

POWER AND STATE- NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527)

Unit Structure:

- 1.1 Objective
- 1.2 Introduction
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- 1.5 Why Machiavelli justified for a powerful state
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1.1 OBJECTIVES

- To learn about powerful state and
- To understand Machiavelli's thought of power and state.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

From Greek philosophy to Renaissance all philosophers and thinkers dealt with the end of the state. They thought that the political power of the state would be used as a means to achieve further end. All political thinkers from Plato, Aristotle to the Middle age (till 16th century) had concerned itself with the central question of the end of the state and had considered state-power as a means to a higher end conceived in moral terms. But Machiavelli adopted a quite different line. To him the power of the state is the end of the state. i.e. Every state must aim at maximizing its power. The failure of the state in this enterprise will throw it into great turmoil. Consequently he confined his attention to the means best suited to the acquisition, retention and expansion of power.

1.3 MACHIAVELLI'S THEORY OF POLITICAL POWER

State is highest form of human association. It is indispensable for the promotion of human welfare. State is to be worshipped even by sacrificing the individual for the interest of the state. A ruler must remember that whatever brings success is due to power. For acquiring political power he can use any type of means. Political statesman plays important role in organizing state, and providing it with safety and security. Hence the major theme of the 'Prince' is the process of acquiring power. Modern power politics cannot be thought of without any reference to Machiavelli and his book 'The Prince'.

1.4 "THE PRINCE" AND THE CENTRAL THEME OF PRINCE

"The discourses" and "The art of war" were Machiavelli's famous books. It contains analysis of body politics. "The Prince" is a handbook on the "Art of government" and "State craft". Hence it is said that 'The Prince' is not an academic work on political-science but it is a book on the art of governance. It is in the form of advice and addressed to any ruler.

1.5 WHY MACHIAVELLI JUSTIFIED FOR A POWERFUL STATE

- 1) He acquired practical experience of politics of his time. He was born in Florence, Italy in 1469 in a well-to-do family, when Prince Medici was at the height of his power. At the age of 25, he entered the government service as a clerk chancery. Within a very short period he was appointed as an ambassador, After that he became secretary of the king. Thus he acquired practical experience of politics. His administrative and political experience determined his views about politics.
- 2) Machiavelli lived in Renaissance Italy and was greatly influenced by the new spirit of Renaissance. The intellectual awakening injected rational scientific approach in every sphere of human life, renaissance replaced the faith by reason. Italy was the leader of Renaissance, the most modern and urbanized country of Europe. But in Italy the wealth, intellect and artistic achievements were accompanied by moral degradation and political chaos. The worst aspect of the period during which Machiavelli lived was the rampant corruption and selfishness among the Italian rulers and the church officials Machiavelli represents the culture which was undergoing a period of deep political crisis. Italy consisted of a very large number of small but

independent states. Some of these states like Florence and Venice were republics, while others were ruled by despots. Internally these states were the home of fierce political rivalries and personal ambition and externally they were involved in a constant struggle with one another. This political division of Italy and the struggle between the states made the country weak and a prey for the ambitions of the powerful neighbouring states of France, Prussia and Spain. France invaded Italy and defeated the Medici rulers. Machiavelli was witness to this tragedy. It was out of this traumatic experience, that made Machiavelli conclude that unless Italy was united under a strong central government, the country would always remain under the threat of conquest and annexation by neighbouring countries.

3. Suggested remedies on the plight of Italy Machiavelli was a true patriot, thinking on the plight of Italy and to find remedies for this. He suggested a strong and unscrupulous prince for the Italy. He did not recommend the republican form of government for Italy, as it presupposes virtuous, honest and patriotic citizens, whereas the sixteenth century Italians were corrupt and selfish. Hence Machiavelli suggested a strong and powerful ruler for Italy.
4. Machiavelli was not interested in idealistic conception of the state. His chief interest was concentrated in the unity of body politic and power. He adopted an empirical method. He seriously studied the past-from 4th century to 15th century of the medieval age. This age was characterized by the Feudal state. In this order king divided his dominions into many parts. Each part granted to a noble or tenant chief. There were no common laws and central authority. In short feudal system was a confusion. Out of this confusion church emerged as the superior authority. Result was continuous conflict between the spiritual and temporal authorities. Pope claimed superiority over all the princes. State (civil authority) was merely the police department of the church. Thus a true national life could not grow in such a system. He X-rayed the entire Italian society. The feudalism and the church not only destroyed the identity and importance of the state, but the state was considered sub-ordinate. But Machiavelli completely divorced religion from politics. He broke the medieval tradition that the political authority is under the control of church. He made the state totally independent of the church by saying that the state has its own rules of conduct to follow, state is highest, supreme and autonomous. He said the state is superior to all associations in the human society. He rejected the feudal system and propounded all powerful central authority, who is supreme over all institutions.

5. The central theme of Machiavelli's political ideas is power. He highlighted power as an essential ingredient of politics. According to him moral code of individual prescribed by the church cannot provide guidelines to the ruler. According to Machiavelli a ruler must remember that whatever brings success is due to power. For acquiring political power he can use any type of Means. He said politics is a constant struggle for power. All politics is power politics.
6. For Machiavelli absolute state was the End; and for this Means was power. He said the sole aim of the 'Prince' was to make the country strong and united, establish peace and order and expel the foreign invader. To achieve this end any means would be satisfactory.

1.6 ADVISE TO THE PRINCE ABOUT STATECRAFT

Thus from above reasons Machiavelli's "The Prince" is in the form of advice given to a ruler on the state craft. Some significant aspects of the advise to the ruler are as follows:

1. Machiavelli elaborates the doctrine of 'Raison D 'Etat'.
2. End justifies the Means.
3. State is sovereign, autonomus and non-religious.
4. A prince must combine the qualities of a lion and a fox.
5. Use a double standard of morality.
6. Favour despotic rule.
7. Maintain strong army.
8. Human nature is low and ungrateful, so Prince must consider this nature of man.
9. He should win the popularity of his people must not touch the property of the people.
10. A prince must have council of wise men and not of flatterers.
11. Separate politics from religion.
12. Remain free from emotions.

1. Machiavelli elaborates the doctrine of Raison D 'Etat':

It means 'Reason of state'. It implies actions and policies promoting safety and security of the state. Because the state must preserve itself before it promotes the welfare of its people. For preserving and safeguarding itself all means adopted by the state are justified by Machiavelli. According to him in politics, one is guided by the harsh realities of political life which is a struggle for power and survival. The actions of the state must be judged only on

the basis of 'Raison D 'Etat'. i.e. independent, self-sufficient and well ordered and well maintain state. Machiavelli advised the prince in preserving and safeguarding this type of state all means adopted by the state are justified. Prince should give priority to power. Morality and ethics have different spheres. It cannot be mingled with the reason of the state. To a prince power of state is of supreme importance.

Self sufficiency of the state means the state will have its own army, a strong and unified government, unity and integrity among the people and solid economic foundation.

2. End justifies the Means:

It is a very famous statement of Machiavelli which he justified for the "Reason of state". He assumed that state is highest form of human association. State is to be worshipped like a deity even by sacrificing the individual. A ruler must remember that whatever brings success and power is virtuous even cunningness, shuredness is justified.

Politics is the most precarious game. It can never be played in a decent and orderly manner.

The state has some primary objectives and responsibilities like protection of life, maintenance of law and order and looking after wellbeing of its members. Hence state must have adequate means at its disposal.

3. State is sovereign, autonomus and non-religious:

Machiavelli said the state is superior to all associations in the human society. It is sovereign and is autonomous, Moral and religious considerations cannot bind the prince. He is above and outside the morality. He can use religion to realize his ends. Religion cannot influence politics and the church cannot control the state. In fact sovereign state enjoys absolute power over all individuals and institutions. State is must necessary of all institutions. It stands on a wholly different footing and therefore be judged by different standards. State power is the end and religion is its organ and instrument. Nothing is unearthy in the state, State came into being to satisfy material interests of the people. He divorced politics from theology and government from religion. He did not view the state as having a moral end and purpose but gave importance to man's worldly life. He said politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws.

4. A prince must combine the qualities of a lion and a fox:

Machiavelli advised the prince he should imitate the qualities of fox and lion. The imitation of the fox (cunningness, foresight) will enable him to visualize his goal and means to achieve it. The

imitation of the lion will give him necessary strength and force to achieve that goal. A fox might have shrewdness and foresight, but he is powerless without necessary force of a lion. Similarly a lion without shrewdness and prudence of a fox would be reckless. Hence a ruler who wants to be very successful must combine in himself the qualities of both fox and lion. He must possess bravery of lion and cunningness of fox, physical force is necessary when there is anarchy and indiscipline. But law and morality is essential to check selfishness of people and to generate civic virtues.

5. Use double standard of politics:

One for the ruler and another for his subjects. He said morality is not necessary for the ruler. He is creator of law and morality hence price is above the both. A ruler has primary duty of preserving the state. For this purpose he may use instruments of lie, conspiracy, killings and massacre etc. Because absolute morality is neither possible nor desirable in politics.

He insisted that morality is essential for people. Only moral citizens willingly obey laws of the state and sacrifice their lives for their nation. It cultivate civic sense and patriotic spirit. Thus Machiavelli prescribes double standard of morality.

6. Favoured despotic ruler:

Machiavelli did not recommend the republican form of Government, because republican form requires virtuous, honest and patriotic citizens.

He also advised the prince to convert his monarchy into a republic. If his heirs are corrupt and misuse their power for evil purposes. According to Machiavelli foundation of Government is the reason of state Government is not created by God to punish men for their sin. Machiavelli says that the government is founded upon the weakness and insufficient capacity of men.

If in a society men are corrupt and selfish and the law is powerless, then normal administration is not possible at all. A superior power is essential for bringing the society into order. The government with absolute power stop the excessive desires and control the behaviour of the people.

7. Maintain strong army:

He recommended constant military preparedness for the preservation of the state. Prince should organize a strong army to meet any internal and external threat to his power. Strong and regular army was must for a state for its own defense. The state try to build up its own independent, regular and faithful army. Such an army should consist of its own citizens and be prepared not only to defend its national borders but also to expand. The citizens must be

trained for army service and there should be compulsory military training for all able persons.

8. Human nature is low and ungrateful, so prince must consider this nature of man:

According to Machiavelli rational analysis of politics must begin with an account of human nature, Machiavelli viewed the activities of man with special interest and explained human nature. He viewed men to be a compound of weakness, ungrateful, fear, lust for power and assumed all men are bad. Prominent traits of human nature are (1) there is no limit to human desires. He is selfish and aggressive. Hence there is strife and competition. (2) The masses are interested in security. They realize that only laws of the state can ensure security hence they co-operate with the state and obey the laws. Hence a ruler who wants to be successful must ensure security of life and protection of people. (3) People must be restrained by force because force breeds fear. Only force and repression can keep control and check on the evil tendencies in man. Hence the method of government should be force and not persuasion. (4) By nature every human being is ambitious and remains unsatisfied. No human being is content with his position. He is always after domination. The enmities and wars are the outcome of this desire.

Thus human nature is selfish, power hungry, quarrelsome and guided by materialistic considerations. Only fear of punishment is a powerful bond and it never fails.

9. Should try to win popularity of his people:

Prince should try to win popularity, goodwill and affection of his people. He should keep his subjects materially contented by not taxing them. The prince should not interfere in age old customs and traditions of his people because by nature people are conservative. He should not have craving for wealth and women of his own subjects. He should keep a watchful eye on his dissidents.

10.A prince must have council of wise men and not of flatterers:

Powerful government and internal unity were essential for any state. Prince must choose wise men in his council and should give them full liberty to speak the truth to him. He must ask them about everything and hear their opinion and afterwards deliberate by himself in his own way.

11. Separate politics from religion:

Before Machiavelli medieval political philosophers believed that the religion was the basis of the state. But Machiavelli emancipated the state completely from the control of the church. He denied medieval philosophy of religion. He repudiates the

theory of Aquinas that man needs the guidance of the divine law. Machiavelli said that only end which man can place before himself is the pursuit of his well being in his material values in life. He did not view the as having a moral end and purpose but gave importance to man's worldly life. He believed that politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws. Moral and religions considerations cannot bind the prince, state is above and outside the religion.

Machiavelli does not ignore religion and morality. In the opening chapter of the 'Discourses' he says princes who want to maintain themselves respect all religions preserve the purity of all religions.

He said religion is useful only as an organ of the state. He gave only an instrumental value to religion. He advised the ruler that religion play important role in the life of a community. According to him religion is necessary for unity and integrity of the people within the state. Common religion creates a sense of unity among people. Religious rites, beliefs establish social harmony. It also cultivate civic sense and patriotic spirit. Decline of respect for religion among the people is a sign of ruin for the state.

He said religion cannot influence politics and the church cannot control the state. In fact the sovereign state enjoys absolute power over all individuals and institutions. As such the church is subordinate to the state. Thus Machiavelli separated religion from politics and paved way for emergence of the secular state. He was not against the religion and morality. He only propose two different standards of morality and placed the sate above morality and religion. According to Machiavelli state is the highest form of social organisation and the most necessary of all institutions. It stands on a wholly different footing and must therefore be judged by different standards. He said politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws. State is non-religious and secular. It has its own rules of conduct to follow.

Machiavelli sanctioned the use of immoral mans by the ruler whenever it was necessary to do so to save the state. Thus the separation of politics from ethics is the essence of Machiavellian.

12. Prince must be free from emotions:

Prince should exploit emotions of his people for the purpose of the state. He should be cool, calculating and opportunist. His suggestion is that a prince must know how to act as a beast.

13. Ordered state:

In "The Prince" Machiavelli advocated absolutism and an effective government. This advocacy of absolutism was due to the

fact that he had witnessed anarchy, lawlessness, corruption and misrule that prevailed in Italy of his times. He had witnessed how king Charles VIII of France had captured Florence without being offered resistance. Therefore Machiavelli advocated a well-organised, ordered and militarily strong state. Without a strong state, any country had no hope of survival in international politics. He believed that an ordered state was the only security against forces of external aggression and internal chaos.

1.7 EVALUATION OF MACHIAVELLI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

1.7.1 Merits or Contributions:

1) Laid the foundation of modern political thought – Machiavelli is regarded as the founder of modern political thought-

- 1) He is the first exponent of power-politics.
- 2) He is the first who put the theory of nation states.
- 3) He was the first thinker who separated religion from politics and justified secular state.
- 4) He is responsible for the growth of modern nationalism.
- 5) He was the first advocate of autonomy for the state.
- 6) Put forward the concept of supreme, sovereign state and justified all powerful central authority.
- 7) State is an end i.e. survival of the state is the central theme.
- 8) Gave a great insight for Art of Government and modern diplomacy.

Machiavelli contributed new political thoughts to political theory and brought a new awakening in political field. He is called the child of renaissance or child of his time. Hence modern power politics cannot be thought of without any reference to Machiavelli and his book 'Prince'.

2) Guide for the Rulers:

Machiavelli's advice was followed by Cromwell and Napoleon. Machiavelli's emphasis upon absolute power and authoritarian rule is the source of fascist movement. 'Prince' was a textbook for authoritarian rulers. It is like a guide for the rulers for ruling the state or statecraft.

3) The most revolutionary aspect of the prince:

From Greek philosophy to renaissance all philosophers and thinkers dealt with the 'End' of the state. They thought that the

political power of the state would be used as 'Means' to achieve further 'End'. But Machiavelli adopted a quite different line to him the power of the state is the 'End' of the state. i.e. every state must aim at maximizing its power. The failure of the state in this enterprise will throw it into great turmoil.

1.7.2 Criticism:

- 1) Machiavelli suggested power politics is the Means and authoritarian absolute state is the End. This thought of Machiavelli leads to absolutism and narrow nationalism. Power politics cannot be End, it will lead to autocracy and war.
- 2) Machiavelli ignored individualism i.e. individual liberty, equality, justice etc. He sacrificed individual at the alter of the state
- 3) One sided views of human nature – In view of Machiavelli men are universally bad. This is really a very one sided view of human nature. He ignores the fact that much of civilization is based on the social and co-operative instincts of men.
- 4) Materialism is the product of Renaissance and politics. Power and wealth are its central concepts. Morality and idealism became less important. According to Machiavelli politics and power are instruments for strengthening and unifying a state. Hence Machiavelli separated politics from religion. Traditionally aim was salvation. According to Machiavellian thought sole aim of prince is the unification and welfare of the state showed reality of practical politics stressed on Rationality Machiavelli's thought was based on empirical reality. It looks at and treats political problems in a realistic manner. He explained the practical aspects of politics. He keenly observed the affairs of the state and interstate rivalries. From his observation he deduced that the powerful government and internal unity were the essential of any state. Hence, he recommended constant military preparedness for the preservation of the state. Thus Machiavelli's writings were free from the abstract ideals and based on facts. He inspired scientific study of politics. Modern scientificism of the American political scientists and empirical studies based on facts bear a close relationship to the pragmatism of Machiavelli.
- 5) Utility of war: The sole aim of the prince is to be an expert in managing and organizing a war. Because it is the only way of increasing power. Power is the only reason of the state. Thus Machiavelli justified utility of war.

1.8 CONCLUSION

Modern power politics cannot be thought of without reference to Machiavelli and his book 'Prince'. He was the first exponent of power politics.

1.9 MACHIAVELLI ON ETHICS, RELIGION AND POLITICS

Till the 15th century i.e. in medieval period state was working under the dominance of church and religion. There were conflict between the state and the church for power. In that church was aggressive.

Before Machiavelli Aristotle separated politics from philosophy and gave a separate status to political science as a subject.

But Machiavelli completely divorced religion from politics and tried to subordinate religion to the state. He repudiated the theory of Aquinas that man needs the guidance of the divine law. Machiavelli said that only end which man can place before himself is the pursuit of his wellbeing in his life i.e. material values. State came into being to satisfy material needs.

He differentiated between public and private morality- Plato and Aristotle believed in moral nature and ethical ends of the state but Machiavelli completely disregarded this view of the state. According to him there is vital difference between the ruler and the citizens. He insisted that morality is essential for people. Only moral citizens willingly obey laws of the state and sacrifice their lives for their nation. But morality is not necessary for the ruler. He is the creator of law and morality hence he is above the both. A ruler has primary duty of preserving the state. He may use instruments of lie, conspiracy, killings, etc. for the state. He said absolute morality is neither possible nor desirable in politics. e.g. A corrupt state cannot be reformed without heavy dose of violence. Must corrupt and degenerated people need a shock therapy to revive it.

Machiavelli does not ignore religion and morality. He wants to use the religion and church as an instrument for creating national customs and habits for creating national thought which will help the state in preserving peace and order and maintaining the stability of society. Prince must preserve the purity of all religious observances and treat them with proper reverence. Common religion creates a sense of unity among people. Decline of respect for religion among the people is a sign of ruin for the state.

Machiavelli proposed two different standards of morality and placed the state above morality.

Thus Machiavelli divorced politics from theology and government from politics. He gave the state non-religious character. He did not view the state as having a moral end and purpose but gave importance to man's worldly life. He believed that politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws.

Conclusion: Machiavelli laid the foundation of secular state.

1.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Examine Machiavelli's views on:
 - a) Politics and morality
 - b) State and religion
 - c) End justifies the Means
- 2) "Machiavelli laid the foundation of power politics" Comment.
- 3) Explain Machiavelli's advice to the prince for powerful state.
- 4) "Machiavelli laid the foundation of modern political thought" Discuss.



POWER AND STATE- THOMAS HOBBS

Unit Structure:

- 2.1 Objective
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Theme of Authoritarian state
- 2.4 Why Hobbes justified authoritarian state - Reasons
- 2.5 Hobbes concept of social contract theory on which concept of authoritarian state is based.
- 2.6 Hobbes's perception of human nature
- 2.7 Hobbes's views about state of nature
- 2.8 Hobbes's views about the nature of contract
- 2.9 Hobbes's views on sovereignty of the state
- 2.10 Advocacy of Absolutism
- 2.11 Evaluation of the theory
- 2.12 Hobbes state is Authoritarian not Totalitarian
- 2.13 Difference between Machiavelli's views on powerful state and Hobbes views on powerful state
- 2.14 Unit end question

2.1 OBJECTIVES

- To study Hobbes's theory of powerful and absolute state.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

The theories regarding powerful state propounded by Machiavelli during the sixteenth century were further elaborated by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes during the seventeenth century. Thomas Hobbes supported 'the absolute state'.

The essence of the Hobbeian philosophy is found in his book "Leviathan", which was published in (1651)

2.3 HOBBS THEME OF AUTHORITARIAN STATE

Hobbes advocated absolutism i.e. all powerful supreme state. In his social contract theory he wanted to show that people need to be governed for their own protection by a `Leviathan' i.e. the all powerful and supreme authority.

2.4 WHY HOBBS JUSTIFIED AUTHORITARIAN STATE - REASONS

Why Hobbes justified all powerful state, reasons are as follows:

1) Childhood experiences:

He was born in 1588. It was the year of attack of the Spanish on England. The story goes that his mother, fearing the invasion of their town by the Spanish, gave birth to Thomas, prematurely. Later, Thomas wrote that he and terror were born twins. Thus Hobbes advocacy of peace can be attributed to the circumstances of his birth.

2) English civil war and charges against Hobbes:

After graduation Hobbes became a tutor to William Cavendish. During this period he wrote the 'Elements of law' in which he advocated sovereignty of the king. It was the time when the English civil war (1642-49) began and Hobbes was charged of being a royalist. He fled to France and spent the next eleven years in France. During this period he wrote on the civic order and the Leviathan. Thus Hobbes had witnessed the Civil War in England. He was distressed that the very foundation of the state was shaken up during the civil war. The resultant chaos and anarchy confirmed his faith in the absolute rule of the monarch.

3) Hobbes views on power:

According to Hobbes power is an instrument to obtain something in future. Men are moved by the motive of power. Man is never satisfied with the present position. He tries to increase his power. At the same time one is interested in his own preservation and this he cannot achieve without any power. So he continuously fights to capture power.

2.5 HOBBEIAN SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE AND THE NATURE OF SOVEREIGN POWER

Thomas Hobbes is regarded as a 'contractualist', who explains the origin of the state and nature of sovereign power. It means he was the first who said origin of the state is manmade; and not God-gifted.

Secondly to justify the absolute state Hobbes developed a social contract theory regarding the origin and nature of the state.

Social contract theory is based on following points:

- 1) Human Nature
- 2) The state of Nature
- 3) Nature of contract
- 4) Sovereignty of the state
- 5) Advocacy of Absolutism

2.6 HUMAN NATURE

Hobbes begins the explanation of the social contract theory by examining man's nature. His views of human nature constitutes the foundation of his entire political philosophy. The first part of his work 'Leviathan' is entirely devoted to examine the human nature.

Hobbeian perception of human nature is born out of the circumstances of his birth and the miserable childhood.

In the picture of the abstract man as drawn by Hobbes, the following features stand out prominently:

- 1) Men are as much driven by impulses as animals are; the only difference between animal and man is that men have the faculties of speech and reason.
- 2) Man is Self-centered, egoistic and solitary Hobbes believes that the individual is always obsessed with his personal pleasures and desires. The chief object of man's desire is self preservation and a desire for power. He thus, becomes self-seeking, fearful, quarrelsome and competitive.
- 3) Human nature is to wish to acquire unlimited power. Out of this nature men are continuously involved in competition and conflicts.

4) By birth all men are equal in the faculties of body and mind. But there are differences in strength and mental capacity. Hence when two men desire the same thing they become enemies.

5) Fear- as motive behind human actions- The fear is inseparable from human nature and provides motivation for most of the human conduct.

Such is the nature of man according to Hobbes. He argued that only the all powerful state can alone curb egoistic impulses of man and hold them together. This picture of human nature is very much similar to that drawn by Machiavelli.

2.7 THE STATE OF NATURE

Hobbes assumes the existence of state of nature and characterized it as the pre-social phase of human nature.

He explained a very gloomy picture of the state of nature. He said.

1) The life of man in the state of nature was solitary, poor, brutish and short. It was a state of constant warfare. It was 'a war of every man against every man'. There was constant fear and danger of violent death.

2) In the state of nature might was the only right. The two factors which dominated men in that state were fear and self-interest.

3) There could be no industry, no agriculture, no knowledge, no arts, no letters and no society. In it there was no law, no justice and no property, no distinction between right and wrong good and bad.

4) There were no common power to guide or control the activities or behaviour of man.

5) However, such a state of affairs could not continue because of two factors inherent in man i.e. reason and fear of violent death. According to Hobbes, man wanted peace but his fear of others his anxiety to retain what he already had, and his never ending desire for acquiring more, led him to a continuous conflict with his neighbours.

Thus the conditions in the state of nature were terrible to continue perpetually and indefinitely. Men naturally desired peace and security. Thus to escape from anarchy and come out of this sordid state of nature, man contracted among themselves to form a civil society.

2.8 NATURE OF CONTRACT

- 1) People contracted among themselves to form a civil society. In the state of nature in the absence of common authority and state; life of the people was miserable and brutish. Hence to come out from this situation people form the state. It ends the State of Nature.
- 2) Motive- It means main motive behind the contract was man's desire of peace and security.
- 3) Birth of the state- After the contract state came into existence. Main role of civil society will be to ensure security and certainty of life and property of the people.
- 4) Contract was social and mutual- In the contract individuals surrendered their natural rights to some particular man or assembly of men. After that assembly became sovereign and those, who gave up rights became the subjects people created common power for the common benefit.
- 5) Contract was binding- In this contract people agreed to surrender their natural rights to a common superior and obey his command. The contract was of each with all and of all with each.

Sovereign was the product of the contract but he was not a party to the contract. But contract was binding for the people.

- 6) Sovereign did not subject himself to any conditions- The sovereign derived complete authority as a result of the contract. People had no right to protest. The authority of the sovereign was unlimited, all embracing, final and irrevocable.

2.9 HOBBS VIEWS ON SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATE

- 1) Sovereignty is a necessary attribute of the state- As a result of the social contract, the state came into being. It possessed absolute and unlimited sovereign powers. In civil society sovereignty must exist. Hobbes believes that without the sovereign power, law, order peace and security could not be maintained in society and without these, individuals cannot survive.
- 2) Sovereignty means' the all powerful authority within the state – It is absolute, irrevocable, unlimited, non-transferable and inalienable.

It is absolute- It means the power of the sovereign is not limited by any authority. There is no rival or coordinate authority in the state besides the sovereign. All the subjects surrender their rights to him. He has no obligations towards them.

Irrevocable- It means sovereign's power will be final. He will be the sole law making agency. Sovereign is the source of law and also their sole interpreter.

Unlimited- Sovereign is not bound by any constitutional law. There will be no restrictions upon the authority of the sovereign. The law of god also does not constitute any check upon him for he is its sole interpreter. Ruler is not subject to moral restraints. In this way Hobbes brushes aside all the limitations and restrictions upon sovereignty. He propounds the theory of absolute and unlimited sovereignty.

Non-transferable – Hobbes concentrates full executive, legislative and judicial power in the sovereign. The theories of separation of powers and checks and balances have no place in his system.

Inalienable- Hobbes visualized three kinds of sovereignty. According to him “the difference of state consists in the difference of all sovereign or the person representative of all and every one of the multitude and it is manifest, there can be three kinds of commonwealth. If the representative is one man, the commonwealth will be known as monarchy, when the representative is an assembly of all that come together, then it is a democracy. When the representative is an assembly, then it is called aristocracy. To Hobbes the difference between these three kinds of state consists not in the difference of power but in the difference of convenience.

Above morality- According to Hobbes sovereign himself is above morality. No action of his can be described as immoral or unjust.

In the state of nature, there can be no distinctions between right and wrong, just and unjust, moral and immoral and no property rights. These distinctions first come into existence with the establishment of state and the setting up of the sovereign authority. Whatever is in conformity with the laws made by sovereign is just and right; what ever is contrary to them is unjust and wrong.

Creator of property- The sovereign is also the creator of property. What people have in the natural state is mere possession which confers no rights. Legal property rights with their protection by society come into existence only with the establishment of sovereign authority. Since property is the creation of the sovereign, he can take it away whenever he likes in the interest of the state. Taxation does not require the consent of the people.

2.10 HOBBS ADVOCACY OF ABSOLUTISM

Hobbes was witness to the English civil war and its effects. According to him the direct cause of the English civil war was that the king instead of retaining full sovereignty had allowed parliament to grow up as an independent rival power. Thus the country had come to have two masters. According to Hobbes, to divide sovereignty is to destroy it. It means Hobbes analysis of the political situation in England in 1640's prompted him to justify absolutism.

To justify absolute powers of the state, Hobbes argued that all political authority in any state must be concentrated in the hands of a single sovereign powers. The sovereign body may be a king or a council or an assembly. It should speak with a single, determined voice.

To justify he took the example of Leviathan. In the old Testament, Leviathan is a magnificent crocodile who reigns over all other creatures. Thus for the protection of the people, they need to be governed by a Leviathan i.e., the all powerful and supreme state authority.

Absolutism became the predominant form of government in the 17th and 18th centuries. Absolute monarchy appeared to be superior to other forms of government because the despots were above to check civil strifes, provide safety and security, establish total control of state resources.

Hobbes favours royal absolutism:

Absolution and Government-

Hobbes makes no differentiation between the state and the government. He believes that the dissolution of government means the dissolution of the state and a return to primitive anarchy.

He said Government is the instrument of the sovereign power enjoys absolute powers of the state.

2.11 EVALUATION OF THE THEORY

- 1) He was supremely concerned with social order, security, peace and discipline. He made people realize the fundamental necessity of a strong Government.
- 2) He outlined a theory of the nation state and gave a philosophical basis to the government whose origin we saw in the Prince of Machiavelli.

- 3) Explains its utility- According to him powerful state is the means to ensure security of lives of the individuals. The power of the state is justified for what contributes to the good of the individual. A democratic state which grants liberty but does not guarantee security is replaced by a totalitarian state which has the approval of the masses.

Criticism-

- 1) No historical evidence- There is no evidence in history which shows that the state emerged by mutual and deliberate contract. The social contract was impossible.
- 2) One sided views of human nature- Hobbes described man as selfish, aggressive. But he ignored that man is cooperative also.
- 3) Faulty concept of contract- A contract is always between two parties; it cannot be unilateral or one sided. Hobbes makes the sovereign the beneficiary of the contract, but not a party to it.
- 4) No distinction between State and government – Hobbes also fails to distinguish between state and government. He confounds the legal absolutism of the state with governmental absolutism.
- 5) Hobbes absolutism leads to despotism and gives the subjects no defense against oppressive and tyrannical rule.

Entire trend of Hobbes political philosophy is towards absolutism. 'The Leviathan' was written with the purpose of justifying and defending absolute role as the only remedy for civil wars which were ruining England.

Conclusion- He defends absolute sovereignty in the interests of security and welfare of the individual, and concedes to the people, the right to disobey the ruler, when he is not in a position to realise these ends. It is the liberal aspect of Hobbes political philosophy which was later on developed by the nineteenth century utilitarians.

2.12 Hobbes state is Authoritarian not Totalitarian:

'Leviathan' is an important work of Hobbes. In this book he shows that all individuals surrender their natural rights to a sovereign. The surrender was total and unconditional. The sovereign derived full authority as a result of contract. The contract was perpetual (final). Hence the authority of the sovereign cannot be cancelled. Powers, once conferred on sovereign cannot be withdrawn. The sovereign's power which is the result of contract is

legal, inalienable, absolute, indivisible. Such powers creates a draconian state like the Leviathan.

The main purpose of state in the social contract theory was to support supreme authority and absolute powers of the state. The social contract theory of Hobbes creates an authoritarian state in which liberty of the individual in the state is relative to laws. Individual can enjoy whatever law has not forbidden.

Critics connect the rise of German and Italian totalitarianism to Hobbes concept of absolute and Authoritarian state. But in our views they are mistaken. Hobbes state is Authoritarian not Totalitarian. There is difference between these two systems:-

1) Foundation of Government:

Hobbes Government is set up by a contract and was based on the consent of the people. Totalitarians do not accept such type of Government.

2) Justify Individualism:

Hobbes prescribed certain duties to the sovereign i.e. security and safety to the people. It means Hobbes authoritarian state was for the benefit of the people. Hobbes justified individualism also. Totalitarian state do not care for the individual.

3) Hobbes recognizes equality of all men:

Before law all will be equal in Hobbean state. No special treatment to the rich and mighty.

Totalitarian state is based on the theory of superman and super race, one cannot imagine equality in a totalitarian state.

4) Supreme only in political matters:

Hobbes sovereign is supreme but only in political matters. Totalitarians controls all aspects of human life.

5) Not glorification of war:

Hobbes always speaks for defensive war. In his views there was no glorification of war.

Totalitarians like Fascist glorify war to such an extent that they go to the length of saying that war is must for the health of a nation.

6) Hobbes sovereign does not have any control over the personal life of the people:

Totalitarian state controls the thoughts and feelings of the individual.

7) Hobbes state recognizes equality and liberty:

He said all are equal before law. People are free to do anything that law does not prohibit. It means Hobbes was not anti-individual but he advocated Hobbian absolutism and Individualism are complementary to each other.

Conclusion:

Hobbes state is Authoritarian i.e. having authority but not totalitarian i.e. government controlled by one political party. Hence Hobbes absolutism can not equate with modern totalitarian systems.

2.13 Difference between Machiavelli's views on powerful state and Hobbes views on powerful state:

Similarity: Both have justified a powerful and Authoritative state.

Difference:

- 1) Machiavelli explained about statecraft and powerful state in the form of advice to the prince.

Hobbes explained about powerful state in the form of social contract theory.

- 2) According to Machiavelli state is the 'End' and Individuals are the 'Means'.

According to Hobbes Powerful state is the 'Means' and protection to the people is the 'End' of the state.

- 3) Machiavelli's powerful state tilt towards Totalitarian system. Hobbes powerful state is authoritarian not totalitarian.
- 4) Machiavelli was against individualism Hobbes was pro-Individualist.

2.14 UNIT END QUESTION:

- 1) Examine Thomas Hobbes views on the powerful state and authoritarian sovereign.
- 2) How and why Hobbes justified Authoritarian state.
- 3) Write on Authoritarian state was the central theme of Hobbe's social contract theory.



CONSENT AND DEMOCRACY- JOHN LOCKE

Unit Structure:

- 3.1 Objective
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Concept of consent and democracy
- 3.4 John Locke and the theme of consent and democracy
- 3.5 Locke's advocacy of 'Natural Rights' and 'Constitutional Government'
- 3.6 Locke's Social contract theory
 - 3.6.1 Locke's perception of human nature
 - 3.6.2 Locke's perception about state of nature
 - 3.6.3 Locke's views on the nature of contract
 - 3.6.4 Locke's views about State and Government
 - 3.6.5 Locke's advocacy of constitutional government
 - 3.6.6 Evaluation of the Social contract theory
- 3.7 Locke's Natural Rights theory
- 3.8 Unit End Questions

3.1 OBJECTIVES

To study about the relationship between consent of the people and democracy. The idea of consent occupies a very important place in the political philosophy of Locke.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

John Locke was English philosopher and politician. He was born in Somerset in the UK in 1632. His father had enlisted in the parliamentary army during the civil war.

1) Locke had anti royalist upbringing. When Locke was only ten years old the civil war broke out in England. His father took the side of parliament to fight against the king.

2) He was empirical – Like Hobbes Locke had also the opportunity to witness the civil war and its consequences. He viewed everything with an outlook of reality. He took the side of people who were anti-royalist. In the public life he was an opponent of Cromwell and critical of his despotic functioning. He was accused of conspiracy against King Charles II and sought asylum in Holland; where he came into contact with William of Orange who became the king of England after the Bloodless Revolution of 1688.

3) Experience-Locke returned to England and occupied several important public positions. He retired from public life and died in 1704. In his period he worked as diplomat, civil servant. He had practical experience about almost all aspects of social and political life. This enabled him to see everything in real perspective.

All these are the reasons which are responsible for Locke's political philosophy.

3.3 WHAT THE MEANING OF CONSENT AND DEMOCRACY

Democracy means representative and responsible government. It is based on the consent of the people. People elect their representatives and these representatives run the government.

3.4 JOHN LOCKE AND THE THEME OF CONSENT AND DEMOCRACY

In the 17th century political thinkers of England had two schools. (1) Royalist School and (2) Whig School.

- 1) Royalist School propagated the divine right and hereditary character of kingship. According to them royal power is derived from God.
- 2) Whig School said authority of the monarch is based on the consent of the people which is decided by the contract between the king and the people. Locke found it necessary to demolish royalist theory. According to Locke there was no evidence to prove that the king of England was descended from Adam. Historical evidence shows that all government authority was derived from the people and rested on their consent. Thus consent theory emerged in 17th century and first exponent of this theory is Locke.

3.5 LOCKE'S ADVOCACY OF 'NATURAL RIGHTS' AND 'CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT'

- 1) Natural Rights theory- He was the key thinker in the development of Liberalism, placing emphasis on 'National Rights'.
- 2) Government based on consent of the people and constitution- Locke justified Glorious Revolution of 1688 which ended absolute monarchy and established a constitutional government.

The political philosophy of Locke is contained in the book "Two Treatises on Government". In this book he justified Glorious Revolution and put forward theme of consent and constitutional government through social contract theory.

3.6 LOCKE'S SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau have explained the origin of the state in terms of social contract. Format of the theory followed by them is identical; comprising human nature, state of nature, the social contract and the establishment of the state.

Hobbes used the theory to advocate absolutism.

Locke's objective was to justify limited and constitutional government.

Rousseau's doctrine was meant to condemn despotism and provoke people to revolution. Locke's social contract theory comprises following points:

- 1) Locke's perception of Human Nature.
- 2) Locke's perception about the state of Nature.
- 3) Locke's views on the nature of contract.
- 4) Locke's views on state and Government.
- 5) Locke's advocacy of constitutional government.

3.6.1 Locke's perception of Human Nature:

- 1) Locke's political theory rests on his perception of human nature.
- 2) Locke does not accept Hobbeian view that man is quarrelsome and aggressive. Locke believes in goodness of human nature. To him people are fundamentally decent, orderly and society loving as well as capable of ruling themselves. Locke's political philosophy

was immensely influenced by the times in which he lived and was involved. During the years of distress and while in political exile, he witnessed the vicious aspects of human nature. But at the same time, he had experienced the goodness of human nature. Therefore his perception of human nature was not as cynical as that of Hobbes.

3) According to Locke “All men are naturally in a state of equality and all people are born free.

4) Desire is the spring of all human acts and that a feeling of pleasure ensues, when desire is satisfied. He maintains that the object of all human action is the acquisition of pleasure and avoidance of pain. From this type of human nature state existed. According to Locke state exists as the means for attaining the peace, security and well being of its individual members. He emphasized that government is a trustee that works on behalf of the people. He said historical evidence went to show that all government authority was derived from the people and rested on their consent.

5) Locke said people are sufficiently rational to see that their best interests lies in mutual and peaceful co-operation.

3.6.2 Locke’s perception about state of Nature:

1) Pre-state stage – According to Locke state of Nature was pre-political but not pre-social stage. There were no political authority.

2) Under natural law – It was not lawless stage. People and their behaviour were under the control of natural law. The state of nature was governed by the law of nature which was based on reason or consciousness.

3) Not a state of war but of peace and goodwill – According to Locke the state of nature is the state of goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation of peace. People did not indulge in war.

4) Equality in personal liberty – In the state of nature people were free and equal. There was equality not in intellect, physical might or possessions but equality in personal liberty. Freedom of life, liberty and property was everybody’s inherent and inalienable birth right.

5) Like civil society - Locke’s state of nature was very much like civil society without a government.

6) The state of nature had some serious inconveniences –
 a) In the absence of an established, settled and known law, every man was the interpreter of law.

- b) In the absence of executive power to enforce law, every man had the right to execute the law of nature.
- c) In the absence of Judiciary, each one interpreted the law as per his convenience.
- d) Variety in the interpretation of law created disorder and confusion. There was no peace, stability and security of life, liberty and property.

People realised that these inconveniences of state of Nature can be removed by establishing a civil government by all.

3.6.3 Locke's views on the nature of the contract:

To end the above mentioned inconveniences of the state of nature, each individual contracted with others to unite and constitute a community.

Purpose of the contract:

Main purpose of the contract, the protection and preservation of natural rights i.e. life, liberty and property. Thus under contract state was formed with some expectations.

The features of Locke's social contract are as follows:

1) Two contracts:

According to Locke by the first contract civil society i.e. the state was constituted and by the second contract the government was established.

This contract was made by each with all. A single body politic under one Government was formed.

2) Contract was specific not general:

According to Locke in the contract each individual to give up not all natural rights but one of interpreting and executing the laws of nature. Thus contract was specific.

3) No absolute sovereign:

In this contract people surrendered their rights not to any person or group but to the community as a whole. Hence community became superior. Government is entrusted with certain powers to protect the rights of the people.

4) Sovereignty of the community (people):

The sovereign power created by the contract vests not in a single man but in the community as a whole.

5) Natural rights:

After the establishment of the state every man will retain natural rights. The state will have an obligation to uphold these rights.

6) Unanimous contract:

Contract was unanimously made by the people with their own consent. Hence government would be based firmly upon the consent of the masses.

7) Irrevocable contract:

The contract is irrevocable because after having once made it, the people cannot revert back to the freedom of the state of nature.

3.6.4 Locke's views about State and Government:

The structure of the state and its relationship with the subject explained by Locke are as follows:

1) Distinction between the state and Government:

Locke distinguishes between the state and government. According to him state comes into existence as a result of the second contract. The rulers and the ruled together constitute the state. Whereas those entrusted the responsibility 'to rule' constitute the government. Thus state is superior than the government.

2) Right to revolt the government:

Locke said people have no right to revolt against the state. But people can revolt against the government and can change the government for specific purposes. The natural rights of people are inviolable and must be protected by the government. If the government fails to protect these rights it deserves to be changed.

The British people, when they changed their government in 1688, were justified. Locke repeatedly asserts 'the end' of the government is the good of the community and that all states must be founded on consent. He said the Stuart kings were not attempting the good of the community and their rule was not based on the consent of the people. Therefore they were justly dismissed from power in 1688.

3) Emphasis on popular sovereignty:

Locke did not build up a legal sovereignty. He put emphasis on popular sovereignty. i.e. After the contract community will be sovereign. Government will work for specific purpose. If government failed in doing their work then people had the right of revolution, against such a government.

4) Limited government:

Locke opposed the idea of absolute sovereignty. He advocated government based division of powers and subjected to number of limitations. These limitations are as follows:

- a) It could not violate the natural rights of the people. Government will work for public interest.
- b) It could not govern arbitrarily.
- c) It must govern according to the laws.
- d) It could not tax the individuals without their consent. Source of power is the people.
- e) The laws of the government should conform with the laws of nature.

A government which violated its limitations was not worthy of obedience. Thus Locke advocated limited government.

5) Majority rule:

Locke's contract implied the rule of majority. The law of nature could not be enforced by the state, unless the minority submitted to the will of majority. The majority had the right to act for the whole community.

6) Constitutional state:

Locke depicted a constitutional state where the relationship between people and government and among people themselves will be determined by the rule of law not by arbitrariness.

3.6.5 Locke's advocacy of limited and constitutional government:

John Locke recognizes the distinction between state and government.

According to him by first contract a civil society was formed, puts an end of the state of nature, second contract created the government.

Concept of trust:

According to Locke government are only the deputies or trustees of the people, who can be discarded if they fail. Locke wanted to subordinate the government to the community. He said government exists for the good of the people and can be legitimately removed.

Forms of Government:

Locke describes the supreme power of governance as 'Legislative authority'. If the Legislative authority is in the hands of one man, it is monarchy. If this power is vested in the hands of few

selected persons, by the consent of the majority, it is aristocracy and if the community retains the legislative power in its own hands and appoints few officers for executing the laws the government is a democracy. Locke considers a limited democracy in the hands of delegates, controlled by election, as the best form of government.

Functions of Government:

The main object of people's uniting into (state) commonwealth and putting themselves under the government was the preservation of their natural rights.

Limitations on powers of Government:

Locke opposed to the idea of absolute sovereignty. According to him limitations on the power of government are as follows:

- 1) Government will work for public interest. It means their power is limited to the public good in the society.
- 2) It must govern according to the laws.
- 3) The laws of the government should conform with the laws of nature.
- 4) It could not govern arbitrarily. Thus Locke advocated constitutional government.

Locke's doctrine of consent:

He declared that "consent of the people is the basis of the government" The idea of consent occupies a very important place in the political philosophy of Locke. He has challenged the autocratic rule of the king by emphasizing that government is to be run according to the consent of the people. Locke wanted to place people's cause at a high point. According to Locke people are the source of political power. The community retains the supreme power.

Separation of powers and sovereignty:

Before Montesquieu Locke originated the theory of separation of power and checks and balance. He said Legislature will control the executive Legislature is constituted by the representatives of people and hence popular will is expressed through the legislature. The legislative power is limited to the public good of the society. When a government does something contrary to public good or violates the law of nature, it is to be overthrown by popular revolt.

Sovereignty is vested in the community. Locke repudiated the sovereignty of Hobbes.

Right of Revolution:

Locke recognized the right to resistance under special circumstances only.

Evaluation of the Social contract theory:**Demerits:**

1) Neither logical nor consistent: Locke's statements lack the clarity and consistency.

2) Rights cannot exist without civil society: Locke's statement that rights existed in the state of nature before the formation of the society is not very logical. Because rights are not rights in a real sense unless they are protected by the state.

3) One sided views about human nature: Locke describes man as good, rational and co-operative. This assessment of Locke about human nature is one sided. Man is neither a beast nor a God, he is human. Human nature is composed of many complex and conflicting traits.

Merits:

1) Father of constitutionalism: Locke was the first thinker who said the creation or dissolution of government cannot be done without the consent of the people. Both government and governed are subject to law. It means government will work on the basis of Rule of Law. Thus Locke was the father of democratic Government and constitutionalism.

2) Influence of Locke: Barker makes the following remarks. "It was the political philosophy of Locke which affected the nation of England deeply. It provides the guidelines for the British democracy. It penetrated into France and passed through Rousseau into the French revolution. It penetrated into the North American colonies."

3) Locke's idea of consent and of majority rule has become the basis of representative democracy.

3.7 LOCKE'S THEORY OF NATURAL RIGHTS:

Locke's views on Natural Rights:**Introduction:**

Locke's political philosophy reflects the crisis of Liberty during the 17th century. In the 17th century there were contradiction between the authority of the state and the Liberty of the individual.

Machiavelli, Hobbes regarded the state more important and prescribed the unconditional submission of individual to the authority.

Whereas Locke gave more importance to individual. He was a key thinker in the development of Liberalism placing emphasis on 'Natural Rights'. In England, in the 17th century, king's power were unlimited. Such power was used to suppress individual freedom which resulted into a crisis of liberty.

John Locke justified the Bloodless revolution of 1688 and limitations on the powers of the ruler in the form of Bill of Rights. He wrote his book (1690) 'Two Treaties of Government' and justified people's right to revolt against an unjust king for protection of their natural rights.

He also used the social contract theory to prove that powers of the government ought to be limited by the rights of the people.

Locke's theory of Natural Rights:

- 1) Natural Rights are birth rights – Locke pointed out that every individual gets certain natural rights as soon as he is born. These rights are the gift of nature to human beings.
- 2) These rights are innate, inalienable and inviolable. They do not require any justification. They can neither be taken away by any other individual or the state.
- 3) Right to life, liberty, equality, property and pursuit of happiness are the natural rights.
- 4) Main function of the state – According to Locke in the state of nature people had natural rights but they were in danger.
- 5) Natural rights are pre-political and can be asserted anywhere and everywhere.
- 6) According to Locke, the rights to property was the most important of the three natural rights.

Hence for the safety and protecting the natural rights people made contract and formed the state. People expected the state to protect and preserve their natural rights in a more effective way.

The main object of people's uniting into state and putting them-selves under the government was the security and preservation of their natural rights. State should protect the natural rights of its citizens.

These rights are inherent possession of individual, the state cannot limit or take away these rights under any circumstances. During the extreme emergency, these rights can be temporarily suspended only with the consent of the people.

Implications of theory of Natural Rights:

- 1) Locke's theory of natural rights was responsible for the development of the concept of fundamental rights and ideology of Individualism.
- 2) The theory of natural rights was propagated by the exponents of Liberalism like Locke and Pain. The liberal concept of rights explains liberty in terms of individual rights.
- 3) In practical politics, it exerted great influence on the constitutional struggle in America and France John Locke's bold advocacy of liberty, as the purpose of the state, made great impression on the founding fathers of the US constitution. His book "Two treaties of Government" became the text book of American Revolution. Lindsay said that "In America there was the existence of that society of which Locke imagined.
- 4) Liberals took inspiration from Locke like – Pain.
In Maharashtra Mahatma Phule was very much influenced by Pain.
- 5) He stressed that individual is everything State and Government are the means.

Conclusion: Thus Locke's political philosophy reflect the crisis of liberty during the 17th century and Locke is a key thinker in the development of Liberalism, placing emphasis on 'Natural Rights'.

3.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Attempt a critical evaluation of John Locke's political philosophy of consent and democracy.
- 2) Analyse the main elements of the political thought of John Locke on democracy.
- 3) Evaluate the contribution of John Locke on following:
 - a) Democracy
 - b) Liberalism
- 4) 'John Locke is the greatest champion of Liberty' Comment.



CONSENT AND DEMOCRACY- JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778)

Unit Structure:

- 4.1 Objective
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Influences on Rousseau's political philosophy
- 4.4 Nature of Rousseau's political philosophy
- 4.5 Rousseau's social contract theory
 - 4.5.1 Rousseau's views about human nature
 - 4.5.2 Rousseau's assumptions of State of Nature
 - 4.5.3 Rousseau's views on Nature of social contract
 - 4.5.4 Rousseau's concept of sovereignty
- 4.6 Evaluation of Rousseau's philosophy
- 4.7 Rousseau's theory of General Will
- 4.8 Unit end questions

4.1 OBJECTIVES

To study about Rousseau's political philosophy which stressed the values of the two concepts of justice and popular sovereignty. In modern age justice and popular sovereignty became the cornerstone of democracy.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Rousseau's published work and book are as follows:

- 1) "A discourse on the Moral effects of the Arts and Sciences."
Published in 1750.
- 2) A discourse on Inequality.
- 3) The Social contract.

In these books he defended and demanded justice and popular sovereignty.

4.3 INFLUENCES ON ROUSSEAU'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

1) Rousseau's political philosophy was influenced by the political system of his native place:

Rousseau was born in Geneva in 1712 (France). France was suffering under the despotic rule of the Barbons kings. There was no rule of law. Their rule was arbitrary and based on the divine Rights theory. People suffered due to injustice, inequality and exploitation. They were denied freedom and liberties. Hence there were a large scale political and economic discontent among the masses.

2) Rousseau's own temperament and complex personality:

Rousseau's own temperament has left its impact on all that he wrote. He was self conscious, proud, sentimental and totally dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs.

He extolled the 'natural man' as better than the 'civilised man' and he reasoned that human mind has been corrupted by the arts and sciences. He attributed all the evils of society such as envy, fear, hatred and fraud to the progress in the sciences. He condemned the customs imposed by the society, the restraints of law and the authority of the state. He said "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains".

In order to find an alternative he turned to religion, morals and simplicity of life. Hence his political philosophy was in the nature of 'Revolt against Reason'.

3) Unhappy childhood:

Rousseau carried with him the scars of an unhappy childhood all his life. His mother suffered from ill health and she died when Rousseau was ten month. When he was ten years old his father left him. At the age of ten years he enjoyed the taste of freedom. His schooling was irregular

4) Madame de Warens – He was under the care of a young widow. The intellectual atmosphere that prevailed in her home and among her friends helped Rousseau to acquire ideas in a free and unrestrained manner. She had a very big personal library and Rousseau got access to that.

5) Close contact with politics:

At the age of 30, he got an opportunity to be acquainted with the French Ambassador and he became his secretary. At that time he came in close contact with politics and diplomacy. He noticed that majority of the people were away from the mainstream of the society. Peasants, workers were neglected. Hence in his philosophy he stood for common man and lower middle class. He defended democracy which is based on consent and justice.

In the 18th century because of Rousseau's political philosophy Rousseau became "The prophet of Revolution". The revolution was an adoption of Rousseau's political ideas. Rousseau's work created discontentment about the existing conditions and inspired people to do something to change the social order and correct the evils.

4.4 NATURE OF ROUSSEAU'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Rousseau's political philosophy was in the nature of "Revolt against Reason".

18th century is described as the age of enlightenment. Important features of this age were most of the thinkers preferred enlightened despotism, scientific progress and reason, Rousseau was against it.

1) He represented taste in morals and sentiment for lower middle class:

In his first published work "A Discourse on the Moral effects of the Arts and Sciences", he extolled the 'natural man as better than the civilized man'. He gave reason that human mind has been corrupted by the arts and sciences. All the evils of society such as envy fear, hatred and fraud emerged because of progress in the sciences.

2) Value of Justice:

In his second work "A discourse on Inequality", he put a light on man-made inequities and injustice. He said there are two kinds of inequalities.

- a) First kind is natural. e.g. differences in qualities of mind and body.
- b) Second kind of inequalities are social inequalities. e.g. privileges of various kinds, wealth, honour, power. These second kind of inequalities are responsible for all ills. Man in society, or civilized man has developed all unhealthy habits. Hence the civilized man is subjected to needless anxieties,

pains. In Rousseau's words, thinking man is 'a depraved animal'. According to Rousseau 'natural man was good. His nature was perverted by the vicious social institutions. The good man can be restored only by creating the conditions necessary for free expression of natural human desires. Thus Rousseau's book 'social contract' demanded justice and popular sovereignty.

4.5 ROUSSEAU'S SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

Rousseau defended the concept of equality, justice and popular sovereignty in his social contract theory. Social contract theory is based on following points:

- 1) Rousseau's views about human nature.
- 2) Rousseau's assumptions of state of nature.
- 3) Rousseau's views on social contract.
- 4) Rousseau's concept of sovereignty.

4.5.1 Rousseau's views about Human Nature:

He depicted the nature of man in his book entitled "Discourse on the origin and foundation of Inequality".

According to him (a) Man is essentially good and he is good as long as he follows his natural instincts. Rousseau thought that there are two natural instincts that make up man's nature. One is the instinct of self-love or self-preservation. Second is the instinct of sympathy or mutual help. (b) Belief in the goodness of 'Natural man' and the corruption of 'social man' – He said man by nature is not bad and corrupt. It is physical environment that makes man corrupt and bad. The goodness and badness of man depends upon the environment in which he lives. Bad social arrangements of society, unjust laws, despotic government all these create evil. So in order to make a man moral and good, First of all it is important is that the environment should be changed. He wanted a radical reconstruction of the society and the state. (c) Societies of Equals: According to Rousseau for emancipation of man a just and right society is needed. Man to save himself must remake society to its own measure. He must eliminate the inequalities which make some people the instruments of others. He must create societies of equals which must be small.

The general will and the common interest should be the important features of every state.

4.5.2 Rousseau's concept of state of nature:

Rousseau deals with the state of nature in order to explain the origin of the state. His entire political philosophy is based on his

concept of state of nature. Rousseau's state of nature had following features:

1) A pre-political stage:

State of Nature was a pre-political stage; not pre-social stage.

2) Primitive man was free:

Primitive man was free, healthy, honest and happy. He had no ties and obligations. He could not be good or bad. He was guided by the sentiments of self-interest. He was concerned only with the satisfaction of physical needs.

3) Equal, Independent and Contented:

Primitive man was living in peace and harmony. No ties and obligations hence he was happy. There was no property, no industries, not arts and science. Thus according to Rousseau state of nature was the stage of liberty and equality. In that stage man was independent and contented.

4) Social institutions gradually evolved:

Man changed his previous way of living and began to live in settled groups, Social institutions gradually evolved. Rise of institution of private property created a distinction between the rich and poor. The development of science, civilization and the origin of property made men self-centred. It was a cause of inequality. It broke down the happy natural condition of mankind and made it necessary to establish a civil society.

4.5.3 Rousseau's views on Social Contract:

- a) According to Rousseau social contract means the process by which the state of nature comes to an end and political society is formed. Thus Rousseau has given the meaning of contract. The contract is made and public body is established ie the state.
- b) Significance of contract – Rousseau said only by agreement and consent authority is justified and liberty retained. Rousseau described the contract in the following words – “Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the General Will. Each member became an indivisible part of the whole and creates a moral and collective body”.
- c) Surrender to the community – in the contract individuals surrender to the community as a whole. The community consists of all. The power of the community is absolute. Community will work for the common benefit.

- d) No one enjoys any special privileges – In the contract no one is a loser. Every one is a gainer. A civil society is established in which the citizens are both free and equal.
- e) Right to private life not affected - Public life of the people will come under the authority of the state. Personal life does not come under the authority of the public body. The state will have nothing to do with the private life of an individual, unless they run counter to the common interests.

4.5.4 Rousseau's concept of sovereignty:

a) General will sovereign:

Under the supreme direction of the General will, everyone becomes a part of the individual whole willingly and naturally for his own best advantage. It is the membership of the civil society that lifts the human being from the level of the brutes. Thus Rousseau's theory of General will is connected with the concept of popular sovereignty.

Rousseau developed the theory of social contract as a weapon against absolutism.

b) Identified absolute sovereignty of the state with the general will of people:

He reconciled absolutism with the liberal doctrine. Sovereignty must reside only in the community as a whole. It cannot be divided. According to Rousseau Sovereignty is absolute; but it resided in the general will of the people.

c) Sovereignty must be indivisible:

Sovereignty cannot be divided. It must reside only in the community as a whole. To divide sovereignty is to destroy it sovereign belongs to the whole community which is collective body.

d) Sovereignty cannot be represented:

People (community) cannot surrender their sovereign power to an individual or a group of individuals. Sovereignty which is vested in the people must be exercised by people themselves. By insisting on this Rousseau is thinking about direct democracy.

e) Best form of government is Aristocracy:

Aristocracy means rule of few wise people, who are elected, Rousseau shows his dislike for parliamentary government. He said the legislature which enacts laws does not represent the real will of people. People are free only during election time. Once the elections are over, the people are enslaved by their representatives.

4.6 EVALUATION OF ROUSSEAU'S PHILOSOPHY

Demerits of Rousseau's political philosophy are as follows:

4.6.1 Demerits: Rousseau sketched a very romantic and unreal picture about the state of Nature.

4.6.2 Contribution: He exercised great influence on future political thought :-

- 1) Rousseau is considered prophet for French revolutionaries :- His book 'social contract' became the text book of the French Revolution. Extracts from his works were read out to the excited crowd.
- 2) His concept of popular sovereignty helped for the development of democracy.
- 3) His theory of General Will was elaborated by T.H.Green in England. Green's famous dictum that "Will, not force, is the basis of the state", is inspired by Rousseau's theory of General Will.
- 4) Containing permanent truth :- Rousseau's concept of General Will and the common interest are the important features of every state.

According to Rousseau a just and right society is needed for human development. The reconciliation between liberty and authority and between liberty and equality establish a just society. This political philosophy of Rousseau has everlasting importance in political philosophy.

- 5) Rousseau's reconciliation between Liberty and authority :- It is generally asserted that there is a conflict between liberty and authority. The expansion of state's authority implies the curtailment of individual's freedom.

Rousseau thought that the co-existence between the two is possible. He said there is no liberty without laws. The primitive people had freedom but it was simply independence. Citizens must enjoy liberty in its full form when there must be law and justice together. Liberty without justice is a contradiction and liberty without law is false. With the enactment and implementation of law only authority can ensure liberty.

He characterizes a law as the expression of general will. Law is just because general will is just and based on common good. Hence all the people show obedience to it. In obeying law and showing obligation to general will people do not lose their liberty because people are the source of law.

People themselves constitute the authority. If there is people's consent behind the authority then there cannot be any conflict between the two.

- 6) Just and Right society: Rousseau said for emancipation of people a just and right society is needed. Man to save himself must remake society to its own measure. He must eliminate the inequalities. he must create societies of equals.
- 7) State is a collective moral person and its objective is moral upliftment of its subjects. This view of Rousseau added a new aspect to the national state.

4.6.3 Conclusion:

All the above themes of Rousseau are responsible for the development of democracy. Rousseau's concept of Justice, Equality and Popular sovereignty are the main pillars of democracy.

4.7 ROUSSEAU'S THEORY OF GENERAL WILL

Introduction : Rousseau developed the theory of General Will for establishing popular sovereignty. Popular sovereignty is the corner stone of democratic system of government. Soon after the time of Rousseau this theory led the democrats on to the revolutionary path against absolutism.

Meaning of General Will:

Rousseau, while explaining the concept of General Will states that every individual has two types of wills (1) Actual Will and (2) Real Will.

1) Actual Will:

The actual will of the individual is his impulsive and irrational will. Individual actions become unreasonable and senseless when they are done under the impact of 'Actual Will'. It is narrow and selfish will. It compels the individual to think about his own interest. It is emotional and therefore changeable. It is not based on reason.

2) Real Will:

It is rational, selfless will of the individual. It aims at general interest of the society, Real will thinks more of the common good than the good of the individual. Thus the 'Real Will' of the individual promotes harmony between the individual and society.

3) General Will:

An average individual has an actual and a real will. The General Will is the synthesis of the 'Real Will' of the community and represents the consciousness, regarding the common good.

Characteristics of the General Will :

1) Indivisible: It is common will of the whole community. The General Will is the rational will of the community. It comes from all and applies to all. There is Unity in this will, therefore it is indivisible.

If the General will is divided, it will become particular and sectional. Thus division of the General will implies its destruction.

2) Right Will: It aims at the general good. It rises above all selfishness. It always thinks welfare of the community.

3) Best for all: Obedience to this will is supreme freedom and fulfillment because it is one's own best will. The best will cannot create a contradiction between individuals and society. General will is the expression of the inner will, the right consciousness.

4) Inalienable:

Rousseau locates sovereignty at the General Will. Hence sovereignty of the state and General Will are inalienable. Its decisions, in the form of laws are binding on all individuals.

5) Not changeable:

It is constant and permanent. It springs from the genius of the whole people i.e. community. It will based on the rule of law and equality before law.

6) Unpresentable:

Rousseau did not believe in the government by the representatives of the people. He believed in direct democracy. So General Will of the people cannot be represented by any government or any institution, but by the community as a whole.

Rousseau developed the theory of General Will for establishing popular sovereignty. The most important element in the contract theory of Rousseau is the sovereign community, i.e. the state. Such sovereign community or state has its own unity, identity and Will. This will of the whole community is called the General Will.

Rousseau used the concept of the General Will for reconciling liberty of the individual with the authority of the state. He showed that the individuals living in the state of nature surrendered their all power to the community as a whole because they were

directed by the General Will to do so. He also held that when a citizen obeys a law he obeys his own will hence he is free.

Rousseau showed that the social contract did not create a government. It created the state. It is done under the direction of the General Will of all people. Once state is created individual obey himself and remain free as in the state of Nature.

He said Law is the expression of General Will. Law is just because General Will is just based on common good. Hence all the people show obedience to it. In obeying law and showing obligation to General Will men do not lose their liberty because people are the source of law. Authority enact and implement laws and ensure the liberty of the people.

There is no conflict between liberty and authority. People themselves constitute the authority. If there is people's consent behind the authority then there cannot be any conflict between the two Rousseau made a statement that "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains". By making this statement Rousseau wanted to prove that the liberty and equality in the state of nature are not gone. They continue to exist even after the state is created. But state authority is known for using its power against individual liberty.

But Rousseau tried to reconcile between liberty and authority. He showed that the social contract did not create a government. It created state. It is done under the direction of the General Will of all people. Each individual in the state of Nature unites himself with all and forms state. Once state is created, individual is the part of the state and will obey himself and remain free.

Evaluation of Rousseau's Theory of General Will :

Drawbacks:

- 1) Difficult to distinguish General Will from the will of all – In actual practice, it is nothing if it does not mean the will of the majority. General Will puts emphasis on the common interest which is difficult to define.

Contribution:

- 1) It leads to the theory of consent and Green's assertion that "Will not force is the basis of the authority of the state".

The true basis of democracy is not the brute majority but the active participation of politically-conscious people.

- 2) General Good as object of state – The theory of General Will asserts that the proper end of the state is common good and welfare of all. The common interest and the General Will became the central feature of almost every state.
- 3) It integrates the individual with the state and it also integrates the individual with the society.
- 4) Stressed on the continuous participation of individual in the government by his participation in the General Will. He stresses the view that state is a social organism. It has a common conscience and a General Will. He maintains that true basis of political obligation is consent.

Conclusion:

Rousseau's ideas of General Will and the common interest are the most important features of every state.

Rousseau has added a new aspect to the national state i.e. state is a collective moral person and its objective is moral upliftment of its subjects.

4.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Examine Rousseau's views on General Will in context of consent and democracy.
- 2) Critically analyse the main element of Rousseau's political thought.
- 3) "Theory of General Will is Rousseau's greatest contribution to the development of Democracy." Discuss.
- 4) Critically examine Rousseau's views on the state of nature, social contract and civilization.



DIALECTIC AND REVOLUTION- HEGEL (1770-1831)

Unit Structure:

- 5.1 Objective
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Major works of Hegel and Method of his study
- 5.4 Hegel's philosophy of Dialectic
- 5.5 Institutional expression of Dialectics
- 5.6 Hegel's idealistic perception and characteristics of the state.
- 5.7 Evaluation of Hegel's political philosophy
- 5.8 Hegel and Marx's application of dialectical theory
 - 5.8.1 Similarity
 - 5.8.2 Differences
- 5.9 Unit End Question

5.1 OBJECTIVES

To study about the process of Dialectic and political philosophy of Hegel.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The two most important ideologies of the 20th century is communism and Fascism. Hegel is regarded as the father of these ideologies. There is also similarity between Hegel's approach to state and Hitler's fascist state. Hence study of political philosophy of Hegel is necessary.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born in 1770 in Germany. His father was a government official. Hegel inherited an orderly and methodical life style from his father. Hegel studied theology and secured the degree of doctor of philosophy. He was a professor of logic. Hence nature of his political philosophy was philosophical.

- 1) The roots of Hegel's political philosophy can be traced to Plato and Aristotle who believed that the function of law is the realisation of right. Aristotle stated that the state came into existence for the sake of life and it continues to exist for the sake of good life. Good life is realised through the institution of state. This fits in with Hegel's concept of the state.
- 2) Motivation of Hegel's political philosophy was German Unity and overall progress of the state. During Hegel's lifetime, Germany was divided country and the problem of the unification of Germany occupied minds of German thinkers. But the unification of Germany was impossible in absence of the strong and powerful state. Hence Hegel tried to justify creation of such a state through his method of dialectic and the theory of nation state. He was frustrated by the disunity among the Germans. Germany was ravaged by corruption in all levels of society, chaos, indiscipline groupism. Integrity of the nation was at stake. He wanted Germany to be a nation through a strong state. He did not believe Germany would be united by agreement among states. He thought only a great military leader could unite Germany. It was mainly by military actions and cunning diplomacy of Bismarck brought unification of Germany in 1871. Hegel's philosophy became the main inspiration for the German unification. Thus the contemporary social, political and economic situation of Germany was one of the chief source of political thought of Hegel.
- 3) Thirdly antidemocratic and authoritarian atmosphere of Germany- The political experience of Germany has been authoritarian and antidemocratic. In this atmosphere Hegel was born and brought up. Hegel could not think anything outside authoritarian politics. Even he did not like the democratic institutions of England and France. He did not accept the ideas of the France Revolution.
- 4) Kant and Fichte exercised a great influence on shaping Hegel's political philosophy. Plato and Aristotle too profoundly influenced his writings. Like Fichte, Hegel too believed that the ultimate reality is not matter but 'Reason or Spirit'.

5.3 MAJOR WORKS OF HEGEL AND METHOD OF HIS STUDY

Hegel's political philosophy finds expression in his five major works.

1. Phenomenology of spirit.
2. Science of Logic.
3. Encyclopedia of philosophical sciences.

4. Philosophy of Rights.
5. Philosophy of History.

Method: Hegel's method of study was historical, evolutionary and dialectic.

5.4 HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF DIALECTIC

Hegel's philosophy of Dialectic and his perception of the state are based on following points:

- 1) Universe is one and whole. It works under the control of 'spirit' or 'Reason'.
- 2) All changes are dialectical.
- 3) Institutional expression of Dialectics is the state.
- 4) Reality lies in the ideal.

1) Universe is one and whole. It works under the control of spirit :

According to Hegel the entire world is one and indivisible organism. Sun, wind, water, animals, trees, human beings all these are organs of the universe and are in harmony with another.

This entire world with all its parts are under the control of 'spirit' or 'Reason'. It is the 'spirit' that is responsible for the development of human civilization.

What is 'spirit'? –

The concept of 'spirit' is fundamental to Hegel's political philosophy. According to Hegel the true guide shall be the spirit. The perception of reality is possible properly only through the spirit which is specially developed form of consciousness. The spirit; passes from the stage of knowing nothing to the stage of knowing everything. This passage from the lower to the higher is by the process of dialectical.

2) All changes and development are dialectical:

Spirit or Reason act on the basis of dialectical principle. The central idea of Hegel's political philosophy is dialectic. It was applied by Hegel for his philosophical analysis.

Meaning of Dialectic: The word Dialectic is derived from the Greek word 'dialektike'. It means the art of investigating the truth of opinions. According to Hegel dialectic is a method to find out the truth. It is a law of logic.

Dialectical Process: Dialectic is a process by which in controversy one proposition is set over against another and out of this confrontation a new proposition emerges. Stages of this process

are three. (1) Thesis (2) Anti-thesis (3) synthesis. One argument is made. To answer it the opposite argument is made. From these two opposite arguments truth emerges. This movement is natural. Thesis contain only half-truth. So a counter idea exposing the partial nature of thesis appears i.e. Antithesis. From the conflict between both truth emerges i.e. synthesis. In the course of time synthesis becomes thesis.

Stages of Dialectic :- Thesis X Antithesis = Synthesis.

This movement will end when reason resolves all contradictions.

Contradiction is the motivating Force –

In Hegel's dialectical theory contradictions are essential. It is a condition to progress. If there are no contradictions there cannot be any tension and struggle between right and wrong. The world or civilization moves because there are contradictions. It is self-generating process. Synthesis will not be compromised between Thesis and Anti-thesis, Nor it is a victory of one over another. Thesis and anti-thesis present in synthesis. The negative and positive forces come into conflict and in this way society proceeds towards higher and higher stages of progress. Hegel is in favour of gradual changes and continuity.

5.5 INSTITUTIONAL EXPRESSION OF DIALECTICS

Hegel explained the origin and nature of the state through the theory of Dialectics. According to Hegel 'Reason' finds expression in man's associative natural nature. Human beings does not like to live alone. He likes to live with others. So Family is the first expression of 'Reason'. It is the earlist form of association, which is built up on the feeling of love. Its imperfections create society; which is an anti-thesis to family.

A tension is created between thesis i.e. family and anti-thesis i.e. of society. Family and Society were the imperfect expressions of Reason. This imperfection and conflict is resolved through the appearance of state. State is rational, final and perfect expression of Reason. State is the manifestation of the world spirit. Individuals under the state are integrated into most rational and ethical order. According to the stages of Dialectics.

Family (Thesis) X Society (Antithesis) = State (Synthesis)

Conclusion: Thus the centre of Hegel's political philosophy is dialectic.

5.6 HEGEL'S IDEALISTIC PERCEPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATE

- 1) State is super-organism, 'God on earth'
- 2) State is Natural
- 3) State is whole body
- 4) State is an End
- 5) State is Sovereign, Supreme over all
- 6) Freedom possible only in the state
- 7) National state greater than humanity
- 8) War works as stimulus for the state
- 9) State is Absolute and infallible
- 10) State's duty is only direction, regulation and supervision
- 11) Individual subordinate to the state
- 12) Metaphysical theory of state

1) State is super-organism, like a God on earth :

Hegel defined the state as 'Actual God'. In his work 'Philosophy of History' He said "The march of God in the world is the state". State is the final and ultimate institutional expression of the spirit. It is the highest embodiment of spirit. It is a super – organism; not an instrument. Hence state should be worshiped like a God.

2) State is Natural:

Hegel rejected the idea of the origin of the state in a social contract. According to him state is the product of long evolution and this evolution passes through several stages dialectically. State is highest and final expression of spirit. It emerged as the final stage of evolution of human institutions. Family is thesis society is its anti-thesis and state is its synthesis.

3) State is a whole body:

State is like a whole body. It is a synthesis of family and society. Each individual is the part of the state. If the state is destroyed various parts will lose their existence. State is a whole body and its parts are always inferior to the whole.

4) State is an End:

According to Hegel state itself is an end. It is not a means. State is final.

5) State is sovereign and supreme over all:

State is sovereign in both national and international affairs. Sovereignty of the state lay not in the people but the king. Hegel also opposed to the theory of separation of powers.

6) Freedom possible only in the state:

The individual had no existence apart from the state. Freedom possible only within the state. Obedience to the laws of the state is the highest duty of the individual. Because there lies true freedom. The state not only allows but enlarges the freedom of the society. The state is 'the actualization of freedom. The individual gets all his moral and spiritual reality from the state. He regarded individualism as the greatest enemy of national integration. People must first of all show unconditional allegiance to the authority. The general interests of the state must come first and must be protected at any cost.

7) National state greater than humanity:

According to Hegel National state is the most important and greater than humanity. To safeguard its own interest and protect its own sovereignty is the highest morality for the state. Evil doings and corruption of nations can be removed only through the declaration of war. He said war is an inevitable activity of the state for creating and maintaining its national existence.

8) War works as stimulus for the state:

- a) According to Hegel peace stagnates both the man and the nation. For stimulus the state war is essential.
- b) War plays an important part in the world history.
- c) It fosters good qualities among citizens like patriotism, courage, bravery etc.
- d) A successful war prevents civil unrest and strengthens internal power of the state. Thus according to Hegel war is a national necessity.

When need arises, the state may call upon their families. It should be conducted as humanly as possible.

War should not be against private persons and their families. It should be conducted as humanly as possible.

Thus Hegel believed that war was essential for the health of a nation.

9) State is absolute and infallible:

State is absolute. It is not answerable to any individual. It is not bound by any moral codes. State itself is the creator of morality.

The state fixes the standard of morality for its citizens. There are no limitations on the powers of the state. State's power are absolute.

State is the embodiment of reason. State is the highest product of reason. It is like a God, omnipotent. Obedience to the state is a sacred duty. Thus Hegel glorified the state and regarded it as embodiment of all virtues.

10) State's duty is only direction, regulation and supervision:

State cannot provide public services, administer law and perform public duty. These functions belong to society. Society depends upon the state for direction, regulation and supervision. Hegel also explain his theory of government. He said – What is rational is actual and what is actual is rational. The state and government both are actual. Hegel denies independent status of judiciary. The executive organ takes judicial decisions and exercises judicial power.

Hegel finds no ground in support of the Universal adult franchise, because people do not know the public interest. So popular assemblies comprising the representatives have no place in the Hegelian system. Hegel rules out the possibility of popular sovereignty.

11) Individual is subordinate to the state:

Hegel believed that the state is its laws and structure and also its geography and the physical feature is the country or the fatherland for the individual. Each individual is the unit of the state. Individual is a means to the end of the state.

12) Metaphysical theory of State:

Hegel's theory of state is based on the conception that true individuality or freedom lies in conformity with our real will, Real Will is identical with the General Will and General Will is embodied in the state.

5.7 EVALUATION OF HEGEL'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Criticism on Hegel's concept of state on the following grounds:

1) State not an end in itself:

Hegel made the state as an end in itself but it must be realised that the state exists for the individual. Welfare of the individual is the end of the state.

2) Anti-democratic :

Hegel's totalitarian state and absolutism are against the spirit of liberty and democracy. Hence it is outdated.

3) Leads the state absolutism, totalitarianism and aggressive nationalism:

Hegel's theory of state leads for Hitler's Nazism and Mussolini's fascism. Hegel was the godfather of Hitler. It endangered the world peace.

4) State not infallible:

State acts through human agency and as such it cannot be infallible. The state in actual practice is run by a section of people. To give unlimited powers to them is bad. Because it encourage the ruling section to be oppressive and arbitrary.

5) Hegel's support to war and absolutism would be totally unacceptable to the citizens of the modern state who live under the shadow of the nuclear war.

Contribution:

- 1) Karl Marx borrowed the idea of dialectics from Hegel to explain his own theory of communism.
- 2) Hegel gave timely warning against extreme individualism – Extreme individualist treated state as dangerous to individual liberties. Hegel's political philosophy corrected this trend. He rightly emphasized the importance of the state individual's development.
- 3) Rise of a number of states on the principle of nationhood was the influence of Hegel's theory of nation state.

Conclusion:

Hegel's philosophy expresses the German desire for unity. It inspired the 20th century German absolutism. The Nazi philosophy of Hitler. What was preached by Hegel was practiced by two German statesmen, Kaiser William II and Hitler.

5.8 HEGEL AND MARX'S VIEWS AND APPLICATION OF DIALECTICAL THEORY

Karl Marx is the father of communism. He was very much influenced by Hegel's dialectical theory.

5.8.1 Similarity:

- 1) Karl Marx theory of materialistic interpretation of history is based on the theory of dialectic. Hegel is the originator of dialectic

Hegel's theory of contradiction has found place in Karl Marx. Marx thought of contradiction in capitalism.

- 2) Both Karl Marx and Hegel were concerned for change of the society. But Hegel assumed absolutism and Marx assumed communism i.e. classless and stateless society in the state.

5.8.2 Differences:

- 1) Hegel's dream was absolute state for him state was like a God, Idealistic state. He considered the state as super personality. Karl Marx's dream was communism. Communism means classless and stateless society. It means for Marx state was 'Satan', State is the instrument of exploitation.
- 2) Hegel applied dialectical theory for the emergence of social institutions. i.e. family, society and state. In dialectical process state is the final expression of spirit. It is embodiment of spirit. Hence it is like a God.

Marx applied dialectical theory for explaining communism. According to him 'Thesis' is capitalism, 'Antithesis' is working class and from the conflict of two 'synthesis' will be communism.

- 3) Method: Hegel believed in gradual changes and continuity. According to Hegel self-consciousness of man did not develop properly. Therefore he was not the master of his own existence. For Hegel stability and security of society were more important. Hence he was in favour of evolution method.

Marx was in favour of Radical change. He thought that only a violent revolution could bring about a change of society. According to Marx a revolution will not come from heaven. Only the deliberate efforts of working class can bring about a revolution. For this a preparation is also essential. Marx had no faith on gradualness.

- 4) Outlook: Hegel was idealistic. Nature of his Idealism was philosophical, mystical. He believes in spirit and said that universe works under the control of spirit.

Marx was materialist. He believes that every change happened for economic purpose. Money and economics is the main factor who decide everything in the state.

- 5) State: For Hegel state is the End. For Marx state is the Means.
- 6) Individual liberty: Hegel thought individualism as the greatest enemy of national integration. He identified individualism with terrorism and violence. He said apart from the society the individual has no significance. The attainment of freedom and

development of personality are possible only through the membership of the state.

Marx was against the state. According to him state is the means for exploitation of the people.

- 7) Hegel was conservative.
Marx was revolutionary

5.9 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the philosophy of Hegel with special reference to his idea of Dialectics.
- 2) Critically examine the basic ideas of Hegelian philosophy of state.



DIALECTIC AND REVOLUTION- KARL MARX

Unit Structure:

- 6.1 Objective
- 6.2 Introduction
- 6.3 Books- 'Communist Manifesto' and 'Das capital'
- 6.4 Main points of Marxian political philosophy
- 6.5 Dialectical Materialism
- 6.6 Materialistic interpretation of history
- 6.7 Theory of surplus value
- 6.8 Theory of class-struggle
- 6.9 The Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- 6.10 Classless and stateless society
- 6.11 Nature of communist society
- 6.12 Unit End Questions

6.1 OBJECTIVES

To study the concept of dialectic and revolution in context of Karl Marx's ideology of communism.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Karl Marx was a German philosopher who is considered as the father of 'Communism'. Dialectics is a theory of development. It is a soul of Marxism or communism. Karl Marx was influenced by following factors :-

- 1) Hegel's impact:: Karl Marx was born in 1818 in Prussia (Germany). When he was studying philosophy at the Berlin University, he came under the influence of Hegelian philosophy. He became a member of 'Young Hegelians'.
- 2) Impact of Socialist: After his education he worked as a journalist and turned to the study of economics and politics. Due to his

radical and revolutionary writings his newspaper was suppressed by the Prussian government. Hence he had to flee to Paris. There he came in contact with French socialist. He was influenced by the Socialist. Marx has taken the central idea of socialism from the early socialists.

- 3) Activist: Karl Marx was not only 'a man of words' but also 'a man of action'. He had taken an active part in the Revolution of 1848 in France and Prussia. He was expelled from Prussia for his radical views. He went to London and lived the rest of his life among the workers in their slums and suffered the hardships that workers suffered. In 1864, Marx was active in organizing the International workingmen's Association in London.
- 4) Materialist philosophy: Marx was influenced by Ludwig Feuerbach for his materialist philosophy. The central idea of his materialism is his refusal to accept God and Religion. Marx condemned religion as the opium of the masses.
- 5) British political economy: Marx was inspired by the classical school of the British political economy. Classical economists like Ricardo developed the theory of value. Marx used that theory in his theory of surplus value. In this way most of the ideas of Marx were anticipated by his predecessors in Germany, France and England.
- 6) Influence of contemporary situation: In the 17th and 18th century the bourgeois revolution destroyed the feudal system. It was replaced by capitalism and the bourgeoisie conquered political power also, and established their domination. Result of this system was inequality, impoverishment of the workers. It created large scale discontent in the working class. They tried to rebel. But their rebel was unorganized Marx felt that first of all political structure is to be changed. In a bourgeois set up workers cannot improve their economy. The state is the instrument of exploitation in the hands of bourgeois, So Marx felt that it would be the first task of the proletariat to revolt against capitalist and capture state power. Marx held the view that without changing the relations of production the radical change in society is not possible.

6.3 BOOKS-"COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" AND "DAS CAPITAL"

Marx wrote the book 'Poverty of Philosophy' 'Communist Manifesto' and 'Das capital'. These books became the bible of the communists throughout the world. It has been translated in every

language of the civilized world. It brought revolutionary socialism i.e. communism in politics and in political theory.

It brought consciousness and awareness in the proletarians. It gave encouragement to the working class to unite. It gave a call of revolution to the working class.

These books contain the fundamental philosophy of Marx.

6.4 MAIN POINTS OF MARXIAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

- 1) Dialectical Materialism.
- 2) The materialistic interpretation of history.
- 3) Theory of surplus value.
- 4) Theory of class-struggle.
- 5) The Dictatorship of the proletariat
- 6) Classless and stateless society.

6.5 DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Dialectics is a theory of development. It is soul of Marxism. Marx was influenced by Hegel and his concept of dialectics.

6.5.1 Meaning of Dialectic:

Dialectics is the method of arriving at the truth by discussion after presenting contradictory propositions. This was the method that the Greek thinkers adopted. In the ancient Greeks the dialectic was the art of discussing a problem by way of question and answers. Hegel used this method to explain the process of History and the origin of state. Marx applied dialectics to show the process of development of communism.

6.5.2 Features of Dialectical theory:

- 1) Dialectics regard nature as a connected and integral whole.
- 2) Nature is not stable. It is subject to change and the change is continuous.
- 3) There is constant conflict between negative and positive forces. Contradictions is inherent in all things. Contradictions is the moving principle of the world.
- 4) The changes in dialectics are never smooth and gradual but rapid.
- 5) Quantitative change is gradual and qualitative change is abrupt.

Hegel used dialectical method to explain the process of history. According to him in dialectical process the dominant ideas of each age was the 'thesis', which was confronted by its opposite the 'anti-thesis'. The clash between the two gave rise to a 'synthesis', which brought together the best elements in both. Marx accepts Hegelian concept of the dialectics i.e. thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis.

6.5.3 Marx opposed to Dialectical idealism of Hegel:

But he asserts that it is the economic forces that are responsible for the progress through dialectics. That is why his principle is known as 'dialectical Materialism'. He emphasized that it is the material factors which are responsible for the development of history. Thus Marx was opposed to Dialectical idealism of Hegel. Marx was a materialist. Marx gave primacy to matter while Hegel emphasised ideas, Marx said that Hegel's thought of dialectic stood on its head, and Marx turned it right way up.

6.5.4 Marx believed there is nothing but the material universe:

Dialectical process determined social development throughout history. The driving force of social change is the struggle between the opposites. The struggle is between the economic classes. Thus Marx held that materialism was realistic and scientific. Marx opposed Hegel's notion of spirit and said that it was imaginary.

6.5.5 Rejection of all religions:

Marx condemned religion as the opium of the masses.

6.5.6 The whole history of mankind is a history of class struggles:

e.g. Slaves against masters, serfs against feudal lords, workers against capitalists. This type of struggle has been going on down the ages. This process leads to the final stage of the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeois.

Marx calls upon the working class to unite and overthrow the established order. In the struggle between the two classes, classless society will be established. In the classless society, the state has no role to fulfill. Hence it withers away. Communism is established and exploitation ends. In this struggle Thesis will be bourgeois; Antithesis will be proletariat and synthesis will be communism.

6.6 MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Meaning:

Historical materialism of Karl Marx is the application of principle of dialectical Materialism to the development of Society. It is an economic interpretation of history. According to Marx all the major phenomenon of history are determined by economic conditions.

Principles of historical materialism:

1) History is based on materialism:

Marx rejected Hegelian concept of idea. His interpretation of history is based on materialism. According to Marx change and development of society take place. According to the objective laws, not according to divine laws. (Objective laws relate to the material world)

2) The progress is determined by the material conditions:

The determinant of historical phenomenon is economic condition. Production exchange and distribution decide the nature of society and polity. Legal, political and other structures are built on this foundation social and political institutions, the trade and industry art and value systems are the super structures built on the material base. The entire national life is conditioned by the material conditions.

To quote Marx, "All the social, political and intellectual relations, the religious and legal systems, all theoretical outlooks, which emerge in the course of history are derived from the material conditions of life.

3) To bring about any substantial change in the society, one must change the material foundation of the society:

Marx pointed out how a particular class which gets control of the means of production, will dominate the rest. It will use political power alongwith its economic might to oppress others, and thus create a revolutionary situation. This is demonstrated by the fact that class wars have been the main theme of history. This will finally lead to the classless society. Thus necessary social change will come about.

4) Marx predicts revolution of the labouring class against the bourgeoisie:

According to him change in production relations call for the change in the whole social system and political order.

In the primitive communal system the means of production were socially owned. In the slave system – Slaves and Masters two classes were there, slave owners were the owners of the sources of production. In the feudal system feudal Lords owned the means of production. Feudal Lords purchased the labour of serfs.

Industrial revolution changed the economic and political scene of the society. Capitalism destroyed the feudal structure of society. In capitalist system bourgeois owned the means of production and exploited the working class. The future revolution between labouring class and bourgeoisie will create a new socialist society. i.e. a casteless, classless and stateless society.

Marx pointed out how a particular class which gets control on the means of production will dominate the rest, use political power alongwith its economic might to oppress the others and thus create situation, which is conducive for revolution.

Criticism of the idea of materialistic interpretation of history:

This theory ignores the part played by non-economic factors in shaping history. e.g. religion, lust for power etc. There is no doubt that the economic factor may be the dominant factor but it is not the only factor which is responsible for all changes in the social structure.

Inspite of shortcomings the doctrine is useful because it has broadened the study of history.

6.7 THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE

A) Objective:

To expose the injustice and exploitation under the capitalist system Marx developed the theory of surplus value in 'Das Capital'. The entire Marxist ideology is in the nature of protest against the social injustice under the capitalist system.

B) Meaning of surplus value:

According to Marx surplus value is the difference between the value of goods produced by the workers and the actual wages paid to them.

C) Marxian theory of surplus value is based on the following points:

1) Labour is the real productive factor which enhances the value. Natural resources are turned into commodities because of labour. Hence labour is the real productive factor. Value created by the worker but pocketed by the capitalist i.e. profit. The amount of wages paid to the worker are very less. The balance, which is rightfully his, but is denied to him. All the profit i.e. surplus value goes to the capitalist. It is naked, brutal exploitation of workers.

2) Workers are forced to sell their labour:

After industrial revolution the workers had no access to means of production. Society was divided into two groups. One was the owner of the means of production i.e. Capitalist. Other one is the Labourers, who had labour to sell. The capitalist fully exploited the situation. The capitalist can exploit the workers because they own the means of production and workers are forced to sell their labour to them. They paid meagre wages, get more work done by them. Thus surplus value leads to exploitation. e.g. a piece of wood may be worth Rs. 100/- but when it is converted into a chair by the labour of a carpenter, the chair is worth Rs. 200. So the employment of labour has increased the value by Rs. 100/-. This addition to value belongs to the labour but goes to the capitalist.

3) Greed of the capitalist class leads to the internal contradiction of capitalism:

Marx points out that this surplus value will become larger and larger as capitalism advances. When the proletariat is exploited beyond endurance, the inevitable revolution will take place. it would lead to the fall of the capitalist order.

Evaluation of theory of Surplus Value:

- (1) Marx's theory of surplus value is an extension of Ricardo's theory. In this theory it is not true that the labour of worker is the only value producing factor. Marx ignored other factors like capital, management etc.
- (2) It is a propagandist theory as it flatters the workers. We must also remember the fact that Marx was writing in a period when social welfare legislations, wage control act were unknown.

In fact, Marx showed the ugly aspect of 'Factory system' of 19th century.

6.8 THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE: (REVOLUTION)

The 'communist Manifesto', called as the Bible of the working class starts with the statement that "The history of all existing society is the history of the class struggles". They had different names at different times. e.g. freemen and slaves, Lord and serf. One was oppressor and the other was oppressed.

The constant struggle between the oppressed and the oppressor is recorded throughout the history of mankind, either openly or hidden. But in the past the oppressor always succeeded in suppressing the revolt of the oppressed. Because oppressed

class lacked consciousness of being exploited and second point was their exploitation was not brutal and open.

A) Causes of the Class Struggle:

However, the nature of conflict under the capitalist system is qualitatively different. The exploited have become aware of their exploitation. They have got organised not only within their own country but all over the world. Thus under capitalism, the struggle between the 'bourgeoisie' and the 'proletariat' is more intense than in any other previous stages in history. In capitalism power influence and wealth of the capitalists have increased. Condition of the proletarians has become miserable. The crises will increase.

'The Communist Manifesto' makes an appeal to the proletariat to unite to overthrow the capitalist socio-economic and political order.

Inevitability of destruction of capitalism:

According to Marx Capitalism does contain the seeds of self-destruction.

Large-scale production and monopoly are the characteristic features of capitalism. This leads to the concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer persons. The few capitalists become extremely rich. Proletariat are subjected to exploitation and become poorer and poorer. They will feel capitalism is the source of their misery and suffering. The interest of the capitalist class is to maximise the profit, whereas the interest of the working class lies in the enhancement of wage. So tension is created between these two classes. It generates the feeling of class-consciousness among the workers.

Finally, when exploitation is heightened to the maximum and the misery and suffering of the industrial workers become unbearable under capitalism. Proletariat will make a joint appeal for a bloody revolution against the capitalists. This is followed by the establishment of the proletariat's dictatorship.

C) Purpose of the class struggle Establishment of a classless and stateless society**D) Sources of Revolution:**

According to Marx the conflict and contradiction is the main source of revolution. Proper consciousness among the workers creates an atmosphere conducive to revolution. Consciousness about their position, about the utility of struggle. In this matter Ideology will play the important role. It makes the people conscious. According to Marx existence of contradiction and consciousness is very much vital for revolution. People must be mentally prepared to make any sacrifice for the success of revolution. Hence Marx makes appeal to the workers of the world to unite as they have

nothing to lose but their shackles and have a world to win. Thus Marx with the help of his ideology tried to bring mental preparedness in the workers. He calls them for a programme of revolutionary action.

6.9 THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

A) Meaning:

The state of the proletarian dictatorship is the transition from capitalism to communism. It is the power in the hands of the workers to crush the capitalist rule and for building up a socialist society.

After the revolution two changes have to be achieved:

- 1) Overthrow a capitalist government and its institutions. Capture the state power.
- 2) To establish a new state with new order. It means after the revolution new social order will not come immediately. In between there will be a transitional period. In that period dictatorship of the proletariat will work as an instrument.

Changes: In this period. Following changes will be brought-

- 1) The dictatorship of the proletariat will gradually take over all natural resources and means of productions under its control. It will confiscate all private capital.
- 2) They must capture the state in order to defeat capitalism. They will reject the legal order maintained by the capitalist state.
- 3) Centralise credit and finance establish state factories.
- 4) Concentrate means of transport and speed up production.
- 5) Compel all to work.
- 6) Organise labour – handover administrative responsibility of the state to proletarians.
- 7) Set up a new political institutions.
- 8) Classless society – ‘Each will get according to his capacity and each according to his work.’
- 9) Centralise all instruments of production.
- 10) Will ensure the development of all.
- 11) Democratic centralism.

C) Nature:

According to Marx, the dictatorship of the proletariat is democracy because it implies control by the vast majority. (2) It would be a class government, not oppressive. It belongs to the oppressed classes. (3) It will be human and use force for the benefit of the majority. (4) It will seize capital from the bourgeoisie (5) Centralise all instruments of production.

D) Practically:

In practical terms 'the Dictatorship of proletariat assumed the form of the Dictatorship of the communist party in the Soviet Union and other communist states.

6.10 CLASSLESS AND STATELESS SOCIETY

According to Marx dictatorship of proletariat is an instrument for the attainment of communism. In the dictatorship of proletariat class distinctions based on property will disappear. After setting up of a classless society there will be no need of state, it will wither away. After that classless and stateless society i.e. communist society will come.

State is an instrument of exploitation:

Marxian theory of state is fundamentally different from the traditional theory of state. Traditional theories said that state exists for the good of the community but Marx rejected this view. According to him the state is the product of class divisions of society. The state is an instrument of class rule and exploitation. State is used as a weapon by the bourgeoisie to exploit the proletarians. Legislation reflects the will of those who control the economic affairs.

- 1) According to Marx state is a political organisation by which the dominant economic class rules over and exploits the other economic classes. State is the organisation which is used by bourgeois for the mutual guarantee of their property and interest. State is a machine of class domination. The government in a capitalist state is an agency through which the ruling class imposes its will upon the subjects and maintains its privileged position in economic matters.
- 2) Marx views the state as the product and expression of class antagonisms: According to Marx state is used as a weapon by the bourgeoisie to exploit the proletarians. Hence the workers who are exploited by the capitalists can never reconcile themselves to the capitalist state. They will oppose the state and liberate themselves by overthrowing the state.

- 3) Marx criticizes Hegel's theory of state: According to Marx state is neither the realization of the idea nor march of God on earth. State is a machine for the oppression of one class by another. State is a product of class divisions and property system. The economically powerful class which has access to power uses state power for its own benefit.
- 4) In classless society there will be no need of state. It will wither away – Karl Marx viewed the state as a class institution, used by the bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the proletariat. According to him, the state would continue for some time even after the destruction of capitalism, However, once the capitalist order is abolished, the state would cease to exist. Thus state would gradually wither away.
- 5) Communism – Once the state was got rid of, there would be a free society of voluntary associations formed for the transaction of public business. This is the classless society, i.e. a society without exploitation and the antagonisms of class war. In such a society people would become gradually accustomed to the observance of the elementary rules of social life without the state.

In this classless and stateless society the relations among the human beings will be organised on the principle of “to each according to his needs and from each according to his capacity”.

Finally we will have the association in which “the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all” as the communist Manifesto explains.

6.11 NATURE OF COMMUNIST SOCIETY

- 1) Emancipation of individual from all sorts of slavery is the primary and sole objective of communism.
- 2) No classes and no class antagonisms – Discrimination on the basis of class is the first thing to be banished by communism.
- 3) Work is compulsory in this society. Each individual must perform his duties according to his ability. “Each will get according to his ability and each according to his work.
- 4) Communist society wants to abolish the leisure class and the system of unearned income. It will destroy elitism and all its manifestations.

- 5) All artificial differences are removed from communist society. Differences of class, caste culture, language, race, religion will not take ugly shapes and hinder the growth of society.
- 6) Changes will be Radical – Destruction of capitalism and construction of a new society. i.e. Capitalism to Socialism. It will release all the productive forces from the grip of capitalists. Scarcity and poverty are banished.
- 7) Ensure the development of all – In place of old bourgeois and its classes, there will be an association in which free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

Bourgeois Democracy:

According to Marx universal suffrage, representative institutions, glorification of people's political rights all these are a farce. Actually in capitalist order on the name of democracy, it is a democracy of elites, rich class order, without an emancipation from economic bondage the real nature of democracy is not possible.

Evaluation:

Criticism:

- 1) Marx made confusion between the social classes and economic classes. He assumed the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. He ignored the emergence of the new classes of managers and technicians.
- 2) Marx depicted only one side of state. He has not noted the utility of state. The abolition of the state will create an anarchical condition.

Contribution:

- 1) Communist ideology is strongly followed by some countries establishment of communism in Russia, China and in other countries.
- 2) Welfare measures – The birth of modern welfare state owes much to the writing of Karl Marx.

Marxian ideology aroused the consciousness of the western countries. The reforms introduced to bring about betterment of the working class.

- 3) Communist ideology brought awareness in the workers. In modern age it is not only an ideology but also become a political movement.

- 4) Revolutionary thinker who opposed capitalist order. He gave a programme of revolution and reorganization of society in the form of communism. His ideology is recognized as militant and revolutionary socialism.

6.12 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Review Marxian concepts of
 - a) Dialectical Materialism, b) Class-war.
- 2) Comment on Marxian concepts of withering away of the state.



LIBERTY AND JUSTICE – JOHN STUART MILL

Unit Structure :

- 7.1 Objective
- 7.2 Introduction\
- 7.3 Mill's views on Liberty
 - 7.3.1 More Importance to liberty
 - 7.3.2 Liberty as a concept- Meaning and Scope of liberty.
 - 7.3.3 Importance of liberty
 - 7.3.4 Relation between state's authority and liberty
 - 7.3.5 Mill's classification of liberty
 - 7.3.6 Categories of people immune from liberty
 - 7.3.7 Evaluation of Mill's views on liberty
- 7.4 Mill's views on representative Government
- 7.5 Unit End Questions

7.1 OBJECTIVE

To understand the concept of liberty and Mill's contribution to the development of concept of liberty.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

John Stuart Mill was the great exponent of individual liberty and Representative Democracy. He was a high priest of Individualism. The central theme of Mill's political theory is individual liberty and representative.

1) Systematic Training: John Stuart Mill was born in London in 1806. He was the son of James Mill, a noted thinker, writer. His father James Mill put very exacting standards of intellectual achievement before his son and gave the systematic training to him. At the age of three, Mill was initiated to the study of Greek. At twelve he was reading Aristotle in original Greek.

2) Lived very active life : At the age of sixteen, he founded the utilitarian society, whence the scholars had met in London to discuss Bentham's ideas on utilitarian philosophy.

3) He also joined East India Company's staff in London.

He made his debut in the House of Commons in 1866 by representing Westminster. After holding responsible positions, he devoted his entire time to writing.

Mill's greatest work: Was "On Liberty" and "Considerations of Representative Government".

7.3 MILL'S VIEWS ON LIBERTY

7.3.1 John Stuart Mill is universally regarded as the champion of liberty. His views regarding liberty are expressed in his book "On Liberty" which was published in (1859)

Mill gave importance to individual liberty because there are some reasons which are born out from the circumstances in England. In 1832 Reform Act was passed by the Government of England. It expanded the governmental machinery and increased functions of the state. Simultaneously there was a demand for more liberty by the people. All these circumstances made liberty of the individual the theme in England in the middle of the 19th century.

In that situation Mill published his essay "On Liberty", to defend the case of individual liberty. His book was a powerful plea for individual liberty against the government interference. He said Acts made by the government were tyrannical and interfered in individual freedom. J. S. Mill believes that the government comes into existence for social well being. Political institutions find their basis in human will and interest.

Liberty as a concept

Liberty is extremely important in democracy. It is an essential condition for all-round development of human personality.

7.3.2 Meaning Scope of Liberty :

Liberty means freedom of an individual. We need liberty to protect ourselves from undue interference of the state. Hence area of action of the state should be limited. Any extension in the activities of the state means erosion of individual liberty. Individualist like Mill believed that the state comes into existence to protect life, liberty and property of the individual.

In welfare states; states take up the responsibility of development of an individual and society. Hence it is essential to have reasonable restrictions on individual.

With reasonable restrictions of the state on liberty everyone can enjoy, liberty better. It creates an environment where development takes place.

Mill was a great exponent of Liberty. He defended the case of individual liberty in his book "On Liberty".

7.3.3 Importance of Liberty

1) Mill believed that the progress of society depended largely on the originality and energy of the individual. The society would be enriched by the variety of characters in it. Hence he emphasizes that the individual must be allowed maximum liberty to determine his own affairs.

2) Need for the enrichment of individuals personality. If state does not provide them an opportunity to develop and expand their mental faculties, it is neither good for the individuals nor for the government. He regarded liberty as the most important principle to protect and promote individuality.

3) Ultimately value of the state depends upon the quality of individuals.

7.3.4 Relation between the state and Liberty :

Mill lays down as a general principle that government interference in the activity of individuals should be reduced to minimum. On the basis of utility, he advocated a complete system of individualism. Mill explained the relationship between the state and the liberty of the people as follows :-

1) J. S. Mill believed that an individual has two aspects of his life.

1) The individual aspect – which concerned him alone 2) Social aspect – every individual is the integral part of society. Accordingly the actions of individual may be divided into two categories i.e.

1) Self regarding actions – Individual is sovereign over his own body and mind. 2) Other regarding actions The actions of the individual, which affect society can be regulated by the state. It is a social aspect of individual's personality. Here the society has the right of interference in individual's actions.

But this interference must be reduced to the minimum. Any increase in state interference and action is prejudicial to the liberty

of the individual and to the development of his personality. According to Mill state action can mean collective tyranny.

3) Mill was against excessive state interference – He said state has the right of regulating the actions of individuals which affect the society. The state can compel the individual to perform his duties and obligations as a member of the society.

But in actions of the individual which concern him alone, the state should not interfere. The individual should be allowed to carry his opinion into practice at his own cost. The state should not interfere in the affairs of the associations or corporations which affect their members only. The function of the state is to enhance liberty.

7.3.5 Mill's classification of Liberty:

Mill pleads for certain freedoms for the individual without which he cannot develop his personality property. These freedoms are as follows

- Freedom of conscience \
- Liberty of thought and its expression
- Liberty of pursuits and tastes
- Liberty of association.
- Liberty to pursue his own vocation in life.
- Liberty of religion and morals.

Mill has stressed on liberty of thought and expression.

The society must follow the individual freedom of thought and expression. Society must not suppress individual's opinion on the plea that his opinion is contrary to commonly held opinion. Freedom of expression is very useful because it leads to discussion and discovery of truth.

Freedom of thought and expression leads to the development of personality on individual lines. Therefore variety of characters which enrich the society.

7.3.6 Categories of people immune from liberty:

Mill excludes the following categories of people from liberty.

- Mentally – retarded people do not have the right to liberty.
- The children are not allowed to enjoy the liberty.
- Liberty is not for the backward people or races.

7.3.7 Evaluation on Mill's views on Liberty:

Criticism:

- Over-simplified categorization of human actions – The division of human actions as done by Mill is not at all possible. No individual is an isolated unit in himself. Each action of the individual will definitely affect others directly or indirectly. At any moment any individual's action can be self-regarding as well as other regarding simultaneously.
- Individual no judge of his welfare – Mill is of the opinion that the individual knows his welfare and therefore, he should be allowed to give vent to his feelings without any state interference. But the realities of life reveal a reverse picture of individuals. eg. A drunkard does not know his good when he takes wine.
- Mill does not care for social customs and traditions. To him individual is not responsible to the society for his self regarding actions. It means he does not care for social customs and traditions. eg. If an individual walks naked on the road in violation of social customs, in the pursuit of his interest, he can not do so. Walking naked on the road, does not violate any state laws or interfere in other's rights of liberties but such an act violates social norms, for which Mill has no regard.
- Production of variety of characters – a myth Mill is of the opinion that variety is the spice of life. According to him if the individuals are allowed to act in their own way without any interference of the state, this will result in the creation of variety of characters and as such this variety would enrich the human society.

But Mill does not consider that the state's acts of regulation of human conduct can create discipline, educated and cultured individuals. The emergence of the so-called variety of characters may instead of enriching society, pervert the society which may degenerate into groups.

- More freedom harmful for the development of personality. Mill does not realize that impulses and desires of the individual may be unhealthy and are not always a sure guide to proper development of the personality or proper social action.
- Mill excludes some people from availing liberty. eg. backward races. Hence critics commented on him as "Mill was the prophet of empty liberty and an abstract individual."

He was aware of the defects of capitalism and the exploitation of the working class. But still Mill did not want a radical change in economic system. For him, socialism was not the right answer to these problems.

He was a firm believer in capitalism. He had humanitarian approach towards the problem of exploitation. But he was in favour of equality and egalitarian rule. He wanted everything within the liberal democratic and capitalist framework.

He had belief in elites rule. According to him, the society will grow and make progress only under the exclusive guidance of the elite class. Because they are a class of better people. These outstanding individuals are real gems of the society, because of them social progress is possible.

Conclusion: J. S. Mill is the chief advocate of individuality and liberty of the individual.

Summary Table

Mill's view on Liberty						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Liberty is more important than utility	Meaning and scope	Importance of liberty	Relation between state and liberty	Classification of liberty	Excluded some people from liberty	evaluation

7.4 MILL'S VIEWS ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Mill in his book "Representative Government" suggested reforms for a good Government. He himself was a member of House of Commons in England. He observed some shortcomings in the nature and working of democracy in England. He was a lover of democracy who clarified basic issues and pointed out ways of building up institutions. His views about the government are as follows-

- 1) **Democracy is the best form of government** – He believed that democracy makes men happier and better. In this system every citizen has a voice in the expression of the will of the state. In this system ruler cannot impose his will on people. Representative governments make people self-reliant by teaching them to stand up for their rights.
- 2) **Democracy is not suitable to all societies** – Democracy is suitable when all citizens are trained in the ways of democracy, democracy should be introduced in a society and all should get

the right to vote. Every political society must discover the institutions best suited for itself in the conditions in that country.

The best human intellect must be employed for establishing and maintaining the best possible political institutions.

3) Duty of the Government – Government is impossible without an enlightened political community. Mill said the first element of good government is the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community. 19th is the duty of the Government to improve the material conditions of the community as well as mental and intellectual advancement of the people. It must be a training ground for the citizens in political education and the art of enlightened citizenship. A government must be so organized as to bring the best wisdom at its service.

4) Democracy suffers from two dangers - Mill regarded the representative form of government is the best form of government. But it suffers from two dangers –

- General ignorance and incapacity in the controlling body in the state and in the parliament.
- The danger of the democratic machinery being in the controlling hands of a section of population, whose interests are not identical with the general welfare of the whole community.

5) Reforms in the Representative Government- Hence Mill suggested following reforms in the Representative Government.

1) Voting Rights – Mill recommended that voting rights should be given to only those who possess a certain amount of intellectual capacity. Mill was not apposed to universal franchise. But he said an enlightened citizen would ensure proper functioning of the government. He advocated educational qualification for voters.

2) Plural vote – Mill recommended a system of plural voting to highly educated citizens such as Profs, lawyer's. Plural voting means weightage is to be given to education. The persons with greater intelligence and education should have extra votes the judgment of the wiser and more knowledgeable should have a superior weight.

Mill was critical of the electoral system which established uniformity instead of recognizing the qualities of the individuals. He stressed on plural voting because he had distrust about the lower

classes. He does not have much faith in the ability of the average man's capacity.

- 3) Advocated the leadership of the elite class** – Mill's democracy had an elitist foundation. He said elites alone are capable of bringing in real social and political progress.

For him mass rule is rule by mediocrity. It never ensures progress of a superior quality because masses are ignorant and incompetent and have a poor judgment. Mill advocated in the leadership of the bourgeoisie class. He argued that whatever inequality results out of special treatment to the bourgeoisie class should be tolerated as these better individuals will surely lead society to betterment.

- 4) Proportional Representation** – Mill supported the system of proportional representation. He was of the opinion that minorities were insufficiently represented in the British Parliament.

- 5) Open Ballot** – Mill had suggested the implementation of the open ballot system instead of the secret ballot system.

In the open ballot system, common men having less knowledge about the political system will be guided by the wiser persons in the society. The assumption behind suggestion was that common people does not understand their responsibilities and generally waste their votes.

The system of secret voting would ultimately make the people vote with selfish and private motives. Therefore, he advocated 'open ballot'.

- 6) Emancipation of women and women franchise** – Mill paid attention to the question of women's right in the 19th century. He had a strong plea to end discrimination on the basis of sex. He was the first to raise the issue of women's emancipation in the British Parliament. He said lack of opportunities prevented them from making their contributions to the society. He graved that equality with men in many fields will enable women to make valuable contributions to the society. In the House of Commons he made an appeal to extend the right to vote to the women. He was in the forefront in the women franchise movement which was getting organized in the latter half of the 19th century.

Mill says, "Women are naturally equal with men and observable differences in their attributes are due to education and circumstances". He was of the opinion that equal educational opportunities should be provided to women.

Secondly their political participation should be increased. He actively supported the women's franchise movement both within and outside the parliament.

7) People's participation in administration and exercise of sovereign authority – Mill said every citizen should have a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty but he is occasionally called on to take an actual part of the government by the personal discharge of some public functions.

8) Mill did not want a radical change in the economic system- For him, socialism was not the right answer to these problems like exploitation of the working class. He was a firm believer in capitalism.

He had humanitarian approach towards the problem of exploitation. He was in favour of equality and equalitarian rule but all these things he wanted within the liberal democratic and capitalist framework. He advocated in the leadership of the bourgeoisie class.

9) He refuses to give sovereign power to the representative assembly.

He favours a smaller expert body-a commission of legislation – to make laws. He had no regard for amateur political executive.

Evaluation :

Mill was a true democrat who pointed out basic issues and ways of building up democracy-

- Mill favoured intellectual Aristocracy. He trust democracy only in the hands of those who possessed intelligence, education and higher character. He thought that democracy, liberty was not suitable for all kinds of people. He gave importance to quality (virtues) than quantity (number) of the people in democratic system.
- He was a great feminist
- Great champion of individualism and liberty of the individual.

7.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain Mill's views on liberty.
- 2) Write on Mill's views on representative Government.



JOHN RAWLS

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 8.1 Objectives
- 8.2 Introduction
- 8.3 Life Sketch (In Brief)
- 8.4 Rawls 'Theory of Justice'
- 8.5 Rawls on 'The Original Position'
- 8.6 Principles of Justice
- 8.7 Rawls on 'Distributive Justice'
- 8.8 Summary
- 8.9 Reference

8.1 OBJECTIVES:

To know John Rawls 'Theory of Justice' and to understand its relevance in today's world.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

John Rawls 'A Theory of Justice' is an important contribution to political philosophy. It has received serious attention from economists, legal scholars, political scientists, sociologist, healthcare resource allocators, and theologians. Rawls is regarded as a moral – political philosopher, representing the classical traditional theory of Plato, Kant and Mill. The central issue in Rawls political philosophy is to establish a 'just society' and provide a better alternative to the traditional dominant utilitarian theory.

8.3 LIFE SKETCH (IN BRIEF)

John Rawls (1921-2002) was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 21, 1921. He graduated from the Kent School in 1939, completed B.A. at Princeton University in 1943, and received his Ph. D. from Princeton in 1950. he was also a Fulbright Fellow at

Oxford University (1952-1953), where he was influenced by the Liberal Political Theorist and historian Isaiah Beclin and the legal theorist H.L.A. Hart.

Rawls academic career ranged from being an instructor at Princeton University (1950-1952) to serving as assistant and associate professor at Cornell University, where he became a full professor in 1962. Later, Rawls also taught at the Harvard University for almost forty years. His achievements included serving as President of the American Association of Political and Legal Philosophers (1970-1972) as well as of the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association (1974). He was also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. During his entire academic career, Rawls wrote numerous articles and is best known for his monumental 'A Theory of Justice' (1971).

CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Rawls is noted for his contributions to liberal political philosophy. Among the ideas from Rawls work that have received wide attention are:

- Justice as Fairness
- Distributive Justice
- The Original Position
- Reflective equilibrium
- Overlapping consensus
- Public reason

The outcome of his efforts was the publication of his celebrated work 'A Theory of Justice' in 1971. This work was universally acclaimed as a major advance in the political Theory.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Which is John Rawls most celebrated work?
- 2) Name two political ideas of John Rawls?

8.4 RAWLS THEORY OF JUSTICE

In 'A Theory of Justice', Rawls attempts to reconcile freedom and equality in a principled way, offering an account of "Justice as fairness". Rawls is not concerned merely with human welfare but with each individual welfare.

The main objective of the 'Theory of Justice', is to provide a universal theory which will go beyond all ideological debate and provide a better alternative to the traditional dominant utilitarian theory. Rawls, worked with the model of the 'Social contract Theory' began by thinkers like John Locke, J. J. Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant to explain his theory. He held that justice is the first virtue of social institutions and that the good of the whole society cannot override the inviolability that each person has founded on justice.

The first striking feature of the contribution of Rawls is the rejection of the utilitarian philosophy and its substitution by an alternative moral perspective. In his view, the basic flaw of the theory of utilitarianism is that it threatens to oppress some members of the society in the interest of the greatest good of the greatest number. Justice, according to Rawls, in the correct sense, should be regarded as the first virtue of all social institutions. What is therefore, required is that the whole case of justice should be studied in the light of an individual's liberty to achieve the goods in the midst of their scarcity and by maintaining the standards of self-respect. Each individual needs the guarantee of liberty and each desire to have it in the maximum possible form.

The principle of liberty, Rawls believes, also cannot reasonably require the unqualified granting of total liberty to everyone, rather the liberty of each must be limited by the need to protect the liberty of each. The case of individual liberty must be viewed in the light of the 'thin theory of the good'. Since primary goods are limited, each cannot get in a way that all become equal in respect of the achievement of the goods. The principle of distribution must be based on the standard of equality so that the deserving may get more than the undeserving.

The question of justice arises where there is conflict of interest. If there were perfect coincidence of interest, there would be no disputes requiring adjudication and therefore no need to have the principles of justice. Since, in real life, people disagree on moral principles, because they have conflicting interests, if they are put into a situation where these conflicting interests cannot influence them, they can reach an agreement. Rawls talks about the 'original position' which is a peculiar position and which is very much necessary to begin the process of contract.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) What is the main objective of John Rawls 'Theory of Justice'?
- 2) Why did Rawls reject the 'Utilitarian Philosophy'?

8.5 RAWLS ON 'THE ORIGINAL POSITION'

Rawls rejected the traditional arguments of the social contract theory thinkers who based their origin of the state beginning with the state of nature which generates the need for human political association. He developed an argument for 'Original Position' in 'Justice as Fairness' that the original position of equality corresponds to the state of Nature in traditional theory of the social contract. The "Original – Position" is not then an actual historical state of affairs rather it is a hypothetical notion which will lead to a certain idea of justice. Since, it is not a primitive condition or historical reality; the original position can be entered conceptually any time in order to explore the principles of justice.

Rawls depicted the original positions as one in which persons are ignorant of social status, differences in ability, fortunes, and even intelligence. They come together to negotiate the principles of justice that are to prevail in the society. Behind the "veil of ignorance", Rawls calls it, the principles of justice are chosen. In such a situation of radical equality, the principles of justice as fairness are chosen.

In the original position, the parties are not allowed to know the social positions or the particular comprehensive doctrines of the person's they represent. They also do not know person's race and ethnic group, sex or various endowments such as strength and intelligence all within the normal range.

The veil of ignorance is important to eliminate from the negotiation any possibility of the participants seeking to protect their own interest at the expense of the interests of others. The contingent historical advantages and accidental influences from the

past should not affect an agreement on principles that are to regulate the basic structure from the present into the future.

With the veil of ignorance no biases can occur among national deliberators who possess general wisdom and particular ignorance since no negotiator knows his own position in the society that is to be constituted. In such a situation the negotiators adopt principles of justice favoring the least advantaged in the society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) What is Rawls concept of 'The Original Position'?
- 2) Why is the 'Veil of Ignorance' important according to Rawls?

8.6 PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE

In the original position two principles of justice emerge. They are:

First Principle:

Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with similar system of liberty for all.

Second Principle:

Social and economic inequalities are to be so arranged that they are both:

- a) To the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, and
- b) Attached to offices and position open to all under the conditions of fair equality of opportunity. At the same time, self-respect of man should be protected.

Rawls also specifies that the first principle is prior to the second, meaning that equality of liberty must be pursued prior to the distribution of social and economic resources. In the event of conflict between the two principles, the negotiators will give an absolute priority to the first principle over the second. According to Rawls, these 'Two Principles of Justice' constitute the fundamental

concept of justice and that attempts will be made to establish a social order within the constraints of these principles.

The principles of justice are adopted and applied in a four-stage sequence. In the first stage, the parties adopt the principles of justice behind a veil of ignorance. Limitations on knowledge available to the parties are progressively relaxed in the next **three stages**:

- 1) The stage of the constitutional convention, here they frame a constitution specifying the powers of the government and the basic rights of the citizens.
- 2) The legislative stage in which laws are enacted as the constitution allows and permits. The negotiators here, become the legislators.
- 3) The final stage in which the rules are applied by administrators and followed by citizens generally and the constitution and laws are interpreted by members of the judiciary. At this last stage, everyone had complete access to all the facts.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) What is Rawls first principle of Justice?

8.7 RAWLS ON 'DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE'

John Rawls is one of the most renowned redistributionist theorists. Rawls begins his critic of the equal opportunities principle by declaring that the natural distribution of talent is neither just nor unjust but it is a "natural fact". He further stress that inequalities of birth and natural endowment are undeserved and arbitrary from a moral point of view. Hence to reward those who endowed with superior ability or talent would be arbitrary justice. He pleads for real justice which demands that we compensate those endowed with lesser abilities rather than reward those with superior ability. According to Rawls, Justice is an "ethic of redress", not an "ethic of rewards".

The problem of distributive justice in 'justice as fairness' is: how are the institutions of the basic structure to be regulated as one unified scheme of institutions so that a fair, efficient, and productive system of social cooperation can be maintained over time, from one generation to the next? Rawls was aware that if a state is given wide regulatory powers it can become dictatorial and behave in an arbitrary manner. Hence, Rawls postulates "a constitutional democracy". In other words the regulatory state must be constitutionally restrained and made accountable and responsible to the people.

John Rawls has given two basic moral principles of justice which a constitutional democracy should satisfy:

First, each person engaged in institution affected by it has an equal right to the most extensive liberty compatible with a like liberty for all.

Second, inequalities as defined by the institutional structure or fostered by it are arbitrary, unless it is reasonable to expect that they will work out to everyone's advantage and provided that the positions and offices to which they attach or from which they maybe gained are open to all. These are offered as principles by which should be judged the basic structure of any society, including the political constitution and the principal economic and social institutions which together define a person's liberties and rights and affect his life – prospects, what he may expect to be and how well he may expect to be fair. Rawls, thus, comes to lay down a contractarian theory of justice in which participation in the understanding of justice as fairness makes a type of government called 'constitutional Democracy'.

Rawls further proposes, for distribution to be just, that in a constitutional democracy the government should "regulate a free economy in a certain way". Which would a) keep markets competitive and resources fully employed (b) ensure an appropriate social minimum to all (c) distribute property and wealth widely and (d) underwrite equality of opportunity by providing education to all.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Why does John Rawls propose “Constitutional Democracy”?
- 2) Elaborate John Rawls second basic moral principle of justice which a constitutional democracy should satisfy?

8.8 SUMMARY

John Rawls ‘Theory of Justice’ sparked a revival in political philosophy. It is one of the most important works in philosophy in the latter half of the 20th century.

Rawls ‘Theory of Justice’ has given us a powerful new instrument for illuminating certain important social problems emanating from the basic issue of ‘ideal’ relationship between a picture of justice in the liberal society. It is also considered as a contribution to the case of substantive social justice, because Rawls persistently stresses that all departures from the norm of equality have to be rationally justified. Rawls work has thus, reached beyond the confines of the academy to help influence the reality about which it speaks: the world of our political order.

Robert Nozick has described the book of Rawls as ‘a powerful, deep, subtle wide-ranging systematic work in political and moral philosophy and has gone to the length of saying that now political philosophers “must either work within Rawls” theory, or explain why not.....”

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COLONIALISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF LOKMANYA TILAK

Unit Structure:

- 9.1 Objective
- 9.2 Introduction
- 9.3 Meaning of Colonialism
- 9.4 British Colonial rule in India and its effects.
- 9.5 Political philosophy of Lokmanya Tilak
 - 9.5.1 Life and work of Lokmanya Tilak
 - 9.5.2 Moderate phase of India's freedom struggle
- 9.6 Tilak's views on colonial rule
 - 9.6.1 Advocated radicalism to fight colonialism
 - 9.6.2 Tilak's four point action programme
 - 9.6.3 Passive Resistance
 - 9.6.4 Cultural nationalism
 - 9.6.5 Religion as a political tool
 - 9.6.6 Given priority to the freedom of the country.
 - 9.6.7 Tilak's philosophy of social change
- 9.7 Concept of Swaraj
- 9.8 Unit end questions
- 9.9 Summary table

9.1 OBJECTIVE

To study about colonialism and self-government and understand the political thoughts of Lokmanya Tilak.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Lokmanya Tilak gave modern world two profound, inspired and elevating mantras of Swarajya and Karma-yoga. Tilak was not an armchair thinker, nor was only a political philosopher in the academic sense. He was a practical politician and his main task was the political, emancipation of India. As a political leader Tilak's role was very significant in congress activities. For 40 years he

dedicated himself to the cause of the emancipation of his country without any desire for personal reward. This political method and attitude towards the British rule in India was different. In this chapter we are studying Lokmanya Tilak's political thoughts towards colonialism and self-government.

9.3 MEANING OF COLONIALISM

Colonialism is similar to imperialism, which involves one country having political and economic control over another country.

Colonialism is the policy or practice by which one country, installs a settlement of its people on the land of another society.

The European nations colonized the continents of America, Asia, Africa and Australia for economic reasons such as to secure access to raw material or to provide markets for their goods. In some cases, the Christian Church strongly supported colonization efforts, as a way of gaining converts among non-believers.

9.4 BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN INDIA

After the battle of Plassey in 1757, Britishers led the foundation of the colonial rule in India. Indian subcontinent came under the rule and control of the British East India Company.

After the revolt of 1857 power came from the East India Company to the British Parliament.

In 1885 Indian National Congress was established. The Indian struggle for freedom from the British rule intensified during the 20th century.

The Home rule movement demanded the right of self-government in 1916.

The Poorna Swaraj Resolution was adopted at the Lahore session in December 1929.

The civil disobedience movement of 1930 and the Quit India movement of 1942 culminated in decolonization. The Indian Independence Act was enacted by the British Parliament on 18th July 1947. India attained independence from the British colonial rule on 15th August, 1947.

Effects: Effects of British Colonialism [rule and control over India]

1) Political Subjection –

India was transformed into a classic colony of Britishers and political subjection came for Indian people. It attempts to reshape the colony to serve the interests of the metropolis.

2) Economic exploitation –

India became a major market for British manufacturers and big source of raw material and food-stuffs. British intervention in economy, trade and industry.

3) Control over all –

Transport system, mines, industries, trade, shipping, banks were under foreign control. Indian army, police, civil service acted as the chief instrument to maintain and protect British imperialism.

4) Cultural subordination –

British intervention in social and cultural fields.

5) Became a link with the west –

Ideas which were developed in Western Europe made their entry into India. These ideas helped Indians not only to take a critical look at their own society but also to understand the true nature of British imperialism in India.

9.5 POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF LOKMANYA TILAK

9.5.1 Life and work of Lokmanya Tilak

Bal Gangadhar Tilak popularly known as the Lokmanya was born in a middle class family at Ratnagiri in Konkan district of Maharashtra on 23rd July, 1856. His father was a teacher and a Sanskrit scholar. Young Tilak was brought up in an atmosphere of orthodoxy and traditions. This instilled in him a love for Sanskrit and respect for ancient Indian religion and culture. His father was transferred to Pune when he was ten years of age.

While he was pursuing his studies in 1876 an abortive attempt to overthrow the British Government was made by a group of revolutionaries under the leadership of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke. After graduation and L.L.B. instead of joining the government service or practicing law, he decided to serve the country.

Believing that the best way to serve the country was to educate the people, he and his friend Gopal Ganesh Agarkar decided to devote their lives to the cause of education. He started his career as school teacher in New English School with the objective of spreading the nationalist education.

He started two weeklies 'Maratha in English' and 'Kesari' in Marathi. He criticized the British government and its policies through his writings. He tried to make people conscious of their rights. His writings antagonized the government and he was imprisoned because of it on several occasions.

His greatest work was the 'Gita Rahasya' in which he stressed on the concept of 'Karma-Yoga' instead of renunciation.

In 1889, Tilak joined the Indian National Congress. However, the Indian National Congress was under the control of moderate politics. Lokmanya Tilak gave a new turn to the Indian Political thinking and forced the Indian National Congress to adopt a radical programme for fighting for the freedom of the country. Tilak's view about colonialism and self-government were different than moderators.

9.5.2 Moderate phase of India's freedom struggle

In order to understand the political philosophy of Lokmanya Tilak it is essential to understand the prevalent political thinking in India, which is known as 'Moderate phase'.

The first phase in India's freedom struggle from 1885 to 1905 was characterized as the moderate politics. The leadership was with the enlightened liberal middle-class Indians. Moderates believed in constitutionalism and liberalism. They stressed on following points.

- 1) Constitutionalism – Moderates adopted constitutional methods and means, i.e. discussing the problems, adopting resolutions and making representations to the government. They believed in gradual progress towards freedom.
- 2) They had love for the British way of life and faith in the British government sense of justice.
- 3) They extended cooperation to the government and in return, the prominent leaders were nominated on the legislative council.
- 4) They credited to the British rule for establishing law and order and introducing effective administration. Thus moderates had faith in 'Divine dispensation' and had a soft attitude towards the alien rulers.

9.6 TILAK'S VIEWS ON COLONIAL RULE

9.6.1 Advocated radicalism to fight colonialism

Tilak brought about a departure in the national movement by adopting radical methods of agitation than those followed by the earlier moderates.

Tilak considered the constitutional approach of the moderates as a sign of waste of time and weakness. About constitutional methods Tilak said what we had under the British rule was only a penal code and not a constitution. Hence, there was no question of our adopting constitutional methods. He thought the policy of prayers and appeal of moderates did not give any significant results. The British treated Indians as second class citizens in their own country. British policies are anti – Indian. For Swaraj we should not depend on British government should we pray and petition to them.

9.6.2 Tilak stressed on Four point action programme

He stressed on self-help in terms of Swadeshi, boycott, national education and passive resistance. It is called as four point action programme.

Swadeshi and boycott suggested by Tilak were aimed at generating independent economic development. Economic exploitation was one of the primary motives of British imperialism. Their policies were responsible for the total destruction of the Indian industries, crafts, trade, commerce. On this self help alone was the remedy. The tools of this self help were ‘boycott’ and ‘Swadeshi’.

Boycott – It means a firm determination on the part of the Indians not to use foreign goods and not to assist alien bureaucracy to carry of the administration of the country.

Tilak observed that there was no use believing in Swadeshi without believing in boycott of foreign goods. He said “when you prefer to accept Swadeshi you must boycott Videshi goods”. Without boycott Swadeshi cannot flourish.

Swadeshi – It was considered to be self-help which implied dependence on Indian-made goods. Swadeshi was the great encouragement to industrial development in India. Thus Swadeshi was an acceptable way in which Tilak and the nationalists had been teaching the people the new spirit i.e. self respect and pride about their heritage.

National education – Tilak was highly critical and not satisfied with the system of western education. He cautioned that the western education started by Lord Macaulay was dangerous to the future health and welfare of the nation. Through such education the younger generations were being weaned away from not only the

great majority of the Indian people, but also away from the value system of India's civilization.

He wanted education to infuse among the people a sense of respect and affinity for their own religion hence he drew a different scheme of education which they called 'National Education'.

Tilak and Vishnu Shashtri Chipulnkar started the New English School at Poona in January 1880, and undertook the work of teaching for a nominal salary.

He emphasized on the four factors which are essential in making a national system of education. These are (1) secular education (2) religious education (3) industrial education (4) political education. He gave the foremost importance to religious education. He said that this type of education is needed because the study, of high principles keeps people away from bad pursuits.

Tilak advocated the establishment of national schools and colleges throughout the country to provide wholesome education, envisaging the new spirit of self help and self independence.

9.6.3 Passive Resistance

Tilak was a prophet of an aggressive nationalism. Tilak substituted the use of passive resistance in place of constitutional methods, in India's struggle for Swaraj. He had declared, "You must realize that you are a great factor in the power with which the administration in India is conducted. You are the ones who enable the machinery to work so smoothly".

Passive Resistance was a revolutionary programme. It amounted to a silent revolt against British imperialism. His argument was that British would never give anything which went against their interest. We needed to bring pressure on the alien bureaucracy in support of our demand.

He accepted the legal methods of political organization and agitation. Passive resistance includes that we should not give assistance to the government to collect revenue, in fighting beyond the frontiers outside India and in carrying on the administration of justice. All this we should do with united efforts.

He felt that the country was not suitable for revolutionary activity. Also he never advocated absolute non-violence. He supported the action of Chhatrapati Shivaji in killing Afzal Khan. As a moralist, he put the highest importance to the purification of intentions. Hence if Arjuna or Chhatrapati Shivaji or any other patriot were to commit some violent deed, being impelled by higher

altruistic motives, Tilak would not condemn such persons. He always appreciated the daring of chafekar and other revolutionaries.

However, he did not favour political murders and terrorist activities as instruments of political action. He felt that violence and political murders would only give scope to the bureaucrats to crush the national movement.

9.6.4 Cultural Nationalism

Tilak emphasized the psychological conception of nationalism.

Tilak wanted to enlighten the people about the message of the Vedas and the Geeta for providing spiritual energy and moral zeal to the nation. He thought a recovery of the healthy and vital traditions of the old culture of India was essential. Hence to re-awaken India to her past glories, he started Ganapati and Shivaji festivals. He felt that the roots of Indian nationalism must lie not in the more intellectual appeals of the western liberal but in the sentiments and emotions of the Indian masses. He thought Shivaji was the symbol of the resentment and resistance of the people against oppression and injustice. According to him common heritage was the vital force of nationalism to create the feeling of oneness among the people. Thus Tilak was a nationalist and the purpose of organizing the Ganesh and Shiv Jayanti was to arouse the national spirit. Tilak organized Shivaji festival and advised the people to fight for the independence of country.

9.6.5 Religion as a political tool –

Culture and religion had been the main basis of Tilak's nationalism. According to Tilak religion had a powerful emotional appeal. It should be utilized in the service of politics. To Tilak the ultimate goal of the national movement was Swaraj. In order to involve people in the movement he started Ganapati festival. Hindu places of worship became platforms to preach politics of national independence. He said Swaraj was a moral and religious necessity of every man. For the performance of religious duties man need to be free. Without political freedom higher freedom is impossible.

9.6.6 Given priority to the freedom of the country –

Tilak popularized the idea of Home-rule. According to him without freedom moral and spiritual life was not possible. Foreign imperialism will kill the soul of a nation. For 40 years he dedicated himself to the cause of the emancipation of his country without any desire for personal reward. He infused the spirit of political

assertiveness and patriotism among people by his two papers 'The Kesari' and the 'Maratha'. In April 1916, he started Home-rule movement and prepared the country for Swaraj. He gave a mantra "Swaraj is the birth right of Indians."

9.6.7 Tilak's Philosophy of Social changes –

He opposed to a complete and immediate programme of social reforms. He also opposed foreign governmental interference in social reforms. He was a supreme nationalist and he put the primary importance on political emancipation.

According to him the prime need of the hour was concentration of energy for the attainment of political rights. His idea was that the social and religious solidarity of the people must be preserved for successful struggle of independence.

He opposed to the fact that a foreign bureaucratic government should make interference in the field of social and religious reforms. He said reforms should be introduced gradually through a process of education.

He wanted genuine reform and not simple imitation of western life and manners. He believed that reform must come from the people themselves and not from a foreign government. He believed in organic, evolutionary and spontaneous reforms.

9.6.8 Conclusion

Tilak taught the people the value of organized self-help. He brought political consciousness and unrest by his propaganda and activities. He was the prophet of aggressive nationalism.

He was a practical politician and his main task was the political emancipation.

9.7 TILAK'S CONCEPT OF SWARAJ AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

In 1895, Tilak had reminded the people that Chhatrapati Shivaji had recreated Swaraj as the necessary foundation of social and political freedom, progress and morality.

According to him Swaraj was our Dharma and to attain it is our Karma-yoga.

In his speeches and writings Tilak avoided the word independence and always contented himself with the word self-government. He began his home rule agitation in the year 1916.

Meaning of Swaraj and self-Government

According to Lokmanya Tilak Swaraj meant self-rule within the British Empire. Tilak defined Swaraj as 'people rule' instead of that of bureaucracy. Self government is our goal. It is birth right of Indians. We want control over our administrative machinery. Tilak was not opposed to the King-Emperor. He only wanted to change the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Swaraj he means "Swaraj under British sovereignty." He said at present we are clerks in the hands of alien government. We do not want to become clerks.

Before Tilak Gokhale and other freedom fighters stressed on only political reforms. But Tilak stressed on Swaraj and self-government. It is more than home-rule. It implies enlightened self-control of the individuals inspiring detached performance of their duties Tilak felt that materialism debases human life and reduces it to an animal level. Tilak wanted men to rise above the level of animal pleasures through self discipline and self-efforts. Hence he conceives the fulfillment of human life not only in enjoying rights but also in selfless performance of duties. However all this would be possible only, if men and women were free from any kind of domination and control.

Realization of Swaraj

Lokmanya Tilak suggested following measures for the realization of swaraj.

- 1) Tilak wanted that political energies should be concentrated upon an organized propaganda for home rule. He wanted to introduce some wholesome changes in the administrative mechanism. He said present British administration is ruinous to the country.
- 2) In Swaraj people will manage their domestic affairs. India's problems could only be solved by the efforts of Indians. The operation and management of the domestic affairs of India should be by the Indians only.
- 3) War, peace, foreign affairs, and navy may not be given to the control of Indians.
- 4) He contemplated a federal type of political structure under Swaraj.
- 5) In Swaraj people will get all the rights which belong to man by nature.

6) For the realization of the Swaraj Tilak accepted the suitability of the western liberal institutions like constitutional government, rule of law, individual freedom, dignity of the person and so on.

The First World War had started in 1914 and the British sought co-operation of the people of India in the war efforts. They were aware of the fact that the people in India suffered due to increase in taxes, shortage of essential commodities and rising prices. The mounting discontent among the people was considered as an opportunity to pressurize the government by starting the 'Home Rule' movement. Tilak founded the Home Rule league at Poona in 1916. he traveled for the cause of the Home Rule in Maharashtra. He gave to the people of India the mantra that "Swaraj is the birth right of Indians." Tilak participated in the Home Rule movement for attaining self government for the Indian people.

Conclusion – Thus Tilak presented a concrete programme of action and the scheme of self-government.

9.8 QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain Lokmanya Tilak's political philosophy.
- 2) Write Tilak's concept of Swaraj.
- 3) Write Tilak's views on colonialism.

9.9 SUMMARY TABLE

Introduction :
1) Colonialism and its effect 2) Life of Tilak 3) Work of Tilak
Tilak's Political Philosophy:
1) Opposed to Moderates 2) Radicalism to fight for colonialism 3) Four point programme 4) Cultural nationalism 5) Religion as a political tool 6) Priority to freedom 7) Opposed to social reforms 8) British empire as curse
Tilak on Swaraj:
Conclusion:



COLONIALISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Unit Structure:

- 10.1 Objective
- 10.2 Introduction
- 10.3 Sources of Gandhi's thought
- 10.4 Political thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi
 - 10.4.1 Spiritualization of politics – Purity of Ends and Means
 - 10.4.2 Critique of modern civilization
 - 10.4.3 Swaraj and Gandhi
 - 10.4.4 Satyagraha
 - 10.4.5 Concept of Sarvodaya
 - 10.4.6 Decentralization of political power.
 - 10.4.7 Decentralization in economic field.
 - 10.4.8 State and Government
 - 10.4.9 Role of Ethics in politics
 - 10.4.10 Role of Education
 - 10.4.11 True civilization
- 10.5 Difference in the political thoughts of Tilak and Gandhi
- 10.6 Unit End Questions.

10.1 OBJECTIVE

To study about political thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi on colonialism and self Government.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

The opposition to colonialism and programme of action for Swaraj, ways and means to oppose colonial rule underwent qualitative change. It can be divided in three phases.

- Ist phase i.e. moderates
- IInd phase i.e. Extremists
- IIIrd phase i.e. Gandhi era

Ist phase of Indian freedom struggle is known as moderates phase. In this phase they opposed to the 'economic drain' of India by British colonialism and used constitutional means e.g. petitions and prayers for independence. They believed in the cultural superiority of modern western civilization and gave importance to social reforms.

IInd phase of freedom struggle is known as Extremists phase. They stressed on radical and agitational methods for freedom and demanded 'Home-rule'

IIIrd phase is known as Gandhi era. The opposition to colonialism and the ways and means to oppose colonial rule underwent qualitative change during the Gandhi era. The emphasis shifted from 'home rule to independence' during the Gandhi era by non-violent means.

10.3 SOURCES OF GANDHI'S THOUGHT

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is called as 'Mahatma'. The 'Father of the Indian Nation' was born on 2nd October, 1869 at Porbandar in Gujarat in a conservative Hindu family. After the completion of his studies in law in England, he went to South Africa to attend legal matters of his client.

The South African experience adds a moral dimension to his thinking. In South Africa he was involved in a struggle against the racist-white minority government to uphold the human rights and the dignity of the non-whites. In the course of his struggle in Africa from 1893 to 1914, he evolved the technique of Satyagraha for resisting injustice.

Indian politics had been the laboratory in which he experimented Indian values in the form of new technique – eg. Gandhian concepts of sarvodaya satyagraha are the products of Gita and Upanishad writers like Thoreau, Ruskin and Tolstoy also influenced the moral and political philosophy of Gandhiji. He learnt the principle of civil-disobedience from Thoreau.

Gandhi had touch with rural India – After his return from South Africa in 1915, he undertook the tour of the country on the advice of his 'political Guru', Gopal Krishna Gokhale. In this tour Gandhi got first hand understanding of the people of India and their problems. It made him closer to the Indian reality.

Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the Indian political scene at a very crucial period of the Indian national movement. The people had lost faith in the principle of political moderation as imperialistic

exploitation and oppression had become extremely severe. The moderate leaders had been rejected, but the Extremists and Terrorists were equally frustrated and leaderless.

In Gandhi's personality, there was the harmonious blending of the best elements of political moderation and extremism. He talked with a strength and determination unknown to the Extremist leaders, and even while talking softly but steadfastly in the language of love and non-violence, he struck terror in the hearts of the imperialist rulers.

He was a humanist and radical revivalist who fought not only against the colonialism and imperialism of foreigners but also against superstitious practices, religious hatred, casteism in India with equal vigour and dynamism.

10.4 POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi was a man of action, a realist and humanist. He had faith in the essential goodness of man.

He did not believe in armchair theorizing. His actions and experience characterize the political philosophy of Gandhiji. His method was essentially experimental and scientific. He did not write a treatise on political philosophy. However his views found expression in his autobiography and his articles in 'Young India', and 'Harijan' and in his speeches. The significant aspects of political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi are as follows.

- 1) Spiritualization of politics – About ends and means.
- 2) Critique of Modern civilization
- 3) Swaraj
- 4) Satyagraha
- 5) Concept of Sarvodaya or non-violent socialism.
- 6) Decentralization of political power and village panchayat.
- 7) Decentralization in economic field
- 8) State and Government
- 9) Role of Ethics in politics
- 10) Role of education
- 11) True civilization

10.4.1 Spiritualization of Politics

Gandhi's non-violent agitation made him the ideal of all the political leaders, who were striving for India's independence. The greatest contribution of Gandhiji to political theory is the spiritualization of politics. Gandhi stressed on purity of ends and means. He said the means must be ethically right. If not, the end

itself loses its value. The right and just means must be adopted to achieve right and just ends. eg. To achieve Swaraj Gandhiji adopted non-violent means.

10.4.2 Critique of modern civilization

Gandhi condemned modern civilization not because it was western or scientific but because it was materialistic and exploitative. (Exploitation of the weaker races of the earth). It made a human-being body centred, self-centred, placed materialistic wants over spiritual values. He says that the modern civilization brought and increased ‘bodily comforts’ through better houses, cloths, travel and mechanized production etc. These however have failed to bring happiness of the people. It made men slaves of many luxuries and divorced from ethics and morality.

He said progress of human civilization is to be measured in the scale of ethics, and not in the scale of pure materialism. True civilization consists not in the accumulation of commodities but in a deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants.

10.4.3 Gandhi’s views on Swaraj

Gandhi defined ‘Swaraj as a self-rule and self-restraint or autonomy of the moral self’

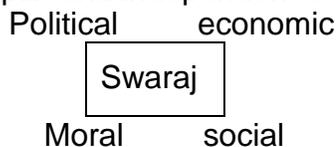
A) He said Indian Swaraj stood for more than political independence or political democracy. Indian freedom struggle was not to aim at the mere transfer of political power from British rulers to Indian leaders, who would then be operating the same modern western system of government.

It means according to Gandhi Indian Swaraj stood for more than political independence or political democracy.

B) Real Swaraj – It will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused.

C) Swaraj will not be Purna Swaraj until the poor are enabled to enjoy the necessities and amenities of life i.e. Ramrajya.

D) Swaraj is a complete independence of alien control. It includes a square of Swaraj – It includes political, economic, moral and social uplift and independence



- E) Major ingredients of process of Swaraj. In India Swaraj will come with the implementation of following factors :-
- 1) Decentralized participatory democracy
 - 2) Social equality
 - 3) Economic decentralization
 - 4) Spiritualization of politics
 - 5) Proper education to the masses
 - 6) Democratic Swaraj

In course of time Gandhi revised his views and said parliamentary democracy and constitutional government are also important means for Swaraj. In democratic Swaraj, spinning – wheel will be the master machine. Institutions like railways, courts will not be used for exploitation but to give justice to the people. Swaraj will not be Purna Swaraj until the poor are enabled to enjoy the necessities and amenities of life.

Thus Gandhi's concept of Swaraj was more than freedom of the country.

10.4.4 Satyagraha

Satyagraha is an appeal to man's reason and his sense of decency. It is a way of moral-political action for attaining Swaraj. It is the weapon of the non-violent struggle. It is something more than a method of resistance to particular legal norms. It became an instrument of struggle for positive objectives and for fundamental change. It is "a war without violence" or "Non-violent direct action". It is a force which is born out of Truth and non-violence relies on soul-force. It is consider superior than body force, brute force and force of arms. Satyagraha is a technique developed by Gandhi in order to solve political, social, economic conflicts in a peaceful manner; Gandhiji was convinced that no conflict could be solved permanently by violence. Gandhiji used it in South Africa against the policy of apartheid and later used it in India for the purpose of achieving independence.

Principles on which Satyagraha based

Satya, Ahimsa, self-suffering, strength, restrain in one's actions and non attachment are the principles on which Satyagraha is based. Meanings of these principles are as follows - According to Gandhi truth is absolute. But our knowledge and experience of it is relative and partial.

Acting on the basis of relative truth the satyagraha seeks to resolve basic conflicts and ensure social harmony through the non-violent path. Ahimsa is the means to the discovery of truth.

Ahimsa – According to Gandhi Ahimsa have various aspects.

Negative form of Ahimsa means not injuring to others whether in body or mind. Not hurt the person of any wrong doer or any ill will to him.

Positive form of Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity, good intention to others, even love to enemy. This active Ahimsa includes truth and fearlessness.

Refusal to do harm to others is a negative test of moral practical truth. Its positive test is action to promote the welfare of others. Self-suffering is the test of positive Ahimsa. Self-suffering by satyagraha is not out of their cowardice or weakness. It is based on higher form of courage.

Methods of Satyagraha are as follows:

Mahatma Gandhi adopted several methods while using Satyagraha as a means of resistance to the authority of the state i.e. the British Raj.

- 1) Political actions – pledges, prayers, fasts.
- 2) Non-cooperation – boycott, strikes, Hartal.
- 3) Civil-disobedience – picketing, non-payment of taxes, defiance of specific laws.

Gandhi believed that the British rule depended on the cooperation of the people of India. The British rule will not last even for a single day, if people become fearless and refuse to cooperate with the unjust and tyrannical British government.

The non-cooperation movement of 1921 failed to achieve the goal of Swaraj within one year. But it made some salutary contributions to the Indian national Movement. In 1921, the congress, which was a party of the educated middle class, became a highly organized party with a mass base. From 1921, uniform slogans were given throughout the country and the people followed a common ideology and policy under the leadership of the congress. Khadi became the official uniform for all congress men. Thus Gandhiji converted the national government into a highly revolutionary one and made it extremely popular.

The civil Disobedience Movement was launched by Gandhiji on 6th April 1930 by breaking the salt Act at Dandi. The civil disobedience movement was a total success and had paralysed the British government.

In 1942 the Quit India Movement started and Gandhi gave the battle cry of 'do or die'. He asked the people to be: ready to make any sacrifice for the attainment of independence. The Quit India Movement was a tremendous psychological victory for the people of India. It was demonstrated through action by the people that they would no longer tolerate British imperialism and were prepared to make any sacrifice for national independence. It created an intense and widespread anti-British feeling in India.

In Satyagraha principles to be observed by the Satyagrahis are the admission of Truths as relative, non-violence, toleration and self-suffering. Gandhi admitted that principles of Satyagraha were very difficult to practice but said essential for the worldly. According to Gandhiji, it can be successfully followed by those who are physically weak but morally strong. In Gandhi's words "The injunction, 'Love your enemy' is not only the noblest idealism, it is also the most practical politics,"

10.4.5 Concept of Sarvodaya or non-violent socialism

Gandhiji's concept of welfare state includes the idea of sarvodaya.

Gandhi brought the concept of sarvodaya from Gita and out of his experience. Having western education abroad gave him a chance to have a close observation of the different facets of capitalism. Capitalism breeds poverty, exploitation, inequality, and ignore needs of a community. It turns him a critic of capitalism. Sarvodaya is based on the concept of the unity of existence.

Meaning of Sarvodaya – Sarva (all) + Uday (rising) i.e. Rising of all, welfare of all.

According to him individual labour creates capital. But capital has a social utility. Gandhi reconstructed the concept of private property. One can have private property but not for one's use. It should be utilized for social needs.

Gandhiji believed in the doctrine of limits, A non-violent social order can be created on the basis of satisfaction of minimum needs of all. Self regulation of one's needs help oneself in creating a sarvodaya. One should voluntarily limit one's property and practice self-renunciation. He realized that property causes worry and is responsible for many of the anti-social activities. Gandhiji asked the rich to consider themselves as the trustees for the community and spend their property in the interests of the community as a whole. If the rich do not become trustees of their wealth and share it with the poor. Non-violent non-cooperation is the remedy on that. Because the rich cannot accumulate wealth without the cooperation of the poor in society.

It is a type of distributive justice Vinoba Bhave developed a idea of sarvodaya in a practical sense. According to him concentration of land in the hands of few creates a basis for rural violence. Rural rich must participate in voluntary distribution of land.

Thus sarvodaya aims to replace the politics of power by the politics of co-operation.

10.4.6 Decentralization of political power

According to Gandhi centralization of political power in a small group cannot help in creating popular and participatory democracy. Gandhiji's sarvodaya centers around the small republic where the mass of people manage their affairs without depending on the state.

In Gandhi's scheme village panchayat plays a crucial role in policy making. Village panchayat consists of all the ablest youths from all castes and religions. In the society, people have an informal arrangement for the management of their affairs, village republics are a part of India's traditions. Gandhi was conscious of the historical fact that colonization had destroyed the basic institutions of a village society. Revival of these institutions in a true spirit may strengthen democracy.

Political institutions of the grass roots level may be able to restrict the power of state; Gandhi's concept of state is that of a limited state, which does not interfere in the day to day activities of people. An Indian society consists of a large number of villages. Village republic can be a nucleus of a democratic organization. Once village panchayat is formed, it is easy to create a sarvodaya economy. Village panchayat must look after the economy of the village which will help the prosperity of village people. Panchayat will take care of education, health, sanitation. He thought if every citizen is concerned about public activities then the political order does not collapse. Gandhiji wanted India to become a network of self-governing and self-sustaining village republics, each one of them leading an autonomous existence.

10.4.7 Decentralization in economic field

In Gandhi's sarvodaya society there is space for industrialization and technological advancement. But he said it should not go beyond control. It should not destroy the ecological basis of a society and should not lead to concentration of economic power. Gandhiji was not against the use of machines when it was for the good of the society. Gandhiji wanted the immense manpower and cattle power of India to be utilized first, before turning to large-scale machinery.

He wanted the indigenous industries to be developed so that people could get enough food to eat.

He gave emphasis to cottage industries and hand spinning and hand-weaving. He advocated the revolutionary doctrine that 'land belongs to him who tills it', The Charkha as the means of helping people in at least getting food to the people and also symbolized the dignity of labour.

Thus Gandhiji's economic thought is related largely to rural development. According to him village society is the soul of India. He emphasized on self-sufficiency of the village society. In villages agricultural economy and allied agro-industries must take care of the needs of the village people.

Thus decentralization in economics field was the keyword for Gandhiji.

10.4.8 State and Government

In Gandhi's political idea civil society plays a very important role than the state. Civil society consists of a group of people who will manage their affairs. State and Government must have a limited function. He said, 'that government is the best which governs the least'. The state must follow persuasive rather than coercive methods.

10.4.9 Role of ethics in politics

Gandhi never-separates religion from politics. He said state and government have no links with religions, but a politician must be a religious man. The guiding principle of a politician is to serve others in a ethical manner, otherwise political power might be able to corrupt a politician. Government must not be allowed to interfere in the religious domain. Thus Gandhi's concept of government is basically secular government.

Separation of morality from politics is a central target of Gandhi's attack. According to Gandhi this disassociation of politics from morality enables the rich and the strong to manipulate the politics and government to their advantage at the expense of the poor and weak.

10.4.10 Role of education

A sarvodaya social order can be created by giving Nai-talim. Gandhiji stressed on compulsory primary education acquiring some skills. He called it as a basic education.

10.4.11 On true civilization

Gandhi said civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. The true civilized conduct stands for –

- 1) Limiting our wants
- 2) Avoiding life-corroding competition
- 3) Preventing conditions which will lead exploitation and injustice.
- 4) Subordinating 'brute force' to 'soul force'
- 5) Progress of human civilization is to be measured in the scale of ethics, and not in the scale of pure materialism.
- 6) Return to simplicity and the absence of luxury.

10.4.12 Against untouchability

Gandhi's concern for the misery and exploitation of human beings compelled him to start a vigorous agitation against untouchability. He condemned the practice of untouchability and broke the unhealthy practice of the caste system.

But at the same time, he upheld the Hindu ideal of the Varnashramadharma, according to which every person was to perform his allotted task in the society, in accordance with his training and capacities.

10.5 DIFFERENCE IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF TILAK AND GANDHI

- 1) Tilak's democratic realism was different from the ethical absolutism preached and followed by Gandhi, for Tilak Ahimsa could be only a policy.

For Gandhi it was a matter of absolute faith.

- 2) Tilak and Gandhi differed about the methods of political agitation. According to Tilak any means may be used to achieve a desirable end. eg. Violent, radical any type of means.

According to Gandhi the means must be ethically right. He stressed on purity of Ends and Means. He condemn the cult of violence. He said violent methods will not take India on the path of real Swaraj. He introduced new techniques i.e. Satyagraha for political struggle.

- 3) Tilak believed in cultural superiority of Indian tradition eg. On the basis of common culture Tilak created the feeling of oneness in the people. Gandhi disagreed with the revivalist attitude towards the Indian tradition.
- 4) Gandhi's condemnation of western civilization is more radical than that of Tilak. In Hind-Swaraj Gandhi criticized on the values and institutions of western civilization.
- 5) Tilak gave priority to Swaraj only. He gave the first lessons in the consciousness of right of Swaraj. He is called as "father of Indian unrest". He taught the people to hate slavery.

For Gandhi Swaraj means Ramraj i.e. true civilization. Hence he stressed on political independence as well as social and economic equality and reforms.

10.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss M. K. Gandhi's ideas on self-government.
- 2) Write short note on colonialism and M. K. Gandhi's political thought.
- 3) Explain Gandhi's views on swaraj.



CULTURAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION MANVENDRA NATH ROY

Unit Structure

- 11.1 Objective
- 11.2 Introduction
- 11.3 Life Sketch (In Brief)
- 11.4 M. N. Roy's concept of freedom
- 11.5 M. N. Roy's views on the Political System
- 11.6 M. N. Roy's views on Economic Arrangement
- 11.7 M. N. Roy on New Humanism
- 11.8 Summary
- 11.9 References
- 11.10 Unit End Questions

11.1 OBJECTIVES

To understand the social, political and economic ideas of M. N. Roy and to know the significant contribution made by him for the development of humanity. i.e. new humanism.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

M. N. Roy and Dr. Ambedkar suggested the changes in the existing social order.

Meaning of social transformation: Cultural and social transformation is the raving for change in the existing social order.

A change in the existing social order is demanded because the existing social order is unjust, and exploitative.

M. N. Roy and Babasaheb Ambedkar pleaded for social transformation. Dr. Ambedkar was against caste discrimination and M. N. Roy was against class discrimination.

M. N. Roy explained Radical Humanism or New Humanism or Scientific Humanism.

Manvendra Nath Roy (1886-1954) was a versatile genius and a great philosopher. He was a great rationalist and judged everything by the criterion of reason and rationality. He was a great lover of individual freedom and in his opinion, the individual should come first and everything afterwards. He was also one of the Extremists who struggled for attaining national freedom.

11.3 LIFE SKETCH (IN BRIEF)

M. N. Roy was born on February 6, 1886 – Parganas District of Bengal. His first name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. He got his early education in Calcutta. From his early childhood, he was a revolutionary and after the partition of Bengal, in 1905, he started his revolutionary activities. He revolted against the British imperialism.

At the age of 14 M. N. Roy was arrested for the first time on a charge of political dacoity in Calcutta. In 1910, he was imprisoned in connection with the Howrah Conspiracy case. Roy's revolutionary activities came to prominence during the period of the First World War. In 1915, he went to Java in search of arms and ammunitions for Indian revolutionaries. In late 1915 in San Francisco he tried to organise Indian revolutionaries and Indian students who were working for national struggle by providing them a forum for the Indian National struggle.

Initially, M.N. Roy was attracted to Marxist ideas. In Mexico, he founded the first communist Party outside the U.S.S.R and became its Secretary-General.

In Mexico, he contributed several articles about India's poverty and the method in which the Britishers were exploiting Indian resources. In 1920, he also became an advisor of the Bolshevik Party on colonial questions in Russia. Though M.N. Roy had his differences on certain resolutions sponsored by Lenin, he was elected as the member of the 'Central Asiatic Board' by the Communist Party to propagate the cause of Communism in India. In 1922, M.N. Roy organized the Indian National revolutionaries in Berlin and started, a Journal, 'The Vangaurd of Indian independence'. He also published his book 'India's problem and its solution' in which he condemned the Gandhian Social ideology.

On account of his differences with the communist organization, M.N. Roy came back to India and became a member of the Indian National Congress which he wished to organise on a

revolutionary basis. However, Roy developed differences with the Congress party on their plan of actions and therefore in 1940 founded “Radical Democratic Party” separate from Indian National Congress. In 1944, he founded ‘Indian Federation of Labour’. After Independence, in 1948, Roy dissolved his Radical Democratic Party and established ‘Indian Renaissance Movement’ in its place. In 1952, he was elected Vice-President of ‘International Humanist and Ethical Association’ in Amsterdam. He died on January 25, 1954.

The basic elements of New Humanism are (three) –

- Freedom
- Rationality
- Morality

Literary work:

M. N. Roy was a prolific writer. Some of his important works are:

- i. India in Transition
- ii. New Orientation
- iii. New Humanism
- iv. Reason, romanticism and Revolution
- v. Science and Superstition
- vi. People’s Plan
- vii. National Government or People’s Government
- viii. Our differences etc.

Apart from the above works, M. N. Roy also contributed several articles in various newspapers and established his own journals to propagate his ideas.

Check your progress:

- 1) Name any two revolutionary activities with which M. N. Roy was associated with?
- 2) Name any four literary works of M.N. Roy.

11.4 M.N. ROY'S CONCEPT OF FREEDOM

Freedom should be the ideal of a civilized society – According to M.N. Roy, “The purpose of all rational human Endeavour, individual as well as collective, is the attainment of ‘freedom’ in ever increasing measures. Freedom is the progressive disappearance of all restrictions on the unfolding of the potentialities of individuals as human beings and not as cogs in the wheels of mechanized social organization? As a liberal humanist thinker, Roy, highlights the absence of interference in the life of the individual. He believed that the individual becomes really free when he gets opportunity to exhibit his potentialities. Hence, freedom of a society is to be measured only by the degree of freedom individual actually enjoys. It is the supreme value from which all human values are derived.

Beginning from M.N. Roy's role as a teen-age terrorist in the freedom struggle till his theorization of radical humanism, ‘Man and ‘Freedom’ have always been his primary concern. According to Roy, ‘Freedom’ needs ‘Democracy’ and that the present democracies set up is not the real guarantor of individual freedom. Hence, he discards the present institution of democracy and suggest for radical democracy as an alternative. According to Roy, man has intelligence and creative faculty to make and unmake. He creates his own destiny and also creates his own society and environment. But for all these, man needs freedom. Therefore, freedom requires absence of any restriction which can put hindrances on the growth of the individual. But freedom according to Roy does not mean a license to do anything which will harm others.

M.N. Roy, initially was greatly fascinated by the ideology of Karl Marx. But he was convinced that communism could not provide a solution to the individual liberty. Therefore, he developed his own philosophy known as ‘Radical Humanism’. He, considered the individual as an end in itself and held that the other organization of society were only means to an end. As he attached great importance to individual freedom, he was not willing to subordinate it to any other factor such as religion, morality or even super-natural power. According to him, the state was also created to check the impediments and hindrances in the way of the growth of man, even though at present it was trying to subordinate the individual. Roy considered man as a rational being and as such superior to the other living being. The state, he said, must ensure equal possibilities to all its citizens for acquiring knowledge and developing intelligence. A harmonious society can exist only when we start with the assumption that every individual is capable of

national judgments and that the purpose of the social organization is to allow the individual to uphold his potentialities / potentials.

Check you progress:

- 1) What is 'Freedom' according to M.N. Roy?

11.5 M.N. ROY'S VIEWS ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

- 1) **Freedom of the individual is one of the central themes of Roy:**

M.N. Roy was highly critical of the political systems existing in different countries. According to him, a free community could be conceived only on the basis of 'freemen'. Any other notion of freedom is a fraud. In a good society, man should be able to unfold his own potential with the help of collective effort. Society, is necessary because it alone enables the individual to realize his potential. but the individual has become too helpless in the modern democratic, industrialized state.

- 2) **Political decentralization:**

Roy believed in organizing society around groups, and people's communities. According to Roy, these groups should be replicas of the state. He firmly believed man would have greater freedom to develop in small organization. Everywhere, he argued, that there has been a trend of centralization. Like Bakunin and Kropotkin (Anarchists), M.N. Roy was opposed to centralization of power as it paralyses the free individual initiative and autonomous choice. He also argued that political parties with their organizational set-up, monopolise all the powers and act as agents of centralization. They all stand in between the government and the people and limit the choice of the people in electoral politics.

3) Idea of Party less Democracy :

According to M.N. Roy, the aim of each political party is to capture power even by corrupt means. Every political party however purified it may be, waits for an opportunity to grab power and behave in a dictatorial manner. Hence, Roy dissolved his own 'Radical Democratic Party', and suggested for a new political order in which there will neither be political parties nor any organization but only "spiritually free men" as the agent of change.

4) Locally organized Democracy :

Roy desired to set up a new social order based on the sovereignty of the individual. He suggested organized democracy known as 'Radical Democracy'. It will bring about a radical change in the structure of the state (A) In this new democratic set up, he envisaged that the individual will not be isolated or scattered leading powerlessness but will be organized in the form of peoples committee.

In a real democracy, Roy was convinced, there is no need for transfer of power or delegation of power. Power belongs to the people, and should remain in their hands. "Delegation of Power" writes Roy, "to a small minority necessarily means abdication of power as has happened in Russia. In the name of the class or the nation, the party became a new ruler; the proletariat state became its vested interest." According to Roy, there can be no progress without individual freedom. In an ideal society, Roy thought, there can be no contradiction between collective responsibility and individual liberty. (B) There will be complete decentralization of power. (C) The political parties will have absolutely no role to play. It is the 'Peoples Committee' at the root ends a 'group of spiritual men' who will work as agents of change. (D) In other words, in the new political system, the business of the state will not be the business of few exclusive elite but of every individual. (E) Organized local democracies – According to M.N. Roy, Freedom can be realized most, where democracy is more participatory in nature and there is less socio-political and economic control. However, in the existing democratic institutions, totalitarian techniques are adopted to negate the individual freedom. Every Parliamentary Democracy suffers from serious defects e.g. the people are powerless in between the elections'. In critical times even the rule of law affords little protection. The sovereignty of the people remains a legal fiction excepting the period to vote the set of new masters.

Similarly, the political party having absolute majority assumes dictatorial powers. This abuse of power cannot be prevented within this legal framework of democracy. Hence, Roy said, 'Parliamentarianism as such cannot defend democracy and guarantee civil liberties under all circumstances. The liberal polity is

democratic only in the formal sense and is really controlled by few politicians and bureaucrats at the top'. Hence, Roy wanted to attain the ideal democracy through some type of education. He said the idea of education is to make, "The individuals of a community conscious of their potentialities, help them to think rationally and judge for themselves and promote their critical facilities by applying it to all problems confronting them. With this education, the individuals would be able to create local democracies of their own. The individuals would have opportunities to participate actually and effectively in the processes of the government. The local democracies could be the base of a complete constitutional structure."

Check your progress

- 1) Why is M.N. Roy critical of political parties?
- 2) Give two features of M.N. Roy's 'Radical Democracy'.

11.6 M.N. ROY'S VIEWS ON ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTNS

Decentralization of economic power - M.N. Roy not only insisted on introduction of organized democracy but also made a strong plea for economic democracy. He held that the existing economic system is responsible for crushing the individual freedom and insisted that the industry should be controlled by the people and that there should be no exploitation of the poor by the rich.

A) According to Roy, the capitalist system of economy is the most rotten and outdated. The means of production and distribution are in the hands of only a few capitalist who produced goods in the way they liked, without taking into consideration national requirements. The excess which the capitalists got in the name of profit is used by them for their personal welfare and as such this wealth is denied to the society. The result of all this is exploitation which is ever-increasing. Roy, therefore, wanted to end the present economic set-up and desired to replace that by cooperative economy.

B) Co-operative economy – In cooperative economy, both the producers as well as the consumers would work in close cooperation with each other. In such a planning there would be proper utilization of means of production and distribution and certain basic industries would be used for national service. There will also be a network of consumers and producers cooperatives which will take the fullest advantage of scientific and technological advancement. There will also be a planning body which shall be responsible for allocating priorities in the use of national resources and improve our social utility services. In the arrangement the superstructure of the larger scale production of basic needs of the society will be on co-operative basis. And such an arrangement is bound to end exploitation.

M.N. Roy was not opposed to private property provided it did not lead to exploitation and therefore, he insisted that for sometime the industry particularly the higher basic industries, should not be passed on to the private sector and the state should act as coordinating agency both in the public and private sector.

In case of under – developed countries like India (agricultural country), advancement can only be possible when there is largescale industrialization. M.N. Roy was aware that with the introduction of agricultural machinery in the country it was bound to result in unemployment of thousands of peasants and workers working in our fields. He, therefore, hesitated to suggest introduction of agricultural machinery for the Indian peasants. Roy's economic organization of Indian society was based on a 'cooperative commonwealth' where goods shall be produced primarily for satisfying the requirements of the people. There will be proper planning and regulation for production and distribution which shall ultimately be the entire responsibility of the state. He stood for state financed agricultural and industrial enterprises and permitted freedom of enterprise to the individual on the condition that production would be carried out to satisfy the economic life of the country. The state should also be given the right to fix the prices of goods produced and exchanged, the remuneration and working conditions of wage earners and salaried employees and to take over private enterprises under state ownership by paying fair compensation to the owners there of.

C) Centralized planning - M.N. Roy, also suggested a national planning authority consisting of experts. In his view, the industrial and agricultural enterprises financed by the state shall be the collective property of the people and that the state Bank will control the entire credit system of the state. The ownership of land, underground riches and railways will be transferred to the people. The freedom of enterprise, individual as well as corporate, will be guaranteed, subject to the condition that the production will satisfy

the requirements of the people. He suggested two ways by which the purchasing power of the people can be increased. First, the goods should be produced at very cheap cost and secondly, government should subsidise the goods to be exported. In relation to India, Roy was of the opinion that purchasing power of Indian masses could only go up if there was an extensive programme of setting up new industries. The burden should shift from land to industry as land is already over-burdened. Roy, suggested that since in India, there is uneven distribution of land, it is responsible for the mal-production and mal-distribution of agricultural produce. He, has therefore, suggested a proper scientific re-distribution and adjustment of land so that there is rational and reasonable distribution and production of agricultural commodities. He also felt that if large-scale construction programme including that of roads and bridges etc. was taken – up, that might help in the distribution of wealth and thereby living standards of the labourers might go up.

Check you progress

- 1) Give four suggestions given by M.N. Roy to promote economic development.
- 2) Why is M.N. Roy critical of the 'Capitalist System' of economy?

11.7 M.N. Roy on 'New Humanism'

Meaning of New Humanism – In the last years of his life, M.N. Roy became an exponent of 'New Humanism'. His concern for the identity of man and a passionate urge for the individual freedom made hi to construct a new political model based on humanitarian, rational, scientific and individualistic order which will ensure the real sovereignty of man.

Features- Important features of New Humanism are as follows

A) According to Roy, humanity is passing through a period of crisis. The basic problem of the hour is to guarantee individual freedom against the encroachments of, the totalitarianism, authoritarianism of the great 'Leviathan'. The individual was

completely chained and lost his freedom and identity. Man being the centre of society, must be free from all sorts of chains – even if it is a golden chain. The rampant moral and cultural crisis through which modern civilization is passing necessitates, the reassertion of humanist values. Hence, M.N. Roy pleads for a ‘New Humanism’ based upon natural reason and secular conscience. Due to modern science, Humanism can now go to the root of human problems and therefore he called his rationalism as ‘Radical Humanism’.

B) It refers to a system dealing with the needs of man and not with religious ideas Roy, believed that rationalist humanist ethics will be able to deal with all the problems of man in the material world. New Humanism stood for the important principles of sovereignty and liberty of man. It did not pre-suppose any authority over man. Whatever man did was out of his own conviction, out of his own moral sense and without any external force or compulsion. “Radial or New Humanism envisages a government based on the moral sense of the people, and therefore, every man’s moral sense must be highly developed. Along with it a sense of justice, fair play and social responsibility must also develop in their fullness.”

C) New Humanism was a philosophy to restore supreme confidence in man and required him not to surrender even when in deep crisis. It is a philosophy of positive values. Roy wanted that all the hindrances in the way of the progress and development of human personality must be eliminated.

D) The cooperative reconstruction of the economic life - In his speech at the first ‘All India convention of Radical Humanists’, M.N. Roy had said“ The Endeavour to lay down the humanist foundation of a democratic order must be coordinated with the cooperative reconstruction of the economic life. The result will be creation of a chain of local republics in which democracy will be real because it will be direct, and economic problems will be solved on the basis of local resources, with the intelligent initiative and co-operative efforts of the citizens.” Thus, Roy, also argued for eliminating unnecessary concentration of control over the means of production which is also a hindrance in the development of human personality.

M.N. Roy developed his concept of Radical Humanism because 18th and 19th century humanism could not scientifically ascertain the position of man. The political philosophy of Marx, according to Roy, could not protect the individual because it did not pay special attention to ‘Man’ and man was submerged into the class or group and finally under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

E) Roy, also rejected the nationalism of the congress under which nation becomes powerful at the cost of the individual. Similarly according to him, liberalism in the form of parliamentary

democracy can not guarantee individual freedom because politicians and bureaucrats monopolise the power. So M.N. Roy expounded 'New Humanism' which would restore the 'sovereignty of man'.

F) M.N. Roy believed that there is reason and rationality within man. He has intelligence and creative faculty. He is the creator of society, institutions and politics. And since man is prior to society, the society has no business to impose itself on man. The social progress should be measured only through the development of men and the extent of liberty that it allows to its individuals. Therefore, to bring into existence a new social order, New Humanism requires a revolution in the moral, intellectual, mental, political and social spheres. The revolution, he argued, should be brought through educating the people, making them literate and creating social and political consciousness in them.

Roy's 'New Humanism', thus, envisages a new social and political order in which man will be really free and enlightened.

Check your progress

- 1) What crisis is humanity facing according to M.N. Roy?
- 2) Give three principles of M.N. Roy's 'New Humanism'.

11.8 SUMMARY

M.N. Roy was the founder of a completely different school of thought. He is considered to be one of the most learned thinkers modern India has produced.

- Roy was a great crusader for the individual freedom. His concern for dignity of man made him construct a new political model based on sovereignty and liberty of man where the individual will actually enjoy his freedoms.
- He was critical of the parliamentary system of Democracy, Party System, Capitalist System of Economy as well as of

Marxism as, he believed that they put hindrances in the development of the individual and the enjoyment of real freedom.

- His concept of Radical Democracy, cooperative Economy, New Humanism therefore still hold relevance today.

11.9 REFERENCES

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11.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Elaborate 'New Humanism' of Roy.
- 2) Explain M.N. Roy's views on cultural and social transformation.



CULTURAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR

Unit Structure

- 12.1 Objective
- 12.2 Introduction
- 12.3 Life Sketch (In Brief)
- 12.4 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's views on society and Religion
- 12.5 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's views on Caste-System and Untouchability
- 12.6 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's views on the position of women
- 12.7 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's views on Democracy and state Socialism
- 12.8 Dr. Ambedkar's programme for the removal of untouchability
- 12.9 Contribution
- 12.10 Summary
- 12.11 References
- 12.12 Unit End Questions

12.1 OBJECTIVES

To understand the social and political thoughts of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and to know the contribution made by him for the upliftment of the life of the depressed classes especially, the untouchables.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (1891-1956) was the champion of human rights, emancipator of the untouchables, a protagonist of social justice, a compassionate revolutionary, the architect of the constitution of India and a great reviver of Buddhism in India. His mission in life was to establish a new social order based on justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. He was not just a thinker but put his thoughts in action.

12.3 LIFE SKETCH (IN BRIEF)

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, popularly known as 'Babasaheb', was born on April 14, 1891 at Mhow in the vicinity of Indore in Madhya Pradesh. He belonged to an untouchable Mahar Community. His father and grand father were in the British Army; hence he was exposed to British administration and their benefits.

After completing his initial schooling at Satara, he graduated from the Elphinstone College in Bombay in 1913. then with the help of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda, he did his M.A. and P.H. D. L. L. B. degree.

From his childhood he was influenced by following factors :-

- 1) Personal suffering – The childhood of Ambedkar was full of humiliations. After his education despite his brilliant academic record he was subjected to a series of humiliations eg. In school he was forced to sit separately in the classroom. He was prevented from learning Sanskrit.
- 2) Jyotiba Phule and Buddha have exercised a deep influence on Ambedkar's ideas on society, religion and morality. Jyotiba Phule radically re-examined the nature of Hinduism. Ambedkar's thought is the continuation of this.
- 3) When he was studying in U.S.A. he was impressed by two important things. The 14th amendment of the constitution of U.S.A. which gave freedom to the Negroes.

In the year 1919, Dr. Ambedkar started his mission. He gave evidence before the south borough committee on franchise and strongly advocated for separate electorate with reserved seats in the legislature for the depressed classes. In order to bring socio-political awakening to the depressed classes he started 'Mook Nayak' (leader of the dumb) in Marathi.

In order to institutionalize the socio-political activities for the emancipation of the depressed classes, he formed "Bahishkrit Hitakaraani Sabha" (Depressed classes welfare Organization) in the year 1924. The Sabha started one hostel at Sholapur for high school students belonging to the depressed classes.

In order to assert the right to equality, Dr. Ambedkar undertook the first major Satyagraha at the famous chowder Tank at Mahad, along with his followers, on March 20, 1927. They burnt 'Manusmriti' publicly at Mahad on December 25, 1927 as a protest against inequality provided under it. He also formed 'Samaj Samata

Sangh' (social equality organization) and Samata Sainik Dal (equality volunteer army) to bring a new vigour and militancy to the March for equality. Dr. Ambedkar also founded 'Depressed Classes Education Society' in Bombay in 1928. The mission of the society was to educate the students belonging to the depressed classes. To assert the right to religion and religious equality, Dr. Ambedkar, launched the temple entry Satyagraha at Kalaram Temple, Nasik on March 2, 1930, as the depressed classes were denied entry to the temple for worshipping the Gods.

Dr. Ambedkar also participated in all the three Round Table conferences during 1930-32, as a representative of the depressed classes, where he put the demand for separate electorates to the depressed classes. To protect the political interest of the scheduled castes and other weaker sections, he founded the 'Independent Labour party' in 1936. He also founded first national level political party called 'All India scheduled caste Federation' in 1942.

To spread higher education among the scheduled caste in particular, Dr. Ambedkar also founded 'Peoples Education Society' at Bombay in 1945 and on behalf of the society, he started Siddharth college of Arts and Science, Siddharth Night School, Siddharth College of commerce and Economics, Siddharth college of Law and other educational institutions.

Dr. Ambedkar was nominated as the first Law minister of free India and was elected as chairman of the Drafting Committee of the constituent Assembly, which drafted the constitution of India.

Central theme of his thought was "Humanism" and establishment of society on the basis of "Human values".

Literary Work:

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has written many books. Some of his important books are: -

- i. Annihilation of caste
- ii. Federation Vs. Freedom
- iii. Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the untouchables
- iv. Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah
- v. Communal Deadlock and a way to solve it.
- vi. States and Minorities
- vii. Thoughts on linguistic states
- viii. The Buddha and his Dhamma (Posthumous) etc.

Apart from these books, there is ample literature which directly or indirectly reveal his political thoughts.

12.4 DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON INDIAN SOCIETY AND RELIGION

Society, according to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar does not exist because men live in physical proximity or share similarity in certain habits and custom, but for constituting society, what is necessary is “to share and participate in a common activity so that the same emotions are aroused in him that animate the others”. In a society Dr. Ambedkar believed, the individual should be a sharer, a partner in the associated activity so that he feels its success as his success, its failure a his failure.

1) Dr. Ambedkar perceived the Indian society as a ‘Caste Society’. The Hindu Society, a major component of the Indian society, according to him, is but “a collection of castes, each caste is conscious of its existence”. Further, Dr. Ambedkar, observes, that there is no ‘common consciousness’ among the castes and therefore such a caste system prevents common activity and by preventing common activity it has prevented the Hindus from becoming a society with a unified life and a consciousness of its own being.

Dr. Ambedkar was very pained by the caste-system. He argued that it is the caste system of the Hindu Society which has completely degenerated and divided the whole nation and that there was an urgent need of moral regeneration of the Hindu Society. Indian Hindu Society, according to him, it is the caste of the people which determine their class. There is no scope for the growth of the sentiment of equality and fraternity. It has completely disorganized and demoralized the Hindus. Hence, Dr. Ambedkar was the protagonist of a new social order.

2) Dr. Ambedkar visualized an ideal society based on “liberty, equality and fraternity”. An ideal society, in his view, should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to the other parts. There should be varied and free points of contact with other modes of association. The society should also be plural in character. It should not be static, rigid, traditional and orthodox in behavior. It should also give fair and equal chance to each and everybody for their progress and bind all the people into one common cultural bond. The unity of culture, he believed, could be developed only when the society is based on liberty, equality and social justice.

3) Religion, according to Dr. Ambedkar, is a social force which cannot be ignored. He considered religion important because it is essential for human beings who are social animals and also because man is an intellectual being. In his own words, "Man cannot live by bread alone and he has a mind which needs food for thought".

Dr. Ambedkar's approach towards religion was not the traditional one which, according to him was 'belief in God, belief in soul, worship of God,' following rituals, ceremonies, scarifies etc. but, his approach towards religion was national, social and utilitarian.

4) According to Dr. Ambedkar, Hindu religion has certain drawbacks like the Hindu laws are not uniformly applied to all, it is based on Caste System, it reduces life to the externally imposed rules etc. In one of his speeches, he said that "religion is for man and not man for religion". He also put forward certain questions to the depressed classes like, why do you want to remain in a religion which prohibits you from entering its temples? Why do you remain in that religion which bars you from decent occupations and jobs? Dr. Ambedkar believed that the religion which does not recognize a human being as a human being is not a religion. Therefore he rejected Hinduism.

Dr. Ambedkar was attracted towards Buddhism as according to him Buddhism, is based on the principles of liberty, equality and social justice. His final act of revolt against injustice in the Hindu society was his embracing Buddhism, along with millions of his followers, in 1956.

5) He gave priority to social reforms –

He believed if priority is given to the political emancipation, it would mean transfer of power from foreign rules to the upper caste Hindus.

Ambedkar's main battle was against the caste system. He attacked on the caste. According to him caste is an obstacle in the growth of national spirit. It does not allow progress of the lower caste. It demoralized the lower castes.

He showed how theological support was taken by the upper castes and systematically suppressed the Sudras and denied rights to them. He created self-respect among the untouchables. He denied theological support to the caste system.

Check your progress

- 1) Elaborate two drawbacks of the Hindu Society according to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.
- 2) Why did Dr. Ambedkar reject Hinduism or Hindu religion?

12.5 DR. AMBEDKAR VIEWS ON CASTE-SYSTEM & UNTOUCHABILITY

Dr. Ambedkar denounced the caste system as totally unscientific as it has no scientific origin, it is negative as it merely talks about prohibition of inter-caste marriage, inter-caste dining etc.

Dr. Ambedkar said, in no civilized society, there is unnatural division of labour into water-tight compartments. Caste is not only unnatural division of labour, it is also an undemocratic system in which division of labourers are graded one above the other. Social and individual efficiency requires us to develop the capacity of an individual to the point of competency to choose and to make his own career. This principle is violated in the caste system in so far as it involves an attempt to appoint task to individuals in advance, selected not on the basis of tained original capacities but on that of social status of parents.

Dr. Ambedkar further said that, unemployment among Hindus is due to the Caste System because there is no readjustment of occupations. Caste, thus, does not result in economic efficiency. It cannot and has not improved race. It has completely disorganized and demoralized the Hindus. It prevents common activity and by doing so, it has prevented the Hindus from becoming a united society. Thus Dr. Ambedkar was very pained by the caste system of the Hindu society which had completely degenerated and divided the whole nation and therefore believed that there was an urgent need of moral regeneration of the Hindu society. He was convinced that nothing could emancipate the outcast except the destruction of the caste-system.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, “The out cast (untouchability), is a product of the caste-system. They will (remain) outcast as long as there are castes. Nothing can emancipate the outcasts except the destruction of the caste system”. Dr. Ambedkar condemned all the misconceptions and the practice of untouchability as baseless. He believed that purification and defilement attached to untouchability can neither be applicable to a group nor it can be on hereditary basis. An individual can be impure or defilement is observed in case of birth or death etc., it cannot be imposed over any group or race. Hence, Dr. Ambedkar demanded total abolition of untouchability. He set the following standards and goals to reform the lives of the untouchables such as:

(a) The untouchables must dissociate themselves from the traditional bounds of untouchable’s status and should posses pride and self-respect. He urged them to stop performing the works which were reserved for them like carrying of dead cattle out of the village, and other unhygienic work which the upper-casted did not perform. He also advised them to stop eating carrion, drinking alcohol and begging.

(b) Dr. Ambedkar appealed to the people of lower caste to reform their way of life by educating themselves. He believed that education would elevate their status and make them free from the superstitions and many other kinds of social evils. He also believed that, the untouchables, by educating themselves would become conscious about their existence and their rights.

(c) Dr. Ambedkar also insisted that it is the primary responsibility of the government to promote the welfare of the untouchables and that they should be represented at all levels of government. He was of the opinion that sufficient representation in the governing bodies would enable the ‘depressed Classes’ to redress their grievances through legal means. He gave emphasis of the untouchables providing leadership to the various organizations of the untouchables. According to him, untouchables must be seen as a minority, as a separate people so long as they have special needs. Those needs must be represented in the government by the untouchables themselves.

As Dr. Ambedkar also laid great emphasis on the education of the untouchables, he established the People’s Education Society in 1945, for the spread of education among the untouchables. He also expressed his views through several newspapers and periodicals like Mooknayata, Bahiskrit Bharat, Samata, Janata and prabuddha Bharat.

Check your progress

- 1) Give three negative effects of caste-system according to Dr. Ambedkar.
- 2) Give few suggestions given by Dr. Ambedkar for reforming the lives of the untouchables.

12.6 DR. AMBEDKAR VIEWS ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Dr. Ambedkar was not only concerned about the untouchables in India but he was equally concerned about the degrading position of women in India. He believed that women should have equal position with that of men in the society. An egalitarian social order demands equality not only between men and men but also between men and women. His basic law of social engineering was that the social revolutions must always begin from the stand point of the most oppressed or the ones of the lowest rung of the society. He therefore, involved women in his struggles and tended to give them vanguard positions. For example, about 500 women had marched at the head of the historical procession at Mahad along with others to assert the untouchables right to drink water from public tank.

As a member of Bombay Legislative Council, Dr. Ambedkar fought for the 'Maternity Benefit Bill' to recognize the dignity of women. As a Law Minister of India, he introduced the 'Hindu Code Bill' in the year 1951. this bill introduced few new things in the existing law such as: right over property to women, share to daughters from the parental property, provision for divorce etc.

Dr. Ambedkar was influenced by the views of Gautam Buddha on women. According to Buddha, women are one of the seven Treasures and a thing of supreme value. Dr. Ambedkar blamed Manu for giving women a degraded position in the society. He said, according to Manu, women have no right to study the

Vedas. This deprived women to acquire knowledge. They were also deprived social freedom. As a result, in modern times also, women are suffering from oppression and humiliation in the society. Hence, he fought for giving justice to women.

In the speech which Dr. Ambedkar delivered in D. C. Women's College of Amravati in the year 1942, he said that he, measured the progress of a community by the degree of progress women had achieved. He asked the women to maintain hygiene, to educate themselves and their children, and to overcome or remove inferiority complex.

12.7 DR. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY AND STATE SOCIALISM

Modern democracy, according to Dr. Ambedkar, is based on consent of the people and aims at welfare of the people. He defines democracy as, "a form and a method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed". In democracy, the persons who are duly authorized by the people to rule over them try to introduce changes in the social and economic life of the people, so that welfare of the people could be possible. However, Dr. Ambedkar states the political democracy cannot be successful unless there is social and economic democracy. The society must be free from conflicting social groups and economic groups. There should be casteless and classless society for the success of democracy. Therefore, he wanted to base his ideal society on liberty, equality and fraternity. According to Dr. Ambedkar, in a democracy, the individual is an end in himself who has certain inalienable rights which must be guaranteed by the constitution.

To achieve economic equality, Dr. Ambedkar proposes 'State-socialism'. He had developed this theory of state socialism in his book 'state and minorities'. It envisages, "putting an obligation on the state to plan the economic life of the people on lines which would lead to the highest point of productivity without closing any avenue to private enterprise and also provide for the equitable distribution of wealth". He had a staunch belief in the state. The social order which he envisages will guarantee everyone liberty to acquire property, tools and materials as being necessary for earning a living to keep the body in due state of health. Everyone can be a master of his own good future provided; certain favorable circumstances are purposely created by the state. He further states that men differ from each other with respect to heredity, social atmosphere, and his own efforts, but they should be given equal opportunity for the development of their personality.

Dr. Ambedkar believed that it is not enough to enumerate fundamental rights in the constitution as unemployment and fear of starvation may compel an individual to lose his rights therefore, the state should create necessary economic conditions in which the people would be able to enjoy those rights.

Dr. Ambedkar states that the state should formulate such a plan which would lead to highest point of productivity. Everybody should be given fullest liberty to choose the profession of his choice. Also in order to avoid exploitation of one class by another, he believed that there should be equitable distribution of wealth for which, he gives certain suggestions like nationalization of key and basic industries which will be owned and run by the state, agriculture to be state industry etc.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, “the soul of democracy is the doctrine of one man, one value” and not just ‘one man one vote’. Therefore, the state along with political democracy should also promote economic development of all so that everybody would get justice. State-socialism of Dr. Ambedkar envisages a classless and casteless society in which every human being is entitled to liberty, equality and fraternity.

Check your Progress

- 1) What is ‘Democracy’ according to Dr. Ambedkar?
- 2) Give three features of Dr. Ambedkar’s ‘state-socialism’.

12.8 AMBEDKAR’S PROGRAMME FOR THE REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

1. Liberating people from the clutches of religious scriptures and traditions.
2. Create self-respect among untouchables.
3. Education for untouchables.
4. Economic progress

5. Political organizations
6. Conversion
7. Constitutional Provisions.

12.9 CONTRIBUTION OF DR. AMBEDKAR

The most significant contribution of Dr. Ambedkar can be summed up as under:

1. Fight against untouchability
2. Creating awareness – by speeches, writings, Satyagraha.
3. Organizing Dalits – Satyagraha of the Dalits of Mahad, Nasik and Poona.
4. Reservation of Seats – made provisions in the constitution.
5. Revolt against unjust customs and traditions – burnt the Manusmriti in 1927 conversion of Buddhism.
6. Socio-political organizations – in 1924 Bahishkrit Hitakaraani Sabha. In 1937 Independent Labour party. In 1942 scheduled castes federation.
7. Educational work – He gave message of ‘Learn, organise and agitate’.

Founded the people’s Education Society in 1945 started Siddhartha College in Mumbai, provided hostel facility to the Dalits students.

8. Architect of the Indian constitution – Chairman of the Drafting committee.
9. Hindu code Bill – As the Law minister, had drafted the Hindu Code Bill.
10. Conversion to Buddhism –

12.10 SUMMARY

In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a symbol of revolt against all the oppressive features of Hindu society. In his long political life of nearly forty years, he organized and politicized his own Mahar Caste and a large number of other depressed classes.

Dr. Ambedkar viewed society as an organism in which every organ must be equally healthy, happy and inseparable. It is due to his efforts that the depressed classes could be emancipated from the social evils like untouchability, ignorance and exploitation. Credit goes to him for providing in the constitution abolition of

untouchability and making India a secular polity. The social and political participation of the depressed classes have also increased.

Dr. Ambedkar was not just a great leader but also a visionary. His thoughts on abolition of untouchability, eradication of poverty, solving the communal problem, state socialism, pursuing a strong foreign policy etc. are still relevant today.

Conclusion: He brought about a total change in the character of the 'Dalit Politics' in Maharashtra.

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Gyanender Singh: Indian Political Thinkers, Omega Publications.

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12.12 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain Dr. Ambedkar's views on social transformation.
- 2) What do you mean by social transformation and Dr. Ambedkar's views on that?



Revised Syllabus
T.Y.B.A. Political Science, Paper- V
Political Thought

Section - I

1. Power and State – Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes:
2. Consent and Democracy– John Locke-Jean Jacques Rousseau:
3. Dialectic and Revolution – G W F Hegel, Karl Marx.

Section - II

4. Liberty and Justice – John Stuart Mill, John Rawls.
5. Colonialism & Self-Government – B.G.Tilak, M.K.Gandhi.
6. Culture and Social Transformation – M.N.Roy, B.R. Ambedkar.

Note: The themes are not just pegs to hang thinkers on, they are more like lenses. The idea is to look at each thinker as writing in a certain political/intellectual context and making a distinctive contribution to political discourse-exhaustive study of each thinker's ideas is not expected.

Reference Books:

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Question Paper
T.Y.B.A. Political Science, Paper- V
Political Thought

(Revised Course)

3 Hours

Total Marks: 100

- N.B:** (1) Attempt in all five questions, selecting at least **two** from each section.
- (2) Answers to **Section I** and **Section II** should be written in the same answerbook.
- (3) All questions carry **equal** marks. (20 marks each)

Section - I

1. Outline the main features of Machiavelli's Political thought of powerful state.
2. Explain Thomas Hobbe's concept of 'Absolute State'.
3. Discuss Locke's theory of limited Government and Democracy.
4. Evaluate the Marxian views on:
 - a) Dialectical Materialism
 - b) Proletariat Revolution
5. Write short notes on an **two** of the following:
 - a) Hegal's application of Dialectical theory to the state.
 - b) Rosseau's theory of General Will.
 - c) Machiavelli's views on religion.

Section II

6. Critically evaluate J.S. Mill as the greatest champion of 'Individual liberty'.
7. Discuss M.K. Gandhi's ideas on 'Self government'.
8. Analyse B.R. Ambedkar's views on 'Social Transformation'.
9. Examine B.G. Tilak's views on 'Colonialism'.
10. Write short notes on any two of the following:
 - a) Rawl's theory of justice.
 - b) Colonialism and Mahatma Gandhi
 - c) Tilak's plan of self government.
 - d) M.N. Roy on Social Transformation.



