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Political Thinkers

SEMESTER VI

POLITICAL SCIENCE (MAJOR)

BLOCK : 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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BACHELOR OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The second course in Political Science of BA Programme of KKHSOU is titled "Political Thinkers". The contributions of political thinkers constitutes a vital component of the study of Political Science. As a matter of fact, the views and ideas expressed by eminent western and Indian political thinkers at different stages of history have significantly contributed towards developing a theoretical framework in the realm of political philosophy. The course "Political Thinkers" has fifteen units encompassing the political thought of some leading personalities, both western and Indian, classical and modern.

The first unit of the course discusses the views of Plato and Aristotle, the two great political thinkers of ancient Greece, the latter being the cradle or birth place of political thought in the western world. In the history of political thought, the relationship between the Church (religious authority) and the State (earthly authority) constituted an integral aspect of the philosophy of some thinkers, especially in the medieval period. Accordingly, the second unit of the course deals with the views of two great Christian philosophers, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. The dawn of the modern period heralded the beginning of a new era in the realm of political thought in terms of fundamental notions regarding statecraft, human nature and freedom, ideas on the formation of the society and the state along with issues of political obligation. In this context, the course discusses in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth units the views and ideas of leading political thinkers of the early modern period Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau respectively. In the unit seven, discussions are made on the concept of utilitarianism forwarded by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Marxism occupies an important place in the study of political thought. Therefore, various theories of Karl Marx namely- Theory of Dialectical Materialism, Theory of Class Conflict and Theory of Alienation are analysed in the unit eight. Finally, unit nine takes up the study of V.I. Lenin, Mao -Tse-Tung and Antonio Gramsci where detailed descriptions are made about the theories put forward by them.

For a detailed insight and analysis of political thought, one must also acquire knowledge on the views and ideas expressed by some eminent Indian political thinkers. Accordingly, the tenth and eleventh units of the course seek to make the learners familiar with the political thought of two great thinkers of ancient India, Manu and Kautilya, both of whom have provided significant insights into various aspects related to the state and government.

In the twelve and thirteenth chapters of the course, the learners shall be able to learn about the views and opinions of some leading personalities from India in the modern period - Mahatma Gandhi

and Jawaharlal Nehru, encompassing the social, political and economic spheres and whose thoughts and ideas have immensely contributed towards enriching the realm of Indian political tradition and thought. Similarly, in the fourteenth unit discussions are taken up on the views of another leading personality from India in the modern period namely Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Finally, the fifteenth unit is related to the study on the views and concepts of Acharya Vinobha Bhave and J.P. Narayan. In this unit, Acharya Vinobha Bhave's views on Sarvodaya, Bhoodan and Gramdan Movement and J.P. Narayan's concept of Socialism and Total Revolution are analysed.

The course "Political Thinkers" is divided into two blocks- Block 1 and Block 2. Block 1 contains nine units (Unit 1 - 9) and Block 2 contains six units (Units 10 - 15).

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 1

This is the first block of the second course or paper of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's B. A. Sixth Semester Programme in Political Science. The first course or paper of the BA Sixth Semester Programme in Political Science is titled as "Political Thinkers". The first block of this course contains nine units- (Units 1-9).

The first unit of the course discusses the views of Plato and Aristotle, the two great political thinkers of ancient Greece, the latter being the cradle or birth place of political thought in the western world. In the history of political thought, the relationship between the Church (religious authority) and the State (earthly authority) constituted an integral aspect of the philosophy of some thinkers, especially in the medieval period. Accordingly, the second unit of the course deals with the views of two great Christian philosophers, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. The dawn of the modern period heralded the beginning of a new era in the realm of political thought in terms of fundamental notions on statecraft, human nature and freedom, ideas on formation of the society and the state along with issues of political obligation. In this context, the course discusses in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth units the views and ideas of leading political thinkers of the early modern period Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau respectively. In the unit seven, discussions are made on the concept of utilitarianism forwarded by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Marxism occupies an important place in the study of political thought. Therefore, various theories of Karl Marx namely- Theory of Dialectical Materialism, Theory of Class Conflict and Theory of Alienation are analysed in unit eight. Finally, unit nine is related with the study of V.I. Lenin, Mao -Tse-Tung and Antonio Gramsci where detailed descriptions are made on the theories put forward by them.

While going through the units of the course, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Again, some units carry certain activities. These "ACTIVITIES" will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW" after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you asses yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. It will be better if you answer the questions contained in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. Furthermore, a set of sample questions has been included under the category called "MODEL QUESTIONS" to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: PLATO AND ARISTOTLE

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Plato

- 1.3.1 Theory of Justice
- 1.3.2 Theory of Ideal State

1.4 Aristotle

- 1.4.1 Theory of Citizenship
- 1.4.2 Theory of Revolution

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6 Further Reading

1.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.8 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to :

- discuss Plato's theory of justice
- describe Plato's idea of ideal State
- analyse Aristotle's theory of citizenship
- examine Aristotle's idea of revolution

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The history of western political thought began with the two great Greek politial philosophers Plato and Aristotle. The views and opinions of these two philosophers greatly influenced society and politics of their time. In this unit, we will discuss Plato's views on different issues, such as his theory of justice and theory of ideal state. Efforts will also be made to discuss Aristotle's theory of citizenship and revolution. By studying these theories, you will be acquainted with the political ideologies of the ancient Greek society in general as well as Plato and Aristotle in particular.

1.3 PLATO

The works of Plato (427 BC - 347 BC) are a blend of philosophy, poetry, science, arts, ethics, and metaphysics. Plato was tremendously influenced by Socrates whom he regarded as his master. Plato was greatly dissatisfied with the norms and ruling traditions of the society of that time. So, he developed his own ideas on different issues. He felt that the state must be ruled by the wisest and the best people in society. His most important work *The Republic* is a great contribution dealing with politics placed under the domination of ethics. Some of his other important works are- *The Statesman* and *The Laws.*

1.3.1 Theory of Justice

Plato was of the view that justice should be the basis of the state. Plato saw in justice the only remedy against the political and social ills of the city state. According to his concept of justice, every citizen performs the functions of which he is most capable and does not interfere in others' functions. Thus, each class efficiently performs its role in the state. Therefore, the state naturally progresses towards peace and prosperity.

Plato's Justice has an ethical and a philosophical character. Justice for Plato means that one individual should perform only one function which is best suited to his natural aptitude without meddling with the functions of others. In other words, Platonic justice hints at specialisation of functions. Thus, justice means the fulfillment of one's duty. In short, according to Plato, in a just society, everyone does his own proper business, without interfering in the affairs of others.

Plato struck an analogy between the human organism on the one hand and social organism on the other. According to Plato, human organism contained three elements, namely, Reason, Courage and Appetite. Corresponding to these three elements of human nature, there were three classes of social organisms. These classes were - philosopher class or the ruling class which

represented the element of reason; auxiliaries or the warrior class representative of the element of courage; and the worker class consisting of farmers, artisans, carpenters and other workers which represented the element of appetite. Plato asserted that when every class of the society performed its own assigned duty without interfering in the affairs of others, then justice in the real sense would exist. Thus, Plato's concept of justice establishes functional specialisation which demands from every social class to specialise itself in the work allotted to it.

According to Plato, perfect justice can only be in the ideal state which is based on proper education, principle of communism, functional specialisation and perfect wisdom of a philosopher king.

However, Plato's theory of justice is subject to the following criticisms:

- Plato did not mention about law, courts and other judicial provisions for the settlement of disputes.
- This theory assigns a static character to both the individual and to the social order. It asserts that a person had to be satisfied only with one type or nature of work.
- In the modern democratic state, justice means equality. However, Plato through his concept of justice did not mean equality for all.
- Plato's theory of justice requires perfect and strict division of labour which is not applicable in the modern state due to the large population of the states.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention the names of any two important books of Plato.

.....

Q.2: Plato's concept of justice was in favour of functional specialisation. (True/False)

.....

1.3.2 Theory of Ideal State

Plato provided his theory of ideal state in his famous book *The Republic*. Plato's ideal state was based on certain fundamental principles, such as- classification of people into three classes, i.e. guardian class, auxiliaries and producing class; establishment of justice; state-regulated system of education; communism of property and family.

According to Plato, state is the product of human soul which is composed of three elements, such as reason, courage and appetite. Corresponding to these three human elements, there are three classes of people- guardian class,auxiliaries and producing class. Plato advocated for functional specialisation and division of labour among these three classes of people. When these three classes of people perform their respective duties without interfering in each other's affairs justice would prevail. Thus, in an ideal state, the philosopher king was to rule the state, the soldiers were to be in charge of defence of the state and the producing class were to produce food and other necessary goods for all. According to Plato, if all the people performed their allotted task without interfering in the affairs of others, then peace and prosperity would prevail in the state. The Philosopher king or the guardian class attained the necessary skill and knowledge through state-regulated system of education. The state-regulated education system aimed at developing wise rulers and virtuous citizens in the ideal state. The ideal state was also marked by the presence of the system of communism of property and family. Under this system of communism, the philosopher king or the guardian class had no right to family and private property. Plato considered attachment towards family and private property as the greatest obstacles in the way of achieving unity of the state. Therefore, he advocated communism of private property and family for the guardian class under which they would not have private property and family of their own and ultimately which would help them to devote themselves in the service of the state.

Plato's theory of ideal state is subjected to severe criticism which can be mentioned as follows:

- Plato's ideal state is a utopian state. It cannot be realised in practice. His concepts of philosopher king, communism of property and family are anti-human in nature.
- In Plato's ideal state there was no provision for law. The philosopher king was not bound by any law.
- Plato's ideal state was anti-democratic. In such a state all powers were concentrated in the hand of the philosopher king or the guardian class and opinions of other people were not given any importance.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: In which book Plato provided his theory of Ideal State?

.....

Q.4: Mention any two principles of Plato's ideal state.

.....

1.4 ARISTOTLE

Aristotle (384 BC-322 BC) was greatly influenced by his master Plato. Aristotle had profoundly contributed towards enriching political philosophy. In fact, Aristotle is regarded as the father of Political Science. Some of the important works of Aristotle are- *The Politics, The Constitution of Athens, Organon,* etc.

1.4.1 Theory of Citizenship

Aristotle discussed his views on citizenship in his book *The Politics*. Aristotle was in favour of giving citizenship status to a limited number of people. According to Aristotle, "A high degree of moral and intellectual excellence is required to participate in the deliberative and judicial functions of the state" (Gogoi, Purandar Prof. (2007). Degree Political Theory. Guwahati: Banalata Publication). He pointed out that

all those who lived in a state are not citizens. Aristotle excluded certain classes of people from the purview of citizenship. He specifically mentioned certain characteristics of citizens. According to Aristotle, a person who had the capacity to take part in the administrative and judicial affairs of the state could become a citizen of the state. A citizen should be wise and intelligent and must have the capacity to rule and to be ruled. A citizen had to possess the capacity to discharge social responsibilities in an efficient manner. He must possess leisure so that he can discharge all his social, political and judicial responsibilities in an efficient manner. According to Aristotle, a citizen must possess property and slaves and should be free from economic worries.

Aristotle excluded certain categories of people from the purview of citizenship. He opined that children, women, slave, peasants, labourers and artisans were not to be given the rights of citizenship.

Aristotle's concept of citizenship is criticised on the following grounds:

- Aristotle's view of citizenship was applicable in the Greek city-state only. In the context of modern nation state, it is not applicable at all.
- Aristotle's concept of citizenship is against the principle of equality. He was not in favour of giving the status of citizenship to all the people of the state.
- Aristotle's views on citizenship deprived a large section of people from gaining political consciousness because without participating in the affairs of the state, people would not be able to acquire knowledge about the functioning of the government.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Mention the names of any two important books of Aristotle.

.....

Q.6: Mention any two qualities of citizen as stated by Aristotle.

.....

1.4.2 Theory of Revolution

Aristotle discussed his theory of revolution in his book *The Politics*. Frequent changes in the governments of the city states, due to decadence and deterioration in political life, made Aristotle think and formulate his views on revolution, their causes and preventive measures. Aristotle divided revolution into two kinds- total revolution and partial revolution. Total revolution referred to complete change in the constitution and partial revolution referred to changes taking part with regard to the ruling authority without any change in the constitution. Aristotle identified the general and particular causes of revolution thus:

- **General Causes of Revolution:**
  - The first cause is due to different interpretations of the principles of justice. The variety of interpretation given by different class of persons leads to clash of interests which brings about revolutionary conditions.
  - Secondly, revolution takes place when men suffer dishonour or when they see others honoured.
  - Thirdly, if a person or body of persons occupies a position of strength which is too great for the state, revolutionary conditions come into existence.
  - Fourth, fear also promotes sedition. Wrong doers, who are afraid of punishment and persons who are likely to suffer a wrong doing may promote ***sedition.***
  - Fifth, the disproportionate increase of a part of the state is also another cause of revolution.
  - Sixth, election intrigues are sometimes responsible for revolutionary conditions.
  - Seventh, willful negligence, the appointment of persons of doubtful character or of a doubtful loyalty to high office and



Sedition: Actions or speech urging rebellion against the authority of a state or ruler.

the failure to bring about changes in the Constitution in the right time are also responsible for the existence of revolutionary conditions.

- Eighth, heterogeneity or varied differences in people may also bring revolutionary conditions into existence.

➢ **Special Causes of Revolution:**

- The first cause is ***insolence*** and ***avarice***. According to Aristotle when the magistrates are insolent and grasping, they conspire against one another and also against the constitution from which they derive their power making their gains either at the expense of individuals or of the public.
- Secondly, in aristocracies revolutions are possible if power is concentrated in the hands of a few, if some persons of great ability are ill-treated or if a man of ability and high reputation is debarred from office and honour. But the actual downfall of aristocracies is chiefly due to deviation from the principles of justice. In monarchies, the resentment of insults, confiscation of property of the individual, unjust expression of the people, fear or the desire for fame may also bring into existence revolutionary conditions. In tyranny, similar conditions may occasion the outbreak of revolutions.

Insolence: Rude and disrespectful behaviour.
Avarice: Extreme greed for wealth or material things.

Prevention of Revolution: According to Aristotle, two methods can be adopted to prevent revolutions i.e. general and particular.

- **General Method:** The most important thing according to Aristotle is to maintain the spirit of obedience to law and watch the beginning of change carefully. Extreme measures must be avoided as they invite resistance and disobedience. Secondly, too much political power should not be allowed to be concentrated in the hands of one person or one class of persons. Thirdly, honours and rewards must be distributed as widely as possible because inequalities of

office and honours lead men to rebellion more than those of wealth. Fourthly, political office must be within the reach of everyone capable of performing his duties well. The smaller office must be of long duration and higher offices of shorter duration. Strangers should not ordinarily be given offices. Monopoly of power should not be with any class of citizen. The government of the state should be so organised so that it becomes impossible for power holders of powers to take bribes and other kinds of illegal gratifications. Fifth, the administration of public finances must be left to public scrutiny. Sixth, education must be spread among the masses and they must be well acquainted with the constitution. Education helps to bring unity among the masses. Seventh, in the oligarchies or democracies, the ruling minority or majority should be given equality or even preference in all public offices, except the highest. The highest offices must be left for men of administrative experiences, integrity of character, and loyalty to the constitution. And lastly, in a democracy, the property of the rich, and in oligarchy, the rights and dignity of the poor should be respected.

- **Particular Methods:** Firstly, in democracies, the rich should not be exploited and their property should be protected. Secondly, in oligarchies a good deal of attention should be paid to the poor. They should be protected from the domination of the rich. Thirdly, in aristocracies honours and offices should be distributed evenly and the principle of distributive justice should be observed. Fourthly, in monarchies a polity of moderation should be adopted. Provision of good administration, paying heed to public opinion and honouring the virtuous can help prevent revolutions.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Aristotle discussed his theory revolution in his book …… (Fill in the blank)

Q.8: What are the two types of revolution provided by Aristotle?

.....

Q.9: State any two general causes of revolution.

.....



1.5 LET US SUM UP

- Greek political philosopher Plato had greatly contributed towards the discipline of political science. Some of his important contributions are - theory of justice, theory of education, theory of communism, theory of ideal state.
- While discussing the theory of justice, Plato said that human organism contained three elements- reason, courage and appetite. Corresponding to these three elements of human nature, there are three classes of social organism. These classes are - Philosopher class or the ruling class which represents the element of reason; auxiliaries or the warrior class are the representative of the element of courage; and the worker class represents the element of appetite.
- Plato asserts that when every class of the society performs its own assigned duty without interfering in the affairs of others work, then justice exists in the real sense. Thus, Plato's theory of justice provides for specialisation of functions.
- Plato put forward his theory of ideal state which was based on certain fundamental principles, such as- classification of people into three classes, i.e. guardian class, auxiliaries, producing class; establishment of justice; state regulated system of education; communism of property and family.

- Aristotle, another great Greek philosopher, known as the father of Political Science, had also greatly contributed towards political philosophy. Some of his important contributions are theory of citizenship, theory of slavery , theory of revolution, theory of ideal state.
- Aristotle's theory of citizenship had provided citizenship status to limited categories of people. According to Aristotle, a person who was wise and intelligent, had the capacity to take part in the administrative and judicial affairs of the state and who had the capacity to discharge social responsibility in efficient manner could become a citizen of the state.
- While discussing the theory of revolution, Aristotle divided revolution into two kinds- total revolution and partial revolution. He has identified general and particular causes of revolution. He had also suggested particular and special methods for the prevention of revolution.



1.6 FURTHER READING

1. Gogoi, Prof. P. (2007). *Degree political theory*. Guwahati: Banalata Publication.
2. Johari, J.C. (1994). *Traditions of political thought*. Bombay: Himalayan Publishing House.
3. Rao, V.V. (1998). *A history of political theories*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4. Sharma, R.P. (1984). *Western political thought*. New Delhi: Sterling Publications Ltd.

1.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: *The Republic, The Law*

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True

Ans. to Q. No. 3: *The Republic*

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Establishment of justice and state regulated system of education

Ans. to Q. No. 5: *The Politics, The Constitution of Athens*

Ans. to Q. No. 6: (i) A citizen should be wise and intelligent and must have all the capacity to rule and to be ruled.

(ii) A citizen had to possess the capacity to discharge social responsibility in efficient manner.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: *The Politics*

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Total revolution and partial revolution

Ans. to Q. No. 9: (i) Revolution takes place when men suffer dishonour or when they see others honoured.

(ii) If a person or body of persons occupies a position of strength which is too great for the state, revolutionary conditions come into existence.



1.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Who is regarded as the father of Political Science?

Q. 2: In which book did Aristotle provide his theory of citizenship?

Q. 3: Mention any two special causes of revolution as stated by Aristotle.

B) Short Question (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Briefly explain the drawbacks of Plato's theory of Justice.

Q. 2: Explain the relevance of Plato's theory of ideal state.

Q. 3: Write a short note on Aristotle's theory of citizenship.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Critically discuss Plato's theory of justice.

Q. 2: Discuss Aristotle's theory of revolution.

Q. 3: Examine Plato's theory of ideal state.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: ST. AUGUSTINE AND ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Political Thought of St. Augustine

- 2.3.1 Views on Human Nature
- 2.3.2 Views on State
- 2.3.3 Views on City of God
- 2.3.4 Views on Justice
- 2.3.5 Influence or Contribution of St. Augustine

2.4 Political Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas

- 2.4.1 Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas
- 2.4.2 St. Thomas Aquinas' Views on the Origin of the State
- 2.4.3 Views about Reason and Faith
- 2.4.4 Views on Classification and Functions of Government
- 2.4.5 Views on Supremacy of Church

2.5 Let Us Sum Up

2.6 Further Reading

2.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.8 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the political philosophy of St. Augustine
- describe St. Augustine's views on human nature and views on state
- discuss St. Augustine's views on city of god and views on justice
- analyse contribution of St. Augustine to political philosophy
- describe the political philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas
- analyse the contribution of Aquinas to political philosophy.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we have discussed about the various theories of the two great Greek philosophers i.e. Plato and Aristotle. In this unit, we will discuss the views of two medieval political thinkers i.e. St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. Medieval political philosophy is mostly associated with the views of two great philosophers, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. In the views of these two great philosophers, the influence of the Church was very prominent. In this unit, efforts will be made to examine how the views of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas on various issues had contributed towards the political philosophy of that time.

2.3 POLITICAL THOUGHT OF ST. AUGUSTINE

St.Augustine (354 AD-430 AD) lived in a transitory period which saw the ending of the ancient and starting of the medieval age. He was deeply influenced by his predecessors like Plato, Cicero, Christianity and the stoic philosophy. St. Augustine's most important works was *De Civitate Dei (City of God)* a treatise written in the Latin language. The book is divided into 22 books. Most of his books are devoted to the defence of Christianity and the construction of City of God. Through *De Civitate Dei*, he had attempted to explain the cause for the fall of the Roman Empire. According to some philosophers, St. Augustine probably had a greater influence on the subsequent medieval political thought than any other philosopher of the early Middle Ages.

2.3.1 Views on Human Nature

St. Augustine's view on human nature was greatly influenced by Christianity. People in a state should always obey the church and they should be of high moral values. According to Augustine, human body belongs to the state and the human soul to the church. While the human body is material, the soul is immaterial (non-physical) and superior to the body. He opined that human beings

have a dual nature. Similarly, the needs of human beings are also of two types, such as- temporal needs and spiritual needs. Temporal needs of human being can be fulfilled in the earthly state. But, the spiritual needs can be fulfilled only in the City of God. By this, St. Augustine firmly held that human beings could attain spirituality or fulfill their spiritual needs only with the help of Christianity.

2.3.2 Views on State

According to St. Augustine, the state was of divine origin and inferior only to the city of God. Augustine believed that the state came into existence to provide divine remedy to the people for all their sins. He opined that the ruler of the state was the representative of God on earth and due to this reason, he commanded obedience from the subjects.

According to Augustine, a state which had adopted Christian rule was that of God while a non-Christian state would be marked by injustice. Every man should obey such a state based on Christian principles because only then they would be serving the purpose of God. Augustine believed that in the Christian States, every action of the state authorities was guided by a divine plan and purpose owing to which there prevailed perfect justice. Unlike Plato and Aristotle, Augustine was of the view that the state was subordinate to the higher authority of God. According to Augustine, only those laws should be obeyed which were moral from the point of view of the church. A Christian always obeys the state authorities and the state laws because through them the ultimate higher will of God is attained. So, he had subordinated the state to the Church.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Name the most important work of St. Augustine.

.....

Q.2: State the names of any two philosophers who had great influence on the philosophy of Augustine.

.....

Q.3: St Augustine believed in divine origin of the state. (True/False)

.....

2.3.3 Views on City of God

St. Augustine provided his concept of *City of God* in *De Civitate Dei.* According to Augustine, the world we live in consists of two cities, one is the earthly Commonwealth or city and the second is the Heavenly Commonwealth or the City of God. He formulated his concept of two cities primarily to explain the downfall of Roman Empire. The earthly commonwealth is marked by self-interest and the presence of greedy and possessive impulses of lower human nature. This earthly commonwealth is termed as the kingdom of Satan. It is full of human sins and is not permanent but perishable. But, there is one city which is eternal and imperishable. That is the heavenly commonwealth or the City of God. The heavenly commonwealth or the City of God shows the way to peace and spiritual salvation. It is founded on the love of God and truth and is permanent and immortal. Augustine opined that human beings who have faith in Christianity can become members of the City of God.

Augustine believed that the Roman Empire perished away because it was an earthly city. Restless love for power was the cause of down fall of the Roman Empire. Due to the sins of human beings, the Roman Empire had vanished. He attributed the fall of Rome to a number of human faults, such as cruelty, pride, luxury etc. But the city of God, according to Augustine was permanent and people could attain their spiritual salvation only in the City of God. In the City of God, there was peace, justice, universal brotherhood, love and order.

Augustine believed that all human history is a dramatic story of struggle between these two cities, i.e. earthly city and city of God.

He was convinced that the ultimate victory belongs to the city of God through which people would be able to aspire for greater goals of life.

2.3.4 Views on Justice

According to Augustine, justice is the basis of state and it can prevail only in the city of God. Without justice the state would turn into a state of robberies. Justice means respect for duties and imposes obligations on human beings. Justice also implies respect for the Church. Christianity is above everything and absolute justice is possible only in the universal city of God in which universal laws were obeyed. A state will be unjust if it violates universal order. Justice exists when the people worship true God.

2.3.5 Influence or Contribution of St. Augustine

St. Augustine was one of the most important political thinkers of Medieval Europe. It is said that Thomas Aquinas and Dante were largely influenced by his writings. He also influenced Martin Luther. His conception of Christian Commonwealth became the basis of Holy Roman Empire to a great extent. He gave the idea that political authority was not absolute and that there was also a higher authority over the state. He also challenged the established idea that state laws should be obeyed. His ideas remained alive throughout the middle ages and his concept of *City of God* became the basis of all philosophy and borrowed by both Protestants and Catholics equally during that age.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who according to Augustine could become a member of the *City of God*?

.....

Q.5: Augustine opined the earthly commonwealth or state is marked by the presence of earthly, greedy and possessive impulses of lower human nature. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: Mention the names of two political thinkers of the medieval age who were greatly influenced by the philosophy of St. Augustine.

.....

2.4 POLITICAL THOUGHT OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

St. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274 AD) was one of the most outstanding personalities of the middle ages. He was an intellectual and liberal thinker. He attempted to revive Aristotelian philosophy. During the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Roman Church was already a huge organisation. He was a follower of the Christian religion. His writings were mainly influenced by Stoics, Aristotle and Cicero. Some of his important works are- *Summa Theologica, Summa Contra Gentiles,* etc.

2.4.1 Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas

St. Thomas Aquinas' main contributions to the political philosophy are:

- **Idea of Welfare State:** Through his philosophy, St. Aquinas promoted the idea of the welfare state which will look after the poor, provide justice to all and maintain peace which are regarded as functions of a welfare state even today.
- **Idea of Constitutional Government:** St. Aquinas was in favour of the system of Monarchy, but to him that should not be absolute. Such a government should be bound by the laws of the state. In keeping with the same, he had put forth the idea of constitutional government.
- **Classification of Law:** According to St. Aquinas laws should be linked with justice. So, he has classified laws based on

reason. He was of the view that laws should be the product of reasonable thinking and laws should be obeyed not only because they are the command of the superior authority, but because they are based on certain reasons.

- **Revival of Aristotle's Philosophy:** St. Aquinas was mainly responsible for the revival of Aristotle's philosophy in the west. He supported Aristotle's philosophy so long as it did not clash with the ideals of the church.
- **Basis of State:** St. Aquinas believed that the state was a moral institution and stood to promote the welfare to its people. He opined that state came into existence due to social instincts of human beings. He put forward the view that the state does not perform only negative functions, but it has greater positive role such as promoting good virtues, welfare of people etc. Thus, Aquinas provided a natural and moral basis to the state.
- **Idea of Nation-State:** St. Aquinas contributed to the idea of nation-state. He substituted national sentiments for religious authority.
- **Concept of Natural Law:** St. Aquinas subordinated human law to natural law and gave a systematic concept of natural law. His idea of natural law had influenced a number of political thinkers, such as Locke.

2.4.2 St. Thomas Aquinas' Views on the Origin of the State

During the medieval period, the Christian thinkers opined that the state existed due to the sins of human beings. According to them, the state existed only because of the weakness in human nature.However, St Thomas Aquinas brought a radical change regarding the theory of origin of the state. Unlike the medieval Christian thinkers who attributed unethical or sinful reasons for the origin of the state, St. Aquinas believed that man was a social animal

by nature and the state was natural to man. St Aquinas strongly believed that state was not an artificial, sinful and conventional institution; rather it was a natural institution. He argued that since nobody could be self-sufficient, people needed each other's assistance for fulfilling their social requirements. In this way, the state was a natural institution. The people joined the state for their fullest development and also for attaining perfection. So, the state has a positive role and it provides essential services to the people. State exists for the moral welfare of the people. Along with the state, the society is also essential for human nature which makes the people virtuous and moral. According to St. Aquinas, monarchy was the best suited form of government as it was the inevitable law of nature that the superior should rule over the inferior. It was also in the interest of the inferiors that they should be ruled by superiors. If the inferiors are ruled by superiors, i.e. by persons with more virtues, higher knowledge and excellence, then the inferiors would also be able to develop their virtues. Thus, St. Aquinas justified the educative role of the state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Who was the author of the book *Summa Theologica*?

.....

Q.8: According to St. Aquinas laws should be based on …….. (Fill in the Blank)

Q.9: According to Aquinas state was an artificial, sinful and conventional institution. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: Mention the argument put forward by St. Thomas Aquinas to justify the rule of superior over inferiors.

.....

.....

2.4.3 Views About Reason and Faith

St. Aquinas had laid stress on both reason and faith which should guide human behaviour. According to him, both reason and faith had a common source, i.e. God. Thus, he provided a ***synthesis*** between Christian dogma and philosophy of the ancient Greek philosophers.



Synthesis: The combination of parts to form a connected whole.

2.4.4 Views on Classification and Functions of Government

St. Aquinas provided his scheme of classification of government on the basis of two principles - whether the supremacy is the result of man's sins or whether it is the result of social instinct of man. St. Aquinas, just like Aristotle, classified government into normal and perverted forms in which the former included monarchy, aristocracy and polity (modern democracy) and perverted forms were tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. He, however, always favoured monarchy in limited manner which restricted government from becoming tyrannical or oppressive. He opined that government should be bound by laws. According to him, no form of Government was absolutely good or bad, but it depended on the functions which were performed. St. Aquinas stressed greater emphasis on civil government. He classified civil government into four categories, such as- sacred, royal, political and economic.

Regarding the functions of the government, St. Aquinas opined that a good government was only one which performed good functions for its citizens. In fact, Aquinas emphasised such functions of the state which reflected the concept of modern welfare state. The state should provide better administration, justice, civic facilities and ensure defense of its citizens. In simple words, the functions of the state should be to look after the poor, to ensure unity, to pave the way for virtuous life, to keep roads safe and free, etc. A good government should always ensure happiness, security and virtuous life of citizens. Aquinas also emphasised on the role of the government in promoting

moral life of the people. He however did not favour the idea of assigning any negative functions to the government. He opined that the government should avoid unnecessary taxation and provide economic relief to the people. The government should remove all the obstacles to ensure welfare of the people.

2.4.5 Views on Supremacy of Church

St Aquinas considered Church to be the supreme authority. The Church, according to St. Aquinas, was the only agency which promoted unity out of the universal disorder and anarchy. It was supreme in all matters. According to him, a secular state should always work under the guidance of the Church as the church was the guiding and controlling authority. The Church had authority to ***ex-communicate*** a ruler. Therefore, a Pope should be obeyed both in secular and religious affairs. According to him, authority of the church over the state was indirect rather than being direct and as such interference in the affairs of the state should be minimum. Aquinas was of the view that the Church and the state should always work in cooperation with each other.



Ex-communicate: Officially bar or prevent one from the services or sacraments of the Church

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: What is the source of reason and faith as mentioned by St. Thomas Aquinas?

.....

Q.12: St. Aquinas categorised government into ……..……. forms. (Fill in the blank).

Q.13: Mention any two functions of the government as stated by St. Aquinas.

.....

.....

Q.14: Which was the agency, according to St. Aquinas, that could maintain unity out of the universal disorder and anarchy?

.....



2.5 LET US SUM UP

- St. Augustine was one of the most important medieval political thinkers. His most important works was- the *De Civitate Dei* (*City of God*). St. Augustine through his philosophy tried to glorify Christianity.
- The most important concept of St. Augustine is the *City of God*. According to Augustine the world we live in consists of two cities, one is the earthly Commonwealth or city and the second is the Heavenly Commonwealth or the *City of God*.
- The earthly state is full of human sins and is not permanent. The heavenly commonwealth or the *City of God* shows the way to peace and spiritual salvation. It is founded on the love for god and truth. It is permanent and immortal. Augustine opined that human being who had faith in Christianity could become a member of the *City of God*.
- One of the important philosophies of St. Augustine was his view regarding human nature which was greatly inspired by Christianity. To him, human being has a dual nature and two types of needs, such as- temporal needs and spiritual needs. Temporal needs of human being can be fulfilled in the earthly state. But the spiritual needs can be fulfilled only in the *City of God*.
- St. Augustine believed in the divine origin of the state. According to Augustine, the state came into existence to provide divine remedy to the people for all their sins and the state was inferior only to the *City of God*.
- Another important concept of St. Augustine was his concept of justice. According to Augustine, justice is the basis of state and it could prevail only in the *City of God*. Augustine opined that justice implied respect for the Church. It also meant respect for duties.
- Another important thinker of the medieval age was St. Thomas Aquinas. Some of his important works are- *Summa Theologica, Summa Contra Gentiles*, etc.

- Regarding the origin of the state, St Aquinas opined that state was not an artificial, sinful and conventional institution; rather it was a natural institution. He argued that since nobody could be self-sufficient people needed each other's assistance for fulfillment of social requirements and for this reason the state came into existence. St. Aquinas believed that man was a social animal by nature and the state was natural to man.
- St. Aquinas viewed that reason and faith should guide human behaviour. The source of both reason and faith is God.
- St. Aquinas provided his scheme of classification of government into two categories- normal form and perverted form. Normal forms included monarchy, aristocracy and polity (modern democracy) and perverted forms were tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. He always favoured monarchy in limited manner which restricted government from becoming tyrannical. He opined that government should be bound by laws.
- Regarding the functions of the government, St. Aquinas mentioned that the government should ensure welfare of its citizens. It should give better administration, justice, civic facilities and ensure defense of its citizens. A good government should always ensure happiness, security and virtuous life of citizens. Aquinas also emphasised the role of the government in promoting moral life of the people.
- St. Aquinas considered Church to be the supreme authority which promoted unity amidst the universal disorder and anarchy. According to him, a secular state should always work under the guidance of Church as it is the guiding and controlling authority. Aquinas was of the view that the Church and the state should always cooperate with each other.

2.6 FURTHER READING

1. Masih, Y. (2006). *A critical history western philosophy (Greek, Medieval and Modern).* Delhi: Motilal Banarisdass Publishers Private Limited.
2. Sharma, S.K. and Sharma, U. (2003). *Western political thought, From plato to Burke.* Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
3. Singh, G. (Ed.). (2008). *Western political thinkers*. New Delhi: Omega Publications.

2.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: *De Civitate Dei*

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Plato and Cicero

Ans. to Q. No. 3: True

Ans. to Q. No. 4: According to Augustine human being who had faith in Christianity could become member of the 'City of God'.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Thomas Aquinas and Dante

Ans. to Q. No. 7: St. Thomas Aquinas

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Reason

Ans. to Q. No. 9: False

Ans. to Q. No. 10: According to St. Aquinas the superior should rule over the inferior. It was in the interest of the inferiors that they should be ruled by superiors. If the inferiors are ruled by superiors, i.e. persons with more virtues, higher knowledge and excellence, then the inferiors would also be able to develop their virtues.

Ans. to Q. No. 11: God

Ans. to Q. No. 12: Norman and perverted forms

Ans. to Q. No. 13: (i) The government should look after the poor.
(ii) The government should ensure defense of its citizens.

Ans. to Q. No. 14: The Church



2.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Who was the author of the book *De Civitate Dei*?

Q. 2: Mention the names of two important books of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Q. 3: Who revived the Aristotelian philosophy in the medieval period?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Briefly write about St. Augustine's view about human nature.

Q. 2: Explain St. Aquinas opinion regarding the function of the government.

Q. 3: Write a short note on St. Augustine's view regarding the state.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Discuss St. Augustine theory of city of God.

Q. 2: Describe St. Aquinas view regarding the origin of the state.

*** ****

UNIT 3: NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Views on Human Nature
3.4 Views on Forms of Government and the Preservation of the Dominion
3.5 Views on Ethics and Politics
3.6 Contribution of Machiavelli to Political Thought
3.7 Let Us Sum Up
3.8 Further Reading
3.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
3.10 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss human nature as stated by Machiavelli
- analyse the views of Machiavelli on the forms of government and the preservation of dominion
- explain Machiavelli's views on ethics and politics
- evaluate the contribution of Machiavelli to political thought.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

With Machiavelli middle ages came to an end and political philosophy entered a new phase. He was more a practical politician than a political philosopher. Machiavelli had a practical approach and outlook to every problem that the Italy of his times had confronted but unfortunately he was not successful in placing his ideas into actual practice. The entire philosophy of Machiavelli is contained in his two great works, *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. In this unit, we will discuss about Machiavelli's views on human nature, forms of government, preservation of dominion, ethics and politics and his contribution to political thought.

3.3 VIEWS ON HUMAN NATURE

Machiavelli has discussed at some length about human nature. He has given a very dark picture of human nature and has even equated that with animal nature. According to him, human beings are ungrateful and selfish. His views upon human nature as depicted in *The Prince* are as under:

- Man is self-centred and thinks about his own interests rather than the interests of anybody else. He always cares for himself. He is a greedy creature.
- Human beings are always aggressive and everyone is interested to acquire more. They are, therefore, always struggling with each other, thereby creating conditions of anarchy.
- Man is always timid and creature of his habits. Being timid he follows the line of least resistance. He wants to follow only well-established customs so that he is not opposed by the society.
- Machiavelli is of the view that by nature men love private property more than their kith and kin.
- Men are stupid and irrational and are always attracted by desires, ultimately resulting in their ruin.
- He again says that human beings are prone to wickedness and they act morally only under compulsion.
- All human beings want maximum liberty and they wish to be independent of others.

Briefly speaking Machiavelli like Hobbes believes that human beings are essentially selfish and the common factor in these selfish human beings is the desire for security.

Criticism of Machiavelli's Viewpoint: Machiavelli has been criticised for the views which he has advanced on human nature. It is evidently clear that human nature is not as bad as he has tried to portray. Human beings are of course not completely good but at the same time they are not completely bad as well. Moreover, nowhere has he stated as to why he considers human beings as bad and selfish. He has given no

rational explanation for that. Thus, his ideas about human nature are not very sound and present only one side of the picture.

3.4 VIEWS ON FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE DOMINION

Machiavelli, like Aristotle, has classified the government into normal and perverted form. In its normal form, the government is monarchy, aristocracy and limited democracy or constitutional democracy while correspondingly perverted forms being tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. He however, agrees with Polybius and Cicero that only a mixed form of government is the best or ideal attainable one. As a realist, he feels that in a government, there should be close relationship between economic development and political stability. According to him, the stability of a government depends on the economic development of its subjects. He prefers the rule of many on elected basis rather than the rule of one on hereditary basis. He has definite preference for elected elements over hereditary system. Moreover, Machiavelli argued that the people are no doubt unable to understand complicated policy matters but their sharing of government in ordinary affairs is bound to bring stability to the government. Therefore, Machiavelli is in favour of a republican form of government. Because, he believes that only in a republican form of government, people can enjoy maximum level of individual liberty and the city can achieve greatness. It does not happen in a princely state.

Machiavelli's views are very significant regarding the preservation of the dominions. The rule that Machiavelli suggests for preservation of dominion is respect for the established institutions and customs of the land. He also suggests their all-time assistance to the prince. He also states that the prince must keep in his hands property and women. He should create a situation where the people appreciate him. The prince should also encourage commerce and agriculture and should refrain from taxation. He states that the prince should have the quality to change according to circumstances. He again says that the ruler should have the quality of a lion and a fox i.e. the quality of aggressiveness and cunningness. The ruler should

have proper knowledge of the art of war. He must learn the most important skill of using force effectively. Machiavelli says that military duty should be compulsory for every citizen. They should not be dependent on any group for defense. By way of suggesting republican form of government as well as various means regarding the preservation of dominion, Machiavelli demonstrates his realist and modern political outlook.



ACTIVITY 3.1

Try to find out the characteristics of the republican form of government.

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Machiavelli's depiction of human nature is dark and negative. (True/ False)

.....

Q.2: According to Machiavelli, which is the best form of government?

.....

Q.3: Mention any one suggestion made by Machiavelli for the preservation of dominion.

.....

Q.4: Mention four points regarding Machiavelli's views on human nature.

.....

3.5 VIEWS ON ETHICS AND POLITICS

Machiavelli regards the state to be the highest form of human association. Hence, it has a superior claim to man's obligation. As the state is the creator of law and morality, its acts cannot be judged by individual ethics. He, therefore, prescribes double standard of morality, one for the ruler and the other for the private citizens. The ruler is about law and morality.

It may be noted that the state for Machiavelli is a non-ethical identity. The efficiency of the state machinery is to be judged from the point of view of the safety of the state.

While maintaining power in the state, Machiavelli is not concerned with the ethics of the means employed to achieve the goal. It is because he believes that the Prince must maintain power in whatever way possible. Otherwise power may decline and the state may expire. Machiavelli in this context is particularly influenced by the developments in his own country i.e. Italy. It may be noted that Italy disintegrated and power declined because of the failure of the rulers to expand and sustain the state. That is why, for Machiavelli, what is more important is to maintain power at all cost so that the state can be maintained without decay.

3.6 CONTRIBUTION OF MACHIAVELLI TO POLITICAL THOUGHT

Machiavelli is regarded as the last of the medieval and first of the modern political thinker. In fact, it is through his methods as well as the areas that he selected for an intellectual discourse obviously made him the first ever modern political thinker. Here, an attempt has been made to evaluate the contribution of Machiavelli and to make a proper assessment of his position in the history of modern political thought.

Methodology:

Since Machiavelli deals with different problems, it is therefore natural that he has adopted different methodology for the study of different areas. According to him, the best method for the study of political problems is historical. He is of the view that the study of the past would be highly helpful to find solutions to political problems. Accordingly, history is the most celebrated approach adopted by Machiavelli. There are critics who believe that in the actual sense Machiavelli's approach is not entirely historical. It is an approach which is based on empiricism and is used in the historical spirit. In fact, Machiavelli's abandonment of the medieval method of Theology has made him the son of Renaissance and the first ever philosopher of the modern political thought.



LET US KNOW

Renaissance was a period of intellectual upliftment when people were gradually coming out from ignorance to knowledge, from faith to reason and from humiliation and complete subordination to reasoning and self-understanding. By this time, it had been discovered that the 'earth is round'. This was against the common belief which had been preached by the pastors that the earth was flat. The supremacy of church and blind faith was weakened. Renaissance brought a new idea regarding humanism which believed in individual capacity. It is based on the idea of self-made men. Renaissance also brought both economic and political change. Ideas of realism and empiricism were also the blessings of renaissance.

- **Machiavelli's Treatment of Human Nature:** Human nature is the study of psychology and politics is the study of state. The state is unthinkable without individuals. No study of political theory could be completed unless it is related to the nature of individuals. Such a relationship between politics and human nature is to be found in case of Machiavelli. It may be mentioned here that Machiavelli's emphasis on the treatment of human nature from the psychological point of view has made him the first modern political thinker. But at the same time, it should be remembered that Machiavelli's remarks about human nature in the 'Prince' are very damaging. They go entirely against that side of human nature that has been described as social and divine.

- **Separation of Religion and Politics:** Machiavelli's attitude towards the question of religion and politics is directly governed by his conception of human nature. During the entire course of medieval period, politics and religion was considered to be inseparable. At the same time, the state-church controversy dominated the entire course of medieval period. But Machiavelli is the first political thinker who ensured the separation of religion and politics. In this way, Machiavelli

demonstrates his scientific approach in studying the issues of religion and politics and established his position as a modern political thinker.

- **Views on the Extension of Dominions:** Machiavelli is not merely satisfied by developing a body of doctrine in relation to morality and religion. He also puts forward practical suggestion in relation to his dominion. Machiavelli has discussed the question of the extension of the power of the prince. He suggested that the prince should not only be satisfied with the acquisition of territory but should also try to extend these territories. It is through his doctrine of extension of dominion that Machiavelli demonstrates his realist and modern political outlook.
- **Influence of the Environment:** Machiavelli is an excellent epitome of his time. In fact, it is his extreme individualism and pragmatism and the rejection of the relationship between religion and politics, obviously makes him the first ever modern political thinker. Modern political thought in reality begins with Machiavelli. The reason is that Machiavelli, more than any other individual is influenced by his environment. Being a remarkable and modern political thinker, Machiavelli analysed the conditions as a historian. He wanted to promote certain great policies and systems and draw the same from ancient history. At the same time, he was one of those rare thinkers who had observed human nature in the most objective manner.
- **Doctrine of Power-Politics:** Machiavelli has been regarded as the pioneer of power politics. Being a realist, Machiavelli looks forward to the concept of sovereignty and nation state. He completely rejected the feudal conception of a complex political organisation and prefers the nation-state system with sovereign status. Accordingly, initiating the doctrine of power- politics, sovereignty as well as nation-states, Machiavelli obviously contributes towards the modern political thought. In reference to the ideas of the political philosophy of Machiavelli, it is seen that there are traces of modernism and realism that have made him the first ever political thinker in the history of modern political thought.



ACTIVITY 3.2

Try to find out the influences of Renaissance on Machiavelli.

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Machiavelli made a separation between ethics and politics. (True/ False)

……

Q.6: Who is regarded as the first modern political thinker?

……..

Q.7: Machiavelli separated religion from politics. (True/ False)

……

Q.8: Write a note on Machiavelli's views on separation of religion and politics.

…….

Q.9: Explain Machiavelli's views on Doctrine of power-politics.

.....



3.7 LET US SUM UP

- The entire philosophy of Machiavelli is contained in his two great works, *The Prince* and *The Discourses*.
- Regarding human nature, Machiavelli has depicted a very dark and negative picture and has even equated that with animal nature.
- According to him, human beings are ungrateful and selfish.
- Machiavelli is of the view that by nature, men love private property more than their kith and kin.
- Machiavelli like Hobbes believes that human beings are essentially selfish and the common factor in these selfish human beings is the desire for security.

- Machiavelli has regarded the mixed form of government as the best and ideal one. Being a supporter of individual liberty, he preferred the republican government.
- For the preservation of dominion, Machiavelli has entrusted various responsibilities on both the prince as well as the citizens.
- By way of suggesting republican form of government as well as various means regarding the preservation of dominion, Machiavelli demonstrates his realist and modern political outlook.
- Machiavelli has made a separation between ethics and politics.
- The contribution of Machiavelli to the history of political thought can be analysed from various aspects such as his methodology, treatment of human nature, views on religion and politics, views on the extension of dominions, influence of the environment as well as his doctrine of power politics etc.
- Machiavelli is the first political thinker who ensures the separation of religion and politics.
- Machiavelli has been regarded as the pioneer of power politics. Initiating the doctrine of power politics, sovereignty as well as nation states, he obviously contributes towards the modern political thought.



3.8 FURTHER READING

1. Jha, S. (2010). *Western political thought: From Plato to Marx*. New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley.
2. Nelson, B. R. (1996). *Western political thought: From Socrates to the age of ideology*. New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley.

3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Republican form of government

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Respect for the established institutions and customs of the land

Ans. to Q. No. 4: The four points regarding Machiavelli's views on human nature are-

a) Man is self-centred and thinks about his own interests rather than the interests of anybody else. He always cares for himself. He is a greedy creature.

b) Human beings are always aggressive and everyone is interested to acquire more. They are always struggling with each other, and thus, creating conditions of anarchy.

c) Man is always timid and creature of his habits. Being timid he follows the line of least resistance. He wants to follow only well-established customs so that he is not opposed by the society.

d) Machiavelli is of the view that by nature, men love private property more than their kith and kin.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Niccolo Machiavelli

Ans. to Q. No. 7: True

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Machiavelli's attitude towards the question of religion and politics is directly governed by his conception of human nature. During the entire course of medieval period, politics and religion was considered to be inseparable. At the same time, the state-church controversy dominated the entire course of medieval period. However, Machiavelli is the first political thinker who ensures the separation of religion and politics. It is in this way that Machiavelli demonstrates his scientific approach to study the issues of religion and politics and establishes his position as a modern political thinker.

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Machiavelli has been regarded as the pioneer of power-politics. Being a realist, Machiavelli looks forward to the concept of sovereignty and nation state. He completely rejects the feudal conception of a complex political organisation and prefers the nation state system with sovereign status. Accordingly, initiating the doctrine of power-politics, sovereignty as well as nation states, Machiavelli

obviously contributes towards the modern political thought. In reference to the ideas of the political philosophy of Machiavelli, it can be seen that there are traces of modernism and realism that have made him the first ever political thinker in the history of modern political thought.



3.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Mention any two human natures as depicted by Machiavelli.

Q. 2: Mention any two qualities necessary for the prince for the preservation of his dominion.

Q. 3: Machiavelli is the first political thinker who ensures the separation of religion and politics. (Write true or false)

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Explain Machiavelli's views on the forms of government.

Q. 2: How Machiavelli looks the relationship between ethics and politics?

Q. 3: Write a short note on Machiavelli's views on human nature.

C) Long Question (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Evaluate the contribution of Machiavelli as the first modern political thinker.

Q. 2: Discuss Machiavelli's views on the forms of government and the preservation of the Dominions.

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UNIT 4: THOMAS HOBBES

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Views on Human Nature

4.4 Views on State

4.5 Let Us Sum Up

4.6 Further Reading

4.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.8 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- analyse the views of Thomas Hobbes on human nature
- explain the views of Hobbes on state
- describe the contributions of Hobbes towards the development of political thought.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

In the tradition of social contract theory, Thomas Hobbes is known as the first contractualist. The most important work of Hobbes is 'Leviathan'. He is essentially a product of his times and to think of him and his philosophy without his times will be rather an incomplete study. In this unit, we will discuss the views of Hobbes regarding human nature and state.

4.3 VIEWS ON HUMAN NATURE

Since Hobbes says that to understand the state, the first thing we must do is to grasp 'its matter and artificer', both of which is man, let us begin with his view of human nature. His idea about human nature is also

the fountain-head of all his philosophy. In fact, his conception of human nature is the pivot round around which his whole philosophy revolves. Hobbes has made a fundamental departure from his contemporaries by saying that man is essentially nasty, brutish and an uncivilised creature. He has made individual, as against society, the center of his thought. Before him Plato, Machiavelli and St. Augustine had developed their philosophies. But they considered society and not the individual as the main theme.

A human being, for Hobbes, is matter in motion, there being two kinds of motion: vital motions, like the circulation of blood or the beating of one's pulse, and voluntary motions. Voluntary motions or 'endeavour', as Hobbes calls them, are basically of two kinds: either towards an object or away from an object. This endeavour, when it is towards something, is called Appetite or Desire and when the endeavour is away from something, it is generally called Aversion. Human beings are nothing but bundles of appetites and aversions, and life consists in fulfilling one desire after another. Desire or appetite is never fulfilled. There is no end of our desire and it ends with the death of human beings. Life itself is about the continuous fulfillment of one's desires and human beings take the help of their reason in order to satisfy their desires. Human beings do not just have passions, they have reason too. But, their reason is a mere slave of their passions and its role is to devise the most efficient means of achieving these passions.

For Hobbes, all men are free, all men are equal and all men are rational. Every individual is free to decide what is good or bad for him and free in making choice by using his rational capacity. Every individual should get equality of opportunity. According to Hobbes, reward is given on the basis of merit and hard working. Every individual has the capacity to differentiate between good and bad. Along with these, Hobbes has said that all men are self-interested and egoistic. Hobbes again has mentioned that men by birth are equal in intelligence but it is desire for having the same thing which makes them quarrel with each other. Men would never have quarreled had they not desired to gain the same thing. He believes

that competition makes people brute and quarrelsome. It was an uncontrolled society with desirous human beings which changed the entire concept of basic principles of the society.

For Hobbes, happiness remains the goal of life. Defining happiness or felicity as the continuous satisfaction of our desires, Hobbes makes desire the engine of all human action. This desire makes men fight with each other. It is the desire which makes men nasty and brutish in the state of nature and makes him stand against the valid desires of others to satisfy his own desires.

Criticism:

Hobbes' views on human nature have been criticised by the political thinkers on many grounds. Among them, the main points of criticism leveled against his views on human nature are given below:

- According to the critics Hobbes has perhaps either not understood human nature or has tried to adjust that to suit his requirements. On the one hand, he draws that they are disunited and isolated individuals having no concern for each other and in the other, they are united and like civilised citizens realising needs and necessities of others and most willing to cooperate with each other as well. He has, thus, made men savage animals and civilised creatures at the same time. What he thought of man and his nature is not clear.
- Hobbes has depicted the nature of man as savage and brutish but that is not correct. History is evidence to it that man by nature is a social animal and wants to live in peace with his fellow beings. Who does not know that even the most savage of the tribes, in most remote and primitive days, had their code of conduct based on peaceful living. Man was never savage and as such the very foundations of his social contract are shaky and slippery.

Having such criticisms does not mean that his entire theory and political philosophy is faulty. To think so will be just underestimating the importance of this great philosopher.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention the name of the most important work of Thomas Hobbes.

.....

Q.2: Explain any one human nature as depicted by Hobbes.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q.3: Hobbes has said that all men are self-interested and egoistic. (True/ False)

.....

4.4 VIEWS ON STATE

Hobbes was the great political thinker of his age who believed that the state came into being as a result of the social contract executed between the individuals and the sovereign. According to him, before men came to the state, they were living in the state of nature where neither their life, nor their property nor anything else was secured. Because, in the Hobbesian state of nature, there was no state, no authority, no ruler and no politics which made peoples' lives solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. To overcome this situation, people would eventually enter into an agreement voluntarily and this agreement was known as the social contract. Through this contract, all the individuals in the state of nature were to make a promise to each other that they would each give up their natural rights in favour of the sovereign and would obey his laws to secure their life and property. They promised each other that in choosing their sovereign, they were to be understood as authorising all his future actions. It is to be mentioned here that through the social contract all the people were to give up all the powers to the sovereign power except the right to life.



LET US KNOW

Hobbes says that although there is no state, no political authority, no written laws in the state of nature, there are some laws of nature. These laws of nature are the product of human reason or individual rationality. Individuals themselves know what is good or what is bad. According to Hobbes, there are 19 laws of nature. But the problem is that nobody follows the laws of nature and there is no authority to implement these laws of nature.

Social contract is not binding on the ruler. The ruler is excluded from the contract. Thus, Hobbes started with that all men are free, equal and rational, but he ended with a very powerful authority.

The social contract creates a sovereign, and at the same time, another new entity called the state. The fact that it is by choosing a sovereign that the people also create the state. The nature of this state is absolute, indivisible and inalienable. The state is an artificial person and therefore, needs a natural person to bear its persona, without this persona, it cannot act. Therefore, they are to choose an individual to bear this persona. When he acts, it is the state that is acting. It is the state that is repository of power, with the sovereign as its representative, and the subjects owe allegiance to the sovereign as the representative of the state. The sovereign is the outcome of the consent of the people, freedom of the people and the rationality of the people.

In the state when the sovereign is created, people can enjoy only those liberties which are provided by the sovereign. So, in the state under the sovereign, the liberty of the people depends on the laws of the sovereign. In the state of nature, there is no ruler, but there would be excessive liberty of the people. Although in the state under the sovereign, there also exists liberty, yet people can enjoy liberty by abiding the laws of the sovereign. Otherwise, they would be punished. The sovereign could decide everything without consulting the people. He could do anything.

Because there was no restriction on the sovereign and he had no obligations towards his subjects as he was not a part of the social contract. Nobody had the right to question, criticise and overthrow the monarch as he was the own creation of the people. In order to overthrow the monarch, the social contract would have to be dissolved by the people and for this they had to take permission from the monarch and no doubt, he would never give such permission. If the social contract would dissolve, then the people would go to the same anarchical state of nature. If the people oppose the social contract, it would be the opposition against their own decision. So, there was no way left for them.



LET US KNOW

Hobbes considered two types of liberty - unrestricted liberty or negative liberty and restricted liberty or positive liberty. Unrestricted liberty exists in the state of nature where people would enjoy liberty without any restriction. On the other hand, restricted liberty exists in the state under the sovereign according to which people had to enjoy liberty within restriction followed by laws or fear of punishment.

Earlier, the monarch did not just represent the state; he or she was the state. Hobbes posited the state as independent of the king, who was just someone who acted for the state. Hobbes introduced a distinction between the sovereign and the state, with far reaching consequences. What Hobbes did was to not only separate the king from the state, but also to distinguish between the people and the state. For Hobbes, whether the state was represented by a democratic government or a monarchical one, the seat of sovereignty was the state, not the king or the people. For Skinner, it is with Hobbes that a new discourse of the state enters political thought.

Criticisms: The Hobbesian conception of state is also not free from criticism. It has been criticised on the following points as discussed:

- Hobbes says that the sovereign or absolute monarch will run a minimal state. According to him, although the ruler has the absolute power, he makes few laws only for the protection of the state. He does not make any laws which can interfere in family, economic, religious and other fields of the individuals. A good monarch is one who, by not interfering in the private life, allows his subjects the maximum amount of liberty to pursue their desires. But, according to the critics this is not acceptable as an absolute ruler always tries to create an absolute state. Moreover, Hobbes also assumes that all rulers are good. He has not given any conception about a bad ruler. In this regard, he has not given any answer.
- Another criticism has been raised against the reason behind political obligation. Hobbes says that people have political obligation towards the sovereign and the state because of morality as the sovereign is the own creation of the people. But, the critics have argued that the people obey the sovereign and the state not because of morality but only because of fear, their own protection and security.

In spite of such limitations, the significance of Hobbesian theory of state can never be ignored. It was the result of his political philosophy that nation's attention was diverted from theory of 'Divine Origin of the State' to a new trend of political thought. By considering 'human being' the pivot of his philosophy, he gave due place to the individuals in the political set up. He was perhaps the first English philosopher in political thought that pleaded and stood for more freedom for individuals.



ACTIVITY 4.1

Try to find out the characteristics of the early liberal tradition or social contract tradition.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: In the philosophy of Hobbes, the state comes into existence as a result of social contract. (True/ False)

.....

Q.5: What is the nature of the state according to Hobbes?

.....

Q.6: Write one criticism against the Hobbesian conception of state.

.....



4.5 LET US SUM UP

- In the tradition of social contract theory, Thomas Hobbes is known as the first contractualist. The most important work of Hobbes is 'Leviathan'. His idea about human nature is the fountain-head of all his philosophy.
- Regarding human nature, Hobbes has made the observation that men are nasty, brutish and uncivilised creatures.
- Human beings are in motion to fulfill desire after desire. There is no end of desire and it ends with the death of human beings. Life itself is about the continuous fulfillment of one's desires and human beings take the help of their reason in order to satisfy their desires.
- Human beings do not just have passions, they have reason too. But their reason is merely enslaved to their passions. They are always seekers for powers. For Hobbes, all men are free, equal and rational. Along with these, all men are self-centred and egoistic.
- Hobbes again has mentioned that men by birth are equal in intelligence but it is desire for having the same thing which makes them quarrel with each other. Men would never have quarreled had they not desired to gain the same thing. He believes that competition

makes people brute and quarrelsome. For Hobbes, happiness remains the goal of life.

- According to Hobbes, the state is the outcome of a social contract executed between the individuals and the sovereign in the state of nature. Through the social contract all the people give up all the powers to the sovereign power except the right to life. The social contract creates a sovereign, and at the same time, another new entity called the state.
- The nature of the state in the social contract theory of Hobbes is absolute, indivisible and inalienable. It is the state that is repository of power, with the sovereign as its representative, and the subjects owe allegiance to the sovereign as the representative of the state.
- In the state when the sovereign is created, people can enjoy only those liberties which are provided by the sovereign. So in the state under the sovereign, the liberty of the people depends on the laws of the sovereign.



4.6 FURTHER READING

1. Dhariwal, U.K. (2008). *Western political thought*. New Delhi: Arise Publishers & Distributors.
2. Gogoi, P. (2007). *Degree political theory*. Guwahati: Banalata Publication.
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7. Singh, G. (Ed.). (2008). *Western political thinkers*. New Delhi: Omega Publications.

4.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Leviathan

Ans. to Q. No. 2: For Hobbes, all men are free, all men are equal and all men are rational. Every individual is free to decide what is good or bad for him and free in making choice by using his rational capacity. Every individual should get equality of opportunity. According to Hobbes, reward is given on the basis of merit and hard working. Every individual has the capacity to differentiate between good and bad.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: True

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Absolute, indivisible and inalienable

Ans. to Q. No. 6: One of the criticisms raised against the reason behind political obligation. Hobbes says that people have political obligation towards the sovereign and the state because of morality as the sovereign is the own creation of the people. But, the critics have argued that people obey the sovereign and the state not because of morality but only because of fear,their own protection and security.

4.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Mention any two points in favour of Thomas Hobbes as an individualist.

Q. 2: What kind of liberty do the people enjoy in the state under the sovereign?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Write any four points about the nature of human beings mentioned by Hobbes.

Q. 2: Under what circumstances people sign the social contract and create the state? Briefly explain.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Write a note on the depiction of human nature by Thomas Hobbes.

Q. 2: Critically analyse the views of Thomas Hobbes on state.

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UNIT 5: JOHN LOCKE

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Views on Human Nature

5.4 Theory of Social Contract

5.5 Views on Individualism

5.6 Views on Liberty of Women

5.7 Views on Private Property

5.8 Let Us Sum Up

5.9 Further Reading

5.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.11 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- grasp John Lock's perspective on human nature
- evaluate Locke's theory of social contract
- explain Locke's views on individualism
- analyse Locke's views on the liberty of women
- describe Locke's views on private property

5.2 INTRODUCTION

John Locke is the second social contractualist in the tradition of social contract theory. He is also regarded as the father of classical liberalism. He started his theory with all the premises of liberalism i.e. all men are free, equal and rational and also ended with liberalism i.e. constitutional monarchy. The most important work of Locke is 'Two Treatises of Government'.

5.3 VIEWS ON HUMAN NATURE

Basically and fundamentally Locke agreed with Hobbes that the state is neither a mechanical growth nor product of any supernatural power but that it is the result of a social contract. This social contract has come into existence because the individuals feel it necessary both for their well-being, social security and prosperity. But beyond that, they part with each other. Locke, unlike Hobbes, believes that men are capable, efficient and rational beings.

Locke believes that if all are given proper opportunities they are bound to have equal mental development. According to him, it is mental and not physical development which is always counted. He is agreed with Hobbes that men have desires and want to substitute their pains for pleasures. He, however does not agree with Hobbes that for the sake of pleasures men become quarrelsome, savage and brutish. On the other hand, he feels that people always want to achieve ends by peaceful and rational methods. He also believes that nature itself has blessed mankind with sparks of reason which motivates their actions in the darkness. Everyone is equally free to order their actions and to exercise power and jurisdiction. Mankind, being all independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions. In pre-state civil society it is peace, good will, mutual assistance and preservation which prevail and govern their social relations.

5.4 THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTRACT

If in the state of nature people enjoy peace, prosperity and there is no fear of war why do they leave the state of nature? According to Locke, it is the internal desire of the society to establish social contract which motivates the people in this direction. The uncertainty of a common decision and a common interpreter of acceptable social laws is another factor which makes them think of leaving the state of nature. Their inability to keep their natural rights against injustice is another reason forces them to think leaving the state of nature.

According to Locke the people abandon the state of nature and join the civil state in order to avoid inconveniencies and confusions which arise in the state of nature. In order to get rid of such inconveniencies of state of nature, individuals have decided to sign a social contract. After entering into the social contract, people set up a civil society or political society. Locke has used the two terms 'civil society' or 'political society' interchangeably. In this society, there is political authority and political power. Locke says that in the social contract, people do not give up their natural rights i.e. right to life, liberty and property. The government will protect the natural rights of the members of this new civil/ political society. They do not want the government to become absolute. Rather, they want a limited government whose powers are divisible and alienable. The prime duty of the Lockean government is the public good or common good. Public good can be maintained by the government by protecting the rights of the individuals. This government is based on the consent of the people. If the government fails to protect their rights and fails to maintain public good, people can dissolve the government by dissolving the social contract. Then the people will form another government with their consent in civil society.



LET US KNOW

Even though Locke distinguishes the state of nature from the state of war, he lists certain inconveniences in the state of nature which persuade human beings to leave the state:

- Private property and class conflict is the most important problem in the state of nature.
- There are certain laws of nature in the state of nature which people have to follow. But there is no authority to punish the people if anyone does not follow the laws of nature.
- In the state of nature, people have three political powers - executive, legislative and wage war. But they have no power of judgement.

Thus, the Lockean social contract ends the pre-political state and enters into a political state. It is a contract in which sovereign is not excluded

but remains a part of it. He is neither above his fellow beings nor does he remain in the state of nature. The men of pre-political state give only interpretative powers and not their rights. The contract vests powers in the hands of the society as such and not in the hands of any individual. To Locke, the idea of absolute monarch is foolish because monarchs are also human beings with emotions of both love and hatred.

Criticism: The theory of social contract put forwarded by Locke has also faced some criticisms as mentioned below:

- It has been said that Locke believes that natural men have some property, authority and he wants that a good government should protect those rights as well. In other words, he stands for the protection of the propertied class - a philosophy which cannot be justified on the basis of equality and common principles of justice.
- Locke, like Hobbes has also misunderstood the nature of man. If men are not nasty, brutish, cruel and uncivilised as Hobbes depicts, they are never gentle, self-realising and responsible to the extent to which Locke thinks of. At no stage of human history, men have acted as restrained persons in the absence of any authority. Therefore, he is equally a victim of miscalculation of men's nature and their basic instincts.
- It is equally doubtful whether Locke has created a society or a government. Government is an agency which has executive, legislative and judicial powers. But in case of Locke it has only limited legislative functions which are assigned to the supreme authority and that too only in interpreting laws.
- There is also a criticism against the Lockean concept of consent. Locke says that everybody gives consent to the social contract to create a government. But this idea is wrong because only the majority has given the consent. As majority gives consent, it is assumed that everybody has given their consent. Therefore, Locke fails to make the differentiation between active consent and tacit consent. Lockean consent is not based on willingness of each and every human being.

In spite of such criticisms, it cannot be ignored that Locke wanted to create a limited government based on the consent of the people whose prime motive would be public good or common good.



ACTIVITY 5.1

Try to find out the relevance of the political philosophy of John Locke in the present context.

5.5 VIEWS ON INDIVIDUALISM

Locke is one of those few political philosophers of his age who stood against the tide of his time and has boldly expressed his political ideas. He is not convinced that individual has no standing whatsoever and that he is only an insignificant and subordinate organ of the society. On the other hand Locke believes that individual has a definite standing. According to him individual is everything and that the state stands for preserving the rights and freedoms of the individuals. Locke believed that a state is best where the interests of the individuals are best protected. It is the foremost duty of the state to preserve, protect and honour the inborn and natural rights of the individuals.

In fact the sole intention of Locke is to subordinate government to the community on the whole. Locke emphasised that the government exists only for the welfare of the individuals. His love for individualism is expressed in his ideas on the rights of the people to revolt against their sovereign. According to him, the people have power, although not the right, to remove a government whose policies they find are curtailing their rights. Like an individualist, he is of the opinion that people have certain basic minimum rights and that no authority in the state has any right to snatch these rights from them.

Locke's love for individualism is also clearly reflected when he assumes that individual is everything and that state is only means to achieve certain ends. It is the supreme duty of the state to preserve natural rights of men and that revolution is justified when such rights are disregarded or disrespected.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who is regarded as the father of classical liberalism?

……

Q.2: Locke has provided the same view with Hobbes regarding human nature. (True/ False)

……

Q.3: To Locke, what is the prime motive of the government created by social contract?

……

Q.4: According to Locke, individual is superior to the state. (True/ False)

……

5.6 VIEWS ON LIBERTY OF WOMEN

The idea of creating a society ensuring equality between the sexes has never been considered by most political theorists. They have either endorsed or accepted the assumption that there is a natural inequality of the sexes which ought to be preserved in civil society.

Locke believed that there was a natural inequality between the sexes and that men were superior. This superiority ordinarily gave them a right to obedience of their wives. It also seems clear that Locke believed that the source of women's inferiority lay in her reproductive capacities, and that he regarded this as a natural rather than a conventional disadvantage.

Through the treaties, Locke opined that the natural condition of women was to be in the family i.e. the subjection of women by men was the subjection of wife by husband. Interestingly, nowhere in his treaties Locke talks about single woman. Women, according to Locke are married women and, therefore, most women are under the subjection of men. And most women are married women, because it is women's nature to reproduce children which she is incapable of providing for on her own. Thus, it is the natural fate of women to be married as a consequence of their reproductive

capacities, and to be subjection of their husbands because they are dependent on him for support of their offspring. Locke, thus assumes that the family and the structure of the authority within the family is a natural association created in the state of nature.

Thus, Locke thinks that liberty of women lies on natural conditions of women and women are subjugated by men by virtue of men are "more abler and stronger".

5.7 VIEWS ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

According to Locke in the state of nature, people enjoy three important natural rights - right to life, liberty and property. As nobody will harm each other in the life, health, liberty and possessions, people will have private property in the state of nature.

Locke said that God has created men and they are his creatures made to serve his purposes. As his creatures, men have the duty to preserve their life. As Waldron explains, "Lockean self-preservation is as much a duty as a right". So the concept of suicide was never supported by Locke as human beings did not have the right to kill themselves. He says that in order to preserve their life they must have property. According to him, property should be private property. Private property is something in which people have exclusive rights.

Locke says that God has given all the natural resources in common. This is the concept of common property. But if someone mixes his or her individual labour with natural resources, it is called private property. However, in the state of nature, there are certain limitations on the right to private property such as:

- Locke says that in order to have private property one has to mix up labour power with natural resources. So, only that amount of property can be acquired which results from one's own labour.
- In order to sustain in the world, people need private property. But they should acquire only that amount of property which is necessary for sustenance. Because people have no right to spoil the natural resources.

- The third limitation, Locke states, is that one must leave as much and as good for others. Because all the natural resources are common to all the people and they have equal rights on those resources.

Therefore, Locke has given the theory of limited property in his very famous book *Two Treatises of Government*. But he has changed his idea of limited property immediately to unlimited property and also suggests three means or ways to have unlimited property:

- People can buy labour power, and by using this labour power, legitimately acquire large amounts of property. So one can have unlimited property by buying other's labour.
- When money becomes the medium of exchange, the condition of spoil gets refuted because money is not a thing which gets spoilt. So, spoilage limitation is done away with, with the invention of money.
- Locke uses a productivity of labour argument to get rid of the third limitation. His claim is that if land and labour are the two factors needed for agricultural production, the contribution of land to that production is merely 10 percent, while that of the labour is 90 percent. So, when one labours to acquire property, one is only increasing the stock of mankind.

Thus, Locke has changed his theory of limited property to unlimited property. Locke says that the theory of private property will create a class society. The people who are hard-working and take more initiatives will become rich and others will become poor. Thus, Locke's explanation of the emergence of private property in the state of nature becomes a justification of severe inequalities of wealth in it. In this regard C. B. Macpherson says that Locke is a bourgeoisie political thinker. Because Locke has provided a class society where some people are rich and others are poor and a class society always helps the rich class. Moreover, he has given more importance to the right to private property than the right to life and liberty.

However, Locke said that he had used the term 'equality' only in political aspect. But it did not mean economic equality when he defined the state of nature as a state of equality.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q.5: According to Locke, women are naturally superior to men. (True/ False)

.....

Q.6: According to Locke, what are the natural rights enjoyed by people in the state of nature?

.....

.....

Q.7: Locke says that the theory of private property will create a class society. (True/ False)

.....

Q.8: Write two suggestions given by Locke with regard to unlimited property.

.....

.....



5.8 LET US SUM UP

- John Locke is regarded as the father of classical liberalism. The most important work of Locke is 'Two Treatises of Government'.
- Locke has given a completely different picture of human nature from Hobbes. Unlike Hobbes, Locke believes that men are essentially peace loving creature. He believes that men are capable, efficient and rational beings. Everyone is equally free to order their actions and to exercise power and jurisdiction.
- Locke says that in order to get rid of the inconveniencies found in the state of nature, the individuals feel the necessity of signing a social contract. Through this contract, they create a limited government whose prime motive is public good or common good.
- After entering into the social contract, people set up a civil society or political society. Locke has used the two terms 'civil society' or 'political society' interchangeably.

- As an individualist, Locke has made the individual the center of his philosophy rather than the state. According to him, the state is only a means to an end.
- Locke believes that a state is the best where the interests of the individuals are best protected. It is the foremost duty of the state to preserve, protect and honour the inborn and natural rights of the individuals.
- Locke assumes that the family and the structure of the authority within the family is a natural association created in the state of nature.
- Locke regards the right to property as one of the most important natural rights of human beings. According to him, private property is essential for the preservation of life of human beings. Locke says that the theory of private property will create a class society in the state of nature.



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1. Dhariwal, U.K. (2008). *Western political thought*. New Delhi: Arise Publishers & Distributors.
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7. Singh, G. (Ed.). (2008). *Western political thinkers*. New Delhi: Omega Publications.

5.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: John Locke

Ans. to Q. No. 2: False

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Public good or common good

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5: False

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Right to life, right to liberty and right to property

Ans. to Q. No. 7: True

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Two suggestions given by Locke to have unlimited property are:

1) People can buy labour power, and by using this labour power, legitimately acquire large amounts of property. So one can have unlimited property by buying other's labour.

2) when money becomes the medium of exchange, the condition of spoil gets refuted because money is not a thing which gets spoilt. So, spoilage limitation is done away with, with the invention of money.

5.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Highlight any two arguments in favour of John Locke as the father of classical liberalism.

Q. 2: According to Locke, what is the nature of the government created by social contract?

Q. 3: What is the concept of private property according to Locke?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Make a comparison between Hobbes and Locke regarding their views on human nature.

Q. 2: Briefly explain John Locke's position as an individualist.

Q. 3: Write a note about the views of Locke on the liberty of women.

Q. 4: What are the limitations on the right to private property in the state of nature?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Critically analyse the theory of social contract of John Locke.

Q. 2: Evaluate the theory of private property as provided by John Locke.

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UNIT 6: JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Theory of Social Contract

6.4 Theory of General Will

6.5 Rousseau's Contribution to Political Thought

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss Rousseau's theory of social contract
- grasp Rousseau's theory of general will
- analyse the contribution of Rousseau to political thought.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1770 A.D.), was a French thinker whose ideas have profoundly influenced the realm of political thought even in the contemporary period. Rousseau was greatly influenced by thinkers like Plato, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Montesquieu. Some of his important books are- *Two Essays Written for Academy, Contract Social, The Dialogues and The Reveries.*

Rousseau may be the third thinker in the social contract tradition, but he remains one of the first thinkers to offer us a strong critique of modern social and political institutions in the name of the modern values of equality, liberty and democracy. Rousseau's pulling down of modern institutions is not done in the name of their having overturned the natural order of hierarchy;

instead, he shows us again and again their failure to match their promise of embodying equal and free rights for all. In a very important sense, Rousseau begins the counter. Tradition of questioning the progressiveness of modernity. In this unit, we will explain Rousseau's theory of *Social Contract* and *General Will* and his contributions towards the development of political thought.

6.3 THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTRACT

Rousseau provided his theory of social contract in his book *Contract Social*. According to Rousseau, people deliberately created the state to protect their freedoms and rights which were exploited by the rich. Prior to the emergence of the state, the majority of people were in miserable conditions which led to misery, violence and crime in the state of nature. In order to put an end to the exploitation and to protect the freedom and rights of the people, political association or the state was formulated by the people through a contract based on consent of the people.

Rousseau says that with the development of agriculture, the inequality amongst the people had started. With the starting of cultivation in agriculture, the concept of private property had emerged. People wanted to acquire more and more property. So, there emerged a class society where few people became very rich and others became poor. When there emerged the concept of private property, the need for the protection of private property was felt by the people particularly by the rich class. For this purpose, the rich class and the poor class decided to sign a social contract to form a government.

However, this social contract was based on economic inequality. So, this government worked only for the protection and promotion of the interests of the rich class. In actual sense, this social contract was only a trick played by the rich on the poor. Therefore, the poor people were very unhappy with the first social contract and decided to sign a second social contract after overthrowing the first social contract. This second social contract was based on the concept of 'general will'. In the second social contract all the people came together and they decided to give all the powers

to themselves. They did not give up all the powers and liberty to one person or a group of person as was in the case of Hobbes and Locke. They create sovereign power and this sovereign power is based on general will. This power lies with all the people.

Thus, according to Rousseau, soon after the private property entered the society, the entire peaceful atmosphere and order was disturbed and men began to feel the necessity of bringing about the old order of calm and happy life. This problem was solved by the creation of a social or political association to which all the members of the society agreed. Rousseau agreed with Locke that individual's consent was necessary to bind him in the contract. Individual surrendered everything to the society and yet as a member of society he retained everything with himself. In this contract everyone seemed to be gainer and none appeared to be a loser. Through this social contract Rousseau wanted to establish popular sovereignty whose nature was absolute, indivisible and inalienable.

Rousseau's social contract was double-sided. According to Rousseau, the individual was bound both to the sovereign and other individuals. The state was formed with the object of protecting each person and his or her freedom and property with the entire force of the community. In such a contract, the individuals would remain as free as before. The state which emerged as a result of the contract was a moral and a collective body. It was an association, related to the life of every individual and each individual contributed to this association consciously or unconsciously. The state is very important for the existence of individuals and without the presence of the state, the individual cannot enjoy their liberty and rights.

Rousseau's social contract theory was characterised by the presence of equality. He opined that this principle of equality would make all surrender their rights. Under this contract, individuals would surrender their rights to the society or the sovereign and as a member of the society they would retain all their rights and freedoms with themselves. Another important point which Rousseau expressed through his theory of social contract is that under the guidance of the state individuals could develop their instincts, such as justice and kindness towards their fellow human beings.

6.4 THEORY OF GENERAL WILL

Rousseau's theory of General Will occupies an important position in political theory. According to Rousseau's social contract theory, each individual places his or her power and position under the supreme direction of the general will or the community. The polity which is created out of this contract is the possession of supreme power. The respected will of all the citizens are merged into the General Will. The aim of General Will is to achieve general good for all. General will must come from all and apply to all. According to Rousseau, the General Will is rational and it is not self-contradictory. It is based on reason and wisdom and is concerned about the good of all.

Rousseau was of the opinion that men having grown sick of the anarchy which the private property brought in the society thought of creating a sovereign. The contract was concluded by a pact between the individuals and the community consisting of the individuals who formed the society. The individuals surrendered all their powers and rights to the community as a whole and bowed before the general will, which in the ultimate analysis was the sovereign.

According to Rousseau, 'general will' is the sum total of all the wills of the individuals which are based on reason and farsightedness of the individuals. In other words, it is the will of all the individuals for collective welfare. It is common consciousness. Rousseau believes that in general will none is slave or subordinate to anyone else and everybody is free.



LET US KNOW

Rousseau has tried to distinguish between the *general will* and the *will of all*. He believes that general will considers about the good of the community in entirety whereas will of all is based on self-interest. In the general will, all people from the government, all are rulers, all are obeyers and all are implementers.

Rousseau says that the meaning of general will can be analysed in the following features:

- General will is general in origin. It means that everyone should be the part of social contract. No person can be left from the social contract.
- General will is general in object. It means that the end and purpose of the general will is common good. It will not be selfish.
- General will is general in form. It is related to law-making. This law will be general, not particular. This general law should be implemented, obeyed and benefitted by all. In framing the law, the language or content of the law should be general. It should not address any particular group.
- Rousseau says that people will have private property, though it will lead to corruption. He says that to have same amount of property to everyone is not possible in any society. But he says that the gap between the people in terms of private property should not be extreme. It means that one class should not have so much private property to buy someone and one class should not have so less property to sell themselves. Rousseau says that the gap between the rich and the poor should be minimum. Thus, there should have economic equality.
- The nature of the general will as depicted by Rousseau is absolute, indivisible and inalienable. Once divided it will not be called general will but only sectional will.
- According to Rousseau, people have no right to delegate their authority of representing themselves by anybody else. He believes in the theory of direct democracy through general will.

The theory of general will as formed by Rousseau has been put to severe criticisms as discussed below:

- Rousseau says that only in a direct democracy, people can have general will. But in the contemporary scenario, the concept of direct

democracy is impossible because of its geographical size and population. Moreover, in a diverse country it is totally impossible. It is possible only in a homogenous country.

- Rousseau says that general will is general in its origin. It means that all people are part of general will. But Rousseau by telling 'all the people' only talked about men excluding the women. It reflects the particular character of the general will.
- Rousseau says that general will is not represented by others. But again he says that the will of women can be represented by men. Thus, according to critics Rousseau is himself contradictory in his own views.
- According to the critics, general will does not give the right to life to the people. As all the people are part of the *general will*, all of them must follow the decision taken by all. If a person's life is threatened because of the decisions taken on the basis of *general will*, there is no other option left for him but to follow the decision of general will.
- General will is also problematic in its object. According to general will, people will think of common good. But according to the critics everyone may not think for the common good. Thus, if force is put upon the people then people will not have liberty.

Though there are criticisms against Rousseau's theory of General Will, it undoubtedly has great value in political theory. This theory of General Will establishes the fact that the basis of the state should be the will of the people, not force. Apart from this, Rousseau's theory of General Will also put social interest before individual interest which helps in establishing an ideal state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The first social contract of Rousseau is based on economic equality. (True/ False)

.....

Q.2: To Rousseau, what is the outcome of the social contract?

.....

Q.3: What is the basis of the social contract according to Rousseau?

.....

Q.4: According to Rousseau, what is the nature of the general will?

.....

6.5 ROUSSEAU'S CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL THOUGHT

Rousseau is one of those political philosophers of 18th century whose influence has been immense in his own times and is also gradually increasing in our days. It has also been said that his theory of general will become one of the springboards for subsequent political philosophers who were interested in asserting the rights of men and believed in individualism. His theory of general will and his writings were considered thought-provoking throughout the 18th century.

Another contribution of Rousseau to the theory of political philosophy is that after Aristotle he had preached that man is a political animal. This is against the political philosophy preached by Machiavelli and Hobbes who believed that man is egoistic and aggressive and that his impulses should be checked. He thus, moved away from to the traditional theories of middle ages.

Rousseau did not believe in the idea of nation state, as he believed that free citizenship was rather impossible in those days. He, however, contributed to the philosophy of his age by saying that there must be national solidarity and unity. Though not a nationalist himself, he stood for nationalism.

It has been said of Rousseau that his philosophy preached unity, solidarity and national integration and as such like Bodin and Hobbes he was responsible for giving the nation the conception of nationalism.

Rousseau has contributed to the philosophy by saying that people are the ultimate authority and source for giving all political authorities and

that government is simply an agency to execute the directives given by this sovereign authority.

We find that Rousseau's political philosophy had its due influence on his age. One can hardly deny that his concepts of liberty and equality are responsible for the French Revolution of 1789. His political philosophy is not only a source of inspiration but a guiding force for the French people after the Revolution and at least till the rise of Napoleon.

We can sum up his contribution by saying that the concept of general will is the crux of Rousseau's system and probably his most important contribution to political thought. He considered people as the ultimate source of political authority and stressed the view that state is social organisation, a common conscience and a general will. He maintained the doctrine that true basis of political obligation was consent.



ACTIVITY 6.1

Try to find out the similarities and dissimilarities among the political philosophy of the three social contract theorists i.e. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: According to Rousseau, man is a political animal. (True/ False)

.....

Q.6: Who are the ultimate sources of authority according to Rousseau?

.....

Q.7: Write two drawbacks of Rousseau's theory of General Will.

.....

.....



6.6 LET US SUM UP

- Jean Jacques Rousseau, a French thinker, was another important political thinker of the modern period. Some of his important books are- *Two Essays Written for Academy, Contract Social, The Dialogues* and *The Reveries*.
- According to Rousseau, for the first time the necessity of signing a social contract is felt by the people particularly by the rich class in order to protect the private property. But the first social contract is dissolved as it is based on economic inequality.
- The second social contract is signed taking general will as its basis. Through this social contract Rousseau wanted to establish popular sovereignty.
- Rousseau regarded general will as the will of all the individuals for collective welfare. General will is general in its origin, object as well as form. General will represents economic equality.
- The nature of the general will is absolute, indivisible and inalienable. He believes in the theory of direct democracy through general will.
- The greatest contribution of Rousseau to the history of political thought is the concept of general will.
- He has contributed to political theory by saying that people are the ultimate repository of power. Apart from these, his philosophy accepts man as a political animal and supports unity, solidarity and national integration.
- Though there are criticisms against Rousseau's theory of General Will, it undoubtedly has great value in political theory. Apart from this, Rousseau's. Theory of General Will also placed social interest before individual interest which is helpful establishing an ideal state.



6.7 FURTHER READING

1. Dhariwal, U.K. (2008). *Western political thought*. New Delhi: Arise Publishers & Distributors.
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6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: False

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Establishment of popular sovereignty

Ans. to Q. No. 3: General will

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Absolute, indivisible and inalienable

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: People.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Two drawbacks of Rousseau's theory of general will are:

1) According to the critics, general will does not give the right to life to the people. As all the people are part of the general will, all of them must follow the decision taken by all. If on person's life is threatened because of the decisions taken on the basis of 'general will', there is

no other option left for him but to follow the decision of general will.

2) General will is also problematic in its object. According to general will, people will think of common good. But according to the critics anyone may not think for common good. So, if force is put upon the people then people will not have liberty.

6.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: What are the basis of the first and the second social contract of Rousseau?

Q. 2: What is the meaning of 'general will'?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Briefly explain the social contract theory of Rousseau.

Q. 2: Highlight any four characteristics of Rousseau's general will.

Q. 3: "General will is general in its origin, object and form". Explain briefly.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Critically analyse the theory of general will of Rousseau.

Q. 2: Discuss the Social Contract theory of Rousseau.

Q. 3: Evaluate the contribution of Rousseau to the history of political thought.

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UNIT 7: JEREMY BENTHAM AND JOHN STUART MILL

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Main Characteristics of Utilitarianism

7.4 Jeremy Bentham: Views on Utilitarianism

7.5 John Stuart Mill: Views on Utilitarianism

7.6 Let Us Sum Up

7.7 Further Reading

7.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.9 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- discuss the characteristics of utilitarianism
- analyse the views of Jeremy Bentham on utilitarianism
- explain the views of John Stuart Mill on utilitarianism

7.2 INTRODUCTION

After discussing the contractualist views i.e. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau in the previous units, now we will discuss another important theory of J. Bentham and J. S. Mill namely- utilitarianism. But, before we discuss utilitarian philosophy, it may be mentioned here that this was not any new or original philosophy. It appears that as early as in 1872, Richard Cumberland expressed utilitarian ideas in his treatise on 'Natural Law'. Francis Hutcheson gave this idea in a more concrete form by defining it as 'greatest good of the greatest number'. Priestley in England and Helvetius in France were among several others who were forerunners of this school of thought. Even, the credit of coining this term does not go to the first of the utilitarian's namely Bentham but to Mill who used this word

in one of his treatises. In the present unit, our discussion will be focused mainly on the theory of utilitarianism forwarded by J. Bentham and J. S. Mill.

7.3 MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF UTILITARIANISM

There are various characteristic features of utilitarianism. Among them, some are mentioned below:

- Man weighs everything in terms of pleasure and pain. He always hunts for pleasure and what gives him pleasure is good and what gives him pain is bad.
- The utilitarians believe in moral values and judge everything from that viewpoint. It is most essential that people should have high moral character and maximum moral development.
- They use inductive and experimental methods of study. This is essential because they are practical in their approach to every problem. They do not remain within the four walls of the lecture halls but expound their theories in the light of what is practical and actually relevant or ocurring in our day-to-day life.
- They believe that men and society are inseparable. In other words, they emphasise the idea that man is an integral part of the society without which it shall not be possible for him to lead a happy and joyful life.
- They stand for the greatest good of the greatest number of people. This can be obtained by promoting moral development of the people, looking after their progress and uplifting them socially, economically and culturally and even mentally, morally and physically.
- They are of the firm view that state is a necessary evil and must be respected as without the state authority, man cannot make uninterrupted progress. The State is essential to curb hindrances on the normal development and progress of the people.

- The utilitarians believe in the idea of greatest happiness of greatest number of people. In other words, they are of the opinion that pleasure should not be the monopoly of only a section or class in the society but of the greatest number of people. The very existence of state can only be justified on how and to what extent state promotes happiness.
- Utilitarians are of the view that the state is never a natural necessity but a product of man's desire to satisfy his needs. The state shall protect natural rights of people. They try to combine ethics with politics and feel that a state cannot be devoid of ethical considerations. They also believe that state is not an end in itself but only means to an end.

7.4 JEREMY BENTHAM: VIEWS ON UTILITARIANISM

Jeremy Bentham is an English political philosopher who is credited for giving utilitarian philosophy a systematic touch and putting that on scientific footing by making it a school of thought. His ideas are modified by Mill, but in spite of that his philosophy is studied very seriously even today. He has written so many works out of which *Constitutional Code* and *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* are considered as most important. He is associated with a very important group called 'Philosophical Radicals'.

Bentham had started his idea of utilitarianism by saying that "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well to determine what we shall do." Bentham referred to these two aspects as sentiments, not reason. Naturally, these are two important sensations by which people are affected. These are the two general desires of people to maximise pleasure and minimise pain. People always moved towards that direction which creates more happiness and less pain. People liked to repeat the same act which can generate more happiness. Bentham regards this act

as utility which could create more happiness. Utility signifies the usefulness of a particular action. Bentham also stated that the act not only had the capacity to maximise happiness but also the capacity to minimise pain.

When Hobbes talked about pleasure and happiness, there was the absence of morality. But according to Bentham, maximum pleasure should be for maximum people. So, Bentham's theory is moral. In other words, in Hobbesian theory, there was only self-happiness, not of others. But in Bentham's theory, when one person creates maximum pleasure, it should be also maximum pleasure for maximum number of people at the same time. It can be called as the "greatest happiness of the greatest numbers". This is the concept of utility in Bentham's theory.

Thus, according to Bentham, utility is always dependent on the production of maximum happiness for the majority people. Bentham says that if a particular action creates pain for some people it can also create happiness for the majority and then the act can also have utility.

Bentham stated that happiness and pleasure can be calculated. He provides a scientific method called 'Felicific Calculus'. Therefore, he regarded utilitarianism as scientific or objective theory. Bentham provided various scientific ways to calculate pleasure. These are as follows:

- **Intensity:** Some acts are more powerful than others. Such acts give more happiness than others.
- **Duration:** For how many times the happiness remains. It also decides how strong happiness is.
- **Certainty or uncertainty:** When we do certain things, it may or may not give happiness as result.
- **Propinquity:** How happiness is closely connected to individual.
- **Fecundity:** An act of pleasure should always be followed by another act of pleasure. It is a continuous pleasure.
- **Purity:** An act of pleasure should not be followed by an act of pain.
- **Extent:** It implies the number of people influenced by the act of pleasure.

Bentham says that an individual can generate happiness only for a limited numbers of people in a society. Therefore, there should be some neutral organisation in the society which can create maximum happiness for maximum people. This neutral organisation is obviously the state according to him. He is in favour of a liberal democratic state because only a liberal democratic state can ensure greatest happiness of the greatest numbers.



LET US KNOW

The state is referred as the political society by Bentham. According to him, the state is not the outcome of any social contract. Regarding the laws of the state, people do not obey the laws because the laws are not the outcome of any social contract. He is a critique of contractualism. People only follow the laws when they are based on utility. People will obey those laws which can generate greatest happiness of the greatest numbers. If any law cannot generate greatest happiness of the greatest numbers, then such laws will be overthrown.

Criticism: Bentham's theory of utility has been severely criticised on the following grounds:

- Bentham's principle of greatest happiness of the greatest numbers was in favour of the majority. He has been criticised on the ground that he has completely ignored the happiness of the minority. So, Bentham's theory of utilitarianism is a majority-biased theory.
- Bentham's concept of 'Felicific Calculus' is also criticised. Because the measurement of pleasure and pain mathematically is totally impossible.
- Another weakness of his theory is that he had failed to understand the importance of society as a whole. He laid stress only on individual pleasure. In fact, the basis of his theory was neither society nor state but the individual. He had absolutely forgotten that human beings are social animals and must depend on society and that individuals without society were incomplete.

It is, thus found that his theory of utility expounded on pleasure and pain theory is not only faulty and impracticable but when taken to its logical conclusion is bound to indicate that the philosopher had a narrow vision of things. He has tried to explain certain basic facts according to his own ideas and has not very much succeeded in that.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention the name of any one utilitarian political philosopher.

.....

Q.2: According to the utilitarians, the state is a necessary evil. (True/ False)

.....

Q.3: What is the main principle of Bentham's utilitarian philosophy?

.....

Q.4: What is the form of state Bentham supports?

.....

Q.5: What is the scientific method of calculating pleasure according to Bentham?

.....



ACTIVITY 7.1

Try to find out the functions of the liberal democratic state in Bentham's utilitarian philosophy.

7.5 JOHN STUART MILL: VIEWS ON UTILITARIANISM

John Stuart Mill was the eldest son of James Mill. He was born in London and was highly influenced by his father and father's friend Jeremy Bentham. He started his philosophical career as a committed utilitarian. He was a prominent member of the group called 'Philosophical Radicals' founded by Bentham and James Mill. This group believes in utilitarianism

and its principle i.e. "every desire of human being aims at one particular thing that is happiness". One of the important person whom he regarded the image of his life is Harriet Taylor. Some of the very important works of Mills are *Utilitarianism, On Liberty*, *The Subjection of Women, Considerations on Representative Government, Principles of Political Economy* etc.

Mill was living in an age when the doctrine of utility by Bentham was gaining ground. Bentham had preached that pleasure should be the only measuring road for each and every activity. In other words, Bentham believed that sole aim of life was to attain enjoyment. Life was to be enjoyed and pleasure to be derived out of it. In a few quarters, this theory of Bentham was interpreted as immoral and degrading. The main task, thus before Mill, was to save Bentham's theory from this attack. Mill, however, without any hesitation and with all courage declared that fundamentally he agreed with Bentham's principles.

Mill regards those actions as ‘right’ in proportion when they tend to promote happiness and ‘wrong’ when they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. In other words, only pleasure and the absence of pain are intrinsically desirable. Everything else is desirable only in so far as it enhances pleasure and diminishes pain. Mill has made a distinction between higher pleasure and lower pleasure. The distinction between higher and lower pleasure pertains to values and not choices.

Mill, however, differs from Bentham in so far as details are concerned. Bentham has held the view that it is quantity and not the quality of pleasure which matters. But, Mill stands for qualitative pleasure instead of quantitative pleasure. He differs from Bentham when he says that it is not the pleasure that matters alone but along with that there is another factor as well i.e. 'prestige'. Bentham has asserted that all human beings are governed by two masters, ‘pleasure’ and ‘pain’ only but Mill believes that prestige dominates the same. "It is better to be human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied."

Mill believes that individual pleasure does not give maximum pleasure but it is collective pleasure that gives maximum happiness and joy. He thus, believes that pleasure comes from outside and not from within.

Mill differs from Bentham in so far as the concept of liberty is concerned. According to Bentham, utility is greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. He believes that liberty has nothing to do with utility. But, Mill does not agree with this. According to him, liberty is essential for utility and minority rights can be protected only when each and every one enjoy liberty. In this regard, he prefers to give equal rights to women. Mill says that when women are given equal rights, then there will be maximisation of happiness of women. Then in the society, women will also be happy along with men. Then maximum number of people will be happy in the society. It will lead to the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people in the society. Thus, Mill relates utility to women.

Criticism: Mill has been criticised regarding the modification of utilitarianism. As against quantitative pleasure of Bentham, Mill stands for qualitative pleasure. But, the criticism here is that although he has made a distinction between higher pleasure and lower pleasure, he has not said anything regarding any authority that would give the judgement of pleasure.

Mill is the last great utilitarian whose place and contribution received divided opinion. According to some, Mill has contributed nothing new to Bentham's political philosophy but has simply adjusted that to suit his ideas and context. In spite of all these, it must be admitted that he holds a very important and pride place in English political system. He had improved utilitarianism in such a fashion that it could face the challenge of his time and could survive in the face of all odds. Had Mill not appeared in the scene it would have been a different story altogether.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: To whom Mill regards the image of his life?

……

Q.7: Mills stands for quantitative pleasure. (True/ False)

……



7.6 LET US SUM UP

- Utilitarianism was not any new or original philosophy. It appears that as early as in 1872, Richard Cumberland expressed utilitarian ideas in his treatise on 'Natural Law'.
- The credit of coining this term does not go to the first of the utilitarian's namely Bentham but to Mill who used this word in one of his treatises.
- Jeremy Bentham is credited for giving utilitarian philosophy a systematic touch and putting that on scientific footing by making it a school of thought.
- According to the utilitarians, men weigh everything in terms of pleasure and pain. They believe in moral values. They use inductive and experimental methods of study. They are of the view that men and society are inseparable and state is a necessary evil.
- The state is never a natural necessity but product of man's desire to satisfy his needs. They believe in the principle of greatest happiness of the greatest number of people.
- Bentham's theory of utilitarianism is based on the principle of greatest happiness of greatest numbers. He provides a scientific method called ‘Felicific Calculus’ to calculate pleasure and happiness.
- Bentham feels the necessity of state, particularly a liberal democratic state to create maximum happiness for maximum people.
- Mill propounds his political philosophy only to safeguard Bentham's theory of utilitarianism. Although Mill has agreed with Bentham's utilitarian philosophy, yet he differs from Bentham in certain issues such as the issue of quantitative pleasure and qualitative pleasure, concept of liberty etc.
- Mill believes that individual pleasure does not give maximum pleasure but it is collective pleasure which gives maximum happiness and joy. He thus, believes that pleasure comes from outside and not from within.

- Mill is the last great utilitarian whose place and contribution received divided opinion.



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7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Jeremy Bentham

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Greatest happiness of the greatest numbers

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Liberal democratic state

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Felicific Calculus

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Harriet Taylor

Ans. to Q. No. 7: False



7.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Mention two fundamental features of utilitarian school of thought.

Q. 2: How Bentham's theory can be called ethical?

Q. 3: Mention the name of any two important works of John Stuart Mill.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: According to the utilitarian philosophy, state is a necessary evil- Explain.

Q. 2: What do you mean by Felicific Calculus? Point out the scientific ways to calculate pleasure?

Q. 3: How Mill has related utility to women?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the characteristics of utilitarianism.

Q. 2: Explain the utilitarian view of Bentham's political philosophy.

Q. 3: Critically analyse how Mill is differed from Bentham's utilitarian philosophy.

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UNIT 8: KARL MARX

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 Theory of Dialectical Materialism
8.4 Theory of Class Conflict
8.5 Theory of Alienation
8.6 Let Us Sum Up
8.7 Further Reading
8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
8.9 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- analyse the theory of dialectical materialism of Karl Marx
- explain the theory of class conflict of Karl Marx
- discuss the theory of alienation of Karl Marx.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Karl Marx, the founder and chief exponent of communism was the most revolutionary author, thinker and philosopher of his age. By his writings, he changed the very course of history and an altogether gave it a new and different outlook with a new basis and orientation. On account of his revolutionary and radical ideas, he had to remain in exile, was expelled from one state to another and had to sacrifice his personal comforts and family life. However, still he continued with his efforts and with all firmness tried to achieve the mission of his life. The basic principles of his philosophy were the outcome of his struggle with life which was based on his practical experience. His philosophy was, therefore, not based on theory but on hard realities of life. It had a great practical touch and therefore appealed to all those who were toiling and suffering. He put his philosophy on scientific footing and made that logical and convincing.

8.3 THEORY OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

The theory of dialectical materialism constitutes the most fundamental premise of the Marxian political philosophy. It is called dialectical because the course of development of human civilisation is dialectical while the interpretation as to why the change occurs is materialistic.

The word 'dialectics' means movement of history. Marx says that the world or the reality is material. The entire world changes because of the change in the material forces. Marx borrowed his idea of dialectical materialism from Hegel's dialectical idealism. Hegel says that the world is based on ideas or spirit or reason and the world changes because of the change in the ideas or spirit. Hegel says that every idea will give rise to an opposite idea and the sum total of both these ideas is a higher idea. The idea is known as thesis, the opposite idea is known as anti-thesis and the higher idea is known as synthesis. Marx also borrowed this idea. But, he used the material forces in the replacement of ideas. According to Marx, not ideas but material forces change the world. So, he gave the idea of dialectical materialism instead of dialectical idealism of Hegel.

Main features of dialectical materialism are as discussed below:

- The first fundamental feature of dialectical materialism is that change may be both quantitative as well as qualitative. All changes have a clear-cut quantitative aspect. But, the quantitative change cannot go on indefinitely. After a particular point, the quantitative change may become qualitative change.
- Another feature of dialectical materialism is the struggle of opposites. The struggle between the two opposites i.e. thesis and anti-thesis is a process of nature because of the existence of contradictory positions between them.
- Another feature of dialectical materialism is the law of unity. It may be noted that the two contradictory positions through continuous struggle would result in the position of synthesis. The synthesis represents the unity between the two.

- The theory of dialectical materialism is also based on the doctrine of negation. In the dialectical process, anti-thesis negates the thesis and synthesis negates the anti-thesis. As a result of this negation of negation, synthesis has emerged as a positive reality. Soon after synthesis would again be converted into thesis and the dialectical process would be repeated till all antagonism comes to an end in communism.

Criticism: The theory of dialectical materialism has been criticized on the following grounds:

- The first criticism is against the universal application of dialectical materialism. Marx says that dialectical materialism is the only method to know the reality. So, he applied it to study historical development. But, critics have said that there were many developments in the field of science and technology in the 18th and 19th centuries which did not follow the process of dialectical materialism.
- The critics are of the view that there has been an overdose of materialism in this theory. The importance of non-material aspect of life has been completely ignored by Marx.
- Marx and Engels have said that due to dialectical materialism, we always have a higher truth. But, critics have said that in politics, the outcome of a conflict may not be a higher development. Because, conflict leads to nothing but devastation and damage to the society.
- Marx has said that dialectics is an active force that goes on and on. It is a continuous process. With dialectical materialism, the society is also continuously developing. But, he has not mentioned any stage after communism and any sort of conflict in communism. So, the critics have asked if the communist society is stagnant, what happens next as stagnation of society cannot be historically applicable. Therefore, silence of Marx regarding what happens after communism has been criticised by the critics.

But, in spite of these limitations, dialectical materialism is a core concept in the political philosophy of Marx and has been widely used as a key to understand the process of change and development of human history.

8.4 THEORY OF CLASS CONFLICT

The concept of class constitutes a very significant part of the political philosophy of Karl Marx. The class refers to the class of people having identical economic status at an average level. Marx believed that in each stage of human civilisation, except primitive communism as well as communism, there were classes. While, some of the classes which were the controller of the mode of production, constituted the rich and the exploiter class, and those who actually were involved in the mode of production, constituted the poor and exploited class. Accordingly, in Marxian analysis, class is an inevitable aspect of the process of understanding change in the society.

Primitive Communist Stage: According to Marx, it is the earliest stage of human civilisation. There were no classes in this stage. It was an absolutely classless society and the people lived an equalitarian life. But at the same time, in the later part of primitive communism, some intelligent people had discovered certain instruments of wood and iron that could be used conveniently to collect the basic necessities of life. With the discovery of instruments there emerged a small group of people who started controlling the mode of production including control over the labour. In other words, a small group of people had collected food and other commodities for basic existence and deposited them with the masters. The masters kept the commodities in store and a small amount was handed over to the people who had actually collected them from nature. As a result, a surplus was created in the economy. The class which secured the surplus became rich and those who did not have access to surplus became poor. Thus, the emergence of surplus in the economy was primarily responsible for the rich-poor division and the creation of classes.

Classes in the Slave Owning Society: There were two main classes in this society namely- the masters and the slaves. The handful of people who provided various kinds of weapons in the primitive communist system became the masters. On the other hand, the people who were involved in the process of procuring food and other commodities became the slaves. Thus, in the slave-owning society, the masters were the rich class as they had complete access over the production process and the produced.

Classes in the Feudal Stage: There were two classes in the feudal stage namely- the feudal lords and the serfs. The feudal lords were the owners of the land that was given to the slaves in the last part of the slave owning system. As the conditions of the slaves declined in the slave-owning system, land was allotted to each of the slaves as an additional guarantee of livelihood. In the process, agriculture became the primary activity in the economy. The serfs were the actual cultivators who cultivated in the fields owned by the landlords. But, the economic conditions of the serfs were pathetic. While they had to resort to hard labour for livelihood, they did not have access to the produced. The land lords were the owners of the produced and out of that amount a portion was given to the serfs. At the same time, the serfs were not in a position to leave the field as no other alternative guarantee was available for livelihood. In other words, the condition of the serfs was such that they were tied to the land that they cultivated.

Classes in the Capitalist Stage: In the initial stage of capitalism, there were three main classes namely- bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But, the exploitation of the big bourgeoisie was so sharp and severe that the petty bourgeoisie cannot bear this exploitation and was reduced to proletariat. Accordingly, in the monopoly stage of capitalism, the entire polity would be polarised between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Class Struggle in the Capitalist Stage: According to Marx, class struggle is a phenomenon of the highest stage of capitalism. It takes place between the two contending classes namely- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to enhance their bargain and to establish their superiority over the other. It also prepares the ground for revolutionary conditions. At the highest stage

of class struggle, there would be revolution. Marx predicted that revolution would usher in a new era of dictatorship of the proletariat.

Classes in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat: It would be established after revolution. There is only one class in dictatorship of the proletariat i.e. the proletariat itself. The governing principle of this stage is "each according to his ability".

Classes in Communism: From dictatorship of the proletariat, communism would be established. The governing principle of communism is "each according to his needs". It means that all the needs of people would be fulfilled in communism when class contradictions come to an end.

Criticism: The critics have pointed out that the theory of Class Conflict is a speculative theory and there is no empirical basis to this speculation. In other words, it is a one-sided, partisan and biased projection of class contradiction amongst people.

But at the same time, Marxian philosophy cannot move without class analysis and class conflict constitutes the turning point of human history which prepares the ground for the great proletarian revolution leading to ultimate establishment of communism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is meant by 'dialectics'?

.....

Q.2: From whom has Marx borrowed the idea of Dialectical Materialism?

.....

Q.3: According to Marx, the world changes because of the change in ideas. (True/ False)

.....

Q.4: Which factor is responsible for the emergence of class according to Marx?

.....

Q.5: In which stage of human history does class struggle take place?

.....

8.5 THEORY OF ALIENATION

Marx has used the concept or word 'alienation' in the context of capitalism and his "*The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*" has given us a detailed study about how a man is alienated in a capitalist society and he has also analysed various stages in which alienation takes place.

According to Marx, human beings are essentially very productive in nature. They are very interested in doing something. In doing any activity, human beings always use their skills, creativity, imagination etc. But Marx says that capitalists deny creativity, human skills etc. because they are only interested in producing more and more or in making profit. So, capitalism has 'commodity fetishism'. This commodity fetishism ultimately leads to alienation. Marx has further analysed this alienation which takes place at four different levels. These are as follows:

Alienation of the Workers from their Production: The workers make production by their labour and the commodities are sold by the capitalists on the basis of demand and supply. So, the labour of the workers is just an object for which the workers may go against their own product. Hence, products acting against the interest of the workers lead to alienation of the workers.

Alienation from the Conditions of the Work Process: It takes place as workers have no control on the process of production. The workers do not own the means of production. The capitalists take all the decisions of the production process. In the capitalist production process, a particular worker does only one part of the commodity. So, a worker does a dull repetitive work in the production process but they have no other options left for them.

Alienation from Other Men: A worker feels alienation from his fellow people. The workers do not have the feeling of oneness. Because, there is competition amongst the workers. The workers do not have fellow-feeling towards the capitalists as the capitalists are concerned about profit.

Alienation of the Workers from Themselves: Such alienation ocurs as it is only the work which dominates their life. They have no time for relaxation and have no time to devote to their other faculties. As a result, they are alienated from themselves. It makes human beings very egoistic.



LET US KNOW

Following these four types of alienation, Marx says that he wanted to bring about a radical revolution to establish communism. He thought that with this revolution and with the establishment of communism this kind of alienation of human beings from themselves would come to an end and human beings would eventually integrate. According to him, it would be the return of individuals to their own selves and there would be an end of self-alienation. With this, human beings would be free in the true sense. So, according to Marx, only in communism, there would be freedom.

Criticism: Like all other theories of Marx, the theory of alienation is also not free from criticisms which are discussed below:

- The theory of alienation was revived in the 1950s and 1960s. Heavy criticism came from the Stalinists and the Structural Marxists. According to them, the concept of alienation written by young Marx is replaced by certain words in later works of Marx like 'class', 'domination', 'exploitation', 'division of labour' etc. However, in reply to the critics, the Marxists had stated that the concept of alienation cannot be explained by any replacements.
- Critics are not ready to accept the concept of self-alienation. According to them, human beings are not alienated from their self but are alienated from freedom and creativity. Self-alienation is not an essential element of human nature.
- There arose a debate whether alienation applies to the individual or to the entire society. Those who say that alienation applies only to

the individual are of the view that the non-adjustment of the individual to the society in which he lives is the sign of alienation. Many others say that a society can also be sick or alienated. In such a case, an individual who cannot adjust to the existing society is not necessarily alienated. Thus, alienation is just a psychological concept referring to a feeling or state of mind. It is not necessarily a product of capitalist mode of production.

In this way, Marx tried to show as to how there was a close link of alienation with economic order. He made it clear that alienation has made a worker incapable of revolting against a situation that was not acceptable to him. Alienation has made workers an abstraction and resulted in their moral degradation. Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to the division of labour, the work of the proletariat has lost all individual character and consequently all charm for workman. Human dignity under the concept of alienation has been subordinated to wage and profit relationship, which is the worst of capitalist system.



ACTIVITY 8.1

Try to find out the main sources of the political philosophy of Marx.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: In what context Marx has used the concept alienation?

……

Q.7: Mention any one type of alienation faced by the workers in capitalist system.

……

Q.8: Mention two levels of alienation analysed by Marx.

……



8.6 LET US SUM UP

- Karl Marx is the founder and chief exponent of communism.
- Dialectical materialism is a core concept to understand the process of change and development of human history. Dialectical materialism indicates that the world or the reality is material and the entire world changes because of the change in the material forces.
- Transformation of quantity into quality, struggle of the opposites, law of unity and negation of negation are the fundamental features of dialectical materialism.
- Marx believes that in each stage of human civilisation, except primitive communism as well as communism there are classes.
- According to Marx, class struggle is a phenomenon of the highest stage of capitalism. It takes place between the two contending classes namely the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.
- Class conflict constitutes the turning point of human history which prepares the ground for the great proletarian revolution leading to ultimate establishment of communism.
- The theory of alienation basically provides a detailed study about how a man is alienated in a capitalist society and also analyses various stages in which alienation takes place.
- According to Marx, alienation takes place at four different levels - alienation of the workers from their production, alienation from the conditions of the work process, alienation from other men and alienation of the workers from themselves.

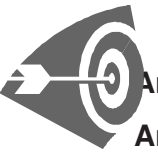


8.7 FURTHER READING

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8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Ans. to Q. No. 1: Movement of history

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Hegel

Ans. to Q. No. 3: False

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Emergence of surplus in the economy

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Capitalist stage

Ans. to Q. No. 6: In the context of capitalism

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Alienation of the workers from their production

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Two levels of alienation analysed by Marx are:

1) The workers make production by their labour and the commodities are sold by the capitalists on the basis of demand and supply. So, the labour of the workers is just an object for which the workers may go against their own product. Hence, products acting against the interest of the workers lead to alienation of the workers.

2) It takes place as the workers have no control on the process of production. The workers do not own the means of production. The

capitalists take all the decisions of the production process. In the capitalist production process, a particular worker does only one part of the commodity. So, a worker does a dull repetitive work in the production process and have no other options left for them.



8.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: How Marx is influenced by Hegel in case of dialectical materialism?

Q. 2: What are the governing principles of dictatorship of the proletariat and communism?

Q. 3: According to Marx, why does alienation take place?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Point out the fundamental features of dialectical materialism.

Q. 2: Mention the name of the classes in each stage of human history.

Q. 3: Briefly explain any one type of alienation.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Critically analyse the theory of dialectical materialism.

Q. 2: Explain the theory of class conflict of Karl Marx.

Q. 3: Evaluate the theory of alienation of Karl Marx.

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UNIT 9: V. I. LENIN, MAO- TSE- TUNG AND ANTONIO GRAMSCI

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 V. I. Lenin

- 9.3.1 Views on Imperialism
- 9.3.2 Views on Revolution
- 9.3.3 Views on the Role of the Communist Party

9.4 Mao- Tse- Tung

- 9.4.1 Political Ideas of Mao-Tse- Tung
- 9.4.2 Views on Revolution

9.5 Antonio Gramsci

- 9.5.1 Views on Hegemony
- 9.5.2 Views on State

9.6 Let Us Sum Up

9.7 Further Reading

9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.9 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- describe the views of V. I. Lenin on imperialism, revolution and role of the communist party
- explain the political ideas of Mao- Tse- Tung and his views on revolution
- analyse Gramsci's views on hegemony and state

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we have discussed about the various aspects of Marxism. In the present unit, we will discuss about the views of some

eminent later Marxist philosophers namely- V. I. Lenin, Mao-Tse-Tung and Gramsci. Though they supported the ideas of Marx, they did not support it blindly. After modifying the ideas according to the needs of their society, they applied it in their own context. Thus, after reading this unit, you will be able to know and compare about the views of some later Marxists philosophers with the views of Marx which are explained below.

9.3 V. I. LENIN

Lenin was a later Marxist philosopher. He wanted to modify the ideas of Marx and apply those ideas in the context of Russia. But he did not want to apply the ideas of Marx blindly. The most important contribution of Lenin is 'Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism'.

9.3.1 Views on Imperialism

Lenin has tried to make a link between imperialism and capitalism. He has regarded imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. According to him, there are five phases of this highest stage of capitalism:

- The concentration of production and capital develops to such a high stage that it creates monopolies which plays a decisive role in the economic sphere. This is known as monopoly capitalism.
- The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the creation of finance capital on the basis of this merging.
- The third phase is marked by an export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities.
- The fourth phase is the formation of international monopolistic capitalist associations. International monopolies are agreements concluded between the biggest monopolies of various countries on the division of market, price policy etc. The creation of international monopolistic associations leads to the economic division of the world among the various big imperialist powers.

- In the fifth stage we find that economic division of the world leads to the territorial division of the world amongst the big imperialist powers. It is because the big imperialist powers think that if they could control those areas politically, they would be able to make easy capital export. Moreover, they would also be able to set up strategic military bases in those regions. That is why, we find that in the 19th century, many of the countries became colonies of the big imperialist powers.

Lenin says that due to these developments, there arises some crisis which leads to the downfall of imperialist phase of capitalism:

- Owing to these developments, monopoly capitalism becomes decadent. In the first stage, monopolies do not give importance to the development of technology as they can get higher profit without bringing any machines or technological progress. As a result there arises stagnation in industries in the monopoly stage of capitalism.
- Monopoly capitalism leads to uneven development of capitalism as monopoly phase does not develop equally all over the world. Lenin says that as there is an uneven development of capitalism, there is also an uneven proletarian revolution.
- Lenin also says that in the imperialist stage, capitalism creates some conditions which are necessary for the establishment of socialism. In this context, it can be mentioned that in monopolies there is concentration of production and decisions are taken centrally. This transition from imperialism to socialism happens through revolution.

Lenin says that in the imperialist stage of capitalism, the condition of the workers becomes worst and it is because the leaders of the proletariat take money from the capitalists to prevent the shout and revolution of the proletariat. According to Lenin, in the imperialist stage there is no peace as this stage is marked by a number of evil incidents and practices. Against of these evil

practices, there would be the emergence of a revolution and this revolution would lead to the decline of this stage will the eventual emergence of socialism.

9.3.2 Views on Revolution

At that time, Russia was ruled by czars. The Russian czars introduced capitalism but they did not give full freedom to capitalism. Capitalists were very few in numbers which were controlled by czars. Thus, in the late 19th century, Russia was suffering from two forms of oppression i.e. oppression of workers (capitalism) and oppression of peasants (feudalism). To come out from these oppressions, he formed the theory of revolution.

To lead revolution in the west, there was the proletariat. But in case of Russia, the entire environment was different from other western countries. In Russia, potential revolutionary classes were peasants, workers, Russian bourgeoisie and class of national minorities.

In the theory of revolution Lenin had stated that revolution will progress in two stages in Russia:

- Bourgeoisie democratic revolution would abolish czarism in Russia. In this revolution, the proletariat would try to acquire the support of the peasants and would fight against the czars for their abolition. In this stage, the bourgeoisie would lead these people to abolish the czars. But socialism would not be established in this stage thereby leading to the requirement of the second stage.
- In the second stage, leading role will be taken by the proletariat with the help of the peasantry. The proletariat would fight against the bourgeoisie and would establish socialism.

So, the second stage is the actual stage of revolution and it would lead to the end of czarism. Lenin says that czarism can only

be abolished when revolution goes through certain stages and for this purpose, he had forwarded two stages of revolution in the context of Russia.

Marxism talks about simultaneous revolution. But Lenin was against the whole theory of simultaneous revolution as he felt that capitalism did not develop in all the countries equally. Therefore, he had forwarded the concept of 'socialism in one country' as socialism did not require simultaneous revolution. But, if socialism was established in one country, it would be an example for other countries and thus socialism would be established in most parts of the world.

9.3.3 Views on the Role of the Communist Party

In the second stage of revolution, Lenin talks about the party which is considered the most important contribution of Lenin to the theory of revolution. According to Lenin, in order to have revolution, it is very necessary to organise first and it is the party which gives organisation to the revolutionary forces. Revolution cannot take place in Russia without the party.

Lenin calls this party as the Vanguard Party. It is comprises the intellectuals, educationists and the proletariat. These are the people who receive professional training of revolutionary tactics. These people are expected to be politically advanced and conscious. The party is based on the principle of democratic centralism. It is a principle where all decisions are taken on the basis of debate and discussion. Once, a policy is finalised on the basis of debate and discussion, it has to be implemented. But at the time of implementation, there is no discussion.

Lenin says that the vanguard party engages itself in propaganda activities. Apart from propaganda, the party has also some slogans and messages to express the grievances of the proletariat. Thus, the party tries to increase the awareness of the peasants and move towards the revolution in a minimum time.



LET US KNOW

Propaganda is a type of education given through lectures, meetings etc. by which the party tries to popularise its ideas. Such education or information is especially of biased or misleading nature as it is used to promote a particular political cause or point of view.

However, the party has been given so many responsibilities that in manipulating the people, it ends with the total control over the population. In most of the communist countries, we have seen that communist party became the dominated party. As for an example, we may refer to the Bolshevik Party in the context of Russia.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: According to Lenin which is the highest stage of capitalism?

.....

Q.2: Who has given the concept of 'socialism in one country'?

.....

Q.3: What is the name of the party put forwarded by Lenin?

.....

9.4 MAO- TSE- TUNG

Mao-Tse-Tung, the father of communist China, was the ray of hope of the oppressed people of all over the world and particularly to that of the people of China. Chinese communism developed under Mao. He led the revolution in China in the Marxist principles. He modified Marxism from the European form to the Asiatic form keeping in view the problems in China.

9.4.1 Political Ideas of Mao- Tse- Tung

During the course of the revolution that he led in China, he developed a series of political ideas that constitute the basic framework of his political philosophy. These are as follows:

- **Philosophical Commitment to Marxism-Leninism:** In so far as political philosophy is concerned, Mao had full faith in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. But at the same time, he made certain basic changes in the operation of these principles in the context of the Chinese society. Thus, Marxism and Leninism have profound influence in the formulation of political philosophy of Mao.
- **Concept of People's War:** Mao combined the two revolutions going on in the country i.e. the nationalist revolution against imperialism and colonialism and the revolution to isolate the masses from the collaborators of imperialism and colonialism. The intellectuals must unite closely with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In fact, almost all the reforms in China under Mao's leadership saw the involvement of the masses. Thus, Mao wanted to secure people's participation in national regeneration plans.
- **Permanent Revolution:** Mao believed in revolution in the countryside and by the rural masses. This is the only way of giving a permanent character to revolution. Mao believed that the peasantry was quite capable of playing the revolutionary role.
- **Views on Cultural Revolution:** The great proletarian Cultural Revolution was an attempt by Mao to degrade the role of the party and upgrade the role of the masses. In fact, Mao never allowed the party to become supreme authority over the masses. The party was subjected to popular scrutiny. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao used the red-guards to paralyse the party organisation. The communist party which emerged in China after the Cultural Revolution, was no longer a party of the pre-revolution period. It became more responsible and ideologically committed to that of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. At the same time, during the course of the Cultural Revolution, Mao

tried to build up the scientific culture of the broad masses. It is through Cultural Revolution that Mao wanted to establish new democracy. In new democracy, there would be a new national culture and it is the culture of the people of China.



LET US KNOW

New democracy is a political system for China proposed by Mao to be established after the formation of Democratic Republic in China. New democracy emphasises on three important aspects. According to the political aspect, there will not be the monopoly use of power by the bourgeoisie. The economic aspect will follow two principles - regulation of capital will be controlled by the state and equalisation of land ownership. In the cultural aspect, Mao says that in the People's Democratic Republic, culture will be anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and there will be a reflection of communism in culture.

- **Views on War and Violent Revolution:** Mao was in favor of violence and war to establish communism. In fact, Mao believed that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. It is the party that commands the gun but the gun would never be allowed to command the party. According to Mao, experiences in the class struggle of the era of imperialism taught us that the working class and the masses cannot defeat the land lords except through the power of a gun. Mao hoped that the future war would completely wipe out imperialism and there would be only socialism all over the world.
- **Hundred Flowers Policy:** This policy was followed by Mao during the period of Cultural Revolution. It indicates the collective expression of Mao's new ideology. There should be hundreds of ideas i.e. flowers that would help to enrich Marxism-Leninism. It is in this way that correct idea would ultimately prevail and the unhealthy ideas would gradually wipe out. In other words, it

could be stated that physical force would not be used in ideological matters and it would be a natural flow of correct ideas.

On the basis of the above survey of the political ideas of Mao-Tse-Tung, it can be stated that he made innumerable contributions towards the development of theory and practice of his political philosophy. It may be noted that his theory and practices were expected to establish a new political order in China on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and his teachings known as Maoism.

9.4.2 Views on Revolution

Marx has stood for revolution and according to him if need be, the revolution should be brought about with the use of arms as well. Mao also felt that armed revolution in his time was necessary as it was when Marx or Lenin pleaded for the same. According to him, since the revolutionaries are not well equipped, therefore, they should be well-trained in guerilla activities. The revolutionaries should always create an atmosphere in which civil wars are encouraged. It cannot be denied that it was due to his efforts and stress on guerilla activities that this method of war had become very popular.

Mao wants to give a permanent character to revolution. A permanent revolution can take place only when it is rooted in the masses. He feels that if revolution is to last long, it is essential that distinction between the leaders and masses should be brought to an end. He does not agree with Marx that permanent revolution can be brought only by the working classes. He feels that in Asia, such a revolution can be brought about by the peasantry. Since China had agricultural economy, therefore, he stressed the role of the peasants in revolution. Mao felt that the peasants should be accepted as the leaders of the revolution because majority of the total population of China comprised of peasants. The peasants can only be the real strength in overthrowing of feudal forces.

According to him, people are more important than weapons to succeed in a revolution. For him, weapons are not a decisive factor whereas people definitely are. He wanted the revolution to start from the rural areas before it spread out to the cities. For him, revolution should not aim at merely capturing power but rather use that for the transformation of society.

Mao has no love for peaceful revolution. According to him, peace is nothing else but continuation of the present system of capitalism. It is war and violence which can end capitalism.



ACTIVITY 9.1

Make a comparison between V. I. Lenin and Mao- Tse- Tung regarding their views on revolution.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who stated, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?"

.....

Q.5: What according to Mao was necessary to succeed in the revoluation in China?

.....

9.5 ANTONIO GRAMSCI

He is an Italian Marxist thinker and his writings are basically concentrated in the early phase of 20th century. Two most important concepts of Gramsci are ‘civil society’ and ‘hegemony’. He has been credited for bringing about certain new aspects of Marxism. He has redefined the relationship between base and superstructure and brought a new layer between the two which is known as the civil society. He has also analysed why there is no revolution in the highly industrialised countries of the west. Marx says that in the highly industrialised countries of the west, there will be the rise of revolution by the working class against the bourgeoisie in the

highest stage of capitalism. However, Gramsci says that in the highly industrialised countries of the west, no revolution had occurred and it was only because of the civil society.

9.5.1 Views on Hegemony

Italian communist thinker, activist, and political leader Antonio Gramsci is perhaps the theorist most closely associated with the concept of hegemony. Gramsci has used hegemony to theorise not only the necessary condition for a successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and its allies (e.g., the peasantry), but also the structures of bourgeoisie in the late 19th and early 20th century Western European states. Gramsci, particularly in his later work *Prison Notebooks* (written during the late 1920s and early 1930s) while he was in prison, develops a complex and variable usage of the term. Gramsci's hegemony refers to a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes of industrial European nations accept their own domination with consent of the ruling classes as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions. It is important to note that Gramsci defines hegemony as a form a control exercised by the dominant class. For Gramsci, the dominant class of the western European nations of his time was the bourgeoisie, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour; while the crucial subordinate class was the proletariat, having no means of production of their own.

According to Gramsci, hegemony not only happens in the arena of economic and political sphere but also very sharply happens in the arena of cultural sphere. Gramsci divides the superstructure into civil society and political society. Gramsci says that the capitalist class establishes its hegemony over all other classes in the society by capturing the superstructure, more specifically all the organisations of civil society. The civil society organisations make

people believe that capitalist system is the best system and capitalist class is the best class. Due to these organisations, people forget about their own exploitation and accept the hegemony of the capitalist class with consent.

Gramsci says that in order to overthrow the capitalist class, a counter hegemony has to be established. In order to create counter hegemony, the proletariat class has to capture the organisations of the civil society and they have to make the people aware about their exploitation and thus they can have revolution against the capitalist class.

9.5.2 Views on State

Gramsci divides the superstructure into two major levels - civil society and political society. He says that all the coercive powers or repressive powers or purely political kind of functions remain in the political society. On the other hand, religious, educational, business and cultural organisations remain in the civil society. In other words, any organisation that does not use force upon the people to follow them remains in the civil society. So, political society is that part of superstructure which is based on force. On the other hand, civil society represents the remaining part of superstructure based on the consent of the people. Gramsci, in the narrow sense, regards the civil society as the ensemble of organisations commonly called private and that of political society as the state. According to Gramsci, civil society corresponds to hegemony while political society or state corresponds to direct domination or command. He further delineates these two relatively distinct forms of control as follows:

- Social hegemony names the spontaneous consent given by the great masses to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group.
- Political government names the apparatus of state coercive power which legally enforces discipline on those groups who do not

give their consent either actively or passively. This is constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed.

Although they are useful for understanding different modes of social control, yet Gramsci does not retain social hegemony and political government as purely distinct categories, but rather brings them together under the 'integral state'. While Gramsci at times uses 'state' narrowly to refer to the 'governmental- coercive apparatus', he also deploys a broader 'general notion of state' or 'integral state', which includes both the functions of social hegemony and political government as described above.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: According to Gramsci, which class establishes its hegemony in the society?

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Q.7: Gramsci entrusts all the coercive or repressive powers in the state. (True/ False)

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9.6 LET US SUM UP

- Lenin regarded imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. According to him, there are five phases of this highest stage of capitalism. In these phases, there arises some crisis which leads to the downfall of imperialist phase of capitalism.
- To come out from the oppression of workers and peasants, he formed the theory of revolution. In Russia, potential revolutionary classes were peasants, workers, Russian bourgeoisie and class of national minorities. Lenin says that revolution will progress in two stages in Russia. He prefers socialism in one country to simultaneous revolution.

- In the revolution, the Vanguard party plays a massive role by organising the revolutionary forces and making aware the peasants through propaganda activities, slogans, messages etc.
- The political ideas of Mao- Tse- Tung can be analysed in reference to the concept of people's war, permanent revolution, cultural revolution, views on war and violent revolution and hundred flowers policy.
- Mao was in favor of a violent revolution and permanent revolution. He stresses the leading role of the peasants in the revolution in China.
- Gramsci defined hegemony as a form a control exercised by the dominant class by capturing the superstructure, more specifically all the organisations of civil society.
- While Gramsci at times uses 'state' narrowly to refer to the 'governmental- coercive apparatus', he also deploys a broader 'general notion of state' or 'integral state', which includes both the functions of social hegemony and political government.



9.7 FURTHER READING

1. Dhariwal, U.K. (2008). *Western political thought*. New Delhi: Arise Publishers & Distributors.
2. Gogoi, P. (2007). *Degree political theory*. Guwahati : Banalata Publication.
3. Johari, J.C. (1994). *Traditions of political thought*. Bombay: Himalayan Publishing House.
4. Robert. P. & Sutch, P. (2005). *An introduction to political thought: A conceptual toolkit*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributers.
5. Singh, G. (Ed.). (2008). *Western political thinkers*. New Delhi: Omega Publications.



9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Imperialism.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: V. I. Lenin.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Vanguard party.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Mao- Tse- Tung.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: The peasantry.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: The capitalist class.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: True.

9.9 MODEL QUESTIONS



A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: According to Lenin, what are the two stages of revolution?

Q. 2: How has Mao given permanent character to revolution?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Briefly explain the role of the communist party in Russia.

Q. 2: Write a note about Mao's views on revolution.

Q. 3: Explain Gramsci's views on state.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Discuss Lenin's views on imperialism.

Q. 2: Explain the political ideas of Mao- Tse- Tung.

Q. 3: Analyse the concept of hegemony of Antonio Gramsci.

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Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781006
(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

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2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.