granted. Perhaps even 'that insidious and crafty animal', as Adam Smith described

8/*'Key Concepts' an Introductory Note*

the politician and statesman, will occasionally derive some pleasure or even profit from that more leisurely analysis which academic study can afford, and which a busy life in the practice of politics often denies.

It has been very far from the minds of those who have been concerned in planning and bringing into being the 'Key Concepts' series to try and impose (as if that were possible!) any uniform pattern on the authors who have contributed, or will contribute, to it. I, for one, hope that each author will, in his own individual manner, seek and find the best way of helping us to a fuller understanding of the concept which he has chosen to analyse. But whatever form the individual exposition may take, there are, I believe, three aspects of illumination which we can confidently expect from each volume in this series. First, we can look for some examination of the history of the concept, and of its evolution against a changing social and political background. I believe, as many do who are concerned with the study of political science, that it is primarily in history that the explanation must be sought for many of the perplexing problems of political analysis and judgement which beset us today. Second, there is the semantic aspect. To look in depth at a 'key concept' necessarily entails a study of the name which attached itself to it; of the different ways in which, and the different purposes for which, the name was used; of the way in which in the course of history the same name was applied to several concepts, or several names were applied to one and the same concept; and, indeed, of the changes which the same concept, or what appears to be the same concept, has undergone in the course of time. This analysis will usually require a searching examination of the relevant literature in order to assess the present stage of scholarship in each particular field. And thirdly, I hope that the reader of each volume in this series will be able to decide for himself what the proper and valid use should be of a familiar term in politics, and will gain, as it were, from each volume a sharper and better-tempered tool of political analysis.

There are many today who would disagree with Bismarck's view that politics can never be an exact science. I express no opinion on this much debated question. But all of us who are

students of politics—and our numbers both inside and outside the universities continue to grow—will be the better for knowing what precisely we mean when we use a common political term.

London School of Economics
and Political Science

Leonard B. Schapiro
General Editor

for my mother

Acknowledgements

It is a great pleasure here to have the opportunity to thank Derick Mirfin for the idea which led to the writing of this book and for his invitation to help launch the series. I should also like to express my thanks to Liam O'Sullivan for his understanding criticism and to my students at the University of Southampton for their questions and comments. I am most grateful to Diana Marshallsay, for providing the index, to Michael ffolliott-Foster for editorial encouragement and assistance, and to Miss Pat Cox and Miss Harriet Tatman for typing and photocopying. All errors of fact, or idiosyncrasies of interpretation, are my responsibility alone.