UNIT 7 FORCES, RELATIONS AND MODES OF PRODUCTION

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7.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with forces, relations and modes of production. After studying it you should be able to

- explain each of the three concepts: force, relation and mode
- distinguish the concepts from one another
- locate the concepts in the overall Marxian view of society.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In Unit 6 on Historical Materialism, we discussed the Marxian social theory of human progress. Here in Unit 7, we focus on three major concepts which constitute the core of that theory. These concepts, namely, forces, relations and modes of production have been introduced to you in Unit 6. The same concepts are now explained in greater detail so that you can appreciate how Marx used these ideas. The unit addresses itself to the concepts with which Marx constructed the theory of historical materialism. The core concepts and related concepts which this unit attempts to explain are more or less like tools with which Marx explained the laws of motion of capitalist society in particular and that of society in general. Using these concepts, Marx developed a theory aimed at understanding contemporary society. He also formulated a programme of action to change society. In order to expose you to the Marxian concepts in a systematic manner, this unit is broadly divided into four sections in the following order:

Firstly, section 7.2 provides a general understanding of the concept of production.

Secondly, you learn in section 7.3 about the concept of **forces of production.** This section attempts to provide the meaning and significance of the concept.

Thirdly, you will learn in section 7.4 about the concept of **relations of production.** The explanation emphasises the fact that these are social relations and must not be confused with the material, technical aspects of production.

Fourthly, you will learn in section 7.5 about the concept of **mode of production.** In the last section that is section 7.6 we will discuss the four modes of production.

The unit ends with separate sections on summary of the contents of the unit, key words, further reading and specimen answers to check your progress exercises.

7.2 PRODUCTION

People need food, clothing, shelter and other necessities of life in order to survive. They cannot get all these things ready-made from nature. To survive, they produce material goods from objects found in nature. Material production has always been and still is the basis of human existence.

For Karl Marx, the history of human societies is the story of how people relate to one another in their efforts to make a living. He said, "The first historical act is...the production of material life. This is indeed a historical act, a fundamental condition of all history" (see Bottomore 1964: 60). According to Marx, economic production or production of material life is the starting point from which society as an inter-related whole is structured. He speaks of a reciprocity between economic factors and other aspects of historical development of mankind. The factor of economic production is all the same a key concept in explaining the changes that occur in society. He considers that forces of production along with relations of production form the basis of economic and social history of every society. In his Introduction to the Grundrisse (1857-58), Marx says that although the three processes of production, distribution and consumption are not one and the same, they represent a totality. It is so because after completion, each of the three processes creates the other process. In this way, one mediates the other. For example, production, once complete, becomes an object of consumption. Similarly, distribution and production are closely related processes. In this way, these economic categories carry definite relations between them. For Marx, a certain type of production creates a certain type of distribution, exchange and consumption. On the basis of all these economic categories are formed certain types of relations of production. Marx argues that production itself is based on other economic categories

and clear-cut relation between production and other economic processes. What is evident is that material production is basic to human societies.

For Marx, production is at once both a general and a historical category. In *Capital* (1861-1879) Marx has made use of the term 'production' as a general category to highlight specific forms of production in capitalist societies. On the other hand, speaking about production with definite social and historical characteristics, Marx discusses the concept of mode of production. About this you will read in the last section of this unit.

Here, we need to remember that the role of production in human history became a guiding thread in Marx's writings. Let us follow this thread in order to understand his thought. We begin with a consideration of forces of production.

7.3 FORCES OF PRODUCTION

The forces of production express the degree to which human beings control nature. The more advanced the productive forces are, greater is their control over the nature and vice versa. You can say the forces of production are the ways in which material goods are produced. They include the technological know-how, the types of equipment in use and goods being produced for example, tools, machinery, labour and the levels of technology are all considered to be the forces of production.

The forces of production, according to Marx, include means of production and labour power (see Box 7.1). The development of machinery, changes in the labour process, the opening up of new sources of energy and the education of the **workers** are included in the forces of production. In this sense science and the related skills can be seen as part of the productive forces. Some Marxists have even included geographical or ecological space as a productive force.

Involuntary changes in technology, demography, ecology in 'material life' affect the mode of production itself and perceptibly alter the balance of productive relations. But involuntary changes do not spontaneously restructure or reorganise a mode of production. Any restructuring of relations of power, forms of domination and of social organisation has been mostly the outcome of struggles. The condition and character of the struggle are determined by changes in material life.

In every social order there is a continuous change in the material forces of production. Sometimes, as in tribal societies, this change is produced by some natural and ecological phenomena, such as the drying up of rivers, deforestation in or exhaustion of the soil etc. Usually, however, this change is produced by a development in the instruments of production. Human beings have always attempted to better their lives and overcome scarcity. The development of forces of production reflects the constant struggle of human beings to master nature through their labour.

The development of the forces of production is primary because it results from a factor, which is, in a sense, exogenous. The motive force lies outside the forces and relations of production and acts first upon the former. The motive force is the rational and ever-present impulse of human beings to try to better their situation and overcome scarcity by developing the productive forces. Human beings are, above all, like animals producing society by acting upon nature through their labour.

Productive forces transform nature into use values and exchange values. The productive forces compel the creation and destruction of successive systems of production relations between human beings.

Productive forces have an intrinsic tendency to develop, as human beings' knowledge and mastery over nature increase. As these forces develop, successive social relations of production develop and consequently give way. At a particular point of development the productive forces and the production relations enter into conflict: the latter being unstable to contain the former. Society then enters a period of revolution. People become conscious of this by recognising the existence of class struggle, between those whose activity fits them for the new economic structure, and those who are guardians of the old.

Different socio-economic organisations of production, which have characterised human history, arise or fall as they enable or impede the expansion of society's productive capacity. The growth of the productive forces thus explains the general course of human history. The productive forces, however, include, as we have already noted, not just the means of production (tools, machines, factories and so on), but labour power, the skills, knowledge, experience, and other human faculties used in work. The productive forces represent the powers society has at its command in material production.

Box 7.1: Labour Power

According to Marx, labour power is the capacity to do such useful work which increases the value of products. Workers sell their labour power i.e. their capacity to do work which adds value to commodities. They sell their labour power to capitalists for a wage paid in cash.

We should distinguish labour power from labour. Labour is the actual exercise of one's power to add value to commodities. The category of labour power is used by Marx to explain the source of surplus value. Let us say that the capitalists invest money to buy goods and later sell them for more money than they invested. This is possible only if some value is added to those goods. Labour power, according to Marx, is precisely that capacity which adds value to a commodity. In buying and using labour power the capitalist is able to extract labour and labour is the source of value.

The source of surplus value in capitalist system of production is located in the process whereby the value paid by capitalists for labour power is smaller that the value which labour power adds to a commodity.

Check Your Progress 1

- i) Which of the following cannot be conducted as a force of production?
 - a) Tractor
 - b) Labour power
 - c) Steam engine
 - d) Windmill
 - e) Computer
 - f) Missile
- ii) Tick mark the correct statement.

With the increase of productive forces,

- a) our mastery over nature increases.
- b) we become enslaved to nature.
- c) we becomes more conscious of nature.
- d) we turn into a guardian of nature.
- iii) Tick mark the correct statement.

Material forces of production are

- a) more or less stagnant.
- b) continuously expanding.
- c) moving towards scarcity.
- d) potentially destructive.

7.4 RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

The forces of production are not the only factors in material production. People are able to produce jointly by organising in a society. In this sense, labour is and always has been social in character. According to Marx, in order to produce, people enter into definite relations with one another. Only within these social relations does production take place. You can easily say that the relations of production are the social relations found among the people involved in the process of production. These social relations are determined by the level and character of the development of productive forces.

'Forces' and 'relations' of production are strongly interrelated. The development of one leads to a growing incompatibility or contradiction with the other. In fact, the contradictions between the two aspects of production 'act as the motor of history' (Bottomore 1983: 178). The chain of causation in historical development runs like this. The forces of production determine the superstructure. There is, however, quite a good

deal of controversy regarding the primacy of the forces of production over the relations of production. As we said earlier we shall not go into the detail of these interpretations of Marxism. In Marx's own writings, you may like to remember, there is ambiguity on this matter. In places, he gives primacy to the relations of production while in other places he describes forces of production as the prime mover of social change.

The relations of production, which are said to correspond to society's productive level, link the productive forces and human beings in the process of production. These relations are of two broad types. The first refers to those technical relations that are necessary for the actual production process of products. The second refers to the relations of economic control, which are legally manifested as property ownership. They govern access to the forces of production and products.

Relations of production are the social relations of production. As such they include both the relations between the direct producers or workers and their employers or those who control their labour, and the relations between the direct producers themselves.

Relation of production is not merely the ownership of means of production. The employer's relation to the worker is one of domination and the worker's relation with co-workers is one of cooperation. The relations of production are relations between people and people whereas means of production are relations between people and things. The relations of production can influence the momentum and direction of the development of the productive forces.

Relations of production are reflection in the economic ownership of productive forces. For example, under capitalism the most fundamental of these relations is the **bourgeoisie's** ownership of means of production while the proletariat owns only its labour power.

The relationships of production can also dominate and generate changes in the forces. For example capitalist relations of production often do revolutionise the instruments of production and the labour process.

Activity 1

Describe briefly in about 250 words the process of industrialisation in India in terms of forces and relations of production. Discuss this topic with your counsellor and fellow students at your study centre before completing this activity.

At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. The contradiction between forces and relations of production accounts for history existing as a succession of modes of production. The contradiction leads to the necessary decline of one mode and its replacement by another. Forces and relations of production, in any mode of production underline not just the economic progress, but a movement of the whole of society from one stage to another. Let us in the next section discuss Marx's concept of mode of production.

Check Your Progress 2

i) Tick the correct answer.

Relations of production primarily consist of

- a) individual motives for acquisition in society.
- b) asymmetrical exchange of goods in the market.
- c) ideal material needs of humans in history.
- d) differential requirements of classes in society.
- e) social relationship arising out of the production process.
- ii) Tick the correct answer.

Relations of production constitute relationships between

- a) things and things.
- b) people and things.
- c) people and people.
- d) none of these.
- iii) Which of the following statements is correct?
 - a) Relations of production is not merely the ownership of means of production.
 - b) Relation of production is not a human relationship at all.
 - c) Relation of production is not a cooperative relationship between individuals.
 - d) Relation of production is essentially an exploitative relationship between producers.
- iv) Which of the following statement is correct?
 - a) Relationship of production can also dominate and generate changes in the forces of production.
 - b) Relationship of production have essentially no relationship to forces of production.
 - c) Relationships of production can be at conflict with forces of production.
 - d) Relationship of production can generate changes in forces of production.

7.5 MODE OF PRODUCTION

In Marx's writing, stages of social history are differentiated not by what human beings produce but by how, or by what means, they produce the material goods for subsistence. In this way, we can say that historical periods are founded and differentiated on the basis of the modes of material production. In other words, at the basis of history are successive modes of material production. You can also say that the forces and relations of production are two aspects of mode of production. The productive forces of society reflect the degree to which human beings control nature. The more advanced the productive forces, the greater is their control over nature. In order to produce, people enter into definite relations with one another. This is the relations of production aspect of how material goods are produced. Production takes place within these social relations. You can say that any historical mode of production is an integral unity between the forces of production and the relations of production. You can also say that the forces of production shape the relations of production and the two together define the mode of production. That is the general economic frame or particular manner in which people produce and distribute the means to sustain life. In this sense, the successive modes of production are the basic element of a systematic description of history.

Keeping aside the debate among the Marxist scholars concerning the definition of 'mode of production', we can say that crucial element in defining mode of production is 'the way in which the surplus is produced and its use controlled" (Bottomore 1983: 337). Surplus means the amount that remains when use or need is satisfied. According to Marx, under capitalist mode of production, the surplus takes the form of profit. Surplus is produced by exploiting the working class and is sold for more than the wages given to the workers. Because production of surplus enables societies to grow and change, this factor is taken to be most important in defining mode of production.

Each mode of production has its specific relations of production. These are not developed by chance or by accident. They are deliberately ordered because they help the property owning class extract the surplus from the working people. Take an example. The relations of production under feudalism, in which the serf is dominated in all respects by the feudal lord, are necessary to enable the feudal lord to appropriate the surplus from the serf. If such a relationship is continued under capitalism it will fail. Therefore a new set of production relations develops under capitalism that enables the capitalist appropriate surplus value from the workers.

It should also be noted that neither the forces of production nor the relations of production are fixed and static. Even within a given mode of production the forces of production may change. In any society, we may find that over the years greater production follows improvements in technology. The capitalist nations are very different from what they were two to three hundred years ago, when capitalism was born. This change in the productive forces has resulted in changes in the relations of production. The workers in the twenty first century, may not be as exploited as the factory workers in the nineteen century. Marxists would, however, argue that exploitation still remains, because the modern workers, with modern technology, produce more surplus value than their predecessors, and they do not proportionately earn that much more. Forces, Relations and Mode of Production

Check Your Progress 3

i) Tick mark the correct answer.

According to Marx, mode of production is

- a) an empirical concept.
- b) a psychological phenomenon.
- c) a biological fact.
- d) an economic variable.
- e) an abstract construct.
- ii) Which of the following statements is correct about the nature of humans? It is
 - a) not immutable but historical.
 - b) a manifestation of ecological factors.
 - c) determined by psychological traits.
 - d) an indeterminate unconscious state of mind.
- iii) Which of the following can be appropriately called a mode of production?
 - a) Pastoral
 - b) Agricultural
 - c) Feudal
 - d) Tribal
 - e) National

7.6 FOUR MODES OF PRODUCTION

More than one mode of production may exist within any particular society at a given point in time. But in all forms of society there is one determinate kind of production which assigns rank and influence to all the others. Here we shall discuss each of the four modes of production, identified by Marx during his studies of human societies.

7.6.1 Asiatic Mode of Production

The concept of **Asiatic mode of production** refers to a specific original mode of production. This is distinct from the ancient slave mode of production or the **feudal mode of production**.

The Asiatic mode of production is characteristic of primitive communities in which ownership of land is communal. These communities are still partly organised on the basis of kinship relations. State power, which expresses the real of imaginary unity of these communities, controls the use of essential economic resources, and directly appropriates part of the labour and production of the community.

This mode of production constitutes one of the possible forms of transition from classless to class societies; it is also perhaps the most ancient form of this transition. It contains the contradiction of this transition, i.e. the combination of communal relations of production with emerging forms of the exploiting classes and of the State.

Marx did not leave behind any systematic presentation of the history of India. He set down his observations on certain current Indian questions which attracted public attention, or drew materials from India's past and present conditions to illustrate parts of his more general arguments. The concept of Asiatic mode of production is therefore inadequate for an understanding of Indian history and society.

Box 7.2: Marx and Indian Society

Marx made no full-scale study of Indian society. The ideology of Hinduism was to him an ideology of an outdated social milieu. He was most skeptical of a Hindu golden age of the bygone era. British rule in India was seen by Marx as a graft on to Asiatic despotism.

7.6.2 Ancient Mode of Production

Ancient Mode of Production refers to the forms which precede capitalist production. In some of these terms slavery is seen as the foundation of the productive system. The relation of masters to slaves is considered as the very essence of slavery. In this system of production the master has the right of ownership over the slave and appropriates the products of the slave's labour. The slave is not allowed to reproduce. If we restrict ourselves to agricultural slavery (see box 7.3), exploitation operates according to the following modalities: the slaves work the master's land and receive their subsistence in return. The master's profit is constituted by the difference between what the slaves produce and what they consume. But what is usually forgotten is that beyond this, the slaves are deprived of their own means of reproduction. The reproduction of slavery depends on the capacity of the society to acquire new slaves, that is, on an apparatus which is not directly linked to the capacities of demographic reproduction of the enslaving population. The rate of accumulation depends on the number of slaves acquired, and not directly on their productivity.

Slaves are different from the other members of the community in that they are rightfully deprived of offspring. Their status as 'foreigners' is permanent. A profit is made out of the 'foreigner'.

Hence, if one wants the system to have a certain continuity and to become organic, then one must not allow the slave to have dependents. In each generation one must provide the means of introducing foreigners as replacements for worn-out slaves. We find an intimate and necessary liaison between these two levels of exploitation: a relation through pilfering between one population and another, and a relation of exploitation between the class of slaves and the class of masters.

In slavery, the growth of the labour force is independent of effective demographic forces. It rests not on the demographic growth which is due to natural increase, but on the means devoted to the capture (as in war) of foreign individuals. The possibility of accumulation comes about through the multiplication of slaves independently of growth in the productivity of labour.

Box 7.3: Agricultural Slavery

Slavery mode of production, which Marx referred to, was found in Italy during formation of the Roman empire. Around 200 AD this empire included western Asia, the whole of northern Africa from Egypt to Morocco and most of Europe, including Britain. It had a territory of about one million seventy five thousand square miles and a population of about sixty million. Such a large empire was obviously a mixture of heterogeneous societies with various modes to production. Only in Roman Italy slavery on the land (agricultural slavery) assumed an importance beyond anything experienced before. Also, in some of the city-states. Such as Athens, slavery was a dominant mode production. The ruling classes in these regimes acquired their wealth from slave labour. In the western half of the Roman empire the production transformed from ancient to feudal mode.

This mode of exploitation permits a demographic manipulation of society. It permits the modification of the birth rate, the manipulation of the 'age' at birth, and the manipulation of the duration of life, especially active life.

The test of the dominance of slave mode of production lies not in the numbers of the slaves but in their location, that is, in the extent to which the elite depend on them for their wealth.

7.6.3 Feudal Mode of Production

Marx and Engels were primarily interested in the definition of the capitalist mode of production. Their writing about feudalism tended to mirror that interest, as well as focusing on the transition between the feudal and the capitalist modes of production. They were concerned with the 'existence form' of labour and the manner in which the products of labour were appropriated by ruling classes. Just as capitalists exploited the workers or the 'proletariat', so did the feudal **lords** exploit their tenants or **'serfs'**. Capitalists grabbed surplus value and feudal lords appropriated land rent from their serfs.

Serfs, being legally unfree, were deprived of property rights, though they could use the lord's property. They were obliged to surrender their labour, or the product of their labour, over and above what was needed for family subsistence and the simple reproduction of the peasant household economy. Serfs or the producers were forced to fulfil the economic demands of an overlord. These demands could be in the form of services to be performed. These could also be in the form of dues to be paid in money or kind. The dues or taxes were levied on the family holdings of the peasants. Thus feudal rent whether in the form of services or taxes was an important component of the feudal mode of production. The feudal lord was able to

force serfs on the basis of military strength. This power was also backed by the force of law. In this mode of production, serfdom implied a direct relation between rulers and servants. In feudal serfdom, the instruments of production were simple and inexpensive.

Feudal (see Unit 1 in Block 1 of ESO–13) society was seen by Marx and Engles as intermediate, i.e., between the slave society of the ancient world and capitalists and proletarians in the modern era.

The evolution of the feudal system brought about the development of exchange of agricultural and manufactured products in regional markets. Special needs of the ruling class and high ranking Church officials gave an impetus to the growth of commodity production, including consumption goods such as silks, spices, fruits and wines. Around this activity developed international trade routes and mercantile centres. It laid the foundation for capitalist relations of production, which were to become the main contradiction of the system and cause its downfall. In the course of this transformation, many peasants were expropriated from their lands and forced to become wage-labourers.

Activity 2

Do you think that agrarian society in any part of India was ever dominated by feudal lords? If yes, describe in two pages how during this period peasants were deprived of property rights though they had rights of use. Were the peasants expected to give their labour or product of their labour to feudal lords? Write your answers to these questions on a sheet of paper and compare them with those of other students at your Study Centre.

7.6.4 Capitalist Mode of Production

Capitalism refers to a mode of production in which capital is the dominant means of production. Capital can be in various forms. It can take the form of money or credit for the purchase of labour power and materials of production. It can be money or credit for buying physical machinery. In **capitalist mode of production,** the private ownership of capital in its various forms is in the hands of a class of capitalists. The ownership by capitalists is to the exclusion of the mass of the population. You can take this to be a central feature of capitalism as a mode of production.

As a mode of production, capitalism has the following characteristics (see Bottomore 1983: 64).

- Goods are produced for sale rather than own use.
- The capacity to do useful work or labour power is bought and sold in a market. For a period of time (time rate) or for a specified task (piece rate) labour power is exchanged for money wages. In ancient mode of production labourers were obliged or forced to surrender their labour. Contrarily, in capitalist mode of production labourers enter into a contract with employers.
- The use of money as a medium of exchange. This gives an important role to banks and financial intermediaries.

- The production process is controlled by the capitalists or their managers.
- Financial decisions are controlled by the capitalist entrepreneur.
- Individual capitalists compete for control over the labour and finance.

As a mode of production, capitalism first emerged in Europe. The shift from feudalism to capitalism in Western Europe has been discussed in Unit 1 of Block 1 of Eso-13. You may like to go back to this discussion for recapitulating the growth of merchant capital, overseas trade colonisation. The industrial revolution starting in England and spreading across different countries saw a rapid growth of technology and corresponding rise of capitalist economies. Marx viewed capitalism as a historical phase, to be eventually replaced by socialism.

Check Your Progress 4

i) Tick mark the correct answer.

In which mode of production is there communal ownership of land?

- a) Asiatic
- b) ancient
- c) feudal
- d) capitalist
- ii) Tick mark the correct answer.

In which mode of production are the producers considered private property?

- a) Asiatic
- b) ancient
- c) feudal
- d) capitalist
- iii) Tick mark the correct answer.

Under which mode of production is labour power bought and sold?

- a) Asiatic
- b) ancient
- c) feudal
- d) capitalist
- iv) Tick mark the correct answer.

In feudal mode of production surplus is expropriated through

- a) profit
- b) rent

- c) speculation
- d) surplus value
- e) trade.

7.7 LET US SUM UP

The concepts of forces, relations and mode of production are central to Marxist social theory. The mode of production, which for Marx is the main determinant of social phenomena, is made up of the forces of production and relations of production.

The forces of production refer to both the material worked on and the tools and techniques employed in production of economic goods. The relationships of production refer to the social relations arising in the process of production, especially between the owners and non-owners of the means of production. Relations of production include the control and the capacity to possess the products.

Thus in capitalist societies, for example, the relations of production are those relations that obtain between capitalist and worker such that the former (relations of production) both controls the means of production and can dispose of the goods and services that are produced by the worker.

The forces and relations of production are fundamental to the constitution of any society. The different ways in which different societies are organised depend upon the relationship of the forces of production to the relations of production. The concept of the social relationships of production does not so much refer to the relationship between individuals as between social classes. Because the relationships of production are essentially antagonistic (for example, the capitalist appropriates the product of labour of the worker), so are the relations between the classes.

A mode of production is the relationship between the relations of production and the forces of production. Modes of production can be distinguished from one another by the different relationships between the forces and relations of production. For example, in the feudal mode of production, the lord does not possess direct control over the peasant's forces of production, tools and land, but does have control over the disposition of the peasant's produce. In the capitalist mode of production, on the other hand, the capitalist controls both the forces of production and the disposition of the product.

Mode of production is an abstract analytical concept. In any particular society at a particular point in time there may exist more than one mode of production. However, it is possible to identify a dominant or determinant mode of production which gains primacy over all the other production systems. Particularly during the period of social revolution more than one mode of production co-exist in the same society. However, Marx has left behind the theoretical conceptualisations relating to four modes of production; Asiatic, ancient, feudal and capitalist. This last mode of production was his major theoretical concern. In the next unit, i.e. unit 9

on Class and Class Conflict, we will discuss the Marxian concept of class, which is the bedrock of his analysis of the economic formation of capitalist societies.

7.8 KEYWORDS

Ancient Mode of Production	Refers to a production system where the master has the right of ownership over the slave and appropriates the products of his labour through servitude, without allowing the slave to reproduce.
Asiatic Mode of Production	Refers to community-based production system where ownership of land is communal and the existence of <i>is</i> expressed through the real or imaginary unity of these communities.
Bourgeoisie	The class of capitalists who, in all developed countries, are now almost exclusively in possession of all the means of consumption and of all the raw materials and instruments (machines, factories necessary for their production (Engels in <i>Principles of Communism</i> , 1827)
Capitalist Mode of Production	Refers to a production system where the owners of means of production, capitalists, extract surplus labour from the proletariats in the form of profits.
Capitalists	The ruling class in capitalism who control the means of production.
Feudal Mode of Production	Refers to a production system where the lords appropriate surplus labour from the serfs in the form of rent.
Forces of Production	Refers to the material technical aspect of production as well as the corresponding labour power and its competencies required in the production process.
Lords	The ruling class in feudalism, who exercise indirect control over serfs.
Masters	The ruling class in slavery who exercise control over slaves.
Mode of Production	A mode of production is the relationship between the relations of production and the forces of production. Modes of production can be distinguished from

	one another by different relationships between the forces and relations of production.	Forces, Relations and Mode of Production
Relations of Production	Refer to social relationships that arise directly out of the process of production. These social relationships include the relationships between the owners and non-owners of the means of production. These relationships decide and even determine the control and the capacity to possess the product.	
Slaves	Class of producers in the ancient mode of production, who are directly controlled by the masters as their private 'property'.	
Serfs	Class of producers in the feudal mode of production whose surplus labour is appropriated through rent.	
Workers	Class of producers in the capitalist mode of production who have nothing except their labour power as their only means of livelihood. Their surplus labour is appropriated by the capitalists through profit.	

7.9 FURTHER READING

Bottomore, Thomas B., 1975. Marxist Sociology. Macmillan: London

Huberman, Leo 1969. Man's Worldly Goods. People's Publishing House: New Delhi

7.10 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress	ss 1				
i) (f),	ii) (a),	iii) (b)			
Check Your Progress	SS 2				
i) (e),	ii) (c),	iii) (a),	iv) (b)		
Check Your Progress	ss 3				
i) (e),	ii) (a),	iii) (c)			
Check Your Progress 4					
i) (a),	ii) (b),	iii) (d),	iv) (b)		