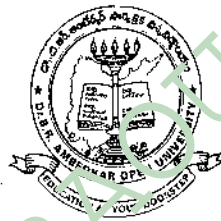


POLITICAL THOUGHT



Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University
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AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This book deals with the topics in Political Thought included in the syllabus for the third year of the B.A. course offered by the Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY. These topics cover the 'core area' of the subject to be studied in the third year of the three year degree course in Arts. The syllabus for the sake of convenience is divided into six blocks, each of which is again divided into a number of units. Each block generally covers a specific area of the subject.

The units are prepared by experienced teachers in accordance with a format so designed as to enable the students to read and understand them without much difficulty. Each unit begins with a statement of its objectives followed by a synopsis and has at its end assignments intended to test the student's comprehension of the subject matter.

Normally political science is used in four senses. In the first place, it is used in a narrow sense to connote only theory of the State. In the second place it is used in a comprehensive way. In this sense it includes both the theory of the State and the theory of the Government. The third view of political science has a universal acceptance. It is regarded as that branch of social sciences which includes the study of—

- a. Political Theory and Political Philosophy;
- b. Government and Public Administration; and
- c. International Law, International Politics and International organisations.

The fourth usage of Political Science goes back to the Greek use of the 'Polis' in which 'political' stood for diversified or multi-personal interactions and relations of men in their organised social life.

Political thought is a major branch of political science. It is also described as 'Political Philosophy' or 'Political Theory or Theories or Political Ideas'. Political Thought may be explained as Philosophic explanation of the Great Political thinkers with the fundamental aim of analysing and interpreting the concept, the ideal, the origin, the development and end of the vast earthly order viz., the State with its constituent, the Government. From Plato to modern times Political thinkers have been making attempts to explain the nature and purpose of State, universal or limited sphere of State, the interaction between religion and state, the relation between the individual and state and finally the role of the State in the promotion of mankind. In the process of such interpretations several theories have been put forth colouring with varied ideological dimensions.

Political philosophy is the rational synthesis of political speculations, maxims, norms, opinions, information and generalisations reduced into coherent knowledge. It provides a rational and thoughtful approach to political problems being faced by the mankind from time to time.

The major thrust of political science is political theory and political philosophy. Generally political philosophy is viewed as a wider and more inclusive term than political theory. The political theory discusses the political nature of man, provides a theory of political universe, examines only political values and concerns with the legal and social foundations of the State. The political philosophy on the other hand is quite comprehensive dealing with the good citizen and good man. It also provides a theory of the moral, social and political universe. Further the political philosophy not only discusses political and ethical values but also concerns with rational foundations, and ethical justification of the State.

The first major area of political philosophy is the history of political thought both in substantive as well as methodological aspects. The Second component of political philosophy is

the study of political norms, values and ideals. The third component of political philosophy is the study of the foundations of political ideas, theories and ideologies. And finally the fourth branch of political philosophy includes the systematisation of the results of empirical political theories.

All the units in this book have been structured into six blocks. Each block comprises few units which are closely related with each other in terms of content and subject.

The first block provides a bird's eye view of the discipline of political thought. It explains the basic thrust of political thought. It consists of the discussion on methodological divergence, philosophical versus empirical and the evolution of political thought in historical perspective. Tracing the origins to the ancient Greek world in relation to city-states, it examines the rise of 'universal states' in the medieval period and nation states in the modern period.

In the second block, the salient features of ancient and medieval western political thought have been discussed. In this context, Plato and Aristotle, who represent ancient Greek thought, have been examined comprehensively with reference to the Republic and Politics respectively. Besides an exhaustive account of Roman, Christian and medieval political thoughts has also been covered.

The block three is devoted to the description of oriental political thought which provides a juxtaposition of Ancient Indian and Chinese thought. The chief focus of ancient philosophy, represented by Manu, Kautilya and Buddha and Chinese thought, have been dealt with. This unit helps the readers to get a clear comprehension of the nature of the oriental thought, vis-a-vis ancient western thought.

With the unfoldment of two great events of unique significance, Renaissance and Reformation the transition from medieval to modern period was witnessed Europe. This period has immense significance in the development of modern western thought. In the block four, an attempt is made to explain the rise of modern nation-states with reference to Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Further, it also includes the doctrine of utilitarianism of Bentham, J.S. Mill, and Idealist School of Hegel and T.H. Green.

Block Five seeks to explain the birth of Socialist School of Thought. The Theory of Socialism, which added a new vigour and dimension, began as a consequence of industrial revolution which brought about a qualitative change in the nature of social relationships. In response to this, theories like Utopian Socialism of Robert Owen and St. Simon and Scientific Socialism of Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin emerged as powerful theories. Besides, theories regarding the sphere of State activity have also been examined in relation of Democratic Socialism, Anarchism, Syndicalism and Guild Socialism, etc.

The last Block Six is intended to acquaint the student with the main currents of modern Indian Political thought. An attempt is made in this block, study the political philosophy of luminaries of modern India like Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Ambedkar, M.N. Roy and Md. Iqbal. Lastly, the main movements and trends in India have also been attempted with the study of Sarvodaya Bhoodan Movement and Socialist Movements.

The University hopes that this course material will help the students to get acquainted with the political thinkers of ancient, medieval and modern period not only of the Western World but also with the political thought of the oriental period. Further it is hoped that the units on Modern Indian thinkers and a few movements would help the student in comprehending the contemporary Indian thought.

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BLOCK I
INTRODUCTION

Unit 1. Introduction to Political Thought

UNIT-1 : INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL THOUGHT

Contents

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 A Philosophical Enquiry
- 1.3 Scientific Enquiry
- 1.4 Normative Study
- 1.5 Practical Pursuit
- 1.6 Main Concerns of Political Thought
- 1.7 Summing Up
- 1.8 Suggested Readings
- 1.9 Model Examination Questions

1.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- a) a general introduction to the study of political thought and its elements
- b) a brief account of the new trends in Political Thought
- c) and discuss the value of the study of the subject.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will study the nature of political thought and value of the study of political thought.

Political thought is that branch of human thought which (1) inquires into the nature, purposes and goals of political activity; (2) endeavours to prescribe the means and methods of achieving the best polity; (3) suggests the methods to be followed for conducting such an inquiry. It may be described as a philosophic scientific inquiry and a normative-prescriptive study of the nature and foundations of political activity and behaviour. In other words, it is a rational quest of reliable knowledge (called EPISTEME in Greek), an attempt at scientific explanation (called THEOREA in Greek) combined with consideration of normative ideas and prescriptive ideals aimed at improving the quality of political life.

1.2 A PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY

As Philosophical inquiry it includes (1) Metaphysics (2) Epistemology; and (3) Logic. Metaphysics is the study of first principles of thought and the nature of truth and reality. Epistemology inquires into the nature and problems of knowledge and determines how to know that which is known to be true. Logic deals with the distinction between good and bad reasoning and helps to build systematic and unified knowledge. These inquiries distinguish political thought from mere opinion, faith and belief, and ideology and lay the basis for rational and reliable knowledge based on rational and critical inquiry into its nature and methods.

1.3 SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY

As scientific inquiry political thought assumes the responsibility of describing, explaining and even predicting events based not only on observation, but also on history, analogy and even intuition, i.e., it applies both the deductive and inductive methods of reasoning of logic. In this sense political thought goes beyond pure science. The latter does not allow any role for history or intuition in its explanation, but relies mostly on empirical observation and inductive logic. It will be seen in Unit 4 how Aristotle used this method to great advantage in the study of comparative government and revolution.

1.4 NORMATIVE STUDY

But pure science is not enough – (1) it is not always possible to study all political phenomenon through observation alone; and (2) politics is almost always loaded with values, beliefs and moral concerns. The political thinker is thus forced to judge of these values rationally and critically. He is not interested in knowledge and science for their own sake though that is important. He is equally interested in social reform and social engineering. His is, therefore, a critical and creative endeavour, an endeavour to suggest at once the ideals of politics as also the best means to achieve those ideals.

1.5 PRACTICAL PURSUIT

Thus political thought assumes a practical role - the role of reform and reconstruction. Thus it does not appeal to belief and superstition but to reason, knowledge and also morals. This is no easy task even for the political thinkers. All great thinkers have combined judiciously these various elements in their thought. The greater the capacity of a thinker to perform this task, the greater is his value as a thinker.

It was this capacity of the Greek mind of the 5th century before Christ that led to the laying of the foundation of political science and political thought. While Socrates showed the way, it was Plato and Aristotle who performed this task with such mastery that their thought would be found indispensable even today by students of political thought and political science. No distinction was, however, made between the two by either Plato or Aristotle. These theme will be elaborated in the next Unit on the characteristics of Greek political thought.

The absence of these qualities was responsible for the absence of any great political thought in India and other similarly placed countries of the time with the exception of China. But even in the West, after the rise of Christianity, political thought lost its moorings as theology took control of all thought. It was only in the 16th century of the present era that political thought regained its independence of theology and related ideas. The trend was set by Machiavelli. But it was Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau who set things right in the modern times.

In the last few decades, however, political thought in the sense defined above, has faced a severe attack from behaviouralism, especially of the early phase, for it is claimed on their behalf that all political inquiry should be value-free and empirical and becomes strictly scientific. Only facts and hypotheses that could be verified from such facts are considered useful for what is called 'scientific' theory to distinguish it from political thought designated as non-scientific theory or traditional theory. Political thought has survived the attack and has emerged, perhaps, stronger from the earlier encounter.

Check Your Progress - I

What is Philosophy?

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1.6 MAIN CONCERNS OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

A study of the history of political thought would reveal that its concerns have differed from period to period. For example, the Greeks laid emphasis on the ethical nature of the city-state and man's participation in the life of his city. In the medieval ages the emphasis shifted to the relationship between the spiritual and temporal authorities. And since, the industrial revolution, the emphasis has been on class relations, individual rights and freedoms etc. These shifts in emphasis indicate the fact that there exists an intimate relationship between the political thought and political institutions, aspirations and conditions of a given period in history. It also indicates that most political thinkers have been concerned with either defending or attacking the existing political conditions and institutions or championing the cause of one or the other sections of the community. This does not at all mean that political thinkers have contemplated on the ideal political order. But even this has been in the context of the political institutions of their times. Plato's ideal state is meaningful only in the context of the city-state of Greece. Similarly, some one in the middle ages in Europe could not have thought of the modern state or of the city-state.

But the overwhelming concern of political philosophers has been with the political organisation called the state and its constituents, its relationships with the individual, its nature, origins and its obligations towards the individuals.

The state itself has differed in its main features from period to period. And so political philosophers have studied it depending upon the age to which they belonged, and in the shape in which they found it. Thus, when the Greeks began to contemplate on politics, they had their *polis*, (or the city-state as it is mistranslated) from which, the word politics itself is derived. For Socrates, Plato and Aristotle the polis constituted the main object of their study. And then political thought dealt with the problems of the city-states. It is one of the shortcomings of the political philosophy of Aristotle that he failed to comprehend the fact that the city-state was on the verge of disappearing from the world as a viable political entity under his very nose, and the impact of the conquests of Macedonians led by his own disciple Alexander the Great. In fact, the Greeks had to turn to the Sophists, and, not to Plato or Aristotle, to comprehend the new realities of the situations presented by the disappearance of the city-states. Indeed, but for the sophists and their teaching of individualism, the Greeks would have found it difficult for adjustment of themselves to the new realities.

Check Your Progress - II

Mention a few characteristics of Greek Political Philosophy?

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The Roman empire was the next to present itself to the political thinkers, with its stress on universality of law and authority, soon to be joined by another universalist creed founded by Jesus Christ. With this Plato and Aristotle cease to be important and it is the influence of the Sophist and Christian doctrines that dominates Western political thought for well over 13 hundred years. During this period political thought became subordinate to theology giving rise to thinkers like St. Augustin and St. Thomas Aquinas on the one hand, and the Popes like Boniface and others on the other. And the main concern of political thought ceased to be the relationship between man and the State and is replaced by the concern for the proper relationship between the State and the Church on the temporal and the spiritual authorities respectively. There were Popes and theologians trying to assert that the spiritual is superior to the temporal authorities and, therefore, the Pope should control the empire.

This conflict between the Church and State for supremacy over one another aided by many other important factors made men realise that after all man can be the master of his own destiny as preached by the Sophists long ago. This has led to the rise of the modern notions of individualism, capitalism, democracy and finally the idea of nationalism upon which is based the modern national and sovereign state. The arguments advanced by the Popes and the Emperors of sovereignty over one another, finally got transferred to the emerging nation-state and political philosophy at once, took up the said theme. A succession of political thinkers beginning with Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, Locke Rousseau and others mannered on these themes until they got fixed in public minds.

Alongside these developments was also the fact of the development of new classes of people with their own aspirations, and needs. On the demise of feudalism, rose the capitalists, and, capitalism in turn created the proletariat. It was not long before these classes found their own champions among political thinkers and thus arose theories of constitutional governments, democracy, individual freedoms on the one hand, and, the doctrines of socialism, and communism on the other. And these continue to hold sway in one form or the other even today.

There have also been other developments, like the development of international organisations like the League of Nations and now the United Nations with their increasing stress on interdependence rather than independence and sovereignty. The challenge of political philosophy is to integrate all these themes into more useful and more meaningful social and political ideals for the survival of man from harakiri.

1.7 SUMMING UP

No introduction to the study of political thought would be complete without a discussion of the value of the study. A proper understanding of this question would seem to depend on the meaning one would attach to the word, 'political', in such phrase as political life and political behaviour. For if, by 'political' one simply means anything that politicians everywhere - past as well as present - say and do, then political thought has no value as a practical pursuit. Similarly, if politics is considered just an extension of the theological or the occult, then also political thought has not much to offer either as a scientific or as a practical pursuit. On the other hand, if one understands the word, 'political' as embodying a rational ordering of life by rational actions of men and women, at once the importance of the study becomes clear to one and all.

For any rational ordering of life calls for first and foremost a rational understanding of life, since only such an understanding would be rational action. As has already been explained, this has been the sovereign concern of political thought. This does not mean that political thinkers have been greatly successful in this endeavour. It only means that they have not shirked the task in spite of its immense complexity. While laying the foundations of political thought, Plato and Aristotle not only defined its nature and scope but also provided posterity with valuable and scientific insights into the nature of such concepts as power, democracy, justice, rule of law,

and separation of powers. They were also able to show the relationship and inter-dependence of the political, economic and other aspects of life.

Concepts like 'sovereignty and its characteristics. Rights, Freedom, Nationalism and a host of others - owe their development to thinkers like Bodin, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill and Green among others. Similarly, concepts like socialism and communism, etc., are the product of the efforts of political thinkers like Marx and Engels and many others like them. Besides these, others like Kautilya, Machiavelli, Burke, Hegel, Bentham, and Laski have all enriched our understanding of the complexities of political life. No doubt, some ideas of thinkers like Hegel have led to the development of undesirable doctrines and ideologies. But this does not lessen the importance of their other contributions to human thought in general and political thought in particular. In addition, the study of political thought enables us to know (1) how great minds of different periods in history have tried to study the great issues of their times, (2) to what extent they were influenced by their times; and (3) to what extent they were able to influence those times and future events. This would in turn help us understand our own situations better and order our lives accordingly. It is not always the wisdom of these great men that is illuminating and rewarding. Their misunderstanding or misinterpretation of events are equality so. For example, Marx's prediction that capitalism would destroy itself ushering in a classless society and that as a consequence the State would wither away, has not come true. But Marx continues to be influential as no other modern thinker has been in the realm of ideas as well as that of practical politics. Marx's success is mainly due to the fact that he was able to articulate the feelings and aspirations of a vast class of people, mostly victims of exploitation economic, political and even religious. As long as such exploitation exists Marx would continue to be relevant in some sense or other. In other words, it is possible for philosophers to champion the cause of nations or of whole of humanity. Political philosophers have done all these things. Sometimes at great risk to their lives, as the supreme sacrifice of Socrates bears testimony to it. No serious student of politics could be little the importance of such an endeavour.

1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Earnest Barker : *Greek Political Theory;*
Plato and his Predecessors

1.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines.
- Explain the main elements of political thought.
 - Discuss the value of the study of political thought.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines.
- Briefly mention the philosophic-scientific features of political thought.
 - What do you think are the real threats to the survival of political thought?

– Dr. M.M. RAHMAN

BLOCK II
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL WESTERN
POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 2. Characteristics of Ancient Greek Political Thought

Unit 3. Plato

Unit 4. Aristotle

Unit 5. Features of Roman Political Thought

Unit 6. Characteristics of Christian & Medieval Political Thought

UNIT-2 : CHARACTERISTICS OF ANCIENT GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT

Contents

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Greek city states
- 2.3 Greek Idea of citizenship
- 2.4 Greek view of law
- 2.5 Greek view of justice
- 2.6 Greek Idea of virtue
- 2.7 Nature of governments
- 2.8 Main features of Greek Thought
- 2.9 Distinction between Greek and Modern political thought
- 2.10 Summing up
- 2.11 Suggested Readings
- 2.12 Model Examination questions

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able

1. to explain the nature of the Greek city states
2. to analyse the characteristics of ancient Greek political thought and
3. to distinguish it from Modern Political Thought

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will study the nature of the city states, Greek political thought as an ethical and practical pursuit and the distinction between Greek and modern political thought.

2.2 GREEK CITY STATES

As explained in the first lesson, political thought began in ancient Greece in the fifth century B.C. It is necessary, therefore, to know what Greece was like at that time and how it all began.

It is well known that ancient Greece consisted of a large number of city-states. The Greeks called a city-state POLIS. It is from this word POLIS that the word POLITICS is derived. The polis was small in size and was more or less self-sufficient. The territory covered by the city-states of ancient Greece was larger than the territory of Greece today. The people of the latter are a nation like others and ancient Greeks never became a nation in spite of their having 'common racial, linguistic, religious and other bonds. They did not even form a single state. On the other hand, each polis was independent. They valued their independence so much that they refused to unite even when their independence was threatened by Macedonian conquerors, who succeeded in conquering them one after another. This happened during Aristotle's life-time. Even he did not suggest the idea of a Greek federation or unity to meet the Macedonian challenge. Aristotle in fact was silent on the whole issue of the Macedonian conquest of Greece. Aristotle was such a great thinker and observer that it would be difficult to imagine that he did not understand

the implications of this development for Greece. His silence would mean either his approval of Macedonian conquest or his conviction that it was not possible for the Greek city-states to unite.

To the Greeks the polis indeed, was not merely a state but represented the highest of all human associations. It was also an ethical association. It was believed that only as a member of the polis could an individual attain a good life. Thus the good of the individual came to be identified with the good of the society. The polis was an ethical society with an ethical purpose. And so political thought and political science were ethical in origin and purpose. Not only that, political science was also regarded as the master science, since it dealt with the polis, the master association.

The purpose of the polis was thus the attainment of the highest good. And this was to be achieved through a common effort—an effort in which all citizens had an equal share.

Any one who did not participate in such an effort was looked down upon by the Greeks. In the words of Aristotle, one who did not need a state must be either a God or beast. Thus citizenship of a polis meant participation in the affairs of the polis. Those who were aliens or were slaves were not eligible for participation as they were not citizens. The Greeks also excluded women from citizenship and participation in the affairs of the polis. Plato opposed this practice and in his ideal State he gave them equal rights with men.

Participation in the affairs of the polis did not mean only participation in its political life. Every aspect of Greek life was common. They had common religion, morality, law, etc. The Greeks had no such thing as a religion with a church and a priestly class exercising control over their religious life. The polis itself was their church and they had common religious festivals in which all participated. In other words, their religion was merely one aspect of their life in the polis. It had no other associations and functions like the more developed religions of later days.

The idea of the polis as an ethical community gave rise to the idea of its being an educational institution, which imparting its essence to the younger generation would ensure its survival as an ethical community. Indeed, Greek political thought developed at the hands of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle in response to this need and to oppose the teachings of a group of professional teachers and orators called the Sophists, who began to preach the concept of individualism and assert that the man was the measure of all things. Both Plato and Aristotle had started academics or schools to teach the true science of the polis. Plato gave so much importance to education in his most important work *'The Republic'*, that Rousseau, the great French Philosopher described it as the greatest treatise on education ever written.

2.3 GREEK IDEA OF CITIZENSHIP

For the Greeks citizenship meant something different from what it is in modern states. Citizenship today means enjoyment of rights and performance of duties. In modern States, a majority of the people are considered citizens. On the other hand, in the Greek city states, the citizens were in a minority, because the whole population was divided into three different classes. The largest part of the population consisted of slaves. The slavery was a universal institution among the Greeks. In fact it was considered not only necessary, but also natural and just even by Aristotle. The slaves were political nonentities, i.e. they did not count politically. They had no political significance, and belonged to the lowest rung of society.

The next class of the population of a city-state were the metics or the resident-aliens. In every city state there was a sizeable number of these foreigners as the city-states were centres of commerce and trade. These foreigners were also excluded from political life of the city.

The third and the most important section of the population was the citizens proper. These were the people who were eligible to participate in the political life of the city-state. And so

citizenship for the Greeks means the capacity to participate in the political life of the city and they attained it by birth. Every Greek inherited the citizenship of the parents. It also meant membership of the city-state; i.e. a minimum share or participation in the political activity of the city like participation in the town-meeting or the holding of some political office for a shorter or longer terms. Without some such participation, there was no citizenship, unlike the modern concept of citizenship which is not as intimate as the Greek idea of participation or membership. Citizenship, therefore was not a possession of an individual. It was a common possession or something which is shared by all citizens. Thus, the problem for the Greeks was not how to secure rights to individuals but to find the right place for each class of men in a society.

Check Your Progress - I

Who were given citizenship in ancient Greece?

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2.4 GREEK VIEW OF LAW

The Greek concept of law was also derived from the same notion of the polis, because law was for them the embodiment of this spirit of community. It was the bond which kept the polis together. Law was, therefore, sovereign. It was the sovereignty of law that Socrates bowed when, he was condemned to death by the Athenians. Plato opposed this view of Law in his *Republic*, influenced as he was by the life and death of Socrates. Plato dethroned law in his *Republic* from its sovereign position, and replaced it with the sovereignty of the wise men, and in doing so he was not illogical. If the State had to educate its citizens according to the law, the educators should be capable of formulating law or should at least be able to modify it. Aristotle, on the other hand like a true Athenian, advocated the sovereignty of law. This law was determined by convention and deemed to be fixed and permanent. Nature itself, it was asserted, dictated, this law and hence it was not subject to change at the will or caprice of the general public. Thus, it was believed that there would be no conflict between law and nature.

2.5 GREEK VIEW OF JUSTICE

The Greeks had their own view of justice. They looked upon it as 'virtue' in action and a virtue of virtues. It was the virtue of the soul and injustice its vice. Plato for example made justice the basis of his ideal state. In other words, only a state based on justice could be an ideal state. And Plato defined justice as each person doing the job to which he is best fitted by nature. Justice results in specialisation of functions which is the very basis of society. Plato was opposed to such notions of justice as 'might was right'. It was thus more than a mere legal concept. It was broader than the modern concept of justice, which is used in a legal sense. The Greeks equated it with morality as such. Thus, justice became the very bond of society and of the State.

Aristotle hold that justice was distributive or proportional. It meant distribution of office or privileges in accordance with one's worth or contribution to the cause of the State. It results in treating equals as equals and unequals as unequals. In other words, distributive justice consists in enforcement of law and performance of one's functions from the standard of worth.

2.6 GREEK IDEA OF VIRTUE

The Greeks used the word virtue in the sense in which the word good is used. For Socrates virtue was knowledge. In other words, virtue and knowledge were interchangeable words for him. But all knowledge is not virtue, because knowledge is of two types. One is based on mere opinion which is not virtue in the Socratic sense of the word. Only knowledge based on reason is true knowledge and hence it is virtue. This is how Socrates equated virtue with knowledge and both with goodness.

2.7 NATURE OF GOVERNMENTS

Though the Greek city-states had so much in common, they had also differences. The very fact that there was a large number of city states, and that they were independent, resulted in the establishment of different forms of government, ranging from monarchy to democracy with their variants. It is a well known fact that Aristotle had collected as many as 158 constitutions for his research. In addition, there were frequent changes from one form of government to another. It did not take the Greeks long to observe that there was a pattern in these changes. The pattern, as noticed by Aristotle, was cyclical, with monarchy-tyranny aristocracy - oligarchy - polity and democracy - forming the cycle. Aristotle not only classified each of these into different categories, but also analysed their social bases and the causes for the occurrence of changes. He rounded off the discussion with a classic theory of revolution.

Such a variety of governments which the Greeks had, led to the comparing one with another and finally to the quest of the best. Thus political thought became a practical pursuit, as pointed out in the previous lesson itself.

Of the Greek city-states which led to political speculation two States-Sparta and Athens - were most influential, the latter more directly than the former, in the forming of political thought. It was in Athens that Socrates, Plato and Aristotle spent most of their lives. It was again Athens that provided them with the material for their political studies. Athens had developed into a democracy with a popular assembly, a council of five hundred magistrates, ten military generals besides popular courts. Athenians believed in freedom and discussion and versatility. The use of the principle of rotation in office, short-terms of office-election as well as the use of lots were methods by which the Athenians worked their democracy. Sparta, on the other hand, relied on education, training and discipline and provided a great contrast to Athens. When the two went to war against each other, Sparta was able to defeat Athens, because of its emphasis on discipline and training. When the Athenians looked around for a model to emulate, Sparta attracted many with its harmony and internal discipline. Plato, in particular, seemed to have been impressed by some of the Spartan institutions which he incorporated to his ideal state, though he modified them to suit his own philosophy. Socrates and Plato were critics of Athenian democracy and admirers of order and unity, which Sparta had achieved in some measure. Aristotle was also a critic of democracy, although he saw merits in it.

2.8 MAIN FEATURES OF GREEK THOUGHT

To sum up, the Greek political thought was primarily concerned with the polis, which was held to be an ethical or moral association. Therefore, political thought which emerged from it became an ethical pursuit. But the Greek thinkers were not so much interested in the here and now as in first principles and the central truth concerning politics. This was where Socrates, Plato and Aristotle differ from the Sophists. The Sophists were a group of metics living in Athens and they were professional teachers of Politics, history etc. Their main concern was money and they taught youngmen the cult of individualism, materialism and opportunism. They were neither philosophers like Socrates and Plato, nor were interested in the reform of Greek

politics and life. The most important feature of Greek thought was its capacity to transcend the occult and perceive the possibility of controlling human life rationally. Hence the Greeks conceived the State as a human association and the individual as a part of it. In the place of man's subordination to alien or external forces, the Greeks introduced a human association with the individuals sharing its benefits through a common life. So the idea of private interest being in conflict with the public interest did not figure in Greek thought. Hence there was no concept of individual rights. Those who preached it like the Sophists were not influential. The Greek concept of law was in keeping with these notions of the State and the individual. Law was not man-made; rather it was the work of custom or convention. It represented the wisdom of the ages and so was held to be unchangeable.

Check Your Progress - II

Who were Sophists?

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2.9 DISTINCTION BETWEEN GREEK AND MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

It is important to distinguish modern political thought from the political thought of Greeks. Modern thought does not look upon the State as an ethical association, nor does it entrust the State with any ethical purpose. Law and morality are regarded as being separate from each other and complimentary to each other, but not identical with each other. The State and Society are separated, each having its own sphere of activity. Again modern political thought with the exception of the Marxist starts with the individual rather than with the state. The state exists for the individual. There is no total identification of the individual with the State. There are very important individual rights which the State has to recognise and protect. In this respect modern thought is closer to the Sophists than to Plato and Aristotle. There is, however, one point which Greek political thought has in common with modern thought. Both are secular and have kept religion out of political life. This is where both differ from the Medieval Western political thought which was greatly influenced by Christian theology and from oriental thought which even today is not totally free of such influences. The Greek concept of law, as already pointed out, is quite different from the modern one, which is an expression of public will enacted by representative legislatures. It is less permanent, more frequently changed and has no rigidity about it. The task of the State for the Greeks was not so much the creation of law as its interpretation or application through the courts. The hold that this view of law had on the Greek mind was so great that Plato, who had rejected it in his greatest work, the *Republic*, readmitted it into his final work, the *Laws*.

2.10 SUMMING UP

Political thought began in ancient Greek. The city-state of the Greeks was called polis. The citizenship was confined to a few, as the population was divided into different classes. Law was considered sovereign because for them it was an embodiment of the spirit of the community. For Greeks, Justice was the most important virtue. Justice was equated with morality.

Large number of city-states led to the establishment of different forms of the Governments. A comparative study of the varieties of Governments created a quest for the best among Greeks. Greeks political thought was a mixture of Hellenism and universalism. Like modern political thought ancient Greek thought was also secular and have kept religion out of political life.

2.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Earnest Barker : *Greek Political Theory*

2.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Describe the nature of the Greek city-State.
2. Analyse the Characteristics of Greek Political Thought and distinguish it from modern political thought.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. What was the Greek idea of the relationship between the State and society?
2. What did the Greeks mean by membership of the State?
3. Discuss the Greeks concept of Law and distinguish it from the modern concept.
4. Summarise the main features of Greek political thought.

– Dr. M.M. RAHMAN.

BRAOU

UNIT-3 : PLATO

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3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able

1. to present a critical analysis of Plato's political philosophy and its outstanding elements, and
2. to evaluate Plato's contribution to political thought.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will study the life and times of Plato, Socratic influence on Plato, Plato's works like 'The Statesman', the laws and we shall also make an evaluation of Plato as Greatest Critic of Democracy and its evils.

3.2 LIFE AND TIMES

Plato was born in Athens in 427 B.C. His real name was Aristotles. His father was one Ariston, a distinguished Athenian of his times. His mother also belonged to an aristocratic family. Plato's father died when he was very young and his mother married Pyrilampes.

It was in the latter's house that Plato grew into manhood. Pyrilampes was reported to have been a friend of Pericles, the famous Athenian general and leader in the Pelopponesian War.

The Peloponnesian War between Sparta and Athens was the result of the great rivalry between the two most powerful city states of Greece which were also ideologically opposed. Sparta stood for discipline and authoritarianism and Athens for unbridled democracy. The Spartan King, Lysistratus, captured Athens in 464 B.C., and established a puppet government of Thirty Tyrants. This group was led by Critias and Charmides, who were Plato's maternal uncles. This government was overthrown by the democrats of Athens in 403 B.C. Critias and Charmides were both killed and soon the democratic government of Athens was restored. Plato was then 24 years of age and had watched the events keenly along with his great teacher, Socrates. As soon as democracy was restored in Athens, the democrats levelled charge against Socrates including that of not worshipping the state gods and of corrupting the youth, convicted him and finally sentenced him to death. Socrates pleaded not guilty to the charges made against him and refused to apologise or seek mercy. He was reported to have refused to pay a fine in lieu of death penalty. Later, Socrates also refused to flee from prison when his friends arranged for it and he died a martyr to the cause of free speech, thought and expression. He was not only the first martyr to this cause but also the first to die at the hands of democrats. No wonder that Plato concluded that democracy was mob rule and that the whole body politic was degenerate.

Soon after these events, Plato abandoned his idea of entering Athenian politics which was the practice of persons with such a family background as his. He further decided to turn to writing. According to many authorities on the subject, it was the trial, conviction and death of Socrates that turned Plato into an author to defend his teacher and friend, and, also to commemorate him. That is why the major works of Plato are in the shape of Socratic dialogues. In other words, the books present a series of dialogues between Socrates on the one hand, and some other prominent Athenian on the other. This particular method was the method adopted by Socrates in his pursuit of truth or knowledge. The importance of this method and its influence on political thought is discussed in the following paragraphs.

The unnatural death of Socrates disturbed Plato's mind so much that he left Athens in 388 B.C., and travelled abroad particularly in Italy and Sicily. While he was in Sicily, Plato met the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I and the latter's brother-in-law, Dion. When Plato tried to tutor Dionysius on how he should rule, the tyrant sold Plato as a slave. But Plato was ransomed by his friends and he returned to Athens in 387. He then founded the famous Academy, the first seat of higher learning in the West. Plato lived and worked in the Academy for most of his latter life, though he visited both Syracuse and other places subsequently. It was to this Academy that Aristotle later came to study under Plato.

Plato's second visit to Syracuse took place in 367 B.C. at the age of 60. He undertook this visit at the invitation of his friend, Dion, to train the younger Dionysius. However, Plato found Dionysius unresponsive to his teaching and returned to Athens. Plato undertook a third visit to Syracuse to help draft a Constitution for a proposed federation of Greek city states in Sicily. Though nothing emerged from those visits, they seemed to have had some influence on Plato's later thought.

Whether or not this was so, it is clear from the sketch of Plato's life as given above that he was no arm-chaired thinker and that he knew democrats and tyrants intimately. And though he did not participate in practical politics himself, he never hesitated to undertake the task of training rulers in the art and science of politics. It is in this regard that Plato and Socrates differed from the Sophists. The Sophists, on the other hand, were professional teachers of the arts of rhetoric politics. They taught individualism in the face of the Athenian emphasis on the community. They presented nature as being opposed to convention as against the Athenian belief that nature was convention. Some of them even taught that 'might was right'.

Plato's visit to Italy was a rewarding experience to him. Here he came into contact with the Pythagoreans who had established a colony at Tarentum. From them he came to understand the importance of mathematics, especially geometry and, the application of these to the study

of society. Pythagorus was one of the earliest to apply himself to the study of not merely nature or the physical objects in the universe but also to the study of man and his affairs. Number or the observance of number was the underlying principle of both the physical and the social life. Justice for the Pythagorean was a number. It was a square number and a square was harmonious. It followed that the just state was also a harmonious one. It should consist like a square of equal parts. This is very much like the concept of justice presented by Plato in his *Republic* - the Architechtonic concept of justice. Besides, there is much in Pythagoreanism which Plato seemed to have influenced his philosophy. Perhaps, Plato's debt to Pythagoras is next only to his indebtedness to Socrates.

3.3 SOCRATES

As has been pointed out, the major works of Plato are in the form of Socratic dialogues. And it is from the early dialogues called the *Apology* and the *Phaedo* which deal with the life and thought of Socrates that is most reliable accounts of Socrates have been made. There are other versions of Socrates' life by Xenophon and Aristophanes, which are not given as much importance as the two dialogues by Plato. The Socrates that emerges from these dialogues is a fascinating personality. He was found asking questions, which he rarely attempted to answer himself, preferred to listen to others views pleading his own ignorance, and made others realise that they were more ignorant than him. Why did Socrates do this? Was it to simply irritate people as he in fact did making himself unpopular? Or was there any good reason for it? The question is central to Socratic thought and to the development of all scientific thought through him. This method of Socrates has come to be known as the 'dialectic'. For Socrates was using mind as the basis of his explanation instead of looking at things as they were, i.e. Socrates was looking at the various views of men about things so that the truth of these things could be determined by subjecting these views to close examination. Socrates, further insisted that since mind is the cause of all, the only real explanation of truth is a teleological one. In other words, it has to be concerned with purpose or cause, (i.e.) it is not enough to know what things are, but it is necessary to determine why these are so, and what their causes are. Only such knowledge is real knowledge and real knowledge is virtue or goodness. The other type of knowledge is based on opinion or hearsay, and it is not secure or permanent. It cannot also be communicated or taught as it cannot be defined or explained. It was for this reason that Socrates insisted on the defining of things; for aboveall, he was a teacher and he wanted to impart real knowledge or goodness unlike the Sophists, whose teachings were of practical or utilitarian content.

Socrates further held that there is order in the universe and that it is possible to ascertain it by the above mentioned method. Initially, Socrates like others before him was interested in the study of Physical sciences. But the developments in Athens turned him from physical to social issues. This search for order led him to his doctrine of Forms. By this Socrates meant that behind every thing in this universe there is an eternal Form. The Forms are permanent and objective. Every thing is an expression of its Form. The thing may perish, but the Form survives. Beauty, for example, is a Form. Things are beautiful because they are its representations. Similarly, justice (or *dike* as the Greeks called it) has its Form. And a thing or polis is just to the degree that it participates in the Form of Justice, which is eternal. Similarly, every polis too, has its eternal Form and it is to the task of ascertaining the eternal Forms of the polis and justice that Plato applied himself in his masterpiece the *Republic*.

3.3.1 Works

The three most important works of Plato which are directly concerned with questions of political thought are the *Republic* the *Statesman* and the *Laws*. Of the three the *Republic* is the greatest of his works. It is also, according to many, the greatest book ever written on political philosophy. As is well known, Rousseau described it as the greatest treatise on education. It is all this, and, more. For sheer literary beauty, it is second to none and nowhere is the Socratic

dialectic used with such rigour as in the *Republic*. It is the greatest work of one of the greatest thinkers that the world has ever known.

Plato had written the *Republic* at young age before he attempted to convert rulers into philosophers. The *Statesman* and the *Laws* were written subsequent to experiences when Plato was past his prime. The *Laws* especially was a product of last years of his life. These are definitely inferior in quality to the *Republic*. But the two dialogues appear to have been more influential in shaping the views of Aristotle, and through him the other thinkers. It is likely that Aristotle might have influenced Plato to some extent in writing the *Laws* in particular.

The *Republic* too came to influence subsequent thinkers, especially the Idealists and the Utopians. But the *Republic* is not mere Utopia. In fact, it is a philosophical and scientific attack mounted on the greatest ills of democracy, viz, incompetence, corruption and factionalism. The alternative presented by Plato (if was also the alternative suggested by Socrates) is a sort of despotism of the enlightened. But this sounds like a contradiction in terms. And Plato might well have thought so, since he never felt it necessary to withdraw the ideal presented in the *Republic*. He could not, worked, if Virtue were knowledge and if the doctrine of Forms were true. And naturally, Aristotle found fault with the doctrine itself before a rejecting the ideal of the *Republic*. This must have surely been a reason among others, which led Plato to present a diluted version of the eternal polis for the benefit of lesser men and societies.

3.4 JUSTICE : DIFFERENT VIEWS

The *Republic* (or *Republica* in Latin) has a second title, namely, *Concerning Justice*. The Greek word for Justice is *Dike* and it is translated as 'Righteousness'. As long as Greek life was dominated by tribal ways, *dike* or righteousness simply meant the following of custom ('*nomas*' as the Greek called it). The opposite of *dike* was *hubris* or un-righteousness. But soon it became clear that *nomas* was not the same with all people. It differed from place to place. Some, therefore, began to wonder whether there was any one idea or principle underlying all this variety which could be identified with righteousness or justice. The original view of righteousness obeying *nomas* was also opposed by all those who wanted modification of it. It is against this background that Plato embarked on all thorough going inquiry into the meaning of justice in the *Republic*. His method is dialectic. In other words, Plato makes Socrates subject to used to different views on Justice to a searching inquiry, dismissing each view as unsatisfactory, until the way is clear for him to state his own views on justice.

The first to venture on opinion is Cephalus, a rich old man in whose house the dialogue takes place. The place is Peiraeus. Justice, Cephalus says, consists in speaking truth and paying one's debts. But Socrates is not convinced as he is not sure what truth is and what a debt is. Polymarchus son of Cephalus, modified his father's statement slightly and described justice as the art of doing good to friends and harm to enemies. Socrates points out that it is difficult to distinguish between friends and enemies all the time and until one is able to do so as it will not be possible to practice justice. Even if this were possible, doing harm even to enemies is not a human quality. Only a tyrant like Periander would define justice in this way. These are traditional views. The Sophist view is expressed by Thrasymachus. As he puts it, justice is nothing but that the interest of the stronger or might is right. This is true of all rulers everywhere including democrats. It should also be true for everyone including the ordinary individual, declares Thrasymachus. Otherwise injustice should be better than justice. Socrates argues that might cannot be right, and that a true ruler cannot be interested in his own interest. Injustice cannot be better than justice because the just man is happier and also stronger than the unjust, and because he is the wiser of the two. He is wiser because he knows his limitations as well as those of others, whereas the unjust man tend to forget his own limitations and get into trouble. He is happier because he performs his work to the best of his ability which is a virtue, and a quality of the soul.

The argument is then taken over by Glaucon, who propounds a sort of social contract theory as the basis of justice. Without the contract there is only injustice where might is, perhaps, right. The weak at least think so, and therefore, make a contract with a view to avoiding injustice to one another. There is no other basis for justice. It is purely a matter of convention. It is therefore, an artificial creation of man. There is nothing natural to it. Socrates does not directly criticise the view of Glaucon. Indeed, he admits his inability to do so, and says that he would answer Glaucon indirectly. To do so, it is necessary, he further states, to find out the nature of the polis. Because justice in the individual is the same as justice in the state. Both are manifestations of the soul. But in the state, justice exists on a larger scale than in the individual. This is an opinion which modern mind does not readily accept. But it is a characteristic of Greek political thought as has been pointed out in Unit 2.

3.5 STATE AS DIVISION OF LABOUR

The polis is a product of man's needs. To begin with, the needs are simple which are the basic needs of life. When they are out of his field man seeks luxuries. This in turn creates war. But these economic needs are not the only ones. Side by side, there are the social instinct for companionship and social give-and-take. Therefore, there is need for bringing about harmony between these urges in a socially and morally useful way. In order to determine how this can be brought about, it is necessary to find out the basic functions which a state is expected to perform.

According to Plato, every polis has three basic functions. First, every polis must provide the basic needs which are mostly material. Secondly, the polis must be protected and finally it should be governed well. Otherwise, warfare and other disorders will destroy the social fabric of the polis. Who is to perform these tasks?

3.6 SOUL AND ITS KINDS

To answer this question Plato takes the help of the idea of the soul which he has borrowed from his master. Socrates suggests that it is the soul that gives man his distinctive attributes. It enables him to distinguish good from evil and to order his life properly. This view of the soul, it may be noted in passing, is different from the view held by Indians and others including the Pythagoreans, who believe the need for the purification of soul for which various rules are prescribed.

Once the soul is known to be the driving force of man, it becomes easy to classify different men on the basis of different souls. Plato classified the soul into three classes corresponding to the three kinds of men, namely, the appetitive class, the courageous class and the ruling or reasoning class. These are no rigid classes, as each soul has all three elements present in it; but one of the three is dominant in each soul. It is the dominant element in each that distinguishes the three classes of souls from one another. Plato in this respect is indebted to the Pythagoreans who have earlier propounded the doctrine of the three classes - the lovers of Wisdom, lovers of Honour and lovers of Wealth - if not also the doctrine of the three classes of the soul representing Reason, Spirit and Appetite.

3.7 JUSTICE IN THE REPUBLIC

It is easy to see now that each class of soul has a function to perform in the State. The appetitive class consisting mainly of farmers and other economic classes provide for the material needs of the Polis. Similarly, the spirited class are fit to protect the Polis and finally the reasoning class to govern the Polis. When these three classes perform the tasks for which they are best fitted, justice or righteousness is the result. In other words, just means giving each man his due and non-interference of one class in the other's duties or functions. Thus the appetitive class monopolises the economic activities and the other two classes have a monopoly over the other two activities.

Justice, therefore, demands specialisation of functions or services. This would mean two things. First, everyone should have the aptitude for his work. This is determined by the soul. But it requires to be ascertained through a well devised system of education. Heredity does not determine the class of a soul. So there is nothing undemocratic in Plato's concept of justice or specialisation of functions. Indeed, Plato holds that women should be treated as equal to men in all these matters.

Secondly, specialisation of functions calls for training to all classes so that their skills are fully developed and put to maximum use. Plato is specially interested in the education and training of the guardian class, the name he uses to designate the spirited and the ruling classes.

Thus justice in the state makes for justice in the individual for if each one knows what he is capable of and if he is trained, and assigned to the work most suited to his ability, it will result in bringing him happiness and in the realization of the highest good for himself and for the state. Thus it becomes an architect or a geometrical concept.

3.8 THE PHILOSOPHER KINGS

In practical terms, this means that only the wisest or the philosophers shall rule, while the most courageous should become soldiers and fighters, the rest taking to other pursuits like farming business commerce, etc., depending upon their talents and tastes.

The philosopher's claim to power rests, therefore, on his wisdom or capacity for giving knowledge, for he alone is capable of knowing what justice is and how it is to be realised. Justice, therefore, is the supreme virtue of the State, because it is justice that regulates the other three virtues of Wisdom, Courage and Temperance in men as well as in the State. It is the bond which unites the true polis in a harmonious way of life free from evils of faction, incompetence and corruption, which plague ordinary States. Justice, therefore, cannot be the product of a mere contract based on either fear or individual will. It is, perhaps, as Burke was to say much later about the constitution, a partnership in all virtue and in all science. The State is the individual writ large. It is 'tripartite man'.

It is in this way that Plato constructs his ideal polis, combining the Socratic principles of Virtue is knowledge with the doctrine of the soul, and his own principles of the division of labour and specialisation of functions. The ideal Polis, the idea or the Form of the polis. It does not exist anywhere except, perhaps, in the heavens. It may or may not be realised. To know it and to try to approximate it or to achieve it in practice is the task of the science and art of Politics. Plato had never let go an opportunity to educate rulers into philosophers and he had carried on the task of imparting the science in his academy to which were attracted not only persons like Aristotle but also many others who would take an active part in the politics of their city-states.

Check Your Progress - I

How is the State, a 'tripartite man'?

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3.9 EDUCATION

As Plato had so much faith in education as the means of realising the ideal Polis it would have been illogical if Plato did not present a scheme of education suitable for the purpose. That

Plato had not only seen the point but had actually dealt with it in a splendid way testifies to his calibre as a thinker and teacher. In fact, Plato went a step further in suggesting a way of life for the guardians which would keep them absolutely immune to all temptations to which rulers tended to succumb sooner or later in their careers. This was his scheme of communism. It is now necessary to discuss the two schemes to complete the study of Plato's *Republic*.

Every polis, Plato asserted, is primarily an educational institution. The ideal polis has to be ideally so. That is why Plato takes such care and devotes so much attention to education. It is this fact that explains why so many including Rousseau have come to consider the *Republic* to be primarily a treatise on education and a great one at that.

According to Plato, if education is neglected, nothing else will improve matters. Education, therefore, has to be public or state owned. Otherwise, it will be commercialised, and, will have disastrous results. Education has also to be compulsory for every child irrespective of the class to which it belonged and to boys as well as to girls. In both these respects - in suggesting state owned education and in making it compulsory for boys as well as girls - Plato rejected the Athenian practice of leaving it to every one to provide whatever education was available in the market, and the practice of excluding women from education and politics. This followed logically from Plato's concept of education. The task of education as has already been suggested, is to determine the class of soul to which each child belonged and then to provide it with the necessary training to fit it to the tasks of its soul. Hence it follows that no child could be excluded from it. Similarly, only those could be debarred from service, who were not fit for it not by birth or on the basis of such considerations as sex or colour. Further, Plato's scheme of education also implied that each class should get the type of education that it demand. And the highest class should get the best type of education. He did not deal with the type of education that was necessary for the artisans, etc., not because he was against them, but because he attached more importance to the education of the guardian class, especially the philosopher kings.

Plato has divided the scheme of education into two parts. The first part consists of music and gymnastics. The study of music includes music proper and the study of poetry and other forms of literature. Both music and poetry are to be studied with a view to developing the moral and intellectual qualities of the mind. So all poetry and literature which is of a purely emotional appeal is to be prohibited. In other words, there would be censorship on poetry and other forms of literature. It is this aspect of Plato's scheme of education plus his communism and the omission of law from the ideal polis, that has led critics to denounce Plato as a totalitarian or an enemy of the open society.

The other aspect of the first part of education is gymnastics. This includes not only physical exercises, but also diet control, etc, the aim of which again is the strengthening of the mind and the spirit. Physical development is only a secondary importance.

This kind of education is to continue till about the 20th year when it will be ended for all those who do not qualify for the higher state of the education. Perhaps, all such men and women go into the trades and other economic pursuits. Plato does not say anything about the training that is required by them to do their work. Therefore, critics have called him an enemy of the artisans and the working classes while still others have called him, the first of the communists.

The second part of Plato's scheme of education may be called 'higher education' and Plato deals with it in considerable detail. Probably the scheme outlined in the *Republic* was also the type of education which Plato imparted to his students at his Academy, According to Sabine this was the most original and the "most characteristic Proposal" of the *Republic*. The duration of this course was almost fifteen years beginning at twenty and ending at thirty five years of age. And it consisted of the study of all the sciences that were known in Plato's time-Mathematics, Astronomy and Logic. It is the study of these subjects that would enable these young men to perceive the Forms behind appearances, be it in mathematical figures like triangles, or musical sounds, or behind the varieties of Polis and ultimately, order and unity in this universe.

At the age of thirty the men of spirit would drop out of education to take up their tasks as soldiers. The rest would continue their higher education for another five years during which period they were taught a strenuous course of logic and dialectic till they could finally achieve the knowledge of the Good or the Form of the Good. Once they were able to achieve this knowledge they could be fit to rule and were assigned the task of ruling for the next fifteen years of their lives. Meanwhile, they would not lose touch with their studies, but devote most of their time to ruling only. At fifty years of age they would be allowed to lay down office and devote the rest of their lives to philosophical and contemplative pursuits. Only now and then they might be asked to return to the polis to render advice on important issues. This was the system of education for which Plato became world famous.

3.10 COMMUNISM

Plato's scheme of education was an attempt to rectify the defects in the system of education followed by Athenians. His communism, on the other hand, was an attempt to ensure that the philosopher kings remained free from private responsibilities. They should, therefore, have no property, no family and consequently no children of their own. This is also in keeping with concept of justice. If the economic class should have no share in ruling the polis, it is but just that the ruling class should not own property, and, consequently families.

Moreover both private property and family are corrupting influences on rulers. And Plato has so deeply interested in removing this evil that he proposed a thoroughly radical solution. Obviously, he did not think that there was any other way in which this could be done nor did any one suggest a better alternative to Plato's scheme. On the other hand, Plato's scheme would enable both men and women to devote all their energies to the tasks of governing without being burdened with private family responsibilities. The state provided their needs. Their sex relations were regulated by the state and their offspring were to be looked after by it. This would also improve the quality of the future citizens, since they would be born to the best men and women in the state.

Aristotle was the first to criticise Plato's Communism. He criticises it on two grounds, first that it would not achieve the objectives which Plato wants to be achieved namely the unity of the State. Moreover, Aristotle opposed the idea of the unity of the State, which, according to him was a plurality as would be seen later. Secondly, Aristotle criticised Plato's scheme to be impracticable and unnatural. To Aristotle, both private property and private family are necessary for human beings. Further, it would not be easy to prevent men and women getting closer to each other even under state supervision. Similarly, neither children nor parents could hide their resemblances and consequently recognition of parents and children could be easy.

But Aristotle had no answer to Plato's proposal that women should be as much free as men to devote themselves to the tasks of the State. Plato would abolish family if it stood in the way of bringing almost equality of women with men. But Aristotle would keep the family and with it deny women an equal share in the affairs of the State. Similarly, Plato had no place for slaves in his ideal polis here was only in the *Laws* that Plato made a mention of slavery which Aristotle justified as natural to men.

Much of the criticism of Plato's Communism including that of Aristotle seems to ignore one important point. It is that Plato does not advocate the abolition of private property and private family for every body in the state, but only for the guardian class a small minority indeed. Besides, Plato is not at all interested in abolishing economic inequalities from the society. Far from it, he is for them. He is only interested in abolishing the evils of corruption from the ruling classes. In fact, Plato's Philosopher kings were not rich but poor people and their lives would be so conditioned as to keep their needs to the minimum. They would have no luxuries and no time for them. Thus it may be given that there is nothing in common between modern communism and Plato's communism except the name.

Plato's communism then was designed to achieve (1) Unity of the state by abolishing private property and family for the guardians (2) Equality of Women (3) Freedom from private responsibilities for the guardians (4) Proper mating of men and women to improve the quality of the race.

Check Your Progress - II

Write three sentences about plato's communism.

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3.11 LAW

Two things remain to be discussed in order to complete the study of the *Republic* of Plato. The first is the omission of law from the *Republic*. The second is a discussion of the degenerate soul and its forms.

As far as the omission of law and the role of public opinion is concerned it has to be admitted that it is simple logic that dictates this step. For it virtue is knowledge, and, the philosopher king an all wise ruler, it would be quite unnecessary, if not also foolish, to bind his heads with the rules of law which are after all conventions. And the less said about public opinion the better. Law, therefore, can be admitted, if it is supposed to be superior in wisdom even to an all wise philosopher king. If it is admitted that it is not possible to find an all wise philosopher, rule of law is the best alternative. While Plato steadfastly refuses to accept the first point, he accepts the second one and makes it the theme of his last dialogue the *Laws*.

But Plato makes it amply clear that the state based on supremacy of law is the second best state because it is not always possible to realise the best. Besides Plato was conscious from the beginning that the supremacy of law was one of the most dearly held political ideals of the Greeks, more especially of Athens. The *Laws* was the result of Plato's attempt to overcome these two difficulties, without compromising the ideal of his *Republic*.

3.12 FORMS OF POLIS

There are, according to Plato, various degenerated forms of the polis which he arranges in a cycle. The best is the ideal polis, where philosophers are kings, and justice is the law. For some reason degeneration sets in, but Plato is not sure how it happens. When this happens spirited man takes over the rulership from the wise men. Honour, might, discipline and organisation become the goals and means of the Polis. This is how a timocracy comes into being. Sooner than later the timocrats fall a prey to pleasure and acumulation of material gain. An oligarchy emerges in the place of timocracy; i.e, power passes into the hands of the rich and the wealthy. This in turn gives place to democracy with the rise of the middle classes and their claims of equality with the rich. In democracy numbers count more than merit and qualifications. But soon democracy degenerates into tyranny, the worst of all. The tyrant represents the beast in man. There are no limits to the tyrant's atrocities and there is no crime that he is not prepared to commit to keep himself in power. Nowhere is tyranny painted so clearly and so effectively as in Plato's *Republic*.

3.13 THE STATESMAN

In the *Republic* Plato has dealt with ideal types of forms of polis. Justice is the basis of the *Republic*. In the *Statesman* and the *Laws* Plato had dealt with the problem of the place of law in the state. In the *Republic* Plato has demonstrated that government is an art and that the statesman or the ruler is an artist at work applying the science or knowledge of the art. He is an expert physician and the state is like a sick person. Just as it is foolish to lay down that the physician should follow the text, and not his knowledge, so also it is meaningless to bind the enlightened to follow the law. This argument is strengthened in the *Statesman* by offering a definition of the statesman. Plato does this by drawing an analogy between him and the head of a family or house-hold or a shepherd in charge of a flock of men. In other words, Plato treats subjects as children. Just as the latter are dependent upon their parents, so also the former are dependent upon their rulers. It is important to note here that Aristotle's *Politics* begins (or perhaps ends, if Jaeger is right) with a refutation of this argument of Plato that household management and statesmanship are similar occupations.

Then follows a classification of states which differs from that made in the *Republic* discussed above. The classification made in the *Statesman* involves real states, treating the ideal of the *Republic* as a separate entity a "model fixed in the heavens". According to this classification, there are in all six constitutions or states. Of these three are law abiding ones and the three other lawless ones. Monarch (rule of one), aristocracy (rule of a few) and a moderate democracy (Aristotle calls this (polity) are the three law abiding ones. The corruptions of these are respectively tyranny, oligarchy, and extreme democracy. Of these six, the best is monarchy, and moderate democracy the worst of the lawful states. The worst should of course be tyranny, not extreme democracy.

3.14 THE LAWS

In the *Laws* Plato proposes a mixed state as the second best state. In it supremacy of law is restored, and the state respects a combination of the monarchic and democratic principles. The second best state of Plato is, therefore, a state where law is supreme, and where the government recognises the main claims to power, viz., those of the better-born and ages as well as those of the many and the middle classes. Aristotle developed these ideas of Plato into a classic theory of the Polity as will be seen later. Here it is necessary to point out that there is nothing in the political philosophy of Aristotle which has not been hinted at or discussed in the *Laws* of Plato. Indeed, the *Politics* of Aristotle may be considered in many parts to be a revised edition of the *Laws* of Plato.

Plato allows private property and family to the rulers but with restrictions on the size of the family and on the extent of property which they should have. The city should consist of 5040 households only and each family is given an equal plot of land which becomes its property. The land will descend from father to child as per the wishes of the father. No family should have excess children. Such children will be distributed among families without children. There shall be family planning if the population exceeds tolerable limits. Every citizen is to marry by the age of 35 failing which an annual fine or tax has to be paid.

The difference between the rich and poor has to be regulated at a particular level of four to one. No man will be allowed to have property more than four times the value of the ancestral land. Any excess income will revert to the state. All citizens are required to register their possessions with a public agency and are subject to inspection by those agencies. No one should own gold and silver and interest on money is strictly prohibited. These restrictions apply even to the state which shall not be "as great and rich as possible, and ... possess gold and silver, and have the greatest empire by sea and land".

There are three types of governing bodies-town meeting, council and magistrates. The magistrates are called guardians of law and are 37 in number. They are to be elected on the basis of a three fold election process. First, 300 are elected by all those who are eligible and fit for military service. A second ballot is then taken to reduce the number to 100 and a third to elect the final 37. The council of 360 is elected by a different procedure. These 360 persons will be elected by each of the four classes of citizens on the basis of wealth, each class electing first 360, then 180 by successive ballots. The final 90 will be drawn by lots from the 180 elected by the second ballot. It may be mentioned here that electing by incurring lots was considered a democratic principle and electing an aristocratic one by the Greeks. So the mixed state of Plato is not exactly a mixture of elements, but actually an oligarchy with some concessions thrown in to placate the masses. There was nothing monarchical in it as Aristotle was to point out later.

Characteristically, Plato attaches the same importance to education in the second-best state as in the first. There are, however, differences because the state is not considered as an educational institution. On the other hand, there are educational institutions and the Minister of Education is the chief magistrate. He must be fifty years old, married and have children. He is chosen by the magistrates from among the 37 guardians of law and holds office for five years.

Then for some strange reason Plato introduces two ideas into the second-best State which seem to go against the spirit of the *Laws*. The first is his proposal that there should be laws to forbid atheism, followed by those prescribing punishment to those who oppose the law. Plato was almost eighty years old then, and this interest in God and religion is attributed to his old age.

The second proposal in question is his Nocturnal Council. This consists of the ten eldest of the 37 guardians of law, the director of education and some priests chosen specially for their virtue. This is a sort of extra constitutional body, exercising control over all other institutions. This shows that Plato had not given up his wisdom-state altogether, since he seemed to have felt that even the second-best state need a body of at least semi-wise persons who could set aside law, if necessary. Perhaps, Plato had a kind of judicial review in his mind.

3.15 SUMMING UP

Throughout the centuries Plato has been a centre of controversies, which is but to be expected. Any one who makes a study of Plato's *Republic* is deeply affected and unless the student has no preconceived notions, or is not ideologically committed, say to democracy, or is against communism - even if it be of a limited kind it is difficult for any one to make a proper evaluation of Plato. This particular writer, for example, has no commitment to democracy as it is practised in the modern world. He has, therefore, all praise for Plato for having attacked democracy so boldly. If factionalism, corruption and above all incompetence are the price one has to pay for democracy, it is indeed, a heavy price and a price which takes away the advantages of democracy from the society. All those who attack Plato as a totalitarian or antidemocrat are, indeed, themselves so far to suggest that knowledge shall be sovereign cannot make for totalitarianism. Democracy even to-day as in the Greece of Plato's, makes it possible for the competent to suffer at the hands of the incompetent, the law abiding at the hands of the corrupt and the rich, and, the rational man at the hands of the irrational or the demagogue. Plato's political philosophy was the greatest attack mounted on all these evil tendencies. And it is not all surprising that they should all combine in undermining his greatness. And it is not also surprising that they have been successful to a large extent by scaring away people from him. In adequate appreciation of Plato's thought had the stifling of rational pursuits in the want for the next fifteen hundred years to come: Again the rise of nationalism and the pursuit of nationalist goals, resulted in the release of destructive forces from which only philosopher-kings, perhaps, could save this world.

It is sometimes made out that Plato had not abolished war from the ideal polis. But he had not made it the basis of the state nor had he set aggrandisement as a goal for the state. Indeed, when the generals rule as in timocracy, Plato said, degeneration begins in the ideal polis.

Similarly, while Plato has not mentioned slavery in the *Republic*, he makes not a case for it in the second best state which is a law state or one where law is supreme. Plato, perhaps, was thus mocking at all supporters of the rule of law including Aristotle who undertook philosophical justification of slavery.

Plato was no doubt anti-democratic by the prevalent Greek standards, since he was not prepared to accept the use of lots and such other practices identified with democracy in the Greek mind. But he was the greatest democrat of his day, where he was the first to banish slavery from the ideal polis, advocate equality of women with men, demand universal compulsory education for all children irrespective of their social status with a view to determining their real worth, and above all, propose a rational order to replace the conventional or even worse, the one based on the accult and irrational.

No other political thinker including Aristotle has gone to the roots of the evils of politics in such an incisive way, and has suggested such bold and radical solutions as Plato has done. While doing so, has also laid the foundations of political science and political thought on a sound and rational basis, besides producing such eminent thinkers as Aristotle in his Academy. This is Plato's permanent contribution to science or philosophy.

3.16 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. G.H. Sabine : *A History of Political Theory*

3.17 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Trace the influence of Socrates on Plato's political thought.
2. Explain Plato's concept of Justice as propounded in the *Republic*.
3. Describe the views of Justice other than his own which Plato examines in the *Republic*.
4. Examine Plato's scheme of education and evaluate it.
5. Do you agree with the view that Plato's *Republic* is the greatest treatise ever written on education?
6. Explain Plato's communism and its objectives.
7. Briefly explain the main features of Plato's ideal State. Was Plato really an idealist?
8. Why did Plato omit law from the *Republic*?
9. What are the main features of Plato's second best State?
10. Critically evaluates Plato's contribution to political thought.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Give a brief account of Plato's life and times.
2. Explain the concept of the dialectic of Socrates.
3. What is the doctrine of Forms propounded by Socrates?

OR

What is meant by 'Virtue is knowledge'?

4. Explain Plato's concept of division of labour and its importance.

5. What did Plato mean by specialisation of services?
6. Who is a Philosopher-King according to Plato and on what is his authority based? Is he a despot?
7. Explain Aristotle's criticism of Plato's 'communism'.
8. What are the degenerate forms of the Polis mentioned in the *Republic*?
9. How does Plato classify Constitutions?
10. What, according to Plato, are the chief defects of democracy? Does rule of law eliminate them?

– Dr. M.M. RAHMAN

BRAOU

UNIT-4 : ARISTOTLE

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- 4.2 Life and Times
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4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able

1. to present an analysis of Aristotle's political philosophy in all its richness and variety
2. to evaluate his contribution to the development of political thought and political science.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study different concepts of the political philosophy of Aristotle in detail.

4.2 LIFE AND TIMES

Aristotle was born in 384 B.C., at Stagira in Northern Greece, near the Macedonian border. His father was Nichomachus, a physician to a Macedonian king, Amyntas II. As his father died in his childhood, he was brought up by his uncle, Proxenus. It was from his father that Aristotle appears to have inherited an abiding interest in the study of biology and allied subjects and his interest in observation and classification of plants and animals. His political and ethical works

are full of analogies from biology and medicine. Whether or not Aristotle was actually expected to take up a doctor's profession and provided medical education is not known, but he certainly knew a lot about the subject.

In 367 B.C., however, Aristotle joined the Academy of Plato in Athens, while the latter was away at Syracuse on his second visit there to educate Dionysius II. Plato was then sixty and Aristotle seventeen years old. The Academy had by then been in existence for twenty years. For the next twenty years Aristotle was at the Academy which he left in 347 B.C., on the death of Plato at the age of eighty. It is, perhaps, a testimony to the greatness of the Academy as well as that of Plato, that not only was such brilliant young man as Aristotle attracted by them, but also that he stayed in the Academy for such a long time learning and then perhaps, teaching Philosophy, Politics, Biology and other subjects at the Academy.

When Aristotle came to Athens in 367 B.C., the City-State was beginning to regain its past life and Sparta was on the wane. There was much else of interest, besides the Academy and its academic pursuits, for a keen mind as Aristotle's to observe and study in the politics and economics of Athens. Moreover the fact that Plato was following Syracusan affairs closely must have interested him. However, he seemed to owe the maturity of his mind to the highly intellectual and scientific atmosphere of Plato's Academy. Indeed, Plato and his teaching had left an imperishable mark on Aristotle's mind.

In 347 B.C. Aristotle left Athens for some reason. The reason could be that he was unhappy at his failure to succeed Plato as head of the Academy as Xenocrates might have been because along with Aristotle Xenocrates also left Athens. There were also, perhaps, political reasons connected with the Macedonian conquest of Olynthus and the establishment of an anti-Macedonian government in Athens led by Demosthenes and his allies. Whatever be the reason, Aristotle migrated to a place called Assus along with Xenocrates and joined two of their former friends at the Academy, Erastus and Coriscus.

At Assus, Aristotle came into contact with the tyrant of neighbouring Atarneus, called Hermias (or Hippias). Soon the two became relations as Aristotle married a niece of Hermias. Aristotle developed great admiration for Hermias. Aristotle's association with Hermias must have been as useful to him as Plato's association with Dion and Dionysius of Syracuse was to the latter. Aristotle seemed to have studied mining and other related economic problems during his stay at Atarneus. Their association came to an abrupt end when Hermias was killed by the Persians. Aristotle was deeply hurt and moved by this death.

Aristotle moved to the neighbouring island of Lesbos and settled at Mytilene in 344 B.C. It was during this period that Aristotle is reported to have studied marine biology.

In 342 B.C., Aristotle became tutor to Alexander, the future conqueror of the world. Alexander was then only thirteen years old. Alexander studied, nobody knows exactly what, for six years under Aristotle. Then on the death of Philip he became emperor at Macedonia and then Aristotle returned to Athens.

Just as nothing much is known as to what exactly Aristotle taught him so also there is no direct account in any of Aristotle's works either of Alexander's conquests or of the significance of these conquests for the Greeks or for Europe. It is difficult to say whether Aristotle approved or disapproved Alexander's policies and programmes. There are only speculations about it, some of which will be discussed when Aristotle's thought is analysed.

In 335 B.C., Speusippus, who had succeeded Plato as the head of the Academy died and Xenocrates succeeded him. Aristotle then started his own school the Lyceum which became a centre for the study of biology and history, especially 'constitutional history'. He and his research students collected about 158 constitutions and compared and classified them.

During this period Greece had become a protectorate under Macedonian control. Antipater was left behind in Greece by Alexander to govern Greece. Aristotle knew him from his days in Macedonia and they became good friends. The friendship continued till Aristotle's death in 322 B.C. In 323 B.C. Alexander died and the Athenians declared war against Antipater. Aristotle then fled Athens as he was indicated for 'impeachment', but actually for his association with Alexander and Antipater.

Aristotle spent the last years of his life in Chalcis in Euboea, where he died a year after his departure from Athens. The cause of his death was diagnosed as chronic indigestion made worse by overwork. He was sixty three and actively engaged in research and in the writing of books at the time of his death.

In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that Aristotle was not merely a political philosopher and political scientist, but studied almost everything under the sun and whatever he touched he enriched it greatly. Neither Plato nor any one after him had shown such great capacity for research and on such a vast scale as Aristotle. Perhaps he was matched only by Alexander, his pupil, in ambition. If Alexander was ambitious to conquer the earth, Aristotle seemed to have tried to conquer the world of knowledge and he nearly did it. While Alexander's conquests are a matter of history, Aristotle's are still a force to reckon with.

4.3 ARISTOTLE'S WORKS

Aristotle wrote a large number of books on a large number of topics. Only a few of his writings have survived either in full or in part. Some of the most important books of Aristotle apart from the *Politics*, are his *Metaphysics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Constitution of Athens*, and the books on *Physics*, *Rhetoric*, *on the Poets*, etc.

His political thought is contained in the *Politics* which has eight books, the order of which has given rise to different theories some of which will be discussed a little later.

4.4 PLATO'S INFLUENCE

What did Aristotle learn from Plato and his Academy? The answer is that he learned much, though he also rejected part of the teaching as he matured into a thinker in his own right. It is difficult to say how much Aristotle owed to Plato's theory in developing his theory of knowledge particularly concerning its unity. So is the case with his science of logic which owed a great deal to the study of logic or the 'dialectic' as taught by Plato at the Academy it was, again, Plato's theory of ideas or Forms (his ontology) that seemed to have led Aristotle to develop his own views of matter and form, and of causation to explain reality. Aristotle shared with Plato the view that scientific knowledge should be a search for the causes or explanation of things. So both attached the utmost importance to epistemology. But on all these issues of principle Aristotle did not blindly accept Plato's views. But without questioning those principles as such, Aristotle directed his effort towards the perfecting or refining of them in order to make them serve better the cause of science and philosophy.

Aristotle's thought is marked by his rejection of Platonic theory of Forms. Aristotle's rejection of Plato's doctrine of Forms is based on the grounds that (i) it seeks to identify the particular with the general, (ii) it considers that the properties of things are outside of them and not in them and (iii) the Forms or ideas lack a moving force needed to become causes of phenomena. Indeed it is difficult to imagine that Plato could have been unaware of them, but he might have had his own justification for not considering them.

4.5 MATTER, FORM AND CAUSES

Aristotle's answer to this difficulty was his distinction between matter and form, a distinction which was hinted at by Plato himself in some of his dialogues, but was not followed up. According to Aristotle, matter is the basic ingredient of anything, but it is shapeless. What gives things their shape and distinguishes them from one another is their inherent or latent forms. They are in them and not outside of them as Plato would have it.

Further, matter is "Potentiality" and form is "actuality". In other words, it is the "Form" which gives matter its identity when it is grown. It is, therefore, the form which enables matter to realise its end or goal. The form is as real as the matter and there is no matter without form. But form is not self-actuating. It has to be actuated by some other factor which Aristotle called the "efficient Cause". And the end or goal which the matter realises through the form is the Final Cause. The Final Cause, therefore, provides the form within each unit of matter, which when triggered after by an efficient cause, enables matter to realise its final cause. As Aristotle put it, when an acorn grows into an oak tree, the oak tree is the final cause of the acorn.

Aristotle held that doctrine was universally applicable, i.e., in the biological, physical and human worlds as well.

The implications of this theory are that the real understanding of a thing requires that one should know its matter, form, the efficient cause and the final cause. In the ethical, social and political fields, this means that one should investigate into not merely the origins and history of a thing, but also into its inherent purpose and its goal.

4.6 KNOWLEDGE CLASSIFIED

This was how Aristotle conceived all knowledge. He classified a favourite theme with his knowledge into three types; practical, productive and theoretical. The first deals with action, the second with production or making of things and the third with truth. Cosmetics, farming, art, engineering would come under the productive kind, and Aristotle was interested in some branches of this kind, especially rhetoric and arts. Ethics and politics were practical sciences. The theoretical sciences were subdivided by Aristotle into mathematics, natural science and theology. Mathematics included arithmetic and geometry, natural science included Botany, Zoology, Physics, Chemistry, Meteorology etc., and Theology included Metaphysics and Logic.

The Politics is Aristotle's main contribution in the field of politics, one of the two practical sciences in which he was deeply interested, the other being Ethics. In fact, Aristotle did not separate them. Nor did Plato for that matter. This is one point on which there was no difference between them.

The Politics has eight books. There is no unanimity among scholars on the order in which Aristotle wrote the eight Books. They have, therefore, been arranged by different scholars in different ways. According to Werner Jaeger, Books II, III, VII and VIII were written by Aristotle soon after his departure from the Academy and they are under Plato's influence. Books IV, V and VI were written after Aristotle started his Lyceum. And finally Book I was written as an introduction to the whole work and hence could be regarded as Aristotle's final word on the subject. Jaeger has also argued that Books IV, V and VI reveal the real Aristotle, since in those books Aristotle was on his own, without being influenced by Plato to any cognizable extent. George H. Sabine agrees with this view of Jaeger.

Ernest Barker, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the eight books were written in the order in which they had come down and that there is no need to change the order of the books. This does not mean that there is not truth in Jaeger's contention that there are different themes in the *Politics* of Aristotle. It only means that Aristotle had handled them together and arranged them in his own way and that it would be improper to change it.

4.7 CONCEPT OF GOOD AND HAPPINESS

There are two important assumptions underlying Aristotle's political thought, which he did not deal with in the *Politics*. The two are the concepts of 'Good' and the 'Mean'. It is in his words on *Ethics* that these concepts are explained. It is necessary to understand these two concepts for a proper understanding of Aristotle's political thought as whole.

Politics, according to Aristotle, is the art of the Good. Political science is the science of the Good. It is also the master science. Every art, every action, according to him, has an end or purpose or that it aims at some good. But all actions do not have similar ends. Some are good in themselves and some are means to other ends. Some are both. Then there is a hierarchy of ends. The art of politics is the master art because its end is the master end or the end of ends. It is an end in itself. The science of politics is, thus, the master science.

What then is the master end or the 'good life' as Aristotle but it, which is the end of politics? It is, he says, 'eudaimonia' or 'Happiness'.

This happiness or well-being is also the ultimate standard by which all moral judgements of human actions are made. But it is not the same as the good of the community or of the individual. It is, in other words, an expression of the human soul which has two aspects to it, the rational and the irrational. The irrational is appetitive and vegetative. The latter is what man shares with other animals, while the appetitive is the emotional aspect of man. This requires purposeful direction and discipline by the rational soul. The aim of the rational in man is contemplation and rational action.

Rational action has two forms; the intellectual or the theoretical is concerned with the knowing of final causes and permanent truths which man is not capable of altering. The moral or the 'practical' is the product or right action or virtue of character, which are correct emotional responses, produced by habit based on training'.

4.8 DOCTRINE OF MEAN

It is in this context that Aristotle developed his celebrated doctrine of the Mean. But the concept was not novel or radical as some of Plato's doctrines were at that time. It was more or less known to the Greeks and associated with the Delphic oracle and expressed as 'Nothing in excess'. Too little or too much of anything is bad for everything in nature. Just as recklessness is bad and destructive so also timidity is useless and wasteful. The mean of the two is courage. Similarly, generosity is a mean between extremes of meanness and extravagance. So the 'mean' is the golden rule of right conduct or moral virtue.

And this temper of the mean has to be developed in the young by parents, educators and finally the legislators. It is with this task that the art of politics is concerned. This is how the state becomes the instrument of human happiness.

4.9 NATURE OF POLIS

What then is Aristotle's concept of the state or rather the Polis? What is the nature of the political authority? Is it the same as the authority of the father over children as Plato assumed in the *Statesman*? Aristotle's answer is that they are different in kind and not merely in degree because the household is different from the polis. The polis consists of equals, whereas neither children nor women are the equals of the head of the household. The slave is much less so! Thus political authority, at least ideally, must be democratic in the sense that the ruler and the ruled are equals.

What is the end of this authority? It is obviously the goodlife or happiness. Since happiness is the end of the polis, it must be self sufficient. It is thus the final or perfect association formed from a number of villages which in turn are formed by the union of man and woman, which is based on the natural impulse for reproduction of the species. To this is added another union of master and slave which is a union of the naturally ruling element with the naturally ruled element for the preservation of both. Neither the family nor the village is self-sufficient. The Polis alone is so. All these are natural to man.

It is thus the completion of associations existing by nature. It is the end or the consummation of nature, since the nature of a thing consists in its end or consummation. In other words the nature of a thing is what it is when its growth is completed. And since the end is the final cause, it is the best. As self-sufficiency is the end of the Polis, it is the best.

As the polis exists by nature, man is an animal intended to live in a polis. And it is prior to the family and the individual in the order of nature, though chronologically it is not so. It is also prior to the individual because it is a whole and the whole is necessarily prior to the part. So, individuals who are isolated are like so many parts of the polis and are dependent upon it for self-sufficiency. Hence Aristotle's claim that one who does not need a polis must be either a beast or a God. Similarly, Aristotle's claim that while the state grows out of the bare needs of life, it continues to exist for the sake of a good life.

Check Your Progress - I

What is the 'Doctrine of mean'?

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4.10 DEFENCE OF SLAVERY

Aristotle was so much attached to the city-state and its way of life that he took great interest in defending slavery as being natural to man. He opposed the view held by some Sophists that slavery was unnatural; that it was a product of law or convention and that it being based on force was unjust.

Slavery according to Aristotle is an element of a household. A complete household, he says, consists of slaves and freemen. As an element of households a slave is an animate property. It is necessary for the purposes of a household and he is an instrument of action. Since a slave is an article of property like other articles of property, he belongs to the master wholly, whereas the master belongs to himself. Thus, "anybody who is by his nature is not his own man, but another's is by his nature a slave".

Further, there is a principle of rule and subordination in nature at large. It is found in the inanimate as well as in the animate world. In man himself, the soul rules the body with a sort of authority that the master has over his slave. And mind rules the appetite with a sort of authority that a statesman or a monarch has. In both these cases, the authority exercised is beneficial to the ruled element. It is, on the other hand, not beneficial if the body rules the soul or the irrational or the appetitive rules the rational. Equality between them is also not beneficial to either. What is true of man's inner life should be true of the outer life. It is also true of man and other animals.

It is evident that all men who differ from others as much as the body differs from the soul or an animal from a man, are by nature slaves. And it is better for them that they should be ruled by a master. In other words, he lacks the rational soul or it is developed only to the point where he can recognise it in another and obey it. He cannot, therefore, order his own life, and needs a master. It is easy to see that slavery is natural and is in the best interests of the slave and is, therefore, just.

This is how Aristotle defends what may be considered to be natural slavery. There is, he says, another kind of slavery which is neither natural nor just. That is legal or conventional slavery. It is a product of war, when the victorious enslave the vanquished. It is deemed just because justice is identified with might. This is not correct. There is only one kind of slavery which is just and that is natural slavery. The Greeks in Aristotle's opinion could never be slaves, because they were free men. It was on such considerations that Aristotle was reported to have advised Alexander to treat the Greeks as equals and the Persians as slaves. Probably, no one has ever succeeded so well as Aristotle in defending something altogether indefensible. The only favourable factor in his favour on the whole issue is his treatment of his own slaves. He willed that they be set free on his death. So it seems that in Aristotle the scientist was at odds with the man.

4.11 STATUS OF WOMEN

On the status of women, Aristotle's views are equally conservative. Though he does not equate them with slaves, they are nevertheless held to be inferior to men and so should be subordinate to men. There is no question of equality between men and women. As has already been remarked in the lesson on Plato, Aristotle was not prepared to grant women equality with or without family. It was for these reasons that he was not prepared to accept Plato's communism of wives and property.

Private Property

Private property is natural because love of self is natural with which property is bound up. It is also necessary for making life comfortable and human personality gets satisfaction from material possessions.

Private property is also necessary to enable men to serve other human beings. Aristotle, however, opposes selfishness and selfish acquisition of property. He was totally against usury! Though property is natural, the use of it should be common.

Ideal State

Aristotle's criticism of Plato's communism followed by a criticism of *Laws* of Plato undertaken in Book II, was intended to be a preparation for developing a new concept of an ideal state incorporating his ideals of the rule of law, equality of free men, private property and slavery all of which were considered natural to man and the state. The first attempt is made in Book III which begins with a discussion of citizenship as a preparation for an understanding of the Constitution and the state.

4.12 CITIZENSHIP

The state is a compound made up of citizens. It is, therefore, necessary to know who a citizen is. Aristotle has defined the nature of citizenship as "(i) he who enjoys the right of sharing in deliberative or judicial office is a citizen of his state; and (ii) A state, in its simplest terms, is a body of such persons adequate in number for achieving a self sufficient existence".

But a definition such as this of citizenship applies specially to one kind of Constitution, namely, a democratic one. It may or may not apply to other Constitutions. There are different kinds of Constitutions, and citizenship differs from Constitution to Constitution.

The next question that attracted Aristotle's attention is; what is the relation of the excellence of the good citizen to that of a good man? A good man is the same everywhere, whereas a good citizen is not the same under every constitution. They cannot, therefore, be identical. This is so not only because the excellence of a good man is different from that of a good citizen, but also because no polis including the best, will have all good men. As a polis is composed of different elements there cannot be a single excellence common to all citizens. Only in the case of a ruler the excellence of the good citizen is identical with that of the good man. For a good ruler is also a 'good' and 'prudent' man. The prudent man is one who possesses the moral virtues which enable him to discipline his appetite and realise happiness.

4.13 CLASSIFICATION OF CONSTITUTION

Having defined citizenship, Aristotle proceeds to define constitution or *polity*. It is defined as 'the organisation of a polis, in respect of its offices generally, but especially in respect of that particular office which is sovereign in all issues'. This is not a final definition of constitution. Another definition is offered in Book IV where a constitution is defined as 'an arrangement in regard to the offices of the State'. It is also a way of life. As the supreme authority is not always in the same hands, there are different constitutions, corresponding to the differences in the holders of this authority.

Then comes the six fold classification of Constitutions already made by Plato in the *Statesman*. There are three right and three perverted constitutions. Those which consider the common interest are right ones judged by the standards of absolute justice. Those constitutions which consider only the personal interest of the rulers are the perverted or wrong ones. The first three are Kingship, Aristocracy and Polity; and the three perversions are Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy.

What is new in Aristotle's analysis of these six is the criterion of social class introduced into the classification of oligarchy and democracy in particular. Thus an oligarchy is not so much the rule of the few as it is of the rich, of course, in their own interest. Similarly, democracy is the rule of the poor rather than of the many. The fact that the rich are generally few and the poor are generally many has led people to identify what is only an accidental cause with the real cause of difference between the two is poverty and riches and not numbers. A Constitution is an oligarchy if the rich are in power by virtue of their riches. It is irrelevant whether they are few or many. Similarly, a democracy is one where the poor (many or a few) are in power.

4.14 JUSTICE

The next topic that is taken up by Aristotle is the concept of justice. It is, according to him, the distinctive principle of a Constitution. There are various claims regarding justice. The democrats claim that justice means equality or rights, whereas the oligarchs claim inequality as justice. True justice means that those who have contributed to the end of the state, should have rights proportionate to their contribution to that end. This is what Aristotle calls 'distributive justice'. It is based on equality proportionate to the contribution to the end of the good of the state.

On this basis Aristotle finds it easy to dismiss the oligarchic and democratic concepts of justice as wrong. If, he remarks, property were the end for which men come together and form an association, men's share of the state would be proportionate to their share of property. But, unfortunately, the end of the state is not mere life. If it were so, there should be a state of slaves or even of animals. It is also not the end of the state to provide an alliance for mutual defence against enemies, or to ease exchange and promote economic interests. Similarly, the end of the state is not mere social life. The reverse is more true. A polis is constituted by the association of families and villages in a perfect and self-sufficing existence and such an existence, says Aristotle, consists in a life of true felicity and goodness.

4.15 RIVAL CLAIMS TO POWER

This is followed up by a discussion of the claims to power of various bodies of persons in the state. There are different claimants to power, the people at large; the wealthy; the better sort of men; the one man who is best of all; the tyrant. In addition, there is also law. None of these is satisfactory. But all are not equally unsatisfactory. The first alternative that the people at large should be sovereign rather than the few best (i.e. Democracy rather than Aristocracy) has some advantages. The many when they all come together may surpass collectively and as a body, though not individually, the quality of the few best. Feasts to which many contribute are better than those provided at a single man's expense. Similarly, the many are better judges of art and music than the few, as some appreciate one part, some another and all together appreciate all. In the same way, when the many deliberate, each can bring in his share of wisdom and together they may excel the best few. At least they are not likely to be worse. Aristotle admits that this may not be true of any and every assembly of men. But it is certainly true of at least some popular bodies.

This does not mean that the many can claim a share in the highest offices of the state. But they can share in the deliberative and judicial functions. Two general functions of electing magistrates to office and calling them to account at the end of their tenure can be given to the general body of persons. It is not necessary, says Aristotle, that only an expert should judge another expert in every art. There are arts (and perhaps, the art of government is one among them), whose products can be judged by laymen also. A house, for instance, is something which can be judged better by the owner than by the architect. In the same way, it is not the cook, but the diner who is a better judge of a feast.

4.16 SOVEREIGNTY OF LAW

Perhaps, no better case has been made in favour of democracy by any one else. Nevertheless, Aristotle does not think that democracy solves all difficulties. After all, it is a perverted constitution. On the other hand, rightly constituted laws should be the final sovereign, and personal rule, whether it is exercised by a single person or by a body of persons, should be sovereign only in those matters in which law is not able to give a verdict. By rightly constituted laws, Aristotle means those that are in accordance with the Constitution. And since constitutions can be right or wrong, it follows that only laws in accordance with the right constitutions are just and those in accordance with the wrong ones are unjust.

4.17 KINGSHIP

Aristotle examines only one more claim to power in some detail, and that is of the one best man. This, according to some, is perhaps, Aristotle's ideal state. If this is so, it will be seen that it does not differ much from Plato's ideal of a philosopher king. The argument runs as follows. If there is one person or a family prominently superior in goodness and political capacity to all the rest, then such a person or family should be accepted as sovereign. To banish them will be unwise. To ask him to share power with others will be injustice. He will be like a God among men and a law unto himself. It would be a folly to attempt to legislate for him. This is the only course left in an ideal Constitution. Such men will be permanent kings in their states.

What are the implications of this discussion of the rule of the one best man? It is easy to dismiss it as proof of the continuing hold of Plato's teachings on Aristotle's mind or as a matter of course discussion of monarchy along with democracy, oligarchy etc. But it is also possible that it has political significance. That is how Aristotle seemed to justify Macedonian rule, especially of Alexander or even of his friend, Antipater. Obviously, Aristotle could not have openly done it. The consequences would have been more serious for him than they were soon after Alexander's

death. No doubt, and understandably so, the whole argument in favour of a supreme individual is hedged in by an argument in favour of democracy as well as in favour of rule of law. If this argument is accepted, then it follows that Aristotle has to some extent redeemed himself from the charge that he has ignored the importance of Alexander's conquest of Greece.

4.18 FEATURES OF IDEAL STATE

However it is clear that Aristotle considered the rule of the one best man as the best of the right type of constitution at this stage of his work. When he finally takes up the project again in Books VII and VIII, he does not say anything more on it. On the other hand, what he does is to echo many of the views of Plato advanced in the *Laws*, improving upon them in some details like population, etc. While Plato prescribed a fixed number for the size of the population, Aristotle states that neither 10 nor 10,000 will make a good state. The population must be small enough to be well governed and large enough to be self-sufficient. It is better if the polis is near the sea. Like Plato, Aristotle treats education as the main instrument of moulding the citizen. Education should be compulsory but, as has already been explained, it should inculcate the virtues of character in the young. Property is to be privately owned but used in common. The soil is to be tilled by slaves, and artisans are to be excluded from citizenship on the ground that virtue is impossible for men whose time is spent in manual labour.

The net impression that one gathers from the study of Aristotle's whole discussion of the ideal state is one of uncertainty and hesitation on the part of Aristotle to uphold one single ideal. Probably, Sabine is right in saying that Aristotle does not so much have a theory of an ideal state as a set of political ideals or that if he has one, he has successfully camouflaged it from the views of his readers.

Varieties of Constitutions

Though Aristotle classified constitutions into six types and divided them into right and wrong constitutions, following Plato, he further sub-divided each one of these into various types. Thus he divided kingship into five forms: (i) The Spartan form; (ii) Kingship among uncivilised peoples; (iii) the dictatorship or elective form of tyranny; (iv) the kingship of the Heroic Age; (v) Absolute kingship. Similarly, there are various forms of oligarchy, democracy and even polity.

Why there are so many constitutions and so many varieties of each? The answer is that constitutions are arrangements of the offices of the states and since there are various ways in which this can be done, there are various Constitutions. Again, each state has different parts and there are various ways in which offices are distributed among them. This gives rise to the varieties of Constitutions. According to Aristotle, there are in all ten parts in each state : (1) farming class (2) mechanical class (3) marketing class (4) serf class or agricultural labour (5) defence force (6) the rich class (Aristotle calls this a seventh class - but he does not mention the 6th class); (8) magistrates (9) deliberative part (10) the part which decides on the rights of litigants. Perhaps, the 6th part is of the poor, since Aristotle points out that while many of the classes overlap. Only *the poor* and the rich remain separate. They are different in the sense that one is small and the other large and that they are in many ways opposite parts. This is the reason why these two parts always form constitutions to suit their own interests and that is why men think that there are only two Constitutions. viz., democracy and oligarchy.

Democracy

On this basis there are five varieties of democracy; (1) the first variety follows the principle of equality most. The poor are to count no more than the rich; neither is sovereign; law is sovereign; (2) In this, offices are assigned on the basis of property qualifications, but it is low; (3) In this, every citizen of good descent has a share in office and law is the final sovereign (4) Here, every person who is a citizen can share the office and law is again sovereign (5) It is like

the fourth but instead of law, the people are sovereign. This type of democracy is brought about by demagogues. In democracies which obey the law there are no demagogues. And demagogues arise in states where the laws are not sovereign. The people then become an autocrat as the many turn sovereign. The popular leader in such democracies is like the flatterer in a tyranny. The popular leader flatters the people and with their support turns despotic. Such a Constitution ceases to be a true constitution.

Oligarchy

Oligarchy is of four types: (i) the holding of office depends upon a high property qualification all such get a share in office; (ii) high property qualification is combined with election to offices made by all such qualified; (iii) it is hereditary where sons succeed fathers; (iv) this is also hereditary, but there is no rule of law and this is like the last variety of democracy.

Characteristically, Aristotle adds after all this classification, that in actual life it is often the case that Constitutions which are legally democratic work like their opposites and *vice versa*. The latter happens specially after a revolution.

Yet another way of classifying democracies and oligarchies is by taking the social composition into account. Each has four varieties.

Polity

Though aristocracy is one of the normal or right types of Constitutions, Aristotle does not deal with it separately. True aristocracy is really the government of the best. The only Constitution, says Aristotle, which can with strict justice be called an aristocracy is one where the members are not merely good in relation to some standard or other, but are absolutely the 'best' in point of moral quality. All the other varieties are more or less mixed types and are, therefore, varieties of the 'polity'.

What then is a polity? This is the third of the right Constitutions, which Plato called 'moderate democracy'. The word, 'polity', also means 'constitution', yet Aristotle uses it to designate one type of constitution only. It is, according to him, a mixture of oligarchy and democracy, in other words, of the rich and the poor. Any other mixture will render it an aristocracy of one type or other.

There are three ways in which oligarchy and democracy can be mixed. The first is to use both principles simultaneously. The second is to take the mean between the two and the third is to take some elements of both and combine them. A good mixture is one which could be called by both names. Sparta was an example.

Best Practicable State

The whole discussion of oligarchy and democracy and then of the polity is designed to serve a purpose. The purpose is to describe the best practicable Constitution which takes the place of the ideal state in Aristotle's scheme of things. By the best practicable Constitution Aristotle means a Constitution which is not only the best, but is also possible of realisation by a majority of states and men. What are the criteria to determine what is the best for majority of states and men and states? The criteria are (i) that a truly happy life is a life of goodness lived in freedom from impediments and (ii) that a truly happy life is a life of goodness lived in freedom from impediments and (ii) that goodness consists in a mean—a mean attainable by every individual.

In all states there are three classes of citizens - the very rich, the very poor and the middle class. As the mean represents the best always, the middle class are likely to be the most amenable to reason. Those who belong to either extreme, says Aristotle, find it hard to follow reason. Such are the overhandsome, the overstrong, the overnoble, the overwealthy or again the overweak, the overpoor, the utterly ignoble, etc. The former tend to be violent and indulge in crime, while

the latter stoop to pettiness and roguery. The middle class is free from these evils and are also not ambitious. They are also law abiding unlike the other two classes. The rich do not know how to obey and the poor how to rule. The result is a state of only slaves and masters, and not of free men. The sense of community which is essential for a state is not possible when the state consists of the rich and the poor only.

It follows that a state which is based on a large middle class is likely to be the best. It should be large enough to be stronger than both the rich and the poor so that it does not depend upon them for support. At least it should be larger than either, so that it can lean on the one against the other, to prevent the domination of either of them. The middle class itself is not likely to dominate because they do not covet the riches of the wealthy, nor are they rich enough to be objects of jealousy.

It follows that the best Constitution is one where the middle class is in power. It is free from faction, says Aristotle. The reason why democracies are generally free from revolutions is because there are large middle classes which enjoy a large share in the government. A large middle class will then secure the state against instability.

4.19 ON REVOLUTION

This concern for stability is central to Aristotle's theory of revolutions. His analysis of the causes of constitutional changes and revolutions is as revolutionary as it is based on a thorough grasp of the dynamic forces involved in the art of politics. Some of the views expressed by Aristotle sound as realistic as those of Machiavelli or Kautilya and are valid even to-day.

There are general causes of revolutions-causes common to all Constitutions. There are causes particular to some Constitutions. Finally, Aristotle makes suggestions as remedies to how to avoid revolutions.

The basic cause is a desire for equality. This desire arises from two basic feelings. Some revolt from sense of inferiority while others do so from a sense of Superiority. As Aristotle put it, inferiors revolt in order that they may be equal, and equals that they may be superior. Profit and honour, contempt, superiority, insolence, fear, a disproportionate increase in any part of the state may cause revolutions. Polarisation of the state into rich and poor classes may lead to revolution. As has already been explained, when the middle class is weak and the rich and poor almost equal in strength, revolutions take place. Even trifles and election intrigues, etc., may also be involved.

Force and fraud also play their part in revolutions. They are in the nature of methods. Force may be used initially or at a later stage. Fraud may take the form of first making the people accept some changes and then keeping them under one's domination. It may also take the form of constant propaganda.

Democracies In democracies, the root cause is the policy of the demagogue, who attacks the rich who will then combine and destroy the Constitution. When the demagogue is also a general, democracies become tyrannies.

Oligarchies The oligarchs treat the masses harshly. Then there are rivalries among the oligarchs themselves; some of them become demagogues; some may turn revolutionary because of impoverishment. All these may lead to the ultimate overthrow of oligarchy itself.

Aristocracies and politics A defective balance of the different elements combined in the Constitution may lead to change in one direction or the other. Unless the oligarchy and democracy are well balanced, instability results. Aristocracies as well as all other Constitutions may also be undermined by the influence of powerful neighbouring states.

The most important need is the development of respect for law even in petty offences. No attempt should be made to hoodwink the masses. A spirit of fairness is to be cultivated. The ruler may do well to create a sense of emergency. Promotions and honours, etc., should be conferred judiciously. Private extravagance should be curbed; no sudden rise of a whole social class to a new degree of prosperity should be allowed. No official should be allowed to amass wealth. The democrats should spare the rich and oligarchs should encourage and help the poor.

Nowhere is Aristotle's political sagacity evident as in his advice to the tyrants on the ways and means of maintaining themselves. After all, Aristotle had been very close to two great tyrants of his time; Hermias and Antipater. Perhaps, the whole advice can be summarised in a single word, "Machiavellian". The tyrant should chop off all those who are too high. He must keep his people divided, suspicious and meek. A good espionage system must be developed. The rich should be at loggerheads with the poor and the poor should be made to work hard in works like the construction of the pyramids. He should pretend to be honest, pious and just. It is not at all necessary to be so in private.

One wonders why one should call this Machiavellian and not Aristotelian. After all, Machiavelli is only the father of modern political science and not that of political science. It is Aristotle who is the father of political science and justifiably so. Indeed this is the stuff of which real politics is made and it was Aristotle who gave it respectability by making a scientific study of it, and offering scientific advice free from any ethical bias.

4.20 SUMMING UP

Even a brief summary of the political thought of Aristotle as the present one should reveal his greatness. Among his most permanent contributions is his respect for rule of law and sovereignty of law which is the basis of constitutional government then as now. Equally important is his devotion to the study and observation of facts and his attempt to reconcile facts with ideals as much as possible, though in the process, Aristotle has faltered as in upholding slavery and denied of equality of women with men. Indeed, it was a revival of interest in the philosophy of Aristotle in the Middle Ages that led ultimately to the development of modern political thought. It is his moderation and attachment to the mean that really distinguishes him from Plato on the one hand and others like Stoics and Cynics, on the other.

4.21 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Earnest Barker : *The politics of Aristotle*

4.22 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Give an account of the life and work of Aristotle.
2. What did Aristotle learn from Plato and what were his major disagreements with him?
3. Explain Aristotle's doctrines of matter and form and its elements.
4. What does Aristotle mean by 'the good' and by 'happiness'?
5. How does Aristotle define the State? What is its nature and relationship to the individual?
6. Explain Aristotle's views on slavery?
7. What is Constitution according to Aristotle? How does he classify constitutions? How does his classification differ from that of Plato?
8. Examine Aristotle's views on democracy?

9. What are Aristotle's views on kingship and what is their significance?
10. How does Aristotle explain the various varieties of Constitutions?
11. Explain Aristotle's concept of the best practicable Constitution?
12. Examine Aristotle's theory of revolutions?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. What is knowledge, according to Aristotle? How does he classify it?
2. Explain Aristotle's views on the status of women and property.
3. How does Aristotle define citizenship and the relationship between a good citizen and a good man?
4. What is justice, according to Aristotle?
5. Explain Aristotle's views on sovereignty of law?
6. Estimate Aristotle's greatness as a political thinker?

– Dr. M.M. RAHMAN

BRAOU

UNIT-5 : FEATURES OF ROMAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

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- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Background
- 5.3 Roman Political Institutions
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 - 5.4.1 Mixed constitutions
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 - 5.5.3 Legal and political sovereignty
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 - 5.5.5 Natural equality
 - 5.5.6 Classification of constitutions
- 5.6 Roman Theory of law
- 5.7 Roman contribution
- 5.8 Summing up
- 5.9 Suggested Readings
- 5.10 Model Examination Questions

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able

1. to analyse and explain the features of Roman Political Thought and to evaluate its importance.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the Introduction of Roman political institution, polybius and the Roman constitution, cicero and Roman Thought, Roman theory of law and contribution of Roman Thought.

5.2 BACK GROUND

There were no Roman thinkers of the stature of Plato and Aristotle. But Plato and Aristotle were pre-eminently philosophers of the city-state. And the city-state had disappeared from the scene not long after the death of Aristotle. First, Greece was conquered and absorbed by Macedonia and then by the Roman Empire. As a result the political philosophy of Plato and Aristotle appeared to have no validity even for the Greeks, and still less for Rome which had ceased to be a city and become an empire by the 2nd century B.C. As a consequence, Rome had developed its own political institutions and its own legal system. Roman political institutions developed in response to necessity rather than any theory or theories. The Roman legal system, however, was based on certain Greek theories which became prominent consequent

on the disappearance of the city-state as an independent social and political unit. These theories are known as Cynicism, Skepticism, Epicureanism and Stoicism. Of these, Stoicism in particular was influential in shaping the Roman legal theory and through Roman law the later day developments. In a way, these philosophies were the very anti-thesis of the Greek ideal which identified the good of the individual with that of the Polis and naturally too. Indeed, when the polis itself had ceased to exist as an independent unit of politics how could anyone hold it as essential for the good of the individual? In fact, the Greeks had to adapt themselves to the new developments, and the teachings of the Epicureans and the stoics were helpful to them in adjusting themselves to the new situation.

According to the teachings of both the Epicureans and the Stoics the individual is self-sufficient and his happiness does not depend upon the state, and according to some, the state is not necessary for it. This meant a separation of politics from ethics which slowly became a feature of Roman political thought.

In so far as the means of achieving individual happiness was concerned, the Epicureans and the Stoics advocated different steps. According to the former, every desire, whether it is sensual or intellectual, can be satisfied, to the extent that it is necessary for one's happiness. When it ceases to be so, it can be discarded. The same utilitarian test is applicable to all social relations including the political relations. The state is for them based on a contract made with each other for mutual happiness. So it can be broken when it does not serve individual happiness. The wise man according to these should keep aloof from politics as far as he can. It followed from this that any government which maintains peace and order should be obeyed.

While the Epicureans put individual interests above everything else, the stoics stressed universal values and reason. The universe is governed by reason, and the human community is universal and reason unites them all. There is no distinction between barbarian and others, slave and master. Law is a creation of reason and the expression of nature. Law is, therefore, natural and all are equal according to it.

With the absorption of the city-state into the Macedonian empire, and later into the Roman empire, the barriers between the Greek and barbarian and between slave and free men, as Aristotle defined it, were all set aside. It fell to the lot of Roman Jurists to reconcile all these distinctions, and they found the Stoic doctrine of universality and of law of nature very useful and made it the basis of their legal system.

5.3 ROMAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

To begin with Rome was a city-state. Like most city-states it was a union of several tribes, with a king as head of the state who was advised by the Senate and later by the assembly which elected the King. Around 500 B.C., the monarchy was abolished and a Republic was set up. The king was replaced by two consuls. The Senate remained and even gained power. The assembly known as *Comitia Centuriate* at first consisted of the wealthy or the Patricians only, and was later superseded by *Comitia tributa* of the Plebians as the chief law making body. The former retained its power of choosing the Consuls, and holding them responsible to it. It was also the final Court of Appeal in criminal cases and decided questions of war and peace. The Senate consisted of persons holding high administrative offices. Though it was supposed to be an advisory body, actually it enjoyed many powers in respect of finance, the granting of privileges, and the conducting of foreign affairs and relations. Thus it may be seen that Rome was a republic more in theory and less in practice even before its acquisition of the empire.

After its expansion into an Empire, the Senate became more powerful in the sense that it also became the real legislative organ at the expense of the popular assembly. The Senate, however, came to be controlled by the emperors, especially under such persons as Julius Caesar and Augustus who established total control over the army and the voters of Rome.

Gradually, Roman citizenship was extended to the peoples in the provinces, with the emperor exercising control over all of them. Towards the end of the 2nd century A.D., the emperor began to claim divine right to rule in defiance of the theory of his being an elected head deriving his powers from popular consent. When Christianity became the State religion these claims of the King's divinity got strengthened. The Roman ideas of unity order, universal law and equality came to influence the minds of men.

5.4 POLYBIUS AND THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION

The absence of systematic political thought among the Romans was evident from the fact that no theorising or treatise on the meaning and significance of Roman politics and law appeared till Polybius attempted it between 203-122 B.C., and interestingly, he was not a Roman but a Greek. He was born in 203 B.C., in Megalopolis, a Greek city in the Achaean League formed to fight Macedonians. His father was a leader and he himself was elected a commander of Cavalry by the League's assembly at the age of 34. In 167 Rome took over the League and Polybius and other leaders were brought to Italy as hostages. But his friend Aemilius Paulus, got him freed and he became a tutor to Paulus's sons. Having settled down in Italy he began a study of the Roman Constitution as part of his studies on Roman History. In 149, the Romans appointed him as their military adviser and also sent him on a number of missions to Greece.

5.4.1 Mixed Constitution

Polybius seemed to have been very much impressed by the Romans conquest of a large part of the world in a short time and by the stability of the Roman Political institutions till then. He concluded that they were due to the form of the Constitution what they had. The Roman Constitution, according to him, was a happy blend or a balance of various forces the monarchic aristocratic and the popular represented by the consuls, the senate and the comitias respectively. It was thus a Mixed constitution and was, therefore, a stable one. Moreover, there were checks and balances in it, each organ exercising some control over others. While the Consul was supreme in his command over the army, he was dependent on the Senate for the voting of the supplies. Similarly, the Senate must get its death penalties for offenders approved by the Assembly, etc. The people in turn were dependent on the Consuls who led them in war.

5.4.2 Classification of Constitutions

Polybius came to these conclusions after classifying the Constitutions into three good and three bad ones as was done by Plato and Aristotle, and then suggesting how each changed into the other in turn, from monarchy to tyranny from tyranny to aristocracy, from aristocracy to oligarchy, from oligarchy to democracy, and from democracy to mob rule and back again to monarchy. The best way to prevent such changes from taking place was to adopt a mixed constitution with necessary checks and balances which, according to Polybius existed in the Roman Constitution. Polybius also suggested that even the most balanced Constitution could also degenerate when one or other of the elements became dominant as it eventually happened in Rome. Whether or not Polybius's analysis of the Roman Constitution was an accurate assessment of the principles involved in it, the principles of the mixed constitution with its checks and balances, which he was the first to state so clearly. It remained part of Constitutional thought that came down to the present time.

5.5 CICERO

But soon after Polybius' death this Mixed Constitution of Rome developed strains and the Republic was replaced by military rule under Julius Caesar and others. It then fell to the lot of Cicero to grapple with these developments both as a leader and as a thinker.

Cicero was born in 106 B.C., in a town called Arpinium near Rome and was educated under very able teachers primarily in law. He entered politics in 77 B.C., and became consul for the year 63 B.C. As Consul he had to face a crisis called "*Conspiracy of Gatiline*" which he succeeded in crushing. He was soon exiled from Rome for a period and on his return joined hands with Pompey against Caesar because Pompey was responsible for getting him released from the exile for which Caesar was responsible. After the defeat of Pompey, Caesar tried to patch up with Cicero, but Cicero preferred to retire to his studies. Soon after Caesar's assassination, in Dec., 43 he was killed by Mark Antony's soldiers.

The two main works of Cicero are *De Republica and De Legibus*. The influence of Plato is evident not only in titles, but also in the dialogue form adopted by Cicero. In fact, there is much in common between Cicero and the Greeks and he tried hard to fit Greek ideas to Roman practice and requirements. Though Cicero was not an original thinker his works seemed to have been widely read in the Roman empire and beyond and came to exercise considerable influence on the later developments in Political and Constitutional theory.

5.5.1 State was Natural

Like Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, Cicero believed that the state should be regarded as being natural to man and as a ratio and desirable institution. It is *respopuli* or the *Respublica*, "*the affair of the people*", or a common wealth. It is the coming together of a considerable number of men who are united by a common agreement about law and rights and by the desire to participate in to the mutual advantage. So, he rejected the Epicurean view of the state being based on mere contract. This means three things: (i) the people are the source of all power in the state. (ii) that it should be exercised in accordance with law; and (iii) that the state and its law are subject to the natural law or to God.

5.5.2 Popular Sovereignty

The first view implied that the emperor received their authority from the citizens to whom they were responsible. This was a commonplace and established idea among the Republicans. It did not, however, mean that sovereignty resided in the people because the people did not enjoy the right of revolution. The Romans, on the other hand, believed that the will the emperor would have the force of law because of the people's surrender of all their power and authority to him.

5.5.3 Legal and Political Sovereign

The emperor is the legal sovereign and the people are the political sovereign. But law is not a command of the sovereign as the Austinian theory has it but an agreement between the sovereign and the people.

5.5.4 Natural Law

The most important and the most influential aspect of Cicero's thought was the doctrine of natural or *ins natural*. This natural law is defined by Cicero as "Thus is, in fact, a true law, namely, right reason which is in accordance with nature, applies to all men and is unchangeable and eternal, binding at all times upon all peoples, and there will be, as it were, one common master and ruler of men, namely, God who is the author of this law, its interpreter and its sponsor".

5.5.5 Natural Equality

It follows from this that all men are equal, in the possession of reason. It implies that "There is no human being of any race who, if he finds a guide, cannot attain to virtue". There are no slaves and masters, no barbarians and civilised, as argued by Aristotle in his Politics.

5.5.6 Classification of Constitution

There was nothing original or significant in Cicero's classification of Constitutions. He followed Polybius thought. He, insisted on distinguishing between the state and the government. Cicero, further, held that all Civil law should be in conformity with the law of nature.

5.6 ROMAN THEORY OF LAW

It is clear from the above account that Cicero was greatly influenced by the Stoics in particular and the Greeks in general and through him these ideas of human brotherhood based on natural law, reason and natural equality of man became the basis of Roman Law and Roman System of Justice. These developments took a long time, of course. The first attempt to codify Roman Law was made in 450 B.C., in the famous Twelve Tables which merely gave systematised form from the customs of the time. The result was to give law a secular character and to treat it as the will of the state, instead of custom of the will of Gods.

With the growth of the empire, first the Consuls, and then the Praetors, who were in charge of judicial administration, were forced to interpret the Twelve Tables to suit new situations in dealing with different peoples with different customs. Then came Jurisconsults who were supposed to be legal experts to advise the Praetors in interpreting laws. As the importance of the praetors increased, the emperors, who had by then established strong personal rule; did not like it and so in 125 A.D., Emperor Hadrian ordered a fresh codification of law called *edictum perpetuum*. But the greatest of such codes came in 529 A.D., and it stands in the name of the Emperor Justinian. It is this code that gave final expression to the Roman theory of law. It embodied all the ideas of Cicero and the Stoics on natural law, natural equality, legal rights of men, and made them applicable to the whole empire.

These efforts also led to a classification of law made after 147 B.C., into *Jus civile*, and *jus gentium*. The latter were the principles by which the Praetors settled disputes arising between peoples of different legal systems. It embodied the principles of natural equity and other abstract principles of justice based on reason. And *jus gentium* gradually got identified with the natural law to a large extent and both got incorporated into Roman law. Thus Roman law became an enlarged law the government of an empire as large and as diverse as the Roman empire. But more importantly, the concepts of *jus naturale* and *jus gentium* led to the development of the concept of international law through the writings of Hugo Grotius.

5.7 ROMAN CONTRIBUTION

What then were the contributions of Romans to political thought? They did not contribute anything original. But without them none of the ideas of Greeks like the doctrine of natural law, or the equality of man, with all their implications would have become known to the Europeans. In the first instance, Rome brought all Europeans under its control and then their philosophers and lawyers spread the above ideals among them. It was the Romans who gave the Western world a sense of unity and equality, though not liberty. Yet it was the doctrine of natural law and natural equality which the Romans popularised and practiced that ultimately led to the evolution of individual rights and democratic institutions.

5.8 SUMMING UP

It was the Romans who first liberated the individual from the state in the sense that they did not treat him as a mere part of the Polis as the Greeks did; and it was the Romans who treated law as the will of the state rather than mere custom or the command of God. The Romans were the first to speak of the people as the source of the King's authority, thus laying the foundations of popular sovereignty. And in suggesting that the king or emperor was the legislator, they recognised the need for a legal sovereign as distinct from the political sovereign.

It is true that these ideas were not worked out in such clear cut terms by the Romans, the reason being that Rome did not produce great thinkers like Plato or Aristotle, perhaps, because it was a growing concern and not a falling one. But in Cicero at least they had a great compiler who strove hard to provide an insight into the essentials of Roman Republicanism and in the process passed on those ideals to posterity with admirable clarity and in striking and memorable phrases.

5.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Mulford Sibly Political Ideals and Ideologies : A history of Political Thought.

5.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Explain Polybius analysis of the Roman Constitution and his classification of Constitutions.
2. Give an account of Cicero's political philosophy, and, its importance.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Explain the Roman theory of Law and its impact on modern theories of Law.
2. Discuss the importance of Roman political thought for students of modern politics.
3. What were the Greek ideas that most influenced Roman political and legal theory?

– Dr. M.M.RAHMAN

UNIT-6 : CHARACTERISTICS OF CHRISTIAN AND MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

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- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Rise of the Papacy
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- 6.6 Decline of Medieval Political Thought
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6.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able

- 1) to trace the growth of christian political thought and institutions, especially the church;
- 2) to analyse the various concepts of medieval political thought as expressed by some important medieval thinkers;
- 3) to account for the decline of medieval political thought and
- 4) to evaluate it critically.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit deals with the political thought of the Middle Ages, i.e., from the rise of Christianity and the Church to the rise of the Modern National State in the fifteenth century. It thus covers a period of over thirteen centuries during which Christianity rose and dominated all aspects of life and thought in Europe, including the political. Not only did the Roman Empire come under its influence, but also a unified Church developed into an empire-wide organisation. It at first kept itself aloof from the empire, but soon claimed equality with it and later supremacy over it. It was this fact that gave Medieval political thought its most important theme, viz., the relationship between the Church and the State. It also gave Medieval thought its distinctive characteristic, namely, the subordination of reason to faith or revelation. Almost all Medieval thinkers were either Bishops and Popes or Christian theologians like St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Pope Gelasius, Pope Boniface and others and their preoccupation was Church-State relations.

6.2 RISE OF PAPACY

Christianity appeared in a remote corner of the powerful Roman Empire, among a lowly and despised people. Initially, its growth was slow and its main adherents came from the lowest ranks of society only. However, as the empire weakened, its fortunes began to rise and more men and women from the upper classes began to accept it. But it had also to make concessions to its new adherents from both the upper classes and the Pagans. Then there were problems of spreading the belief, protecting the adherents from persecutors, and fighting heresy and other

doctrinal problems. These gave rise to the need for organisation. The Church slowly emerged and took control of the religion expanding ultimately into a world organisation on the lines of the empire itself with its seat at Rome, where it remained even after the empire shifted its court to Constantinople.

At first, the empire was not happy with the growing organisation of the Church and tried to destroy it. This struggle between the two came to an end in the fourth century A.D. when Constantine recognised Christianity as the State religion to the mutual advantage of the empire as well as Christianity. As the church supported the emperor, the Church began to suppress all its rivals with the help of the empire.

The exact origins of the Church seem to be a little obscure. In the beginning there was no organisation or if at all, a very loose one. From the beginning the clergy appear to have constituted an elite with a set of privileges. And then a hierarchy developed among them with different ranks and powers. The Bishop was the most important or leading Church official in city. The Bishops of the more important cities exercised some control over those of small cities. Finally, the Bishop at Rome gained recognition as the Head of the Church.

When Christianity was accepted as the official religion of the Roman empire, the Bishop of Rome became the Emperor's legal adviser on Church affairs. The Christians also believed that the Church at Rome was established by St. Peter, recognised as the Chief Apostle. Thus the Bishop of Rome came to acquire apostolic stature. And the Church of Rome was responsible for sending missionaries to convert barbarians and also to establish provincial churches in the West and to finance them. All those people naturally looked to the Church of Rome for guidance and leadership.

In Addition to all this, there was the fact that Rome happened to be the political capital of the Christians. It was quite understandable and appropriate that it should also be the head quarters of the Church. The Head quarters of the Church was not only located at Rome but also followed the Roman imperial model in its own organisation. The papacy assumed the character of an ecclesiastical empire, as some of the ablest minds joined the Church, specially after the downfall of the Romans at the hands of the barbarians.

And the belief that the empire of Rome was divinely founded and that the world was ruled by the kingdom of God, exercised a powerful hold on the minds of Christians and helped in the ascendancy of the Church at Rome. Further, after the shifting of the Imperial court from Rome to Constantinople, the Bishop at Rome became more independent and also the most influential person at Rome and the Government of the city also passed into his hands.

The crusades against the Muslims also enhanced the importance of the Church in both the East and West, though in different ways. The emperor's preoccupation with the crusades in the East made it difficult for him to devote himself to the affairs of the West and the Pope at Rome became the virtual ruler of the Western Empire. Further, the rivalry that developed between the two Churches, situated respectively at Rome and Constantinople, led to the separation of the two Churches, resulting in the independence of the Roman Pope in political and ecclesiastical affairs and in his being recognised as the Head of the Western Church.

After the defeat of the Lombard at the hands of the Franks led by Charles Martel and his son Pepin, the Pope, who had sought their help in defeating the Lombard kings crowned Pepin as King of Franks, and, later Pepin's son, Charlemagne, as Roman emperor. This was how the long connection between the Church and the State began in 800 A.D., giving rise to all political thought in the Medieval Ages.

The Pope was at first selected by the clergy and the people of Rome; and frequently there were disturbances at the election of a new Pope. Soon after the disintegration of the Empire, the election of the Pope was controlled by the powerful and dominant families of Rome, resulting

in the appointment of many unworthy persons as Popes. In order to prevent such things, the appointment was vested in a college of Cardinals drawn at first from around Rome and later from a wider area. This method succeeded in restoring the dignity and the authority of the Papacy.

6.3 CHRISTIAN POLITICAL DOCTRINES

Christian attitudes to political and political authority were never firm and permanent throughout the Middle Ages. Even the view attributed to Jesus Christ that the realms of political and of religion are separate does not appear to have been consistently held by all the Church Fathers, Popes and other thinkers of the Middle Ages. Christian views on politics in the Middle Ages may be described as having gone through a full circle, beginning with Christ's separation of the spiritual and the temporal with an implied superiority of the former over the latter. The next development was the emergence of the Church-State concept, with the Emperor regulating both at least nominally. The third phase was marked by the emergence of the doctrines of the supremacy and the consequent rise of the Papacy. The final phase is marked by the decline of the Church to the State though the Church still enjoys considerable autonomy.

Tradition has it that Jesus Christ was not interested in political doctrines. He considered himself to be the spiritual ruler of the world and not a temporal one. He differentiated between the two kingdoms, namely, the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of the earth. Coupled with his teaching that the end of history was on hand, his theory of the kingdom of God appeared to pose a threat to the Roman empire. At least the Romans took it that way. Besides, Jesus idealised poverty and the poor; was against riches and preached meekness, opposed war and military service. In other words, he rejected all those things which were central to politics, according to both the powerful Jews of his day and the Roman ruling elements.

Again, though Christ accepted the need to obey the Emperor it was only passive obedience that he advocated and that too only when the law did not clash with the Kingdom of God. All public offices were declared out of bounds for the Christians. Till the end of the first century A.D., there was no change in the Christian attitudes.

These ideas were only slightly modified by the Apostles. They added that the State also derived its authority from God and so it should be obeyed. At this stage in the development of Christianity, the Apostles appeared to have looked upon the Emperor more as a friend than as an enemy. They also developed somewhat ambivalent attitudes to questions of property and slavery. They seemed to have held some sort of Communistic views on property, at the same time holding on to the idealisation of poverty as preached by Jesus. They, however, opposed slavery in principle (Certainly an improvement upon Aristotle) but accepted it in practice. These views appear to be closer to the Stoic doctrines than to the teachings of Plato and Aristotle or to those of Cicero and other Romans.

In the second and third centuries, however, the Christians found themselves persecuted by the Empire, and their attitude to it changed to one of hatred for it. This also led to the strengthening of the Church organisation and they began to look upon themselves as a separate political entity.

By the beginning of the fourth century there was a perceptible change in the attitude of the Empire which found it increasingly difficult to persecute the Christians holding high positions. When Emperor Constantine initiated a policy of toleration, the Church Fathers had to redefine their attitudes to the holding of public office and service in war by the Christians. While the Fathers refused to yield on the war issue, there developed a school of opinion which favoured the holding at least of some public offices. And reality dictated it, as more and more Christians came to accept public offices or as those holding public offices came to accept the Christian faith.

Towards the end of the century the Christians began to realise the need for a reconciliation of these trends in Christian thought and actions. This realisation is reflected in *The City of God* of St. Augustine, written primarily to refute the pagan charge that the acceptance of Christianity by the Romans was the cause for their defeat at the hands of the pagan Alaric.

The City of God combines a philosophy of history with an apology for the Church with the result that it is difficult to make an objective assessment of St. Augustine's views. The important ideas that are of interest here are the 'Christian Commonwealth' and 'Two Cities'. In developing those concepts, Augustine combines the Stoic view of society with the New Testament views and such cosmopolis was not one but two from the beginning of creation. Though to begin with the two were combined, the duality was an inherent possibility. When Satan revolted against God, it became a reality. And through Eve the Satanic tradition gave rise to the earthly city represented by such pagan empires as Assyria and Rome. The other remained as the City of God or the Kingdom of the Christ represented by the Hebrew nation and then by the Christian Church and empire.

But on the relations between the two Cities and their earthly representations, St. Augustine's stand is not always consistent. He identifies the Church with the Kingdom of God and yet doubts whether the two are exactly similar. Perhaps, the church is the nearest approximation to it. Similarly, the Roman empire is identified with the earthly city. And the two are not always separate, at least on the earth. Their separation would take place on the Last Day of Judgement.

And since men were rescued from the City of Satan by the Church, it represented a divine step in the fight between the forces of good and evil. Thus the unity of the Christian faith under the leadership of the Church, assisted by the Christian State, would ultimately deliver man to the City of God.

According to this view, there could be no just state, unless it was also a Christian State, for there could be no justice without giving God what his due, namely, true worship which was possible only through Christian faith. It is easy to see how far this view of justice is removed from the Platonic concepts of justice, and also the Roman concept as propounded by Cicero.

St. Augustin's views on property, slavery and war are similarly derived from his Christian beliefs and the theory of the Fall. Slavery, according to him, was the result of the Fall of Man and a divine punishment for sin. While Aristotle justified it as natural, St. Augustine for the first time justified it on religious grounds. War is also a product of the Fall. He rejected the early Christian view of it as evil and argued that it was necessary to escape from sin or the consequence of sin. The concept of just War, as it came to be later developed by others, especially St. Thomas, was not different from this theory of St. Augustine. Similarly, before the Fall, men had no need for property. There was no thought of 'mine and thine'. There was no craving for material possessions. All these were the result of the fall and sin.

In short, St. Augustine's attitude to political authority is that it is the result of the Fall of man. Thus all political institutions are primarily intended to mitigate the evils of sin and have, therefore, a negative purpose. Obviously, St. Augustine is at the other extreme from Plato and Aristotle for whom the State is the highest of human associations and one necessary for the full development of man.

Among the theories that held the field at this stage was the doctrine of 'Two Swords', the secular and the religious. The most authoritative statement of this doctrine came from Pope Gelasius I.

According to this Pope, the two authorities are distinct and cannot be combined, certainly not in the emperor. The claim that the Pope might do so had not been made by Gelasius at least. His argument was that the practice of combining the spiritual and secular authorities in one and the same person was a pagan practice and was, perhaps, understandable and relevant before

Christ. But after the coming of the Christ, no one was entitled to hold the two together except Christ himself. That was why Christ had separated the two, though he did not subordinate one to the other, at least directly. Only indirectly the priest takes precedence over the king because the former is answerable to God for the souls of all Christians, including that of the king.

So it was a concept of a universal Christian society that the Church Fathers developed. It was as universal as the empire and it included two governments. Each had its own basis, purposes, law and institutions. Whereas the Greeks and others had attempted to put man under a single temporal authority of the city or of the empire, Christianity put him under two masters, one a divine and the other an earthly one though at that stage their co-existence did not seem possible. The one or the other would claim and impose its supremacy over the other sooner or later.

6.4 PAPAL SUPREMACY

The case for the supremacy of the church was championed by a number of Popes including Nicholas, I, Innocent III and Gregory and theologians like St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bernard and others. But the most systematic and the most extreme claims were made by Pope Boniface VIII and by Egidius Colonna in early fourteenth century.

The argument for Papal supremacy was raised by Boniface to a much higher plane than others in the sense that he presented it in legal terms. Indeed, he developed a systematic theory of legal rights and powers on behalf of the Pope. As claimed by Boniface, the Pope's right to intervene or to supersede an undesirable king is derived from his 'PLENITUDO POTENSTATIS' or 'SOVEREIGNTY', which he has by virtue of being the vicar of Christ. This 'divine right' is vested in the Pope through St. Peter and St. Peter's successors to whom the Christ had given the keys of the Heavenly kingdom saying "Feed my Sheep". This authority confers on the Pope the supreme power to control and regulate the secular and temporal affairs. Boniface had put these claims in his 'bull', UNAM SANCIAM in 1302.

In other words, this was a theory of Papal sovereignty with all its attributes of absoluteness, permanence, universality and indivisibility. This part of the theory was developed by Egidius Colonna in his work called 'DE ECCLESIASTICAL' (1302). Such were the beginning of the famous concept of sovereignty which became the chief attribute of the modern state claiming supremacy over the Church and every thing else, ironical as it might sound to-day.

Both Boniface and Colonna also made use of Aristotle's argument that the higher rules the lower in nature (used by Aristotle in justifying slavery among other things) and as the spiritual is higher than temporal, it is but natural that the former should be sovereign over the latter.

6.5 ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

Among the other supporters of Papal supremacy was St. Thomas Aquinas. The political philosophy of St. Thomas is of special importance to any student of Medieval political thought. He was not only theologian interested in establishing Papal supremacy, but also a political scientist in the Aristotelian tradition. And he tried hard to reconcile theology with philosophy or faith with reason. In his great work, 'SUMMA THEOLOGIA', one finds some of the best expressions of Medieval thought on concepts of law (including a classification of law), slavery, property, peace and war.

St. Thomas has more positive view of political authority than most other theologians. It is not merely the result of man's sin, it is, in fact, natural. The effort to use Aristotle to suit his theology is evident not only here but also in his treatment of property. He argues that the rule of master over slave is unnatural as it has only private gain as its objective. The rule of prince over the subject, on the other hand, is quite natural as its objective is common good. In either

case sin only introduces distortions. It may be recalled that Aristotle, considered slavery natural and justified it. Obviously, St. Thomas does not modify the Church opinion on slavery. The only difference is that he offers a more rational argument in support of the view that slavery is unnatural.

On property, St. Thomas takes a slightly different position from that of Aristotle. There are no institutions of private property in nature, though natural law is not against it. Thus, while private property is not natural, it is also not unnatural. Man has added property to nature because he has concluded that every man is more careful to procure what is for himself alone, than that which is common to many or to all. Human affairs can be more orderly and peace more likely to prevail where property is held in private possession rather than in common possession. These are substantially the same arguments which Aristotle has used in supporting private property. And St. Thomas agrees with Aristotle that while property can be held in private possession its use must be for common benefit.

St. Thomas's views on war and peace are a mixture of Christian view, Medieval experience and his own understanding of both. He accepts the view that peace in the world is attainable through proper relations between the Church and the Emperor.

Peace, according to St. Thomas, is something which all strive to achieve. Indeed, even those who make war also desire peace. But true peace is possible only in Heaven. What is possible on earth is an "imperfect peace". Even this is often frustrated by various forces like sin and various social and political imbalances.

Jesus Christ was opposed to war according to the Christian doctrine. St. Thomas, however, does not accept the literal interpretation of the New Testament view that those who take the sword shall perish by the sword. According to him, this view does not apply to public authority but only to private persons. There is need to oppose evil in the interests of common good. Hence, just wars are not only necessary but are in keeping with divine law.

For a war to be just St. Thomas has laid down three conditions; first, it must be declared by a sovereign, that is, no private person can wage a just war; secondly, a just war must have a just cause; and finally a just war must promote good and resist evil, i.e.; a war waged for mere vengeance or for power, even if it is declared by a sovereign for a just cause, becomes an unjust war. It is not difficult to criticise these views of St. Thomas as insufficient explanation of a just war. Nevertheless, no better case has been made for just war by anyone else. However, it may be said that the whole argument is meaningless, as no war can be just in any circumstances.

St. Thomas defined law as "An ordinance of reason for the common good, made by him who has the care of the community, and promulgated." Since God has the care of the universe and the communities in it, law is nothing but an emanation of the reason of God. In other words, it is cosmic reality or fact, which governs everything in the universe, in Heaven as well as on earth. Human law is but one aspect of this cosmic fact. Its other aspects are eternal laws, natural law and divine law. This is the famous four-fold classification of law for which St. Thomas is well known. What is most significant in this classification of law is the fact that the four kinds of law are seen as manifestations of the same reason at four levels, viz., the Eternal, Natural, Divine and Human.

Eternal law is the reason of God, the eternal plan of the nature of the order which the divine mind has laid down for the universe. No man can comprehend it. Only God knows it and understands its true nature. All that man can do is to participate in it by virtue of his reason and to the extent his reason permits it.

This is derived from the eternal law when man applies his reason to it. When man does this, he realises that there are certain propositions which are self-evident and which serve as norms for human conduct. This is not only so in respect of human conduct but also in respect

of the conduct of physical objects, etc. In the latter sphere these axioms serve as first principles in understanding those objects. In the sphere of human conduct, natural law tells man that it is good to live in society and that self-preservation, self-propagation (in common with other animals), seeking God and truth are all goods which are valuable for human beings. St. Thomas also declared that there are two aspects to natural law - one positive norm such as that of doing no harm to another human being. In its negative aspect it ordains a thing without prohibiting the contrary. While it is natural for man to be naked, it is not unnatural to be clothed, points out St. Thomas, who adds that clothes can be added to nature. Hence, in his opinion, while natural law can be supplemented, it is not changed.

While natural law is derived by human reason from the eternal law, the divine law on the other hand is revealed. Thus the two are separate and not identical. The best example of revelation is found in the New and Old Testament. It is thus God's gift to man, but this does not mean that it is against reason. Divine law is to strengthen it whenever and wherever reason fails to understand natural law or to apply it properly in particular instances. Thus, natural law does not know the final end of human life as reason is not capable of knowing it. It is obvious that St. Thomas was torn between his faith in reason following Aristotle, and his duty to the faith to which he was committed. Nevertheless, no other Medieval thinker before St. Thomas had attached so much importance to reason as the basis of understanding human affairs.

While natural law is derived from eternal law, Human Law is derived from natural law. The other three are not exclusive to human beings, but human law is exclusive to human beings. It is natural law as applied to human life and situations. This is done by the whole people acting together and for the purpose. And human law needs promulgation by him who has the care of the community. It is, as has already been mentioned, an ordinance of reason for the common good, made by him who has care of the community and promulgated. As such it cannot be the product of the will of an individual. Nor is the force behind it the essence of it. It is the inherent reason for the common good that makes law effective.

St. Thomas's stand on Church - State relations was a moderate one, though he held the Church to be superior to the State at least in certain circumstances. But he did not claim for it the legal rights of absolute supremacy, as was done later by Boniface and others. He was, similarly, not prepared to accept the equally extreme claims made on behalf of the empire by Dante. But even Dante did not question the validity of the Christian doctrine of the divine origins of the powers of the Church and the empire. Though both Dante and Thomas were under the influence of Aristotle's *Politics*, their devotion to the Christian dogma was unflinching and strong. Both held the same convictions though one championed the superiority of the Church and the other of the empire. But they were almost the last of the great thinkers of the Medieval era to support the christian dogma or tradition in political philosophy.

Events took such a turn as made it eventually possible in the opposite direction for the emergence of such thinkers as Marsilio of Padua, William of Occam and Wycliffe who laid the foundations of the secular theory of the State, later to be propounded by Machiavelli, Bodin and finally Thomas Hobbes.

6.6 DECLINE OF MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

Or

Decline of Papacy and the Rise of Nationalism

The conflict between King Philips IV of France and Pope Boniface VIII arose out of the former's act of taxing Church property and the latter's issue of various 'bulls', including 'Unam Sanctam', claimed as the greatest defence of theocracy in the history of political thought. The death of Boniface in 1300, after the unsuccessful attempt by Philips IV to capture him, brought

the Papacy under the control of the French king got it shifted to Avignon in France. During this crucial period, John of Paris produced the best defence of the king's authority, whereas writers like Egidius Colonna, supported the Pope.

The rise of kings like Philip IV in France and others in England and other States meant the weakening of the empire and the emergence of the National State. As already mentioned, the last effort to strengthen the empire was made by the Italian poet Dante, with his stress on secular universalism matching human universalism and universal peace under a universal monarchy.

The most revolutionary among the Medieval thinkers was Marsilio of Padua. It was he who attacked all the Medieval notions of Papal supremacy and declared the people to be the source of all authority both in temporal and spiritual affairs. Thus, while he advocated representative institutions for the State, he supported the supremacy of the General Council, the community of ecclesia for the Church. Marsilio also held that the secular power should regulate the General Council of ecclesia.

Occam (Ockham)

Marsilio was then joined by his friend, William of Occam (Ockham), in undermining the basis of the Papacy through his nominalist attack on it. Occam's nominalism (that is, denial of universals as real and universals being themselves individuals) led him to deny the real universal law and to treat law as simply the command of an individual. Similarly, the State is a contract among individuals and the State and Church are separate as they deal with the outer and the inner aspects of life respectively, and are independent of each other.

Wycliffe

Marsilio and Occam belonged to the University of Paris and John Wycliffe to the Oxford University, where he worked between 1335 and 1374. During his tenure as Pope, Innocent III was able to get himself recognised as a feudal sovereign of all England. But this act was never popular in England and was opposed by the nationalists. In 1333 England suspended payment of all feudal tribute to the Pope. The move was very popular, and it gained greater popularity after the start of the Hundred Years War with France in 1337. In 1351, 1353 and 1365 the Parliament in England enacted Statutes restricting provisions to the Pope and curtailing Papal jurisdiction over England. Then in 1381 came the Peasant's Revolt which was aimed mainly against the clergy and other rich classes. In all these conflicts between England and Papacy, Wycliffe was opposed vehemently to the latter. His main argument was that the Papacy had lost its right to hold material goods, as it had misused those goods for its own selfish interests rather than for the benefit of the people. It was this argument that had revolutionary potentialities and came to be applied to temporal rulers as well even in his life time.

Meanwhile, a great deal of discontent had developed against the Papacy at Avignon and the demand for the return of the Pope to Rome gathered momentum. This was considered necessary to reform the Church which had become corrupt, inefficient and incompetent. As a result, Gregory XI returned to Rome in 1377. But his successor, Urban VI, was such a controversial figure that the French elected their own Pope called Clement VII with his seat at Avignon.

Great Schism and Conciliar

This is described as the Great Schism and it gave rise to what came to be called the Conciliar Movement demanding Church reform and unification. When this did not happen, the Cardinals from both sides met in Council at Pisa in 1409 and elected a third Pope, Alexander V. Even this did not solve the vexed problems. On the other hand, new rivalries developed between the new Popes and the Council which continued until the Council of Basel in 1449 when the Council surrendered to Pope Eugenius IV, who regained papal independence. But he was not Powerful

enough to lay claim to Papal supremacy as was done by Boniface VIII. All these issues, however, reemerged during the Reformation which finally split Christianity down the middle, putting an end to all claims of Papal supremacy and paving the way for the emergence of modern secular State.

6.7 CRITICAL ESTIMATE

When Jesus Christ told the Pharises to "pay the emperor what belongs to the emperor, and pay God what belongs to God" he was successful in coming out of a tight situation. He did not, however, specify what 'belongs to the emperor' and 'what belongs to God'. Probably it was not necessary for him. Whatever he taught belonged to God and the rest to the emperor. If there was a conflict, God's word would take precedence. If this interpretation is acceptable, then the claim of the Papal extremists that the Church with the Pope as its head is the source of all authority temporal and spiritual cannot be wrong. And the modern theory which holds that it is the State that decides what "belongs to God" and what to "Ceaser" is wrong: A majority of the Christian nations seem to consider the modern theory to be right and the Medieval theory to be wrong.

In other words, God is no more the source of political authority. Political authority is derived from the people themselves. This was the essence of the teaching of the Greeks and the Romans, which ran counter to that of christianity. And it took the Christian world a millenium and a quarter to receipt the Greek concept of politics. It is not without significance that in the revival of this concept Aristotle's philosophy played a major role. Strange as it might appear, Aristotle himself was discovered for the Medieval Ages by the followers of another faith called islam, who grappled with the same problem. Nevertheless, but for these developments, it seems Doubtful whether the Christian Medieval thought would have ended on the note it did, thanks to Aristotle's influence on the 13th and 14th century thinkers of Europe.

6.8 SUMMING UP

In the process Medieval political thought developed such concepts as sovereignty and freedom of conscience unknown to Greek political thought. It had also developed concepts of representation and constitutional government. All these ideas developed in the context of the claims and counter claims marked on behalf of Papal supremacy and Church reform, but began to be applied to the kings and emperors also. This again was a Medieval notion. Medieval political thought also gave rise to the theory of 'divine right of kings' and strengthened the view of law as command, first of God and then of the King. Finally, Medieval political thought also gave expression to the concept of the right to resist in matters of conscience. But, as has already been pointed out, all these developments became possible only after Medieval thinkers confronted Aristotle's challenge of reason to faith, as presented to them by Arab and Jewish scholars.

6.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

W.A. Dunning : *A History of Political Theories*

6.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Trace the origins and growth of the Papacy.
2. Give an account of the Christian political doctrine as it developed from Christ to the end of 4th Century A.D.
3. Examine St. Augustine's views on the Christian Commonwealth and the Two Cities.

UNIT-7 : CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Contents

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Sources-Survey of various sources like
Maha-Bharatha vedas and Arthashashtra
- 7.3 Features of Ancient Indian Thought
- 7.4 State and society
- 7.5 Kingship
- 7.6 Dharma
- 7.7 Danda
- 7.8 Raja Dharma
- 7.9 State craft
- 7.10 Summing up
- 7.11 Suggested Readings
- 7.12 Model Examination questions

7.0 Objectives

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

1. Describe the salient features of ancient Indian thought and
2. examine various concepts and theories

7.1 INTRODUCTION

An attempt is made to present a critical account of the salient features of ancient Indian thought, which takes in its sweep diverse views on social ethical, moral issues. The vario series concerning the origin of the state and the institution of kingship are discussed. Further, the functions of the state 'Danda', 'Dharma', 'Rajadharmā' and such other aspects of state craft are examined.

7.2 SOURCES

The beginning of the Indian Political thought are traceable to the earliest and the most ancient works known to mankind such as the vedas.

In ancient Indian thought Political Science was known by different terms like Rajya Shashtra, Dandaneethi, Nitishashtra and Rajadharmā.

The very nomenclature used in this regard is expressive of its multifacetedness and points to its astonishing range. Since Monarchy was the most common form of Government, the science of politics was called the science of State, i.e., Rajya Shashtra. According to Manu, the great law-giver of ancient times the sanction behind the State is force. It is said when all are sleeping, 'Danda' keeps awake 'Danda' is Law and Dandhanithi deals with social, political and economic relationships and directs how they are to be organized and integrated with one another. Works on Dandanithi were done by Usanas and Prajapathi.

BLOCK III

ORIENTAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 7. Chareteristics of Indian Political Thought

Unit 8. Political Ideas of Manu & Kautilya

Unit 9. Buddhist Political Traditions

BRAOU

Hence the Indian thought aims at achieving synthesis rather than analysis. This all embracing idea of the State makes politics superior to all other branches or forms of human activity. Agriculture, irrigation, famines, communications are all treated as public works. Arthashastra which is supposed to be concerned with statecraft, deals more with economics than politics itself. Diplomacy and fortification are integral parts of the political theory enforced in it. Espionage is dealt in astonishing detail in ancient thought. Public Finance is at the core of Governmental theory. Political theory's intimate relation to social organisation is a dominant feature of the Ancient Indian Political Thought.

The central theme of the Western Political Thought is mostly concerned with state and even the central theme of the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau and Hegel is State. But the Ancient Indian Thought restricted itself to the practical problems faced by the Monarch. Koutilya and Sukra have discussed in their books how the monarch should acquire and preserve his domains and deal with his enemies. Indeed the Ancient Indian Thought is more an art of Government rather than a theory of the state.

7.4 STATE AND SOCIETY

In Indian Thought State has been viewed as a concrete element. Indian thinkers never tried to define state as Western thinkers did. 'State' has been treated as a positive concept unlike Western Thought where the State is treated as a necessary evil. Indeed, in ancient Indian Thought, the State has been considered a highest good on the earth.

The State has been thought to be conducive to the four-fold way of life - 'dharma', 'artha', 'kama' and 'moksha'. The primary duty of the king is to protect the people and promote prosperity. There was a clear distinction between State and Society. Society was a socio-economic organisation with fundamental institutions which the State could not attack or change. The 'Varna' system and four-fold way of life of human beings were beyond the control of the State. The spiritual goal of life and the means to achieve it could not be touched by the State. The social ideal was considered to be sacred. The State was, in many fields, not allowed to interfere with the society. This is one of the reasons why the state had not become totalitarian. The State was never an end in itself. It was only a means for the realisation of the four-fold objective of life and social harmony.

Indian thinkers endorsed the concept of organic unity of the State. It is believed that inter-relationships subsist among the seven limbs of the state. This is what is known as 'Saptanga' theory of the state. The various parts of the State are linked with one another like the organs of the human body. If any one of the limbs gets diseased or begins to function in an abnormal manner, the state suffers. The theory advocated was organic unity.

The parts of the State are called its 'Angas'. They are 'Swamy' (the king), 'Janapada' (population and territory), 'Bala' (the army), 'Durga' (the fortified capital), 'Kosa' (the treasury) and 'Mitra' (the allies). Some writers add 'Danda' to the list. This seven element theory i.e., Saptanga theory has an important place in the Ancient Indian political Thought.

State is not an abstract concept for Ancient Indian Thought similar to Western Thought, but a concrete entity. There is a specific mention of the purpose and aim of the State, which is included in the duties of the king. The Ancient Indian Thought believed that God gave people a ruler to save them from anarchy and chaos in the state. The Mathsyanyaya implies the stronger overpowering the weak and exploiting. In other words, the bigger fish living on the smaller ones in the sea. This being the situation, the purpose of the state is mainly the preservation of internal peace and order by wielding the rod of chastisement. 'Danda' is the name given to the coercive power of the State. This is evident by the fact that the king's foremost duty is held to be the maintenance and the promotion of righteousness among the people. The post of king seems to have been created to ensure for the people a life of peace and happiness.

4. Explain the case for the supremacy of the Church as made out and by Boniface and Colonna.
5. Examine St. Thomas Aquinas's views on (a) Slavery (b) Property, (c) Peace and War.
6. Explain the classification of Law made by St. Thomas.
7. Briefly account for the decline of Medieval political thought.
8. Critically estimate Medieval political thought and its contribution to modern political thought.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Explain Pope Gelasius's theory of the Two Swords.
2. Describe St. Thomas's views on Church-State relations.
3. Explain St. Augustine's views on political authority and Institutions.

– Dr. M.M. RAHMAN

BRAOU

Neethishasthra means proper guidance. Neethishasthra denotes science of wisdom and right course. Since the 5th century A.D., when Kamandaka and Sukra called their books Neethishasthra the subject had become very popular. Later, many works on State-craft appeared bearing the prefix 'Niti' as in Nithikalpataru, Nithichandrika, Nithiratnakara, Nithimayuktha, and Nithiprakasha. Nithishasthra had become sine-quanon for the stability and progress of society in all directions.

Arthashasthra is another term used for the science of politics. The actual meaning of the word is science of wealth. The word, 'Artha', also means territory. Koutilya says that Arthashasthra is the science which deals with the acquisition and protection of territory. The most important book on the science of polity is supposed to be his work Arthashasthra. The Amarakosa equates Dandanithi with Artha Shasthra. Gradually, the science of politics became popular as Rajanithi Shasthra.

Literature on the science of polity has appeared since 500 B.C. The earlier-phase was the age of Vedas and the Brahmanas in which there were obvious references to the theory and practice of Government. There are references to Government and kingship in all the first three Vedas. In the Samhitas of Yajurveda there are numerous passages about different casts and political institutions. The Eighth century B.C. was an age of specialisation. The beginning of the school of politics is traced to this age. It is noteworthy that prior to the 7th century B.C. the country was divided into small kingdoms ruled by kings assisted by kings assisted by sages and eminent scholars. The dialogues between the kings and their advisers on matters of state and state craft must have been illuminating. In that some of them came to form real tradition in this regard and some found their way into books on political science, since quite a few books on politics had appeared by the 7th century B.C.

Mahabharatha and Arthashasthra are two important works on the science of polity. The Mahabharata account seems to be partly legendary and partly historical. It is said that Brahmadeva composed a monumental work on science of polity which was successively abridged by Shiva, Visalaksha, Indra, Brihaspathi, Sukr, Manu and Bharadvaja.

The views of Manu, Brihaspati, Sukra, Usanas and Vishalaksha figuring in Shanthiparva of Mahabharatha and Arthashasthra of Koutilya give a fair idea of Ancient Indian polity. The 'Shanthiparva' has an extensive section devoted to the 'Raja Dharma'. 'Sabhaparva' of Mahabharatha projects an image of ideal administration. It is suggested that Mahabharatha might be dated back to a period than that of Manusmritis.

The approach of Artha Shasthra is secular. The main topic of discussion is the study of state including problems connected with kingship, civil administration, law, foreign policy, war and peace and welfare, etc. Arthashasthra is mainly concerned with the practical problems of Government. But its authorship and also the time to which the author belonged are in dispute and have given rise to controversies.

Koutilya was the founder of a school of politics. South Indian Epigraphs reveal that Koutilya was known for his statesmanship. Koutilya had superseded all his predecessors as a writer and thinker on politics.

The Smritis were written during the period, 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. In these works the duties of the King, the functions of the different officers, law, and foreign policy were discussed. These works were not as systematic as Arthashasthra. They also discuss 'Varnadharmas', 'Ashramadharmas' and 'Prayaschittas'.

Later, i.e., during the period, 200 A.D. to 300 A.D. few works on politics appeared presumably because of foreign invasions and alien rule. In fact there was no important work on polity except a few references to it in literary works like Tirukkural and Silappadikaram. The Kamandakiya Nitisara was composed in the Gupta age. The author of this work is unknown but the book

contains the gist of Koutilyas' Arthashastra. The Nitivakyamrutha written by Somadevasuri in 960 A.D. is a brief account of the earlier political thought which is useful to historians of political thought. The Sukranithi was written by Sukra, but the date of its composition is unknown. This work gives a comprehensive account of the administrative machinery and the polity, envisaged by Sukra which is monarchical. Interestingly, it presents a vivid picture of judicial administration and welfare state. The work, undoubtedly, is more informative than the other works. The 'Puranas' of the Gupta and post-Gupta period also deal with State and Government.

From 1000 A.D. to 1700 A.D. a number of works which treated Dharma comprehensively had appeared. The discussion of polity figured in these works viz., Abhilashithartha Chinthamani of Someswara, Yukthikaipataru of Bhojha, Rajanithikalpatharu of Lakshmidhara, Rajanithikalpatharu of Devana Bhatta, Rajanithiratnakara of Chandeswara, Amukthamalyada of Krishna devaraya, Nithimayukha of Neelakantha and Rajanitiprakasha of Mitramisra were some of the important works. Manasollasa of this period of chalukya King Someswara (1125-1138 A.D.) is not a treatise and deals mostly with the life of the Kings.

There are number of books on the science of polity in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrita literatures. Rigveda, Atharvanaveda, Satapathi, Aitareya, Taittiriya and Panchavimsathi Brahmanas present valuable material on the science of polity. These works refer to the origin of the science of polity too. The Dharmasutras and Smritis are largely, elaborate works on the duties of the King. Even works like Pratigna Yaugandharaygna, the Raghuvamsha, Malavikagnimithra, the Panchatantra, the Hitopadesa, the Kadambari, the Harshacharitha and the Dasakumara charitha and the Rajatarangini discuss the science of polity. Buddhist literature like Digghanikaya, Chullaragga and the Jatakas in Pali refer to the nature and working of ancient Indian polity.

Inscriptions on stone and copper are an extremely important source of information about the ancient Indian Polity. They furnish information concerning the actual state of affairs under different governments and different kinds of administration, territorial divisions, interstate relations, aims of the Government, duties of the Kings and the responsibilities of the Ministers etc.

Accounts given by the workers of Greek historians like Magasthenes's 'Indica' and others relating to Alexander's invasion of India are sources of immense importance. Other sources include the source of which is called 'Numismatics' and the legends inscribed on them.

7.3 FEATURES OF ANCIENT INDIAN THOUGHT

The Ancient Indian approach to questions of polity and society are different from the Teutonic. It is an approach marked by profound cultural considerations. Indeed, whether the thought is social or political, it does not have the kind of theoretical thrust that the Western thought has. This may be attributed to the characteristic metaphysical bent of the Indian mind. Indian thought is not concerned with particular aspects of life, but with its totality. This explains why the Indian thought may seem unscientific, while the Western thought is analytic.

It is no wonder that Politics came to be recognised as a science, ages after it had developed. But it was not independent of religion and ethics. This is true to be expected because for Indians, especially the Hindu religious concepts and beliefs provide the frame within which various kinds of experience political, social, economic and cultural assume a meaningful form. This explains why the devine is believed to chasten earthly life. With this belief the social theory becomes part of the universal theory which comprises theology, metaphysics, tradition, logic, law, ethics, and economics. Indian thought is pre-eminently ethical in its persuasion. The State's function is not negative but positive in that it must consciously and actively stimulate virtue and promote the moral life. Thus political science functions as ethics for the whole society. It is a science of man's duties in relation to himself, society and the world.

If members of all the 'Varnas' devote themselves to their respective functions the society as a whole will prosper. The existence of society and its prosperity depends upon how the king discharges his duties.

The fundamental socio-political principle of Ancient Indian thought is Rajadharm. It ensures the fulfilment of human ends and social security. In the words of Dr. Ghoshal, it represents "quantitatively the most comprehensive, qualitatively the most fundamental and ethically the most perfect group of human activities".

In ancient India, the king was held in high esteem. The king played a central role in the public life of the community. The existence of a king is a precondition for the enjoyment of family and property. Normal work of life presupposed the existence of kingly rule. Civilised life is not possible in an anarchic or kingless community. The most obligatory duty of a king is that of protecting his subjects. Bhishma says that one should leave a state in which the king fails to discharge his fundamental duty like abandoning a leaky vessel on a sea voyage.

7.9 STATECRAFT

In Manusmriti and Mahabharata the approach of politics has been from the religious point of view. They treat political phenomena in terms of divine activity. In the Arthashastra of Koutilya, politics is separated from religion and an attempt is made to understand and explain the phenomena of state and Government in terms of reason without any reference to God. Koutilya was not a non-believer in God and religion. He has greatly appreciated the important role played by religion in social life. In fact, religion is widely referred to in Arthashastra. What is significant was his secular approach to statecraft and his method was scientific and experimental. His treatment of the subject is based on reasoning and an understanding of past and present experience.

One of the greatest works of Ancient India was Arthashastra written by Koutilya. Koutilya was not the first Arthashastra writer in Ancient India. But he is the foremost of all the writers on 'Arthashastra' in ancient India. The 'Arthashastra' written by him is a compendium of all the Arthashastras. He had virtually reconstructed the subject. This book presents a scheme of administrative organisation and a treatise on statecraft.

Basically, Arthashastra deals with administrative theory and practice. Political theory and philosophy do not come within its scope. Themes like the origin of state, etc., are dealt with here and there. But there are no exclusive chapters on political themes as such.

Koutilya envisaged a Welfare State in his Arthashastra. The State had to afford security of life and property to the individual. The state was expected to give stability to the social order. The state had to give relief to the poor. The State had to establish State orphanages, State widow homes etc. and the state had to protect people against natural calamities.

The king was identified with the State and vice versa. Koutilya insisted that king should promote learning and culture. The king was expected to respect pious and learned men. The king had to encourage 'yagnas' and sacrifices. The king would appoint Purohitas who were well versed in sacred lore and equally proficient in the art and science of Government. The king was also expected to examine the daily accounts of income and expenditure for which the office of Controller General was responsible to the king.

Koutilya included weights and measures, registration, statistics, census, sanitation, etc. among the functions of the States. The State policy towards labour was thorough and efficient. Wages were to be paid at previously settled rates. The king was to reserve half of the annual product to be kept for use in times of distress. All these point to the fact that the State of Koutilya was a Social Welfare State. Koutilya suggested that the State should own forests, mines and manufacture of salt and intoxicants.

Check Your Progress - I

What is Mathsyanyaya?

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'Function' as crystallised in caste acquired a conspicuous position in Hindu social Thought. The duty of the individual is identified with the duty of the society and his welfare with social welfare. Even the moral purpose of the society and that of the individual are held to be the same. The rights of the individual merged into those of society. The performance of his function is his right and his rights are social rights.

There was no clear distinction between State and the Society. The Government was part of the society. The society itself was viewed as a political, religious, economic and military organisation. The political perspective was not emphasised. As a result, a distinct concept of state had not emerged. The terms 'Government' and 'State' were synonymously used. Generally, all governments were monarchical. Hence 'King' had become synonymous with Government and state.

There was no conflict between secular and religious forces in Ancient India. Government was not sovereign in the Austinian sense of the term. It could not alter the social order at its will. The preserving of the social order was merely its function. It has coercive power but had to use it only in the interest of the society. Law had its ultimate source in the Divine will. Sovereignty was embodied in the law. But, still, no component of the society was absolutely sovereign. The Pluralistic theory of sovereignty is applicable here. The individual was a member of several groups of the State. State was merged into the social order. The Principles behind the social order were omnipotent. These principles were known as 'Dharma', Law, Virtue and Duty.

7.5 KINGSHIP

Political Thought in Ancient India mainly concentrated on Monarchy as it was the most common form of Government. There is not as much speculation about the origin of the State as about the origin of kingship. This aspect is dealt in the 'Shanthy Parva' of *Mahabharatha* in the dialogue between Yudhishtara and Bhishma. The Ancient Indian Thought has advanced three main theories about the origin of kingship, the theory propounded in the *Aithareya* Brahmana in the Vedic age, the divine origin theory put forth in the 'Shanthy Parva' of *Mahabharatha*, the Smritis of Manu and Yagnavalkya, some of the Puranas and the Social Contract theory of Buddhist writings. Buddhist writings are secular in outlook and emphasis. The Koutilya view is also secular in so far as the origin of the kingship is concerned. The Vedic theory holds that the origin of kingship was the result of military necessity.

'Shanthy Parva' of *Mahabharatha* constitutes an important source on the origin of the State. According to this, the origin of State took place through two stages. In the first stage people exercised self-righteousness and governed themselves. However, this stage disappeared with a degeneration of the character of the people, when they took to vices, like drinking, greed, wrath and self-indulgence. This state of affairs disturbed the world order, destroyed sacred vedas and created great concern for the God. As a result, the Gods sought the intervention of Brahma to remedy the situation. Accordingly Lord Brahma issued a sacred treatise which embodied the principle of the four-fold life of 'Dharma', Artha, Kama and Moksha. The concept of

Dandaneethi has also emerged as an organic part of this theory which has come to be identified as a law of punishment. Similarly in response to the request made by the God, Lord Vishnu had selected a person to uphold and enforce the principles of the sacred treatise. Thus the institution of kingship seems to have had divine sanction. This was evident from the sources of Mahabharatha.

The main function of the king was to protect the earth in thought, word and deed and carryout the established laws in accordance with dandaneethi. In all the texts similar versions are given.

The secular theory of the origin of kingship is found in koutilyas Arthashastra and Neethisastra and the works of Buddha and his followers. The anarchic situation made the people select from among themselves a person who could protect the righteous and banish those who deserved to be banished. In return, they agreed to give him a portion of their rice production. This theory is contractual and secular in nature.

The writers made an attempt to limit the powers of the monarchy in order to ward off the dangers of despotism. But the society could not provide effective checks on the despotism of the King. People had the right to kill a despotic king. The choice before the people was between a despotic king and anarchy, i.e., a kingless state. People preferred the former to the latter. The ministry was also an important institution of the state in ancient India. The king, despite his proficiency in all the sciences, he could not act without reference to Ministers. As Sukra observed, "the Moarch who follows his own will is the cause of miseries, gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects". The effectiveness and importance of the advice of the Ministry depended upon the personality of king. But normally, the advice of the Ministry was headed by the king.

The Republican system forms a shortlived phase in the history of the Hindu Polity. But it marked a glorious period. The desire for self Government among Hindus was reflected in the rise of republican states.

7.6 DHARMA

The concept of 'Dharma' is very comprehensive and includes topics like Law, Custom, Morality, Virtue, Religion, Duty, Piety and Religiousness. 'Dharma' is a concept which comprises rules that are intended to regulate the personal and social conduct of individuals and the collective behaviour of the community. The duty of the State, rather the aim of the State, is to protect and promote 'Dharma'. Dharma is eternal and has its source in Vedas. Both the king and the people are controlled by 'Dharma'. Thus Dharma implies the democratic principle.

The term 'Rita' is a derivative of 'Dharma' and stands for supreme law which governs and controls nature. 'Nature' includes Gods also. 'Rita' is an organised principle of the Universe. Dharma insists on rewarding the right and punishing the evil. Manu says that 'Dharma' holds together the mineral, the plant, the animal and the human orders of life. 'Dharma' is a guiding principle to every individual.

Dharma's role in preserving the social and political order is more important than in ensuring the welfare of an individual. The study of politics was designated as 'Raja Dharma'. If a king violates the dictates of the 'Dharma' the people can revolt. The concept of 'Dharma' has made the Hindu Monarchy a limited one or a constitutional one.

7.7 DANDA

The Means through which Dharma is established is 'Danda'. This concept has been referred to in *Mahabharatha's* 'Shanti Parva'. Bhishma tells Yudhistara that a king should always hold the rod of chastisement, and exercise 'danda'. It is only through 'Danda' that a king can protect

8.2 MANU - SOURCES

'Manu' may be taken to signify what the English 'Man' does ("the eponymous ancestor of the human race) and the 'Law Book' attributed to him called *Manusmriti* which roughly might have been composed or compiled during 200 B.C. It was a 'recollection (Smriti) of what the diverse previous schools of thought (vedic) had set down as prescriptions and observances. The principal objective of *Manusmriti* seems to be to generalize and systematize the rules of conduct that had come over from previous 'ages' for the purpose of reconstructing or reorganizing the Indian society.

It is undoubtedly the most authoritative and influential ancient Indian treatise on religious law and social responsibility ('Dharma' and caste) and is part of a vast literature known as *Dharmasashtra*. It reveals the everyday life and customs of ancient India during the epic period.

The most influential of Hindu law books is indisputably the famous 'code' of Manu. The exact date of its composition cannot be ascertained. There are references in *Manusmriti* which relate to remote antiquity. Manu appears quite often in the *Mahabharata*. Max Mueller, who was one of the greatest indologists opined that Manu might have belonged to the 4th century A.D. But George Buhler who was the most distinguished student, editor and translator of Manu, held that work was in existence even in 200 A.D. However, the basic social and political conditions of India did not seem to have changed much between the 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. Indeed, the social ideas of Manu come close to those of the *Mahabharata*.

8.2.1 Classification of the Society

The fundamental focus of *Manusmriti* is the fourfold classification of social organisation derived from 'Vedic' Hymn that the 'Brahmanas', 'Kshathriyas', 'Vysyas' and 'Sudras' sprang respectively from the head, arms, thighs and feet of the Creator, which was reiterated by Manu. It follows that the Brahmanas are the highest among men. A brahmana is conceived as an incarnation of the law. The purity of his origin entitles him to everything in the worlds. Learning is the predominant occupation of the Brahmana. But Manu allows him to take to agriculture also. Kshathriyas should offer sacrifices and offer gifts and protect the people. Like *Mahabharata* the *Manusmriti* also emphasises the need for harmonious relationship or association between Brahmanas and Kshatriyas for the sake of the welfare of the world. For the Sudras the Law prescribed only one occupation, which is that of serving the other castes. They are barred from all sacred learning. It is laid down that he who explains the sacred law to a Sudra sinks and destroys himself along with his pupil. They go to hell. No where in Manu are Sudras held in high esteem. For instance, it is mentioned that a twice-born person, who does not study the 'Vedas' but who applies himself to worldly study falls along with his posterity to the condition of Sudra. The social organisation is based on the superiority of Brahmanas due to their knowledge, that of Kshatriyas due to their valour, that of Vyshyas due to their wealth in grain and other goods. But the superiority of Sudras can be determined only according to age. In some contest Manu declares that Sudras are born slaves. Manu points out that Vysyas and Sudras must be compelled to perform their prescribed jobs lest the world should be thrown into confusion. This was the social scheme which the Government was expected to enforce.

8.2.2 Conception of Law

Manu accords a pivotal position to law. Manu extends the sources of law beyond the sacred texts. 'Sruti' or the 'Veda' and 'Smriti' or traditions, which are embodied in the institutions, constitute the prime authorities which could never be questioned. Manu also mentions two other sources of law, viz., the customs of virtuous men and one's own inclination. Taken together, they constitute the sacred law. Legal disputes could be resolved through the dictates of sacred law. So, Manu advises the judges to depend on the Eternal Law for the administration of justice.

The Ancient Indian Thought did not emphasise that the State's Chief function is to make and enforce laws for the regulation of individual behaviour. The foremost duty of the State was to enforce and maintain Dharma. Although the Brahmins were given a key position in maintaining Dharma, the State in India did not become a theocracy dominated by a single caste or religion as it happened in Europe.

Since the State came into being to prevent anarchy, it became the symbol of law, order, justice and security. The state exists for securing a happy life which can be achieved only by following 'Dharma' 'Artha', 'Kama', 'Dharma' is concerned with individual and social maintenance of social order and enjoyment of life. For the enforcement of Dharma, the State was permitted to use 'Danda'.

The liberty of the individual had been the focus of attention in the political speculation of the west. But in the case of Ancient India, the social hierarchy based on varna dharma and the administrative structures devised were such that the basic emphasis was on the performance of the respective functions. As a result liberty of the individual received marginal importance. Further, the thrust on the welfare functions also seems to have minimised the liberty. This was essentially due to paternalism of the State.

Centralisation was another feature of the Ancient Indian polity. Even the enforcement of justice and law tended to be a royal function. Villages came under royal officers. All ships were owned and let by the State. Prostitutes were placed under the control of Royal department. Gambling was regulated and licences were issued by the State.

The functions and activities of the State in Ancient India covered almost all aspects of life. This did not mean that the liberty of the individual was drastically curtailed. The bureaucracy worked in close cooperation with trade-guilds. In these guilds the voice of the people counted a great deal. Moreover with the implementation of the principle of decentralisation to some extent and the extensive delegation of powers to village Panchayats, individual liberty was ensured in Ancient India. But later the appointment of Royal officers to supervise the local bodies strengthened the Central Government's Control, resulting in the curtailing of individual liberty. The cause of individual liberty in Ancient India may be examined from the point of view of the social background and the political system prevailing at that time. The basis of social order was the caste system, which had legal sanctity. There prevailed a system of social gradation which militated against the exercise of liberty. In the modern sense, it could be attributed to the system of privileges characterising the Hindu social order. Certain objective conditions for liberty were missing. As C.P. Bhambri observes 'Centralisation', bureaucratisation, concentration of powers in the hands of the king, caste gradation were the factors "which curtailed the individual liberty in ancient India".

In the later Vedic period the institution of caste grew and occupied a prominent place in the social thought of that time. The caste system had a direct impact on the Governmental theory. The origin of caste is in the 'varna' system. The 'varna' system seemed to have emerged when differentiation between the Aryans and the Dravidians was made on the basis of colour leading to division in the primary ranks. Initially economic forces and warfare divided the community into different groups of functionaries 'Function' was the basis for categorisation and gradually it became an ethical principle. Every individual should fulfill the function assigned to him. Caste determines the function of an individual. The theory of function is embodied in caste. A warrior's son is held to be best fitted to be a warrior and should marry into a martial family to continue the martial tradition. Here the principle of heredity is observed. All sections of the society should observe endogamy and follow their hereditary occupations. It is mentioned that 'Sudra' has been given the lowest rank and hence has no right to complain.

Religion played an important role in the Ancient Indian polity. Religion preached respect for 'Varnashrama Dharma' and had its own impact over the social and political life of the people. The king had to appoint a domestic chaplain and follow his directions.

The Royal priest occupied an important place in the Cabinet and ample provision was made for the settlement of Brahmanas on revenue free lands. Belief in astrology and in the power of omens and portents were wide spread. The king required the services of the priest to exhort the soldiers on the battle field.

Koutilya proposes the exploitation of religion for political ends. He suggests various ways in which spies disguised as religious preachers could make use of popular superstitions in the interest of the king. He went to the extent of advising the concealment of deadly weapons inside the idols for the destruction of enemy kings who might come to the temples for religious prayers. During financial emergency, Koutilya advises the king to plunder temples on flimsy pretexts. On one side he upholds the position of Royal priest and brahmanical cannon and on the other side he permits the use of religion as an instrument of statecraft. He sacrifices the theology at the altar of politics. Koutilya said that the King was the commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the State. The king was required to inspect elephants, chariots, horses and infantry of the armed forces. Arthasasthra picturises an ideal form of paternal monarchy. Koutilya advises the king to give active assistance to the agriculturists by making arrangements for the supply of good quality seeds, cattle and enough money. The king's duty was to construct reservoirs, new irrigation works, roads and buildings

7.10 SUMMING UP

The State in ancient India was the centre of society and the society's welfare depended upon the State. The State had multifarious functions. The market superintendents and trade officers belonged to the State Bureaucracy. But they were also functioning as officers in charge of people's morals. These officers tried to harmonize divergent interests. The State made liberal grants to temples and monasteries but did not control them.

Thus in brief, it may be mentioned that the ancient Indian polity had comprehensively dealt with socio-politico-economic-cultural and ethical matters concerning the citizens in particular and the state in general. It had touched varied dimensions and the problems of the state and suggested with remedial measures for the establishment of a welfare state.

7.11 SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. U.N. Ghoshal : *History of Political Theories*

7.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. What are the various sources of Ancient Indian Thought?
2. Explain the nature of relationship between the State and society.
3. Explain the theories of origin of State.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. What were the functions of the king in Ancient India?
2. Explain the concept and Role of Dharma.
3. The contribution of Ancient India is more on the art of Government (statecraft) than the theory of State-comment.

UNIT-8 : POLITICAL IDEAS OF MANU AND KAUTILYA

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8.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able

- 1) to examine Manu's contribution to the Ancient Indian political thought
- 2) to explain Kautilya's political philosophy and to analyse his work, Arthashastra, with reference to administration and functions of the state.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the political philosophies of Manu and Kautilya.

his subjects. For fear of 'Danda' people would obey laws. There is a saying that 'Danda' keeps awake when everybody sleeps. Even 'Rajadharma' is identified with Dandaneethi. According to Koutiliya, 'Danda' is not merely a means or an instrument of punishment but a means of ensuring the security and prosperity of three sciences, the study of Vedas, the study of philosophy and the study of economics. It is said in 'Shanti Parva' that duly administered 'danda' would make for virtuous action.

The role of 'Danda' in human life is both negative and positive. By making use of punishment to keep individual men and women away from the path of evil and wrong doing it can keep Mathsyanyaya out of society which constitutes its negative aspect. On account of fear of Danda even robbers and decoits change their attitudes.

But 'Danda' has a positive role also to pay. The power of 'Danda' forces each individual and each 'Varna' to perform their respective duties. Morality and religion can flourish only under the shelter of 'Danda'. Law and order and peace are pre-conditions for social progress. Law and order can be maintained only when a king can punish all evildoers. In brief, 'Danda' is the instrument of public security, and as such it is the foremost political principle.

In Mahabharata the concepts of Dandaneethi and Rajadharma have been developed. 'Shanti Parva' of Mahabharata says that Bhishma considered Dandaneethi the science of Politics and Chastisement. He also considered the origin of Dandaneethi to be divine. But Koutiliya considers Dandaneethi a human work.

Bhishma says that in the beginning there was no king, no sovereignty, no evil and no chastisement, People lived righteously protecting one another. Gradually, greed for acquisition of property arose among men. This gave rise to rain, confusion, sexual indulgence and other evils. Righteous living disappeared. Gods were frightened and sought the help of Brahma, the Creator of the Universe. They complained that the human beings on the earth stopped doing pious deeds and indulged in vices. They requested him to do something to better their lot. Lord Brahma created a treatise of one lakh verses in which almost all the subjects were dealt with in detail.

This treatise was essential to the attainment of a happy and good life. It was a treatise on polity containing instructions for the proper organisations of the Government, the armed forces, alliances with other powers, enemies, allies, neutrals, Knowledge of weapons and their proper upkeeps, disorders among the troops, methods of dealing with the enemy, etc. There was also a chapter on virtues necessary for the growth and prosperity of the State as well as the vices which would cause decline and downfall. This treatise was a comprehensive document. The Lord said "For the good of the world and for establishing 'Dharma', 'Artha', and Kama, - virtue, profit and pleasure - among them I have composed this science. Assisted by chastisement of Danda, it will protect the world. Dealing with rewards and punishments, this science will operate among men. This came to be known as *Dandaneethi*. Dandaneethi was studied and mastered by Lord Shiva. Since the span of human life was short, Shiva shortened the thesis to ten thousand verses. Lord Indra reduced it to five thousand verses. Brihaspati further reduced it to three thousand, which was further cut down to one thousand verses. This is how the origin of science was traced to superhuman sources by Bhishma.

7.8 RAJADHARMA

Rajadharma is also an important concept set forth in Mahabharata. The concepts of Dandaneethi and Rajadharma constituted the core of Bhishma's political Thought. Bhishma says that the concept of Rajadharma is a means of controlling the world. All other 'dharma's' are included in Rajadharma because in the ultimate analysis every thing depends upon the proper performance of the duties by the king. If the king discharges his duties well, the peace, order and security would prevail everywhere and men would become virtuous, righteous and dutiful.

8.2.3 Origin of Kingship

Maintenance of the social order through the enforcement of law necessitated the creation of kingship. Regarding the origin of the king, Manu mentions that there was no king in the beginning. As a result, the people found themselves in trouble and fled in all directions. For their protection the Lord created a King. Thus kingship is divine in origin and utilitarian in purpose. The king, according to Manu consists of the eternal particles of the Gods, Indra, Varuna, Yama, the Wind, the Fire, the Sun and the Moon. The king performs all these functions on earth and surpasses all created beings in lustre. Therefore, he is indispensable for the attainment of justice. All should honour the king. Manu emphasises that it is foolish and suicidal to hate him and disobey him. Thus, it is evident that the institution of kingship derives its authority from divine sources. It is a divine justification for the legitimacy of king in the Mundane world.

According to Manu, the king should be endowed with the qualities of modesty and humility. He should be well versed in sacred and secular lore. He should tirelessly exert himself to conquer his senses. He who conquers his senses can keep his subjects in obedience. He must overcome sexuality, greed and wrath. He should perform religious ceremonies and worship the Brahmanas before attending to the business of the Government. This should be the routine schedule of the king. He should meet the people who come to see him and must consult his Ministers.

8.2.4 Functions of the State

According to Manu, chastisement is an important aspect of the law. It is the real king and manager of affairs. It prevents the castes from intermixture and corruption. If the king did not punish those worthy of punishment the stronger would 'roast' the weaker. The lower ones would usurp the higher places which would result in a threat to property. Manu also recognises that man is by nature a depraved being and so a guiltless man is hard to find. Punishment, therefore, is necessary for keeping the world in order, and the object of punishment is the good of the people. The king should behave like a father towards all people. Manu prescribes a special type of relationship between the king and the Brahmanas. The king should lavishly give to Brahmanas to enable them to devote themselves to learning. If they are poverty stricken, the kingdom will be afflicted by famine. The king will get the benefit of long life, prosperity and enlargement of his dominion, if he looks after the well being of the highest category of people in the caste hierarchy. The king receives 1/6 of their spiritual merit. A Kshatriya should never usurp a Brahmana's property.

A king who cannot protect his subjects from robbery is a dead and not a living king. It is the duty of the king to regulate the economic life of the community. Traders are open thieves who need to be watched and controlled by the king. Besides, the king should check theft, adultery, defamations and violence. Thus the political power in ancient India was to be exercised by the two classes viz., Kshatriyas and Brahmanas. It was a nexus between these two dominant castes who monopolised the power and controlled the social hierarchy.

8.2.5 Ministers and Officials

Manu makes references to Ministers who are essential for the discharge of Government functions. He prescribes 7 to 8 ministers, men of birth, learning, heroic valour and trained warriors. Every day the king should consult the Ministers on peace, war, finance, endowments and general administration. In this context Brahmanas are also given a distinct place. The learned Brahmanas i.e., the Royal priest must be consulted before the commencement of any enterprise. The consultations must be held in a solitary forest at midnight or midday. Women and old men must be kept off from places of Counsel, particularly women who betray secrets.

8.2.6 Local Governments

The basic unit of Government was the village which was to have a headman. From the village Headman upwards every official must keep his immediate fully informed of all happenings within their jurisdiction. The whole sphere of local Government was placed in charge of a minister at the Headquarters. A contingent of soldiers must be stationed for every 300 villages. Manu prescribes salaries to these personnel payable in kind or land. The strict supervision and control of all the officials was the main duty of the King. Corrupt and evil minded officials must be given the punishment of confiscation of property.

8.2.7 Taxation

According to Manu, the land tax should be $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the crops, i.e., the gross product. A 50th of cattle and gold may be taken by the king. The duties on traders should be fixed on the basis of sale and purchase. Mechanics, artisans and Sudras who lived by manual labour should work for the king for a day in each month. If any treasure is discovered half of it must go to the Royal exchequer and the other half to distribution among Brahmanas.

8.2.8 Justice and Judicial Administration

In all Hindu political theory protection of Justice is held to be of supreme importance. If a thief escapes punishment the guilt falls on the king. Those who help the thieves with food or shelter should be executed. Manu prescribes capital punishment to those who murder Brahmanas, women or children. Those who pick-pocket, for instance, had two of their fingers cut off. Caste had a pronounced impact on the law of morality. Manu objects to adultery because it might result in a mixture of the castes, which was a sin. Manu prescribes very stringent punishments to those who indulge in rape and sexual assaults on women. The punishments, range from death to amputation of legs and hand. However, a special concession was extended to Brahmanas who indulged in similar activities, since in their case they were to be either banished or subjected to tonsure of the head. Killing a Brahmana was prohibited, as evident from the statement, "no greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmana". Therefore, a king must not even conceive in his mind any thought of killing a Brahmana. At the worst, Brahmana was only to be banished and even then he must be allowed to take all his property with him.

Judicial administration and procedure occupy a prominent place in the code of Manu. Often the disputes in the villages arose from land litigation or settlement of boundaries. Such disputes must be examined in the presence of a gathering of villagers and also that of the litigants. In important cases the king himself must preside over the court, but he must always be assisted by Brahmanas and learned councillors. In the absence of the King, learned Brahmana should act as judge assisted by three councillors. Sudras will never be allowed to interpret the law. If a Sudra pronounces a sentence or judgement the kingdom will sink into a quagmire. Thus, the judicial function was to be performed by the king in association with the Brahmanas.

Manu does not prescribe any ethical principle to govern foreign policy and military affairs. It is left to expediency. Manu recognises the importance of ambassadors in conducting negotiations with foreign states. As a general rule, the king should look upon his immediate neighbours as a foe. The neighbour of the foe should be treated as a friend.

8.3 CONCLUSION

The theory of government as illustrated by Manu was profoundly influenced by Hindu tradition and philosophy. It presents a picture of the socio-economic, cultural and religious environment prevailing in the second century B.C. Primarily, the focus of Manu was the institution of kingship. It was explained in a rigid social framework of fourfold Varnas - Brahmana, Kshatriya,

Vysya and Sudra. This hierarchy of social castes and their relations formed the integral theme of his political philosophy. Kingship in all its various aspects revolves around this social organisation. The social organisation was based upon Hindu religious traditions. Therefore Manu's primary concern was with the preserving and protecting of the ethical autonomy of the society. As such Manu's account is not a theory of State but an account of Government and its functions. Finally Manu did not attempt to view political phenomenon as a distinct entity but discussed it in the context of wider social purposes and objectives connected with religion and the spiritual and ethical assumptions which constituted the base of ancient Hindu society. Hence the significance of Manusmriti is to be sought not in the ambit of modernists but in ideas of much wider one of human relations and external problems.

8.4 KAUTILYA AND HIS ARTHASHASTHRA

Kautilya occupies a prominent place in the history of the Ancient Indian political thought. In Ancient India at a time when there was a complex amalgam of diverse aspects of social life often resulting in a blurring of perspectives, Kautilya endeavoured to clarify political phenomena. Though it is difficult to compare the political concepts of Western Thought with those of the Ancient Indian Thought, Kautilya's brilliant exposition of statecraft and religion and morality is marked by a degree of modernity. It is no wonder that often parallels are drawn between Machiavelli of the 16th century Europe, and Kautilya, in their perspective of politics as an independent phenomenon. Moreover the socio-political environment in 400 BC of which Kautilya was a product, was comparable to that of Machiavelli's times. However, the greatness of Kautilya lies in the fact that he could conceive of political phenomena without any ethical or moral overtones at a time when the influence of religion was all pervasive.

Kautilya is traditionally identified with Chanakya, Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya (322-298 BC), King of Magadha (Modern state of Bihar). But ironically, the text of Arthashashtra does not deal with the problems of a great empire or kingdom stretching across the whole of North India, but with the 'Techniques of power' concerning the king of a small kingdom'.

His monumental work, Arthshashtra, ('Treaties on the political good', translated by R. Shamasastry, Mysore, 1961) was primarily concerned with the question of stability in the kingdom and sovereign power of the king, whether realized through policy or subterfuge.

Kautilya's work, Arthashashtra, was perhaps the most significant product of the Ancient Indian Political Thought. But it should be noted that Kautilya was not the first writer on 'Arthashashtra' since he was preceded by quite a large number of such writers. Indeed, the very first sentence of Kautilya's Arthashashtra reads as follows: "This Arthashashtra is a compendium of almost all the Arthashastras". This, however, does not detract from the greatness of Kautilya's achievement. He is the foremost of all the writers on 'Arthashashtra' in Ancient India. He is superior to them because his Arthashashtra is not a mere summary of the works compiled by his predecessors but a virtual reconstruction of the subject. As a scheme of administrative organisation and as a treatise on statecraft the Arthashashtra is unsurpassed in Ancient Indian literature.

Its great merit is that it treats politics as an independent branch of study, freed from all religious constraints which marked the 'Dharmasashtra' literature.

Kautilya's Arthashashtra is essentially a treatise on administrative theory and practice. Political theory or philosophy falls outside its scope. It was designed as a guide to the King, as a manual for the administrator and not as an exposition of the theory of State. Themes like the origin of state are, therefore, discussed incidentally. There is no exclusive chapter on the duties of a king dwells on the daily programme of the king and the manner in which he has to conduct the affairs of the kingdom. In Kautilya's scheme the king was the pivot around which the whole machinery of the State revolved. The activity of the State was not centred on policy

and limited to the maintenance of internal law and order and protection of the people from foreign aggression, it extended to such areas as had come to mark the Welfare State of modern times. Besides providing security of life and property to the individual and stability to the social order, the State considered its duty to provide relief to the poor, the needy and the destitutes.

Kautilya's political philosophy could be discussed in two parts, viz., the first part covering the origin of King, functions of the King, 'Danda', theory of government education of the King, qualifications of the King, Council of Ministers, Civil and Military administration Welfare functions, etc. and the second part devoted to his views on Statecraft.

8.4.1 Kautilya's Views on the Institution of King

Kautilya considered the position of the King in relation to social organisations. Kautilya defined the position of King as that of a servant ('Dasya' or slave). The King makes sacrifices for the sake of his subjects. He should be prepared to give up even his wife, if asked to do so by his subjects. This might look strange, but it only emphasized the king's duty to sink his individuality in that of his office. As observed by Kautilya, a king has no personal likes since they are no other than those of his subjects. This shows the lofty sense of sacrifice expected of a king which elevates him from the status of a constitutional slave of that of a moral preceptor and exemplar. While explaining the origin of the Kingship, Kautilya refers to the law of the Jungle 'Mathsyanyaya' according to which to end the evil state of affairs, the people made an agreement with a patriarch (Manu) son of the Sun. The agreement of the people with him in Kautilya's opinion, involved payment of taxes to the ruler. As per the theory of Kingship, the taxes and punishments imposed by the King are necessary in the people's own interests which enables him to ensure the security and prosperity of his subjects.

8.4.2 Danda

The concept of 'Danda' is of great importance in Arthashastra. Danda is the means of ensuring the security and prosperity of the three sciences namely, the sacred canon ('trayi') philosophy ('onvikshaki') and economics ('vartha'). The worldly affairs have to be regulated and conducted with the instrument of 'Danda'. The application of 'Danda' is justified on the ground that it safeguards man's worldly existence.

8.4.3 Theory of Government

The theory of Government involves three important aspects - the administration of the King, the Officials and the mechanism of administration. The king constituted the Chief element of the State. He selects all the Assistants; directs the Heads of the administrative departments, and replaces bad officers with good ones. The king, in other words, is the kingpin of the whole administrative machinery appointing, guarding, correcting, strengthening and shaping its different factors. Kautilya attaches a great deal of importance to the Council of Ministers. It is a law and principle of the Constitution that the king cannot act without the approval and co-operation of the Council of Ministers. Manu calls a king foolish who attempts to carry on the administration by himself. Kautilya in spite of being a great advocate of monarchy believed that matters of State should be discussed by the Council of Ministers and whatever the majority decides the King should carry out. The Arthashastra says that the king should follow the majority decision of the 'Mantri Parishad' in all extraordinary matters relating to the State. In this context Kautilya recalls the importance of 'Mantri Parishad' of Indra who was called "thousand eyed", although he had only two eyes. It was because of the fact that Indra had thousand wise members on his 'Mantri Parishad' who were regarded as his eyes. In the same way, Kautilya considers the appointment of the 'Amathya' (officials) necessary for carrying out the work of the Government.

In respect of the administration of the rural area (Janapada) Kautilya emphasised that the administrative acts relating to the 'Janapada' depended, upon the 'Amathya'. The 'Amathya' is the motive force behind the security and development of the rural area. Protection of the people from the external enemies, improvement of waste lands, collection of taxes and fines are essential functions of administration in the rural areas.

8.4.4 Education of the King

Kautilya was astute enough to realise the importance of sound intellectual training and moral discipline to the keeping of the king on the path of duty. In this regard he comes close to Plato who prescribed an intensive study for the Philosopher King. According to Kautilya, the king should be proficient in 'Veda', Philosophy, Economics and Politics. The king should, from early stages, be taught by competent teachers and scholars. He should also learn military discipline. He should know how to exercise control over the sense and the six great enemies, viz. lust, hot temper, greed, vanity, haughtiness and jealous. Only when the King is imparted training in these matters he can become a mature administrator.

8.4.5 Civil and Military Administration

According to Kautilya, the King should be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the State. As such, it was his duty to inspect the chariots, elephants, horses and infantry. While punishing the criminals, the king should be resolute and merciless. The King should keep a watch over the behaviour of his own officials as well as that of his enemies. This involves the setting up of an elaborate system of espionage on the widest scale possible.

As regards the policy of providing state relief to the people in times of calamities, Kautilya remarks that the King shall show favour like a father to his people when they are in distress. The King is required to maintain the infants, the aged, the diseased and the distressed persons, helpless as well as barren women and the sons of women who are without guardians. Further, Kautilya's King assumes a paternal character as he is expected to give active assistance to the agriculturists by making arrangements for the supply of good quality seeds, cattle and also money. The King has to construct reservoirs for storing water repair old and build new irrigation facilities and make roads and construct markets. Active assistance should be extended to trade, commerce and Industry. For the purpose of mobilising the resources of the kingdom the King should impose taxes. He should collect a part of the agricultural produce as the share of the State.

8.4.6 Statecraft

The foregoing discussion shows that Kautilya was primarily concerned with the effective administration of the Kingdom. For this purpose Kautilya gave a detailed account of the functions of the King in relation to the socio economic order. His concern for stability, preservation and expansion of the domain is related to the art of the Government rather than any theory of State. For instance, the education of the prince, espionage network, constitution of Council of Ministers and welfare functions point to the wise policies and efficient methods of administration that the King should follow. Like Machiavelli who rendered valuable advice to the Prince for becoming a successful ruler, Kautilya also attempted to give clues or the suggestions to the King to emerge as a successful administrator. Therefore, Kautilya's contribution to the development of Political Thought may be described as a commentary on the art of Government or Statecraft.

Kautilya's concern in Arthashastra is primarily centred around the art of Government or statecraft. As a keen observer and analyst Kautilya gave a detailed account of the organisational net work of the Government and their functions. While explaining the administrative functions of the Government, he touches upon such important issues as financial administration, judicial administration, 'Mandala' theory, 'Sapthanga' theory art of warfare and espionage net work, and revenue administration.

According to Kautilya, the following are the main administrative functions of the Government.

8.5 MANDALA THEORY

The 'Mandala' theory received great attention in Ancient Indian Political Thought. Kautilya refers to the doctrine of Mandala which gives a symmetrical form to the relationships resulting from the quest for suzerainty and the consequent need of astute diplomacy and alliances. The Mandala is supposed to consist of 12 kings.

1. The 'Vijigishu' or the would be conqueror or the Sovereign at the Centre.
2. The Enemy
3. Friend of the 'Vijigishu'
4. The friend of the Enemy
5. The friend's friend of 'Vijigishu'
6. The friend's friend of enemy
7. A rearward enemy
8. A rearward Friend
9. Friend of the rearward enemy
10. Friend of the friend in the rearward
11. The Intermediary and
12. Neutral

In the whole spectrum of 'Mandala' the Vijigishu functions as a sort of balance of power by asserting his own supremacy. It is assumed that the two adjacent states are normally hostile and consequently two states with another intervening between them would be friendly, being common enemies of the latter. The neutral is the strongest power in the neighbourhood. The intermediary is intermediate in strength between the neutral and the other powers. Thus, Kautilya's structure of power politic is comparable to the Machiavellian idea of statecraft.

8.6 'SAPTHANGA' THEORY

In Ancient India there was a tradition of viewing the State as on organic whole. The political speculation before Kautilya had to reckon with this tradition. Kautilya refers to the seven elements of the state which constitute the 'Sapthanga' theory. These seven elements are the organs of the State. They are :

1. The 'Swami' or Lord, generally the King;
2. The 'Amathya' or Minister;
3. The 'Janapada' or territory;
4. The 'Durga' or fort;
5. 'Kosa' or the treasury;
6. 'Danda' or the Army;
7. 'Mitra' or the ally.

These seven organs are considered to be vital for the unity of the State. The state must have a territorial basis. It must provide adequate protection for the citizens and must have a well defined foreign policy. A well disciplined Army and stable revenues are of immense importance to the legitimacy of the state. Thus Kautilya in keeping with the tradition of Hindu political thought upholds the 'Sapthanga' cornerstone in the structure of the theory of state.

8.7 FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Kautilya pays attention to the revenues of the State which are of paramount importance to the efficient administration of the state.

• The functioning of the administrative system like maintenance of the courts the payment of the salaries of the officers and establishments, the Army and the financing of multifarious activities demand the generation of vast revenues. The State itself is the biggest land owner and business owner in the system of Kautilya. It owned ships and boats, conducted mining operations, monopolised the manufacture of salt, and took the whole of the forest produce. But that was not sufficient. It claimed a share in the income of every one else. It extracted a large tribute from the feudatories. It appropriated 1/6 of the produce of the land and charged extra fees for provision of irrigation. Thus nothing was manufactured, distributed, sold or consumed without contributing to the State exchequer. A heavy excise on drinks, dice, and prostitution brought in some revenue. Fines collected in the course of administration of justice also became part of the State's revenue.

8.8 JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

Impartial justice was recognised a necessary condition of sound Government. In Kautilya's scheme there were two grades of courts called 'Dharmasthiya' and 'Kantaka shodhana' respectively. The former consisted of a Bench of three judges - well versed in law who dealt with contracts, relations, between Master and servant, employer and employee, slavery, debts, deposits, sale of property, rights of ownership, inheritance and succession, damage to agriculture, boundary disputes, gambling, defamation, violence and robbery, conjugal relations and such other offences. The 'Kantaka shodhana' courts dealt with the protection of Artisans and Merchants measures against national calamities, detection of criminals by spies, improper social intercourse and miscellaneous offences. Preacher of discipline in the public service also came within its jurisdiction. Cross examination formed a striking feature of their proceedings. The courts should hold their sessions in big towns at the Head quarters of 800 villages, or four hundred villages and at the Head quarters of village circuits. Below them there were village Tribunals. The whole judicial administration was presided over by the Chief Judge. Above him stood the king, assisted by his ministers and lawyers.

The law which these courts administered was an amalgam of sacred law, contractual relations created by the parties, custom and statutory law. It is laid down that equity prevailed over the letter of the law.

Kautilya's Penal Code appeared to be a severe one, since it presented severe punishment even for minor offences. For the crime of giving false evidence the punishment was mutilation of the limbs. One guilty of causing injury to a sacred tree or intruding on the royal procession, was given capital punishment. Evidence constituted the basis of determining the punishments. Lack of sufficient evidence led to the dismissal of the case.

8.9 DIPLOMACY, WARFARE AND ESPIONAGE

Kautilya's doctrine of Mandala or circle of States is predicated on diplomacy. In inter-state relationship diplomacy was effected by moral consideration. Neither unprovoked aggression, nor violation of the neutrality of another state caused any surprise. Spies and secret agents could indulge in the spreading of falsehood and in immorality and also could freely resort to the use of poison or treachery. The existence of a number of states side by side, and the frequent outbreak of wars, led to a decline in inter-state morality. Diplomacy often became synonymous with travel, while unprovoked aggression ceased to excite public disapproval. All this points to the prevalence

of the very spirit of Machiavellian. The secret service or spies performed important duties. Its members noted all happenings, all trends and shades of public opinion and sent regular reports on them to their Government. They toured foreign states, tried to grasp the intention of their friends and the designs of their enemies. They tried to detect sedition and crime in the land of sojourn. They also watched the doings of Government servants of all ranks and reported them to the highest authorities. The spies were recruited from both sexes and all sections of the society. Kautilya emphasised that religion should be used in the service espionage. To carry out their tasks the spies could flout any norm, ethical, social, moral or religious. In so far as inter-state relations were concerned, Kautilya dealt with the politics of power, prestige and imperialism. He enumerated a six fold policy which should determine the relations of states with one another.

1. Treaty of peace,
2. War,
3. Neutrality,
4. Making preparation for attack without actually declaring war.
5. Seeking the protection of another; and
6. Making peace with one and waging war with another.

The sole guiding principle in making the choice would be the material welfare of the State. It is noteworthy that "the principle of expediency" is central to Kautilya's formation of the theory of state. Expediency, indeed, constitutes the main policy of the state. In respect of war, peace stability etc. The administrative hierarchy consisted of the king at the top followed by the Chief Minister and the Commander-In-Chief, in that order, answerable to the king in every respect. Kautilya's claim to greatness rests on his theoretical formulations concerning state craft at a time when no other thinker western or Eastern seemed to have attempted it.

8.10 SUMMING UP

The main contribution of Manu is the four fold classification of Society. The Social Scheme was evaluated according to this classification and the government was expected to follow this scheme. Manu gave prime position to law in the society. Manu held kingship divine. Judicial Administration occupy important position in the code of Manu. According to him foreign policy and Diplomacy should follow expediency. Manu's Political Philosophy revolves within the objectives connected with religious assumptions of the Ancient Hindu Society. Kautilya's Philosophy occupies a prominent place in the history of the Ancient Indian Political Thought. Kautilya's Arthashastra is a significant work on administrative theory and practice. The concept of 'Danda' is an important element in Arthashastra. According to Kautilya, the king should be the commanding chief of the armed forces in the state for the purpose of effective administration of the kingdom. Kautilya contributed a commentary on the Art of the Government or State-craft, while explaining the administrative functions of the Government, Kautilya deals with important uses as financial Administration, judicial administration 'Mandal theory', 'Sapthanga Theory', espionage and Revenue Administration well.

8.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. What are main features of Kautilya's Arthashastra?
2. 'Kautilya's Arthashastra is essentially treaties on 'State-craft' - Comment.
3. Explain Kautilya's 'Sapthanga' theory.
4. What, according to Manu are the functions of the State?
5. Explain Manu's views on the relationship between Society and the king.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Kautilya's views on Morality in politics.
2. Manu's conception of law and justice.
3. Kautilya's 'Mandala' theory.
4. Kautilya's Judicial administration.
5. Kautilya's views on spies.

– Dr. Smt. T.S. MOHANA

BRAOU

UNIT-9 : BUDDHIST POLITICAL THOUGHT

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- 9.0 Objectives
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- 9.3 Main features of Buddhist Political ideas
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- 9.4 Summing up
- 9.5 Suggested Readings
- 9.6 Model Examination Questions

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After seeing through this unit you will be able to explain Buddhism and the main features of Buddhist political ideas scattered in different sources.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The backwardness of India as compared with Europe is of relatively recent origin, dating only from about the middle of the 19th century. Ancient India was economically prosperous, philosophically rich and intellectually great. It has contributed great political ideas. There may not be platos and Aristotles but enough of machiavellian politics. Kautilya's Arthashastra, Sukra's Nitisara and Santiparva of Mahabharatha are but a few of the great ancient works containing great political ideas. The political maxims of those works are remarkable for their utility to the successful rulers.

Buddhism was a reaction against vedic religion. The political tradition of Buddhist India was in some respects antagonistic to the Hindu political ideas and at the same time it was influenced by the Hindus. Ethical basis of political ideas was a characteristic feature of Buddhist political tradition. The importance of righteousness is emphasised both in Pali canonical literature, in Jataka tales as well as in the writings of Buddhist poet and philosophers.

9.2 BUDDHISM

Gautama, the founder of Buddhism was a Kshatriya, son of Suddhodana, the Maharaja of the Sakyas of Kapilavasthu. He was born in about 566 B.C. He shared the growing pessimism of his times and left his home in quest of higher philosophical truths. Six years of concentration and profound meditation led to the discovery of truth which he claimed will cure all the ills of the world. Thus Gautama became the *Buddha or the Enlightened*. The centre of Gautama's doctrine lies in the Four Noble Truths, which culminate in the *Noble Eight fold Path*. The ultimate end of life, according to Buddha, is *Nirvana*, the eternal state of peace and bliss.

Middle path, that is, to avoid extremes of a life of ease and luxury and a life of severe asceticism is the best one according to the Buddha. His disciples are of two categories - the Upasaka, the lay disciple, who lives with family and the Bhikshu or monk, who led the life of an ascetic. Buddha was endowed with tremendous organising capacity. The community of Buddhist monks called *Sangha* founded by him became one of the greatest religious corporations the world has ever seen. The striking feature of Buddhism was its democratic character. Equal rights to all, irrespective of caste, sex and class was given in the Buddhist Church. Buddha died in Kusinagara, at the age of 70 (C. 486 B.C).

It is a remarkable characteristic of Gautama that he denounced no religious beliefs. He rejected the Vedas, and did not denounce, but rather ignored them. He rejected sacrificial ritual and caste, but denounced neither. Tolerance and gentleness were deeply rooted in his nature and mode of thought. Gautama strove to uproot only egotism, and this could be done only by love, not by hate.

Buddhism was raised to the status of a world religion by Ashoka. Great rulers of India like Kanishka and Harsha were converted to Buddhism. Growth of *Mahayanism* permanently divided the Buddhist Church. The development of this sect is ascribed to Nagarjuna, a contemporary of Kanishka.

Buddhist literature is composed both in Pali and Sanskrit language. The Pali tongue is a highly elaborated literary language developed from the Prakrit vernaculars of middle northern India. The words and doctrines attributed to Buddha and developed by his disciples is known as the *Tripitaka* or the Pali canon. They were composed probably in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. The *Milinda-Panha* was the most famous work written in Pali language. It explains Buddhist priest. The greatest commentator of the Pali Canon was *Fuddhaghosha* in the first half of the 5th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on all the books of Pali Tripitakas, partly in Sanskrit and partly in mixed Sanskrit. He was also the author of *Visuddhimagga*, the systematic and philosophic treatise on Buddhist doctrine.

The most important philosophic work of Mahayana schools is *Prajnaparamita*. *Asvaghosha*, a great Buddhist Sanskrit poet and philosopher was a contemporary of Kanishka. He wrote *Buddhacharita* an epic and *Saundarananda*, a *kavya*. Next to *Asvaghosha*, *Nagarjuna* was a great philosopher.

Important sources for the Buddhist political ideas.

- 1) The Pali Canon and Jatakas
- b) Late Canonical works written in Sanskrit and mixed Sanskrit.
- c) The Buddhist poets and philosophers.

The *Jataka* or Book of the Previous Births of the Buddha consists largely of ancient Hindu tales which illustrate the value of self-sacrifice. They have been adapted by the Buddhists to form narratives of the previous existence of Gautama Buddha as a *Bodhisatva* (Wisdombeing or future Buddha)

The period of the study of the Buddhist political Ideas of ancient India extends roughly from the sixth century B.C., to the third century A.D.

9.3 MAIN FEATURES OF BUDDHIST POLITICAL IDEAS

9.3.1 Evolution of the World, Man and Social Order

In the Pali Canon, Buddha traces the whole history of creation in the present world-cycle from the beginning. Buddhism believes in cosmic law of periodical dissolution and reconstruction of the universe. The creation of the present social and political order was necessitated due to

the continuous physical and moral decline of man. In the original *State of Nature*, human beings lived in a condition of God-like perfection. They were transformed into ordinary human beings due to greed and pride. The rise of the Institution of property, the state and society was a consequence of the progressive fall of man.

When the individuals were seized by the passions of sex and greed, they established the *institution of property* by mutual agreement.

The creation of this Institution implies the foundation of rudimentary social organisation for its safeguard by a kind of social contract. The Institution of Kingship (or the State) came into existence in this process. When the fourfold evil of theft, lying, censure and violence appeared among the people, they made a compact with the most distinguished individual in their midst. That distinguished individual was the ruler (the king) and he should maintain security in the realm and the people should pay agricultural tax. Thus origin of Kingship is traced to a governmental compact between the community and its distinguished member. The origin of the social order into four castes or classes is traced to division of labour. According to the Buddhist social pattern, the Kshatriya takes precedence over the Brahmana. The monk of high learning and character is assigned the foremost position in society. The Buddhist theory explains the origin of caste system, not as in the Brahmanical canon by the dogma of divine will but by the rational principle of the voluntary selection of the occupations by the people according to their nature.

The Buddhist theory occupies an important and distinctive place in the history of our ancient political thought. In the first place, it justifies the King's office in the interest of the institution of property in particular and the public order in general. Secondly, the compact of the people with the ruler involved in the theory is bilateral in character. The ruler has the obligation of punishing the wrong-doer in return for payment of customary dues by the people.

The same theory is elucidated in the late Pali works and also in the writings of the Buddhist philosopher like Buddhaghosha.

9.3.2 Politics and Ethics

Politics or "*the Kshatriya science*" is conceived as a dismal science by the early Buddhist canonists. It is based upon a creed of unbridled selfishness and ruthless cruelty for the sake of one's self-interest. Politics belongs to a group of low arts and wrongful occupations by which false ascetics and Brahmanas used to earn their livelihood. This is explained in a few Jataka stories also. In other words, Politics is the antithesis of Ethics.

The above views are repeated by the late canonical writers and Buddhist poets and philosophers. Politics or *dandaniti*, says *Jñānavaiṇya sūtra* belongs to a list of sciences that are unfruitful and are opposed to salvation. Politics should be avoided by the person who is established in the Bodhisattva Vehicle'. A concrete application of the principle is made by the poet Asvaghosha in his epic poem *Buddhacharita*. He says that politics is the abode of delusion. It involves the intoxication of power as well as toil and obstruction of righteousness by causing the oppression of others.

The relation between politics and Ethics is dealt with at great length by the poet *Aryasura* in his work called *Jatakamala* or 'The Garland of Stories'. The antithesis or antagonism between politics and Ethics is justified by *Aryasura* on the ground that statecraft is dominated by the ends of wealth and pleasure instead of virtue. It is based upon a creed of merciless and shameless exploitation of the subjects by the ruler in his own self interest. The author condemns the standpoint of the Brahmana canonists that the need of self-preservation is above the moral law.

The strong moral reaction of Buddhist ethics is due to the extreme tendencies of the *Arthashastra* statecraft. The *Arthashastra* teachers condoned and even justified the breaches of

morality in the interests of the state and prosperity of the people. On the other hand, Buddhism stood for the unqualified supremacy of the moral law over governmental affairs.

9.3.3 Origin of Kingship and its authority and obligation

The origin of Kingship is given by a simpler theory in a Jataka story. In the first cycle of the world, the people assembled together, and having found a man handsome auspicious, commanding and altogether perfect, selected him as their King. It is evident from the stories that the origin of Kingship is by a process of election by the people. But this theory falls short of Buddhist canonical theory of the origin of Kingship, which explains it in terms of a compact between the ruler and the people. The Buddhist canonical theory refers to the original state of Nature which was synonymous with anarchy and which led to the institution of Kingship by popular election. The stories express in the popular style of folklore the conception of Kingship as a universal institution originating in popular election.

The authority and obligation of the ruler is not systematically given in the Pali canonical texts. But there are scattered references. A king is the first among men and the chief of men. He is the symbol of the state. The king occupies the highest social and political status. There are a series of cliches bearing upon the principle of the King's authority. 'A woman without a husband, a river run dry, and a realm without a king are naked'. 'One needs a king and a warrior for protection'. Just as the tree is the refuge of birds, so is the king refuge of his people.

It is the obligation of the king to provide security to his people. If he fails to do so, the king forfeits his title to the obedience of his subjects. It is the moral obligation of the ruler to give protection to the ruled in return for their obedience. The king's happiness both here and hereafter depends upon his fulfilment of this obligation.

In his work called *Chatuhsataka* (The four centuries of Versus) the philosopher *Aryadeva* developed the Principle of ruler's obligation to his subjects. According to *Aryadeva*, the king is a mere slave of the multitude, because the people pay him one sixth share of their crops, and he is bound to protect his subjects. The above ideas are developed for the first time into a remarkable doctrine of sovereignty of the people with the king functioning as their slave or servant. However, the Buddhist philosopher fails to develop his doctrine into a complete theory of rights and the people's right to resist a tyrant.

9.3.4 Principles of Political Righteousness of Dharma

The most important contribution of the early Buddhist Canonists to our ancient political thought consists in their 'total' application of the principle of righteousness to the king's internal administration and to his foreign policy. The best king is one, who devotes himself to the welfare of the whole realm including the animals.

It is abundantly clear from the Buddhist canons and also from the Buddhist writings that Righteousness is the essence of Kingship as well as King's best policy. The King should avoid specified vices and practise specified virtues. When the King becomes unrighteous, the whole kingdom becomes unrighteous and even the nature becomes hostile. The king by his example influences for good or for evil the moral stature of his subject and hence causes their happiness or misery.

Righteousness or *Dharma* is a king's best policy because its observance leads to the strength and property of the state, and its neglect gives rise to the weakness and dissolution of the same. The rule of righteousness imposes some principles and policies of government like protection of the good, impartial justice, friendliness towards neighbouring kings, and temporal and spiritual benefits to all classes of people.

The early Buddhist conception of virtue or righteousness (dharma) as the basis of kingship is repeated and developed by *Aryasura* in the stories of his *Jatakamala*. According to *Aryasura*, the principle of political righteousness implies the qualities of impartial justice, whole hearted devotion to subjects welfare and the spirit of universal sympathy for the suffering accompanied by a passion for its relief.

The theory involves a number of important principles. They are firstly, that righteousness is king's best policy. Secondly that righteousness is the King's obligation because of the influence of his example upon his subjects. Lastly, it imposes upon the king a number of important qualifications such as, good company, virtuous behaviour, charity and forbearance, self-control, universal friendliness and compassion for promotion of universal happiness.

The Buddhist thinkers strongly criticise the Brahmanical ethics in relation to state-craft. The Dharmasutras and the Mahabharata condone and even justify treacherous war and questionable methods in war and diplomacy. But according to the Buddhist theory, ethical standards are applicable uniformly to the ruler and his subjects and equally upon king's public and private acts.

9.3.5 Principles and Policies of Government

The Buddhist canonists repeat a few principles and policies of government more or less after the *Arthasastra* pattern. The admonitions to the kings in jataka stories frequently refer to the principles of their government. The king should avoid falsehood, and anger and whatever he has done in the past under the influence of passion and sin, he should not repeat. A Kshatriya who becomes negligent in his rule loses all his wealth.

The king should choose as his ministers, who are steady learned in affairs and free from the vices of gambling, drinking and so forth. He should appoint other officers likewise. The king should himself examine the income and the expenditure. Punishment for wrong doers and rewards for good and efficient should be promptly given.

To the Buddhist thinkers, the powers of very great rulers are: the strength of arms, the strength of wealth, the strength of officials, the strength of the high birth, and the chief of them the *strength of wisdom*. According to the canonists view, the strongest state is that which is ruled with the greatest wisdom, while the weakest state is that which is equipped with resources in men and money but not directed by wisdom.

The poet *Asvaghosha's* ideas of government are scattered in his works, *Buddhacharita* and *Saundarananda*. In *Saundarananda*, reference is made to the King's application of the five expedients, namely, conciliation (*sama*), bribery (*dana*), creating dissensions (*bheda*), force (*danda*) and restraint (*nigama*) against his enemies. These ideas are an application of some familiar *Arthasastra-smriti* principles and policies of government.

The strongest single factor in the composition of *Aryasura's* ideas of governmental principles and policies is the conception of righteousness or Dharma. But other factors are often found in conjunction with the same. In the *Jatakamala* stories, descriptions of different kings are given: The Kings were gifted with the strength of will, intelligence, material force and good fortune. They were attached to discipline and well versed in the principles of the three Vedas, Philosophy, politics and economics. They ruled their subjects like their own children. Some of these principles are a repetition of the familiar *Arthasastra-smriti* pattern.

In his own interest, according to the Buddhist philosophy, the king should adopt a comprehensive programme of benevolent rule over his subjects: the agricultural, the mercantile and the industrial classes are to be protected, so that they may benefit the king by the payment of taxes, the troops are to be supported so that they may help him to win victory in war, the virtuous and the learned are to be honoured so that the king may acquire thereby spiritual merit for himself. The king also should adopt a sound canon taxation and kind consideration towards friends and relations.

9.3.6 Clan Republics

The early Buddhist canonists also discussed the problem of a distinctive type of polity, namely, that of the *aristocratic clan* republics. It is to be remembered that Buddhism was nourished in the environment of a few such republics in Eastern India. In their writings there is no philosophical theory of the republics, but a prepared list of the source of strength as well as weakness of a particular community of this type are given. A comprehensive list of the qualifications of the citizens of a republican community is also given. These comprise the virtues of public spirit, a wise conservatism, moral rectitude and discipline, piety and mutual harmony. The essential weakness of a republican constitution was its proneness to internal dissensions.

9.3.7 Conception of a World-Ruler

In contrast to their practical attitude to the problem of republics, the early Buddhist canonists give us a highly idealistic picture of the world-ruler (chakravarti). The world-ruler is credited in the texts with a conventional list of 'seven jewels' (or treasures) constituting his imperial regalia: the list consists of the wheel-treasure, the elephant-treasure, the house-treasure, the treasure of a woman, the treasurer and the adviser. The attributes of this ruler comprise not only universal supremacy and successful administration at home and abroad, but also and above all, righteousness or dharma.

There should be reciprocal love and affection of the ruler and his subjects and also provision of universal security for his subjects including the dumb animals. In the sphere of foreign relations the chakravarti's conquest is achieved not by force but by righteousness or dharma. The world-ruler possesses an exceptional moral stature. It is held that the world-ruler is the temporal counterpart of the spiritual world-teacher.

The remarkable conception of the the world-ruler (chakravarti), the temporal counterpart of the spiritual world-teacher (Buddha) is repeated in the Sanskrit works belonging to the later *Hinayana* as well as the *Mahayana* schools. The divine wheel, the palladium of the universal ruler, is itself associated with the principle of righteousness. His conquest of the world is achieved without violence and his supremacy over his vassals is founded upon the latter's agreement to observe righteousness.

9.3.8 Theory of Brahmanical Privileges

Aryasura, in his work *Jatakamala* rejected the smṛiti theory of the Brahmanical privileges. According to the Smṛiti theory theft is the approved mode of livelihood for Brahmanas in times of distress and poverty. It is no sin for them to enjoy the wealth of others. Secondly, the *de jure* claim of universal ownership, that is, all the wealth belongs to the Brahmanas. These two privileges of the Brahmanas are categorically rejected by the Buddhist philosophers.

9.4 SUMMING UP

The Buddhist political ideas are scattered in various works of Buddhist canon, the Jataka and in the writings of the Buddhist poets and philosophers. They did not develop a consistent and systematic philosophy of politics as politics is conceived as a dismal science. Nevertheless the ancient Indian philosophers expounded political doctrines of far-reaching importance.

Buddhist ideas of a cosmic law of periodical dissolution and reconstruction of the universe and the evolution of man and his institutions is remarkably original. Buddhism explains the origina of social order into castes by the rational principle of voluntary selection of occupations and not by the dogma of divine will as in Brahmanical canon.

Buddhism stood for the unqualified supremacy of the moral law over governmental affairs. To the Buddhists, dharma or righteousness should apply to both private and public life, to the internal administration of state as well as its foreign policy. The origin of Kingship in governmental contract by the principle of election is a original political idea of the Pali Buddhist canonists. The obligation of the ruler and the ruled is reciprocal. The King should maintain peace and security in the realm and people should pay one-sixth share to the king. The remarkable doctrine of the sovereignty of the people with the king functioning as their slave or servant (*dasa*) for wages was developed by Philosopher Aryadeva in his work called *Chatuhsataka* (The Four centuries of versus).

It is in the happiness and welfare of the people lies the happiness of the king; it is no happiness to the king which is not the happiness and welfare of the people. This ideal is fundamental to Buddhist political tradition. Every ruler should endeavour to translate this ideal into reality and establish a welfare state. Buddha propagated the ideal of human brotherhood and personal equality. He was a staunch supporter of democratic views and taught the people that their prosperity depended upon the maintenance of their popular local assemblies.

9.5 SUGGESTED READINGS

T.W. Rhys Davis : *Buddhist India*

9.6 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Explain the main features of the Buddhist political ideas.
2. Briefly examine the Buddhist theory of periodical evolution of the world and of man and the social order.
3. Describe the conception of the world-ruler and its significance.
4. Examine the relation of political and Ethics according to the Buddhists.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Explain the authority of the ruler and his obligation according to the Buddhism.
2. Examine the concept of political righteousness and its application to politics.
3. What are the principles and policies of government?

– Dr. K. VEERAM REDDY

BLOCK IV

MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 10. Machiavelli

Unit 11. Hobbes

Unit 12. Locke

Unit 13. Rousseau

Unit 14. Utilitarian and Liberal Democratic Theory

Unit 15. Idealist Theory - Hegel & Green

BRAOU

UNIT-10 : MACHIAVELLI

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- 10.2 Life and works of Machiavelli
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- 10.9 Model Examination Questions

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain the differences of approach between Machiavelli and his predecessors.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the political philosophy of Machiavelli and also compare his philosophy with the political philosophies of his predecessors.

10.2 LIFE AND WORKS

Niccolo Machiavelli was born in Florence in 1469 in a wealthy family. In 1494, at the age of 25, he entered the government service with the help of his friends. He was appointed a clerk in Chancery. At that time, the Prince Medici was at the height of his power. By dint of hard work Machiavelli rose to the position of Ambassador. One of the greatest political theorists and historians, Machiavelli gained intimate knowledge of politics in the service of the Florentine Republic (1498-1512). In 1498 he became Secretary to the Second Chancery a post which he held for fourteen years. As member of the mission, he visited several countries and places like France, Rome and Berlin. In 1512 the Republic came to an end as Florence had made the mistake of siding with the loser in the conflict between France and Julius II. Machiavelli's political career also came to an abrupt end. When the French were driven out from Italy the victorious pope made the restoration of the Medici a condition of peace. As Machiavelli was involved in a conspiracy, he was arrested, tortured, and finally released to live in retirement on his farm near San Casciano in the country. He occupied himself with literary pursuits. He produced the most important of his works during this period. His writings mark the beginning of modern political thought. The most important of his political writings were (1) *Il Princip* (The Prince) written in 1513 but published in 1532, (2) *The Discourses on the first decade of Titus Livius*, 1519. His work, *The Prince* might seem a cynical treatise with a view of treachery and tyranny. But it should be read in the context of his and also along with his *Discourses*. It should be considered an expression of his hope concerning the possibility of creating a stable and strong State in Italy. Though its aim is noble, the means suggested are amoral and but he was not offered any post. In 1527 a new republican government was set up in Florence when the imperial troops sacked Rome. After a fatal illness, he died in 1527.

Machiavelli was born during a period of political turmoil in Italy. The Italian cities lost much of their political independence and there was chaos and confusion in Italy. Italy was divided into five municipalities. (The Kingdom of Naples, the territory of Roman Church, the Duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice and Florence) which were at war with one other. Both the Church and the State had lost their power. Moral degradation had set in. Soldiers and leaders preferred self-interest to patriotism. As a true patriot, Machiavelli was actively engaged in serving the cause of Italian independence and progress.

10.3 VIEWS ON HUMAN NATURE

Machiavelli believe that men are greedy, ungrateful, fickle minded, deceitful and cowardly. He regards them as a compound of weakness, folly and knavery, intended by nature to be the dupe of the cunning, the prey of the despotic. "All men are wicked, they do things, for their personal gain and profit, they are anti-social, anarchical. He is a rascally mean, greedy sensual creature, more ready to forgive the murder of his father than the seizure of his property; gratitude for him is but the hope of benefits to come and what he calls his love but love of himself, Man is a timid creature and a creature of habit. Human nature is essentially selfish, egotistic, profoundly aggressive, acquisitive. Men are always in a condition of strife and competition". (Discourses).

Men's conduct is primarily determined by two motives (1) love of novelty and (2) love and fear. They are ambitious by nature. This instinct never leaves men to whatever height they may rise. The reason is that by nature men are avaricious, and that feeling to fulfil their inordinate desires they become discontented and dissatisfied with themselves. This causes change in their fortune; for as some men desire to have more, whilst others fear to lose what they have, enmities and war are consequence. According to Machiavelli men desire liberty. They want to be free to lead their own independent lives. Since the only way to be independent is to make others dependent conflicts between individuals and between states arise.

G.H. Sabine observes that Machiavelli has made cynical remarks about human nature. Hobbes later on followed Machiavelli: "Men are not only in general weak and ignorant, they are naturally vicious and are made good only by necessity". According to Prof. Maxey, the average man's conception of Machiavellism would probably be summed up in such well known aphorism as "might is right," the end justifies the means" necessity knows no law."

10.4 VIEWS ON MORALITY AND RELIGION

In contrast to the medieval political thinkers, who appealed to authority and the will of God, Machiavelli appealed to history and reason. He set aside the law of God as the guiding factor in human conduct. He did not take any interest in the burning problems of the Middle Ages such as the relationship between the Pope and the ruler. His great book, The prince, was the first one in which the two powers-the divine and the human were clearly seen in collision. His method is historical, observational, realistic, scientific and comparative.

Prof. Dunning pointed out that Machiavelli's distinct views on morality and religion separated him from the political thinkers of the Middle Ages, He separated politics from ethics. Unlike other medieval thinkers, he ignored the issues of the ethical purposes of the state. "He is not immoral, but unmoral in his politics... He is not irreligious, but unreligious" (Dunning)." "Where the safety of one's country is at stake there must be no consideration of what is unjust; merciful or cruel, glorious" or shameful; on of the contrary everything must be disregarded, save that course which will save her life and maintain her independence" (Discourses), Machiavelli justified immoral and unreligious works for the sake of security and peace of the state. He emphasises that the interest of the State justifies every thing, that the end justifies the means and that the state has no ethics but has its own ethical entity.

However, Machiavelli does not ignore religion and morality. He is aware of the importance of these two to the political life of the state. He attaches to them only an instrumental value. The Prince is not bound by moral or religious consideration. He is above all of them. Machiavelli's attitude towards morality and religion is scientifically based and contributed greatly to the clarification of the problems of politics.

10.5 FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Machiavelli adopts Aristotle's classification of governments into monarchy, aristocracy and polity (constitutional democracy) and their corrupt forms of tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. He agrees with Polybius and Cicero regarding the mixed form of Government as the best one and the most stable. He only deals with monarchy and republican forms of government in detail. In the Prince he critically examines the problems of monarchy and in the Discourses on Livy he deals with the republican forms of government.

Monarchical forms of Government: During those days the conditions were not suitable for the establishment of a Republican government in Italy. Hence he deals mainly with monarchies or absolute governments in the Prince. Italy was disintegrated and was marked by rampant corruption. He worked for the unification of Italy through his writings. He suggested a strong and absolute government for the achievement of unification a government of rule that would not be inhibited by consideration of morality or religion, justice or injustice. His prescription was dictated by the logic on necessity of the issues. He emphasised the necessity of having a Prince or an absolute monarch for achieving unification. As is pointed by him, "It is vain to look for anything good from those countries which we see now-a-days so corrupt, as it is the case above all others with Italy. France and Spain also have their share of corruption, and if we do not see so many disorders and troubles in those countries as is the case daily in Italy, it is not so much owing to the goodness of their people in which they are greatly deficient, as to the fact that they have each a king who keeps them united not only by his virtue, but also by the institution of those kingdoms, which are as yet preserved pure". Machiavelli presented the following as essential guide lines for the Prince:

- a) **Use force ruthlessly:-** The prince should observe this rule most carefully to strengthen his regime. Machiavelli says: "It is to be noted that in taking a state the conqueror must arrange to commit all his cruelties at once, so as not to have to recur to them everyday, and so as to be able, by not making fresh changes to reassure people and win them over by benefiting them. For injuries should be done altogether, so that being less tasted, so they will give less offence. Benefits should be granted little by little, so that they may be better enjoyed. Above all, a prince must live with his subjects in such a way that no accident of good or evil fortune can deflect him from his course, for necessity arising in adverse times, you are not in time with severity, and the good that you do does not profit, as it is judged to be forced upon you and you will derive no benefit whatever from it."
- b) **Use persuasion artfully:-** The prince should develop devices for making the people live in peace without making any real concessions to them. One of the most important devices is propaganda.
- c) **Act decisively:-** Machiavelli opines that hesitation leads to destruction. It is safer to commit mistakes so long as one moves firmly, promptly and decisively, than to lose the initiative by uncertainty.
- d) **Maintain a strong national army:-** The prince should maintain strong army to support him and his decisive acts. In urging the advantages of a 'regular' army, he recommends the appointment of the citizens of the state. In *Antee Della Querra* he extols the virtues of the citizen army which, he thinks, is unflinchingly committed to the cause which is defending.

Republican form of Government:- He says that republican form of Government is more stable than the monarchical form. However, he accepts that it is difficult to establish a republic. If the people are virtuous, united, strong and independent, the republican form under which economic equality prevails is the best. His appreciation of the republican form of government is due to the following reasons:

- i) The people as a whole are wiser, if there is no vacillation.
- ii) The Judgement of the people "especially in such matters as the choice of officers and the assignment of honours, is in general sound and unimpeachable."
- iii) A popular government is best qualified to maintain political or legal institutions.
- iv) Republican government is conducive to the achievement of material prosperity. There is greater adaptability to change in circumstances under this form of government than under any other form.
- v) In a republic there is opportunity for reason and freedom to work which ensures liberty.
- vi) The popular government is more stable than a princely state.
- vii) A republic is less corruptible than a monarchy. However, Machiavelli seems to be ambivalent with regard to the question of choice of form of government, although in the unmodified context of his emphasis in security he stresses the superiority of government by people over that by Princes.

10.6 THE PRINCE

Machiavelli, as already mentioned, divides states into republics and principedoms. Principedoms are to be established only in places where people are desparate and degenerated. Every principedom must have a single law giver with unlimited powers. A successful prince is not only outside-law but also outside morality, There is no standard by which his acts may be judged except by that of the degree of success attending his acts. He openly suggests the use of cruelty, perfidity, murder or such other means provided that they are used with sufficient intelligence and secrecy. A successful prince must according to him, observe certain principles.

1. He must not rob his subjects or touch their wives. These are the two things on which people are easily provoked. A man may forgive the murder of his father but not the confiscation of his property or the abduction of his wife.
2. A prince should be careful in spending public money. If he becomes poor as a result of his generosity he becomes despicable. If on the other hand he seizes the wealth of his subjects, he is hated. Generosity brings him few friends, and avarice makes countless enemies. Therefore, he ought to be careful in spending public money.
3. History teaches that only those who did not shun deceit and break faith were successful. Those who were honest fared badly.

Therefore, the prince must be both a fox and a lion. A lion cannot guard himself from the snares nor the fox from the wolves. The prince must be a fox to know the snares laid by the enemy and a lion to hunt the wolves.

Check Your Progress - I

According to Machiavelli what are the two things that provoke the citizens adversely?

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4. A prince is not supposed to keep his promises that are imposed on him by force. He may break them without a sense of shame. A prince need not keep his promises if the keeping of them would hurt him or if the reasons for his promises are no more. However, it is expedient for the Prince to create an impression in the minds of his subjects that he is good, constant, just and unquestionably honest. The majority of the people are guided by outward appearance. The number of persons with a sense of discernment is small.
5. It is well for a Prince to be merciful, faithful, religious and upright. But if it is necessary to be cruel, he must change according to the circumstances. It is more humane to punish a few disturbers of peace with death than to allow disturbances to increase which later may cause more bloodshed. All avoidable injury must be at one stroke.
6. A prince must not be timid and vacillating, cowardly and feminine; Otherwise, he will be despised. A ruler must always appear to be brave and firmly determined. The subjects should have the impression that his decisions are irrevocable. This creates respect and wins fame for him.
7. A prince must see that he is both loved and feared. If he wants to choose one of the two, if safer to be feared, for the people are ungrateful, false, cowardly and interested in their own welfare. Hence, fear is to the advantage of the Prince. At the same time, the prince should see that he is not hated.
8. There are two ways of contending one in accordance with laws and the other by force. The first is proper to men, the second to beasts. Since the first method is often ineffective, it becomes necessary to know how to use both.
9. A Prince who wants to win fame for himself must be engaged in exceptional deeds which are much discussed. There ought to be an air of greatness in all his doings. He must show magnanimity in friendship as well as in enmity, in rewardings as well as in punishing. He must honour exceptional men. He must appear occasionally at public meetings and conduct himself gracefully.
10. A prince must see that he is respected and not hated. A Prince who is respected need not be afraid of conspiracy because the conspirators will not be supported by the people. No fortress protects the prince so securely as the love of the people.
11. When two powerful neighbours wage war against each other, the Prince should champion the cause of the one who is likely to win. If he adopts a neutral attitude, he will be left without a friend and becomes the victim of the aggression of the victor. If he takes part in the war and if his ally is victorious, the latter will be under an obligation to him. Even if the Prince is more powerful than his neighbours, he should interfere in the war in order to destroy one and make the other dependent on him.
12. The prince must not seek the assistance of a great power in order to attack the third. This is dangerous. If he seeks the help of a third power, he surrenders himself to the power of the more powerful. Such a step may be taken under only compelling circumstances.

13. A prince should not postpone war. It will only enable the enemy to arm himself all the more.
14. A prince should not succumb to flattery. Flattery is a pest. It is an ever present handicap to the Prince. So the Prince must encourage his trusted advisers to tell him the truth. He must show that he will not be offended if truth is spoken to him.
15. A Prince must select his ministers with wisdom. He must select gifted and faithful ministers. If he makes a wrong choice and if he realises his mistake, he ought not to hesitate to dismiss them.
16. Finally, a Prince must disband the old army which is not submissive to him, and create a new one. He must dedicate himself with all earnestness to the art of the war. This knowledge elevates him to the position of a ruler and maintains him as a ruler. The prince can organise a strong army only if he knows how to command it. In peace time he must often go on hunting expeditions. Hunting accustoms his body to hardship and enables him to know the geographical features of his country which helps him to defend it.

Machiavelli's Prince is one who makes capital of his vices and virtues alike. He is a true picture of the Prince that the age of despots produced in Europe. Yet, it must be understood that Machiavelli is not a believer in political absolutism. He recommended despotism only in special cases such as the formation of a new state and the reformation of a corrupt state. After the state is founded on sure and secure foundations. It can be made permanent only if the people have a share in government.

Check Your Progress - II

What should be the role of prince in a war among neighbours?

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10.7 SUMMING UP

Machiavelli's contribution to the history of Western political thought: Machiavelli has been the first political scientist since Aristotle to consider the principles of political government and he may be regarded as the father of modern political thought. He is the fore runner of Marx and of the theory of national states. He was a true patriot and an ardent nationalist. The following are his most important contributions to the history of political thought:-

- i) He adopted the historical method though it was historical more in appearance than in reality. His method was, mainly, observational based on shrewdness and common sense.
- ii) He was the first political thinker of eminence to make a distinction between ethics and politics; between religion and politics. The Greeks did not make such a distinction. On the other hand, they mixed up religion with politics and ethics, As L.Dyer observes, "he was prepared to sacrifice the peace and solidarity of humanity at the altar of an efficient national state and as was one of those who are chiefly responsible for the growth of modern nationalism. He was the first of modern writers to conceive of a secular national state."

"The Character of Machiavelli and the true meaning of his philosophy have been one of the enigmas of modern history. He has been represented as utter cynic, an impassioned patriot, an ardent nationalist, a political Jesuit, a convinced democrat; and an unscrupulous seeker after the favour of despots" (Sabine).

- iii) Pre-Machiavellin thinkers viewed the state as supernatural. They did not attach any importance to the individual. But to Machiavelli, the aim of the ruler is the security of human life and property. He insists that successful government must aim at security of property and of the life of citizens before anything else.
- iv) He broke with the medieval tradition that the political authority ought to be under the control of the religion. He made the state totally independent of the Church. As is pointed out by Prof. Sabine, 'The State as an organised force, supreme in its own territory and pursuing a conscious policy of aggrandisement in its relations with other states, becomes not only the typical modern political institution but increasingly the most powerful institution, in the modern society,'
- v) Machiavelli's attitude towards morality and religion contributed greatly to the clarification of the problems of politics.
- vi) He also distinguished private morality from public morality. It is an issue which survives to this day in practical politics and in international relations. "Economic determinism was one of the most prominent features of Machiavelli's political thought" (Maxey).
- vii) Unlike his scholastic predecessors, Machiavelli has become a prophet of one of the most important and powerful movements in human history—the prophet of national unity and national self-determination. He is the first conscious interpreter of the idea of nation and of patriotism. He became a revolutionary force in Europe.

10.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

G.H. Sabine : History of Political Theory.

10.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines

- 1. "Machiavelli had one theory for revolution and another for Government" (Sabine) Comment.
- b) Write an essay on Machiavelli's views on forms of Government.
- c) What are the qualities of a 'Prince' suggested by Machiavelli?
- d) What are the contributions of Machiavelli to the history of Western Political Thought?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- a) What are the political conditions of Italy at the time of Machiavelli?
- b) What are the views of Machiavelli's on human nature?
- c) Critically examine Machiavelli's views on morality and religion?
- d) Examine Machiavelli's place in the history of political thought?

– Dr. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

UNIT-11 : HOBBS

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- 11.0 Objectives
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- 11.2 Life and works of Hobbes
- 11.3 Scientific Materialism
- 11.4 Conception of Human Nature
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- 11.9 Individualism and Absolutism
- 11.10 Summing Up
- 11.11 Suggested Readings
- 11.12 Model Examination Questions

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to know

- 1) the theory of social contract as one of the important theories of origin of the state;
- 2) the impact of contemporary political developments on Hobbes;
- 3) Hobbes development of the theory of absolute sovereignty; and
- 4) the method which he adopted.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes and the social contract theory as propounded by him.

11.2 LIFE AND WORKS OF HOBBS

Hobbes was the first English philosopher who produced a comprehensive work on political philosophy. He lived during the most exciting period of English history. He was born in 1588 as second son of an undistinguished Vicar of Westport, near Malmesbury. His father deserted his wife and children when Hobbes was still a child. At the age of 15 he entered the Magdalen College at Oxford and graduated from it in 1608. He was not at all satisfied with the university curriculum and found it barren and profitless. He spent most of his time in the shops of book-sellers and stationers.

After leaving Oxford Hobbes became a tutor to the heir of William Cavendish, who later on became the first Earl of Devonshire. His intimacy with the Cavendishes encouraged the aristocratic, anti-democratic tenor of his thought and he preferred absolute monarchy. When the Civil War broke out in England, Hobbes fled to France, joined the Royalist group and stayed there for eleven years. He was the tutor of the exiled Prince of Wales for some time. He wrote his great work, 'The Leviathan' (The Common Wealth) and published it in 1651. But the contents of the book did not find favour with the royalists. It also attacked the papacy. It made

it impossible for him to stay in France. He secretly fled to England. He was allowed to live in England on the condition that he would keep himself out of political controversies.

When monarchy was restored in England in 1660, Hobbes was once more received at the royal court by Charles II who awarded a handsome pension then. However, this arrangement did not last long. His political activity was totally banned. He spent the last twenty years of his life on writing books on history, physics, Law and the Classical literature. He translated the Iliad and the Odyssey. His writings were occasioned by Civil Wars. He formed the link between Renaissance and Restoration. He died on December 4, 1679 at the age of ninety-one. The last period of his life was spent in controversy and in the writing of literary works.

Hobbes was greatly influenced by 'the scholastic logic and the Aristotelian science' and by the works of Euclid. He was also influenced by the violence, the brutality and the appalling waste of life and property which the Civil War in England occasioned.

He wrote several treatises on history, physics, law, etc. The following were his main works on politics of which the first three were of great importance:-

1. De Corpore (1655);
2. De Cive (1642);
3. Leviathan (1651);
4. De Homine (1659);
5. Two Essays: Human Nature and Corporate Politics (1640);
6. Thucydides (1628) and
7. Elements of Law (1650).

11.3 SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

Hobbes provided a scientific basis to the doctrine of absolutism and secularism and thus, deviated from his predecessors like Machiavelli and Bodin who followed the historical method. Bodin defended absolute monarchy and Machiavelli completely divorced morality and religion from politics. But neither Machiavelli nor Bodin had based their conclusions on a scientific basis. Hobbes felt that the Divine Right of Kings was not a substantial justification of absolute monarchy. He tried to base it on an incontrovertible view of human nature. He also provided a scientific and logical basis for the subordination of religion to the State. He adopted the geometrical method 'as the model on which all philosophical enquiry should proceed'. He viewed the physical world as only mechanical system in which every happening could be explained in terms of the preceding events. According to him, the only real thing in the world is matter and the science of motion. The various forms of matter are distinguishable only by the differences of motion inherent within them. This conception made him a pure materialist and mechanist.

W.T. Jones pointed out that "Hobbes has two different methods for ascertaining this essential information about man. One is the repeatedly enunciated, but never completely executed, programme of Physiology, Psychology, based upon the laws of motion. The other cuts away this basis in physics, though retaining the assumptions of complete determinism and of scientific objective and precision which that basis naturally involved, and begins from the alleged facts of introspection."

Hobbes was obviously influenced by the great changes that took place in the sphere of science. During his life time, mechanical science had been placed on a secure footing by Kepler, Galileo and Descartes. The foundations of the scientific study of psychology and magnetism had been laid by Harvey and Gilbert. It was only eight years after his death that the final exposition of the new Mechanical conception of the universe was given by Newton's theory.

11.4 CONCEPTION OF HUMAN NATURE

Hobbes insisted that the study of political society must be based on the examination of man's nature. He stated that man was nothing more than a compound of moving particles. He believed that if man could find the law governing the movements within him, he could easily understand his relation to his fellowmen and thereby the nature of the body politic. His most

initial work, Leviathan sets forth the theory of society based on a theory of man which in its turn based on a prior materialism. To Hobbes laws are man made and are meant to protect man against himself. Without denying the existence of God, Hobbes ruled out the existence of any divinely ordained moral laws. In the absence of an organised society there is a war of everyone against everyone. Society comes into being as a result of contract by which men give up a great deal of their natural liberty for the sake of security. The ideal state, in Hobbes view is that which ensures through an absolute ruler the greatest degree of security and stability. It is not surprising that Hobbes's doctrine offended both sides in the Civil War as they both regarded human law as the implementation of God's will on earth. He devoted the first book of Leviathan to the examination of human nature and motives which may be summed up as follows:

1. According to Hobbes, man is the matter as well as the artificer of that artificial man - the state.
2. A theory of cognition is developed from a completely mechanistic doctrine of sensation, i.e., from the assumption that sensation must consist in the movement of particles.
3. The chain of man's activities never breaks: as soon as one objective is fulfilled, the next one starts.
4. Man's liking or disliking makes a thing good or bad. He calls the thing of his liking good and the thing of disliking evil. The notions concerning good and bad are subjective, and being private, attract us.
5. Numerous passions from which a man generally suffers have been dealt with by Hobbes and he reduces all of them to the two original and elemental feelings: appetite or desire and aversion or hate.
6. According to Hobbes, there is no difference between man and man. He says, "Nature hath made men so equal, in the faculties of body and mind; as that though there be found man sometimes manifestly stronger in body or of quicker mind the difference between man and man is not so considerable." From this equality of ability, arises equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. If any two men desire the same thing, which obviously they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies and in trying to achieve their end try to destroy or subdue each other.
7. According to Hobbes, men have no pleasure but on the contrary a great deal of grief in keeping company, where there is no power able to overawe them all. Every man expects every other person to value him as he could value himself or in the way he should value himself and hence he is averse to the signs of contempt or undervaluing.
8. Hobbes finds in the nature of man "three principal causes of quarrel, viz., competition, diffidence and glory. The first makes men invade for gain, the second for safety and the third for reputation. They first use violence to make themselves masters of other men's persons, wives, children and cattle; the second to defend them; the third for trifles, as a world, smile a different opinion and any other sign of undervalue, either direct in their person or by reflection in their kindred, their friend, their nation, their profession or their name" (Leviathan).
9. According to Hobbes, man endowed with the faculty of reason by which he acquires the knowledge of consequences and the dependence on one fact upon another.
10. The chief subject of man's desire is self-preservation and desire for power. He is individualistic, self-seeking, fearful and competitive.

11.5 STATE OF NATURE

Without Civil state there is always war of everyone against everyone:

Man lived originally in a state of nature without the benefits of organised society or

government. All actions of men were controlled by two things, viz., (1) individual egoism and (2) the instinct of self-preservation. Hobbes described the condition of men, when they had no sovereign over them, in the state of nature in the following words, "Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war, and such a war, as is of every man, against every man ... For war consist not in battle only, or the act of fighting; but in tract of time, wherein the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known, and therefore the notion of time is considered in the nature of war; as is in the nature of weather. For the nature of foul weather lay not in shower or two of rain; but in an inclination thereto of many days together; so the nature of war consist not in actual fighting but in the known disposition thereto, during all the time is no assurance to the contrary."

In such a war there is no difference between just and unjust: "To this war every man against every man -- nothing can be unjust. The notion of right and wrong, justice and injustice have there no place, there is no common power, there where no law no justice. Force and fraud are the two cardinal virtues, justice and injustice are none of the faculties neither of body nor of mind ... They are qualities, that relate to men in society, not in solitude; it is consequent also to be same condition, that there is no property, no dominion, no mine and thine distinct; but only that to be every man's that he can get, and for so long as he can keep it ... In such condition, there is no place for industry; because the fruit there of is uncertain; and consequently no culture of the earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious buildings; no instruments of moving, and removing such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short...."

According to Hobbes, in the state of nature there was no absolute Power to command perfect obedience from all the subjects. The natural instincts of egoism and self-preservation make man see to his own interest. As there was no law or no notion of right or wrong, force and fraud came into being and men plunged into continuous war with one other. Though man wanted peace, his fear of others, his anxiety to maintain what he already had, his selfish and grasping desire for still more-these basic appetites and aversions led him to continuous strife with his neighbours. Such a state of affairs could have continued indefinitely except from the two factors inherent in man viz., Reason and Fear of violent death.

Man's reason has discovered the truth that peace has definitely more utility than war, and that fear of violent death has brought man's passion to live with his reason. Man's passion should be checked by force to maintain the peace and prosperity of the individual. Men could live in harmony with one another through fear of punishment or desire for profit. According to Hobbes, this purpose could be best served by instituting Leviathan or common wealth or a strong government capable of inspiring fear in those who disobey its laws and of giving attractive regards to those who obey its laws.

Check Your Progress - I

1. How was the life of man in the state of Nature according to Hobbes?

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11.6 THE LAWS OF NATURE

A Law of Nature (*Lex Naturalis*), according to Hobbes, "is a precept or general rule found out by reason, by which a man is forbidden to do that which is destructive of his life or takes the means of preserving the same; and to omit that by which he thinks it may be best preserved. For though that they speak of this subject, used to confound *Jus* and *Lex* and Law, yet they ought to be distinguished, because right consists in liberty to do or to forbear; whereas law determines and binds to one of them; so that law and right, differ as much, as obligation and liberty." In the opinion of Hobbes, the equal natural rights of men are responsible for making the state of nature a state of war, a war against each other. On the other hand, the laws of nature are the general principles dictated by reason. If a man follows these general principles he can escape from the anarchy of the state of nature and can easily achieve the goal of self preservation in a civil society. Some of the important laws enumerated by Hobbes are given below:-

1. "That every man ought to endeavour peace, as far he has the hope of obtaining it, and when he cannot, obtain it, that he may seek and use, all helps and advantages of war."
2. "a man he willing, when others are so too, as for force, as for peace and defence of himself he shall think it necessary, to lay down this right to all things and he contended with so much liberty against other men as he would allow other men against himself." G.H. Sabine observes, "For practical purpose the whole weight of this law is borne by the clause, 'when others are so too', since it would be ruinous to grant liberty to others if they would not grant the same to you. Thus the prime conditions of society is mutual trust and the keeping of covenants for without it there can be no certainty of performance but there must be a reasonable presumption that other persons will meet you on the same ground."
3. that men perform their covenants made.
4. Man who receives benefits from another of mere grace, endeavour that he which gives it, have no reasonable cause to repent him of his good will.
5. All men that meditate peace, be allowed the safe conduct.
6. A thing which cannot be divided, be enjoyed in common if it can be and if the quantity of the thing permit, without stint, otherwise proportionately to the number of them that have right.
7. every man must try to accommodate himself to the rest.
8. There must be some facility to pardon the offender if he repents.
9. Retribution of evil for evil. Man must not think of vengeance for the past evil but he has to think for good future.
10. Forbidding arrogance.
11. Equity.

Hobbes stipulated the above laws of nature as conditions to form a Civil society. Sabine observes, "Hobbes not only retained the laws of nature but gave them an important place in his political theory ... The laws of nature really meant for *Hobbes* a set of rules according to which an ideally reasonable being would pursue his own advantage, if he were perfectly conscious of all the circumstances in which he was acting and was quite unswayed by momentary impulse and prejudice."

Zagorin says, "To him the law of nature is not a pervasive principle of the universe, expressing the rational constitution of a divine mind. It is only a name for the means which the calculating human intelligence find efficacious to achieve its ends of preservation and contentment." On the concept of natural law, Weyper observes, "They are not natural law with the same connotation as they were in the Middle age; that is, with the assumption that they constitute the substance of

eternal justice. In Hobbes' case, natural laws are only counsels of prudence. They do not imply anything like common good. They only seek to bring into being those circumstances necessary to fulfil each individual good."

11.7 THE THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTRACT

Men agreed upon two fundamental rules which are prerequisites of peace : (1) Every man ought to endeavour peace as far as he has hope of obtaining it. (2) Man must contend with so much liberty against other men as he would allow other men against himself. It involves the surrender of their natural rights and acceptance of various checks and restraints on their natural impulses and passions for peaceful coexistence. The power of reason is not sufficient to control the selfish tendencies of man's nature. There should be some other power strong enough to enforce the dictates of reason on everyone and capable of punishing all violations.

In the circumstances now and above men wanted to put an end to the uncertain state of nature and to make contract to institute a generally agreeable power which might be found in the state or commonwealth. The Commonwealth brings into existence a single will in place of a multitude of existing wills. Hobbes says, "The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another is to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men that may reduce all their wills into one will."

It is a covenant of everyman with every other man. Every man should say to every other man. "I authorise and give up my right of governing myself, to this man or to this assembly, of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorise all his actions in like manner."

Before Hobbes, many philosophers tried to build up a theory of governmental contract in which the ruler and the people made a contract. But the idea of a social contract (to which the ruler is not a party) is peculiar to Hobbes. The contract is made only by the individuals among themselves in the state of nature. The sovereign or ruler is not a party to the contract but is above it. The contract justified all forms of government, i.e., monarchy, aristocracy or democracy. The sovereign is the result of the contract, but is not bound by it. Hobbes did not make distinction between the state, government and sovereign. The contract is unilateral and irrevocable. Cancelling the contract means reverting back to the state of nature.

Check Your Progress - II

2. What is Leviathan?

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11.8 CONCEPT OF LEGAL SOVEREIGNTY

The concept of sovereignty was enlarged by Hobbes. He formulated clear, a consistent and logical theory of sovereignty. According to Hobbes, the king possessed a natural and inalienable right to rule over his subjects. This right is acquired by the king as the subjects had agreed upon to surrender themselves to his will through the contract. Once the people had surrendered their right to govern themselves, they had no right to govern themselves. Thus the power of the sovereign is natural and inalienable. Through this doctrine Hobbes provided a legal basis

to his theory of sovereignty. Hobbes defines sovereign as that person 'of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenant with one another, have made themselves everyone the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence'. Thus the sovereign acquires a legal right to make laws and act on behalf of the multitude. The theory that the sovereign acquires power by mutual consent of the individuals made Hobbes an exponent of legal sovereignty.

Attributes and Functions of Sovereignty : Hobbes attributes the following characteristics to the Sovereign.

1. The sovereign is the sole law making authority. The individuals in the state of nature possessed this power. But they had surrendered it to the sovereign through the contract. Since sovereign is the source of Law, he is above law. According to him, law is the command of the sovereign.
2. The sovereign is absolute. The authority of the sovereign is not subjected to any other human power. It cannot be checked or restricted. There cannot be a rival or co-ordinate authority in the common wealth besides the sovereign.
3. The sovereign is the sole interpreter of the law. Even the laws of nature cannot bind him. They are only counsels of reason and have no compulsive force. He is not even bound by the law of God. Individual conscience cannot be pleaded against him as laws is the public conscience by which people agreed to obey.
4. The sovereign is the sole executive authority. He may choose and appoint counsellors, ministers and magistrates in times of both war and peace.
5. The sovereign is the highest source of justice. Judges are mere lions under the throne. Since all justice flows from him, he is above it. He creates the judicature.
6. The sovereign can declare war or conclude peace. He can maintain army and collect taxes to maintain it.
7. Property or any other right is created by the sovereign. He can take them away as he is their creator.
8. Subjects cannot call any account from the sovereign. He is not answerable to them. They cannot have a right to threaten, punish or depose him. They cannot choose any other in his place.
9. Sovereignty is indivisible, inseparable or incommunicable.
10. The only duty of the sovereign is to provide security to his subjects.

11.9 INDIVIDUALISM AND ABSOLUTISM

Hobbes' concept of sovereignty makes him an absolutist. In fact, his theory of sovereignty reduced the individual to the status of a slave surrendered to the master for protection. Sabine says; "The absolute power of the sovereign, a theory with which Hobbes name is more generally associated was really the necessary complement of his individualism." This individualism is in reality a thorough modern element in Hobbes. The state to him is an instrument or machine whose goal is preservation of the individual. Man is the artificer and the benefactor of the artificial man - the leviathan. Thus the end of the state is the preservation of the individual. Moreover, it is for preservation of life alone that the individuals surrendered their right to govern themselves to the sovereign. It is the duty of the sovereign to provide security. Thus Hobbes provides a philosophy with which utilitarians associate. He is a materialist too. The alternative to state is anarchy and insecurity to life and a life as depicted in the state of nature. Thus Hobbes combines individualism, utilitarianism, materialism and absolutism in his theory.

11.10 SUMMING UP

There are conflicting views regarding Hobbes's contribution to political philosophy. One extreme view is held by C.E. Vaughan. He says "so far as the vital development of political thought is concerned, Leviathan has remained, and deserves to remain, without influence and without fruit".

At the other extreme end Prof. Oakeshott says that it is "the greatest, perhaps, the sole master-piece of political philosophy in the English language". Sabine, too, says: "Hobbes is probably the greatest writer on political philosophy that the English speaking people have produced."

Hobbes's contribution to political philosophy deserves appreciation in respect of the following aspects.

1. He followed a geometrical method and tried to attribute the status of an exact science to politics.
2. His conception of human nature deserves consideration, though criticised.
3. His theory of social contract was later developed by Locke and Rousseau.
4. His theory of sovereignty was later developed by John Austin.
5. He became the forerunner of utilitarianism and individualism.

11.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

J.P. Suda : *History of Political Thought*

11.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.
 - a) Describe the state of nature as depicted by Hobbes.
 - b) "Hobbes is an individualist" Discuss.
 - c) Examine Hobbes's views on Sovereignty.
 - d) What is the contribution of Hobbes to Political Philosophy?
- II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each.
 - a) How did Hobbes analyse human nature?
 - b) Examine the Law of nature in the state of nature.
 - c) Is Hobbes a materialist?
 - d) What are Hobbes's views on 'Rights'?

– Dr. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

UNIT-12 : LOCKE

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- 12.2 Life and works of Locke
- 12.3 Conception of human nature
- 12.4 State of nature
- 12.5 Law of nature and natural rights
- 12.6 Nature of contract and emergence of civil society
- 12.7 Political sovereignty
- 12.8 Functions of government
- 12.9 Theory of individualism
- 12.10 Summing up
- 12.11 Suggested Readings
- 12.12 Model Examination questions

12.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain

- 1) the influence of contemporary events on Locke;
- 2) this difference between his views and those of Hobbes;
- 3) his development of a theory of democracy, liberty and property;
- 4) and his theory of popular sovereignty

12.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the political philosophy of John Locke with special reference to his social contract theory.

12.2 LIFE AND WORKS OF LOCKE

John Locke was born at Wrington in North Somersetshire on August 29, 1632. His father was a country lawyer of modest means. He was an Anglican with Puritan leanings. He fought on the Parliamentary side in the Civil War. Locke received his early education at home and Westminster School and had a Puritan upbringing. In 1652 he was sent to Christ Church College, Oxford. His University career was not bright because the narrow discipline of the place dulled his enthusiasm for formal studies. He did not make much effort to distinguish himself as a student. He was trained in the traditional curriculum of rhetoric, experimental science and medicine. He took his M.A. Degree in 1658. He was appointed a tutor at Oxford but he did not like teaching. He gave up the post and took to the study of medicine. He became assistant to David Thomas, who was an eminent physician. After two years of apprenticeship Locke established himself as a doctor. Locke undertook a skilful operation and saved the life of Anthony Ashley Cooper who later on became the first Earl of Shaftesbury. Lord Ashley Cooper invited Locke to be his physician and confidential Secretary. Locke worked with him for fifteen years. Ashley was a Tory. He was made the first Field Marshal of the rebel forces. He opposed Cromwell and was responsible for his overthrow. When Charles II came to

the throne he appointed him Lord Chancellor. As Secretary to Shaftesbury, Locke came into contact with the great men of the times in politics, science, medicine and letters.

Shaftesbury opposed Charles II, as the latter favoured Roman Catholics, and was dismissed from service. This affected Locke also, He returned to Oxford on health grounds. He moved to France for sometime. Later, Shaftesbury was again restored to his original post and Locke too assumed his old office. Two years later Shaftesbury was involved in a plot against Charles II. He was acquitted but had to leave the country. Locke took shelter in Holland. There, he came across many other great political exiles. He came close to William of Orange. Meanwhile James II became the King of England. In 1668 James II fled from England owing to the Bloodless Revolution William of orange and Princes Mary were invited to take the throne of England. Locke was appointed Commissioner of Appeals. In 1696 he was made Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. But Locke resigned the Job in 1700 on health grounds. He died in 1704.

As may be seen from this life sketch, the contemporary political events had immense influence on Locke. He actively took part in the political agitations. His experience in responsible administrative posts gave him a chance to analyse political phenomena.

Locke appeared as an author after he attained 50 years. Maxey says "his works rank among the highest achievements of human mind".

The following are some of his notable works.

1. Essays on the Law of Nature
2. An Essay concerning Humane Understanding
3. Three Letters for Toleration
4. Two Treatises of Civil Government
5. Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

12.3 CONCEPTION OF HUMAN NATURE

Locke believes in the goodness of human nature. According to him, men are fundamentally decent, orderly and sociable and capable of ruling themselves. Men are led by reason. Reason is the pervasive characteristic of men. Locke's view of the human mind and nature are summed up in his Essay on Humane Understanding. He says 'desire is the spring of all human action.' Desire, to him, is a feeling of uneasiness identified with pain. Men generally want to get rid of pain. Locke says "What has an aptness to produce pleasure in us, is what we call good, and what is apt to produce pain in us we call evil." Morality of one society may be immorality of another society. Men are incapable of desiring anything but pleasure. But they ought to act so as to produce the greatest amount of public or general happiness. The criterion of the goodness and badness of their actions is their result expressed in terms of public happiness. C.L. Wayper says "It must then be obvious, that Locke's view of human nature is nothing like so profound, and certainly nothing like as consistent, as that of Hobbes," Locke argues that men are led by reason. He calls reason to action, but he adds reason to control passion. Thus while Hobbes believes that men are led by passion, Locke believes in reason.

12.4 STATE OF NATURE

Locke's conception of the State of Nature is altogether different from that of Hobbes - According to him, in the state of nature men are free and equal to act as they think fit, within the bounds of the Law of Nature.' But it is not a state of licence where men could do anything. Though there is no superior power to control them in the state of nature, there is the law of nature to guide them. It is a state of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal.

no one having more than another. Though man has uncontrollable liberty to dispose of his person or possessions, he has no liberty to destroy himself. His right to liberty is his right to do whatever he wants so long as that is not incompatible with the law of Nature. The individuals were living in a state of peace, good will, mutual helpfulness and preservation. They loved one another and helped one another. They followed the principles of justice and charity. There were no controls, no privileges and prescriptions. Anything within the bounds of law of nature dictated by reason could be done. Yet the parents could control their children; similarly, the husband the wife and the master the servant, as such controls were intended to develop. Locke was thus conscious of the natural inequalities as Aristotle did. But such inequalities have no legal basis. The above mentioned controls were necessary for the development of those on whom they were exercising them. In Locke's state of nature men were exercising their liberty but were conscious of the preservations of others liberties. The inconvenience is the absence of specifications or regulations. Thus in the state of nature men not only enjoyed their rights but also acknowledged their duties. This condition of social life is moral in its character. Hence it is not a state of war as Hobbes had described it. But at the same time it is also not a state of absolute and perfect happiness. It is not a state of war but at the same time it is also not a state where peace is secured. It is constantly upset by the corruption and viciousness of degenerate men'. It is a condition which however free, is full of fears and continual dangers'. The absence of established, settled and known law made everyone a law maker leading to conflicts and confusions. There was no common executor and no known and impartial Judge. In the absence of a common legislator, Executor and judge the state of nature was 'but an all condition'. The imperfections in the state of nature drove men to conclude a contract. Thus while Locke's state of nature was pre-political but not pre-social, Hobbes's state of nature was pre-social, too. While Hobbes's state of nature is intolerable, Locke's state of nature is not intolerable but imperfect.

12.5 LAW OF NATURE AND NATURAL RIGHTS

Men lived in the state of nature with justice, friendliness, goodwill and helpfulness because they were governed by the Law of Nature. Locke says "The state of nature has a law of Nature to govern it, which obliges everyone, and reason is that law". Thus, Law of Nature means reason.

The Law of Nature occupies important place in Locke's philosophy. Men are ruled by the Law of Nature not only in the state of nature but also in the civil society. Law of Nature guides all human actions. When God created man and placed him on the earth, He gave him reason as his guide'. Since all men are the children of God they all possess reason equally and obey it equally. It is the law of Nature that makes men unite into a society and that makes them live peacefully unlike the other living beings. According to the Law of Nature, every member of the community ought to speak truth and keep faith. The parents have an obligation to protect and educate their children. No man has right to destroy himself or others. The Law of Nature requires them to preserve but not to destroy.

Locke is considered a champion of Natural Rights. He argues that men enjoyed these rights even in the state of nature. Life, Liberty and Property are natural rights. They are inherent in the law of nature. He is a strong supporter of private property. The Law of nature compels men to respect the right to property of others. Since the right to property existed even before the civil society came in to existence it does not owe anything to the contract. The state and the society exist to preserve these rights. So they cannot take them away. In the state of nature every one had the right to take what was necessary for his subsistence. If a man mixes his labour with something that exists in nature it becomes his property. Thus Locke gives his own interpretation to property.

12.6 NATURE OF CONTRACT AND EMERGENCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Since men were guided by reason in the state of nature they wanted to get rid of the inconveniences that existed in the state of nature. This they did by concluding a contract and entered into a political society. This is the contract of each with all; it is social. Hobbes made each man to conclude a covenant with every other man. But Locke made every man to conclude a contract not with every man separately but with them all together as a society. Thus according to Hobbes, it is a contract of every man with every other man, but according to Locke, it is a contract of every man with society. Through the contract every man concedes to the community the right to interpret the law of nature for himself, to execute it, and to punish anyone who violates them. All the other rights are kept with the individual. In fact, it is to protect these rights that every man concludes the contract with the community. It becomes the duty of the civil government to protect these rights and respect the law of nature. While Hobbes submitted the total individual except his right to life to the sovereign Locke submitted individual's right to make society. Locke gives only limited powers to the community. It is not of slavery but a charter of freedom.

It is also a contract to which all must consent. It must be unanimous. No one can be compelled against his will to join the body politic. If any one wishes to remain outside the Civil Society he should not be compelled to join the body politic. Thus Locke makes consent of the individual the basis of the state.

The contract once made is irrevocable. A man cannot switch back from Civil society into the state of nature. There may be exceptional cases of calamity or public act when the government is dissolved.

Each generation has to give its consent to the contract. Locke's political contract created through the contract should obey the Law of Nature as much as an individual. Locke says "the obligation of the law of nature ceases not in society."

According to C.E. Vaughan, Locke's contract is not single but double, though he does not say so explicitly. The first contract is a social contract. It puts an end to the state of nature and people enter into a civil society. The second contract is a governmental contract. This contract is concluded by the people in their corporate capacity. Each individual agrees to cede to the community as a whole. It is a contract of each with all. The body politic is created through the second contract. Thus people created a civil society through the first contract and a body politic through the second contract.

Locke was able to make a distinction between state and government by making use of the two contract theory. As Sabine says, "Continental writers, like Althusius, and Pufendorf, who had elaborated the theory of contract most carefully, had postulated two contracts, the one between individuals giving rise to a community and the other between the community and its government. Some such position Locke tacitly assumes, though he nowhere states it."

Check Your Progress - I

1. How do you say that Locke's contract is double and not single?

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12.7 POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY

As against the theory of absolute and legal sovereignty of Hobbes, Locke puts forward a theory of political sovereignty. He regards the government only as a Trust constituted by the people to protect their natural rights. Locke also puts forward another theory concerning the separation of government at functions into legislative, executive and federative. The legislature derives its power of making laws "from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institution... can have no power to transfer.. authority of making laws and place it in other hands". Locke holds that legislative and executive power come often to be separated." Locke says: 'there can be but one supreme power, to which is the legislative, which all the rest are and must be subordinate, yet the legislative being only a judiciary power to remove or alter the legislative.'" Thus Locke ultimately makes the people sovereign.

12.8 FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

The functions of government are described by Locke in Chapter IX of the Second Treatise.

The Chief function of the government is to preserve the property of the individual because for this preservation alone the contract is made. Locke used the term "property" to include life, liberty and material property. Hence government has to do what is necessary to preserve property.

First, it has to make known to all persons the 'standard of right and wrong and the common measure to decide all controversies between them.' This function can be made by the legislative branch of the government.

Secondly, it has to provide an impartial authority which is to settle all disputes arising among persons.

Thirdly, it has to safeguard the interests of its community in relation to the other communities and other citizens. Locke calls this function federative function. It can declare war or conclude peace under this function.

Locke places a number of limitations on the government. The government cannot have an absolute authority over the lives and fortunes of the people. It is limited to the public good in the society. It can never "have a right to destroy, enslave or be designed to impoverish the subjects". The legislature cannot make extemporary and arbitrary decrees. It should decide the rights of the subjects by means of standing laws and known judges. It should not take away the property of anyone without his own consent. The legislature cannot transfer its power of making laws. These are the limitations put by the trust.

12.9 THEORY OF INDIVIDUALISM

Locke is considered a champion of individualism. Vaughan says: "Everything in Locke's system revolves around the individual; everything is disposed so as to ensure the sovereignty of the individual". Locke considers the individual real and everything. He considers the state not as an end by itself but only as a means to an end, the end being the individual himself. According to the preservation of their property. The existence of the state is justified only because it safeguards individuals natural rights which they enjoyed in the state of nature in accordance with the Law of nature. If the government fails to protect the natural rights, people can overthrow it. Life, liberty and property are natural rights. They cannot be violated. No government can deprive the individuals of these rights. In fact, it is the chief duty of the government to preserve them. He wanted to subordinate the government to the community. The government exists for the welfare of the community. If it fails to satisfy the trust imposed in it, people can remove it

from power. In fact, Locke has imposed a number of limitations on the government to preserve individual liberty. Dunning says: "There is in this conception nothing of that absolute, unlimited and uncontrollable sovereignty. Which was the soul of Hobbe's system." His theory of limited sovereignty is necessary to his individualism. Prof. Maxey says: "It was not his concern to exalt political authority but to describe its limitations."

12.10 SUMMING UP

Locke's philosophy was criticised for its inconsistencies. This is so because he tried to combine into the unity of a system incompatible elements drawn from different sources. Driver criticised Locke for trying to unite "the Cartesian outlook of the philosopher, the experimental method of the scientist, the utilitarian empiricism he had learnt from Shaftesbury and his contact with practical politics."

There are two different and opposite views in Locke's philosophy. He has adopted on one more, the corporate character of the community and on the other individualism which conceives of society as consisting of persons actuated by selfish motives.

In spite of some inconsistencies the contribution of Locke to political philosophy is immense.

1. According to Dunning, "the most distinctive contribution of Locke to political theory is this doctrine of Natural Rights."
2. His doctrine of 'Consent of the people as the basis of the state' is also a great contribution to the theory of democracy.
3. Another great contribution of Locke is his theory of Separation of powers. He has developed the theory that government should consist of different organs with separate powers and functions. In fact, he is fore runner to Montesquieu in this regard.
4. Locke championed the cause of Natural Rights of the individuals. He developed a theory that governments exist to preserve the natural rights of the individual. This theory holds good in modern times also in which Human Rights are considered sacrosanct.
5. Locke is an individualist. He made the individual the centre of his philosophy and made him the end. He considered the individual real and made the state an instrument to serve the individual.
6. Locke's theory of property is also a worthy contribution. He had developed Aristotle's theory of property into a distinctive doctrine.
7. Locke is also considered a philosopher of Revolutions. Though he did not support revolutions, his two treatises became the text of American Revolution, This is due to the supreme position he assigned to the natural rights and the theory that the government could be replaced if it fails, to preserve the trust imposed in it by the people. As Gettell says, "Because of its influence on Jefferson and others, Locke's theory of revolt must be considered as one of the most important part of his doctrine."
8. He is considered the philosopher of the middle class. Prof. Sabine says, "his sincerity his profound moral conviction, his genuine belief in liberty and in the dignity of human nature united with the moderation and good sense made him the ideal spokesman of the middle class revolution."
9. As Prof. Barker Says, "There is, however, an anticipation in Locke's second Treatise of Rousseau's idea of the permanent and permanently acting sovereign of the community. He recognised the importance of the corporate character of the community and became a forerunner of Rousseau in this regard."

10. Locke combines in himself the traditional medieval philosophy and the modern liberation. He provided a philosophy which could serve as a basis for many theories. As Wayper says, "Locke has the root of the matter in him and that any solid and healthy political system will incorporate the greater part of the principles that he laid down. He is the last great voice of one great tradition and the first great voice of another great tradition.

12.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

G.L.WAYPER : *Political thought*

12.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- a) Examine Locke's views on Law of Nature.
- b) "Every thing in Locke's system revolves around the individual (Vaughan). Discuss.
- c) "Locke provided a theory of Limited Government" Discuss.
- d) What is Locke's contribution to political philosophy?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines

- a) Describe Locke's State of Nature.
- b) What functions does Locke assign to the Government?
- c) Examine Locke's conception of human nature.
- d) What are Locke's views on Natural Rights?

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UNIT-13 : ROUSSEAU

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13.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- (1) the difference of approaches between Rousseau and other contractualists;
- (2) his idealism;
- (3) his views on Democracy; and
- (4) general will.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau are regarded as the three great social contract theorists. Hobbes and Locke actively involved themselves in the contemporary politics of England. Both of them had definite purpose to achieve through their theories of social contract. Hobbes wanted to support the absolute power of the Stuarts and Locke wanted to support the Bloodless Revolution. Rousseau stands apart from these two thinkers. As Barker says, "Rousseau was not a philosopher at any rate in the sense in which Hobbes, Locke and Hume were philosophers. He was rather a 'litterateur' of gains and an acute sensibility, who drew ideas from the surrounding air by the magnet of his intuition and proceeded to make himself their incomparable exponent... he adorned and illuminated (or dazzled) the field of political theory with a large number of writings". In this unit we study the philosophy of Rousseau.

13.2 LIFE AND WORKS OF ROUSSEAU

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born on June 28, 1712 Geneva in Switzerland. His father, Isaac was a skilled watchmaker but of unstable character without any sense of responsibility who allowed him to be driven by circumstances. He abandoned his profession to become a dancing master. He was not successful and hence turned back to watch making. Rousseau was born very weak and ill. His mother died in giving him birth. As Rousseau points out in his Confessions. "I cost my mother her life, and my birth was the first of my misfortunes". The burden of bringing up the infant Rousseau fell on his father. His father did not give him any systematic training or education. On the contrary, his father made him read aloud for him erotic romances which had

certainly a bad psychological effect on the innocent boy. Rousseau says, "in a short time I had acquired, by this method, not only a tremendous ease in reading and comprehending, but also an insight into the passions quite unique in one of my age".

Rousseau was ten years old when his father left Geneva leaving Rousseau under the care of his uncle. Rousseau worked as an apprentice under a cruel and brutal engraver. He learnt thieving and lying during these three years. One day he came very late and the gates were closed. Rousseau feared that his cruel master would punish him. So he left Geneva with nothing except the clothes he had on him. Thus from his sixteenth year he was left to his own fate.

For fourteen years he lived the life of a vagabond, visited many places and learnt a lot about men, women and life. He could not retain any friendship permanently because of his egoism, Vanity and bad manners.

By 1742, he wanted to lead a settled life. He left his patroness, Madam de Warne, and reached Paris. There he wanted to prove his talent as a musician. He invented a new form of musical notation. But he failed miserably. He was able to get a post in the French Embassy at Venice with the help of some friends. He quarrelled with the boss and was dismissed. He returned to Paris in 1744 and opened a small hotel. He became attracted to Therese Levasseur, a maid servant in the hotel by whom he was supposed to have had five illegitimate children. Instead of bringing them up he was said to have left them to the care of a Founding Home of which he later reported.

The year 1749 was a turning point in his life. The Academy of Dijon announced a prize for the best essay on "Has the progress of sciences and arts contributed to corrupt or purify morals? Rousseau thought that a strong case could be made in support of the contention that the progress of sciences and arts had tended to degrade moral standards in human beings. He had a lot of personal experiences in Geneva, Italy and Paris and understood the modern life which was devoid of morality. Man by nature, he argued is moral, good and decent. But the institutions and civilization had spoiled him and degraded his morality. If man wants to lead a happy life he should return to the life of nature. In fact, Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden led the happiest life before the dawn of reason. Thus Rousseau could present a strong case against the development of science and modern civilization.

His essay had not only won the first prize but also brought him fame. Rousseau's greatness as philosopher and writer was recognised beyond doubt. His essay created a great sensation "in the artificial society of the Age of Reason". It was the first rumble of the Revolution, according to Hearnshaw. He took part in the next competition which was also conducted by the same Academy of Dijon on 'Discourse on the origin and foundation of inequality'. It was better than his previous one. But the prize had gone to another which was inferior to Rousseau's. His was an attack on private property of which the state was the guardian. In his first work-the prize winning one Rousseau brought the corrupting influence of the growth of civilization on natural goodness. In his second work he enlarged the same in showing that the growth of civilization led to the growth of inequality. He came to be regarded as a champion of the cult of the noble, happy savage. But the point is that he was essentially a moralist who exacted individualist virtue above society's concept practices on tendencies. Again he was an eminent sound critic who revealed the unbelievable extent of injustice and servitude to which man had become subject. But he did not want that man should lapse into his former. Primitive state (which at any rate could never be recovered as the proverbial Garden of Eden) but should strive for a humane, just social order. Thus Rousseau established himself as a social critic. His views on education were condemned by Archbishop of Paris, the French Parliament and also by the Government of Geneva. His friends advised him to flee from France to avoid arrest. He left Paris in 1762 and led the life of a fugitive for sixteen years. This was his second spell of vagabondage filled with gloom, poor health, broken spirit and despair. He was invited by Hume to England. Hume and Burke befriended him. He suspected a plot to kill him and returned to Paris in 1778 in which year he died.

Rousseau was a great literary genius. Though he had no formal education, he made valuable contributions to political theory. The following are his notable works.

1. Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts
2. Discourse on the Origin of Inequality
3. La nouvelle Heloise
4. Du contract Social or the Social Contract
5. Emile
6. The Dialogues : The Reveries of a Solitary Worker
7. Confessions

13.3 CONCEPTION OF HUMAN NATURE

Rousseau's philosophy mainly rests upon his concept of human nature. Much controversy would have been avoided had he used the term, 'the true nature of man', instead of the other phrase, 'the natural man'.

Rousseau began his 'social contract' with an observation : "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains. Many a one believes himself the master of others, and yet he is a greater slave than they. How has this change come about, I do not know. What can render it legitimate? I believe that I can settle this questions."

Rousseau argues that the true nature of man is not provided with the necessary environment in which it can develop. On the contrary, the institutions which he had developed spoil his true and turned him into a slave. He pleads for return to the original true nature of man. When he says 'Man is born free' he means freedom is man's birth-right. Similarly, when he says that 'everywhere he is in chains' he means that the conventions and customs of society and the regulations of the state impose unnecessary restrictions on him. They are originally intended to promote his freedom and develop his true nature. But they are like chains obstructing the development of the true nature of man. A seed by its true nature can develop into a tree provided it has the required soil, water and sunlight. Many trees in the forest grow naturally. But some may be prevented by natural calamities like drought, excess rain or pest. But human art can remove these obstructions and provide the necessary conditions to make the seed grow into a beautiful plant. Similarly, social conventions, regulations of the state, civilization and institutions should contribute to the development of the true nature of man but should not destroy it. Rousseau felt that the institutions and civilization which existed in Europe in his time could not help develop the true nature of man. Thus the true nature of man or his conception of human nature becomes the kingpin of his whole philosophy. According to Rousseau virtue will prevail when personal relations are simple and direct and when they are promoted against background of nature which enriches the soul.

In the previous lessons we have discussed the concepts of human nature held by Machiavelli and Hobbes. Both of them considered man to be bad and wicked. On the other hand, like Plato Rousseau believes in the original good nature of man. He believes that man is by nature good but that the original and natural goodness has been spoiled as a result of wrong art.

The true nature of man consists of two instincts, 'self love' and 'sympathy'. Man is endowed with the original instinct of 'self love' which is not acquired by art nor is it the result of civilization. Self-love demands and includes self-preservation. So self-preservation is the primary aim of every man. Rousseau says : "His first law is to attend to his own preservation; his first cares are those which he owes to himself". In fact, man would have perished in the beginning itself if he had no instinct of self-preservation. This instinct of self-preservation must be considered good as it enables us to preserve ourselves. If this instinct is absent life will have no meaning. Similarly,

the second instinct, 'sympathy', is natural to man. This instinct of sympathy promotes the spirit mutual help and the social nature in man. Sympathy is a distinguishing human characteristic. In the absence of sympathy. There would be naked struggle for survival of the fittest. This would lead to unending wars and the total destruction of mankind. Hence the two cardinal traits of 'self-love' and 'sympathy' spell the true nature of man. These two 'principles' are good and hence man by nature is good. Family is the result of the play of these two instincts. There may be the two natural instincts of man, i.e., self-love may sometimes clash with each other : For example, a mother may have to choose between the feeding of her child and looking after her own food. The first act is caused by the instinct of sympathy and the second by the instinct of self-preservation. Thus it is evident that the two natural instincts of self-love and sympathy should be guided by another element to bring about a compromise between self preservation and sympathy as both of them cannot be satisfied on many occasions. This act of bringing about a compromise can be performed by science'. Conscience is not acquired by education or reason. It is natural and hence must also be good. It can solve problems as long as life is simple and man is governed by his true nature. When life becomes complex, conscience becomes inadequate and fails to solve some complicated problems. Its role is to make man love right and hate wrong. To be able to do so man has to look to some other faculty. This faculty, according to Rousseau, is 'reason'.

Reason determines what a man should do. But it cannot compel a man to do it. Reason is there to tell us what is right and what is wrong. Conscience becomes active and drives man to do a thing determined by reason. Thus reason and conscience working in harmony can provide a true and moral life. Wright says; "Rousseau sees safety only in a perfect union in which sentiment and reason mutually check and control each other in which sentiment urges reason to the right path, and in which reason leads us along it towards perfection".

It is also part of our nature to grow and develop. Wayper observes: "Perfection of man's nature by his reason and through society is man's destiny". A man remains natural if he keeps his true nature intact while developing. Man loses his original nature if 'self-love' turns into pride. If pride suppresses reason, man becomes unnatural and loses his original nature.

13.4 STATE OF NATURE

As a social contractarian Rousseau too described the state of nature. According to Rousseau, "Primitive man was nearer to an animal than man; he lived a free, healthy, honest and happy life, an isolated life having no ties and obligations. He was guided by two sentiments – self interest and pity – and having no moral obligation with other men he could not be good or bad, virtuous or vicious. He was a creature of impulse and instinct in whom the quality of foresight was slow in developing. He led a solitary and non-moral life in the state of nature. Even speech was undeveloped, because speech would be needed only for social communication. He could utter only instinctive cries, since no general conception of idea is possible without language. The natural man was neither moral nor vicious. He was not unhappy but neither was he happy. Obviously, he had no property, for property resulted from ideas, foreseen wants, knowledge, industry which were intrinsically natural but implied language, thought and society." Thus man in a state of nature was innocent. He could not make distinction between good and bad. He was driven by his true nature, i.e., self-love and sympathy.

Gradually man changed his way of life. He began to live a settled life. Thus settled groups began to exist. Such settled groups would face problems due to the clash between 'self-preservation' and sympathy. Social institutions developed and gave rise to more problems. The distinction between 'mine' and 'thine' gradually emerged. Every man desired to have his own property as distinct from that of others. Rousseau says that "The first man who had enclosed a plot of ground and thought himself of saying "This is mine' and who found others simple enough to believe him was the true founder civil society". This gradually gave scope for the emergence

of the concept of private property. In the original state of nature men were equal, independent, self-sufficient and contended. The progress of civilization brought in many evils. The emergence of the concept of private property created differences between the rich and the poor. Owing to growth of civilization and increase in population there was scarcity of goods. This created competition and struggle for existence. All these developments destroyed the peace, amity and bond that existed in the state of nature and needed a civil society. Rousseau says "Such was or may well have been the origin of society and law, which irretrievably destroyed natural liberty, eternally fixed the law of property and equality, converted usurpation into unalterable right and for the advantage of a few ambitious individuals, and subjected all mankind to perpetual labour, slavery and wretchedness".

13.5 SOCIAL CONTRACT

Man can develop only if there is freedom of action. Man has the capacity to choose between alternatives which has made him develop unlike other animals. Rousseau argues that man can develop his true nature not as an isolated individual but only as a member of civil society. Man becomes moral if he is led by the rational voice of the civil society. As member of a civil society he cannot yield to pride but is to be led by reason. For right reason to prevail the civil society should also be constituted rightly. Man can acquire true freedom if he submits to the laws of the civil society which is rightly constituted. An individual is truly free if he identifies his will with law and through it with reason. The whole issue of 'social contract' mainly deals with the problem of how to make the individual acquire true freedom by submitting himself to the laws. Rousseau wants this to be achieved through social contract. The second sub-title he gave to his social contract is "The Principles of Political Rights".

In his book, Discourse, Rousseau answered the question how people came to form their first society. He further argued that a few rich people who were self centered made the poor from commonwealth. So he appealed to the people to return to their natural state. But his problem was altogether different in Social Contract. He discusses the essential nature of state. His problem is to provide an ideal society in which men can lead a life of freedom reconciled with obedience to state. Rousseau argues that such a society can be built by social contract. In a truly organised society there would be no masters and no commands. All men would be as free as they were in the state of nature. Rousseau asks: "It is possible to find a form of the community the person and property of each associate, and in which each, which uniting with all, may nevertheless obey himself alone and remain as free as before?". Rousseau finds the answer in social contract.

Rousseau describes the terms of the contract as 'Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole. At once, in place of the individual personality of each contracting party, this act of association creates a moral and collective body, composed of as many as members as the assembly contains votes, and receiving from this act its unity, its common identity, its life and its will. This public person, so framed by union of all persons, who formerly took the name of city, now takes that of 'republic or body politic', it is called by its members 'state' when passive, 'sovereign' when active and, 'power' when compared with others like itself".

The following characteristics are attributed to Rousseau's social pact :

- i) Each member gives his all to the society. Thus he makes the community absolute. Yet, the individuals possess equal rights.
- ii) In such a contract no one is a lower but every one gains Rousseau says "who so give himself to all gives himself to none ... we gain the exact equivalent of what we lose, as well as an added power to conserve what we already have".

- iii) The individual surrender not to an irresponsible sovereign, but to an entity in which every individual is a member. Every individual has the same degree of control as any other member of community.
- iv) The society thus created is an organic conception. It is a moral and collective being having its own life, will and entity. It is a corporate body, a body politic and a public person.
- v) The transformation of man from state of nature into state brings about momentous changes, it transforms man's instinct into justice and provides a moral basis to his action.

13.6 GENERAL WILL AND POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

Rousseau's concept of 'General will' is closely associated with his theory of popular sovereignty. Hobbes supported absolute monarchy and Locke supported constitutional or limited government to protect individual liberty. But Rousseau thought it best to place the sovereign power in the people themselves to check absolutism and to ensure perfect liberty. Rousseau thus became an exponent of 'popular sovereignty'.

The community or commonwealth which comes into existence as a result of the social contract is itself the sovereign. Rousseau says that the act of association creates a moral and collective entity having its own identity, life and will. This is known as 'General Will'. Every member of the society is a constituent part of General Will. General Will aims at the realization of common good. It is not enough if it concerns all. It must aim at common good. It must take into consideration the will of each member of the community. The character of General Will is best depicted in the contract made at the time of constituting the civil society mentioned above. It is the will of all as a whole and not as a mere aggregate of persons; it is not compromise of the conflicting wills of the members but a single unitary will. It is not the number of persons holding it, but the common interest which actuates them and unites them in one whole. General Will need not be even majority will. It is not the counting of numbers but the interest behind it that matters. If it is aimed at the welfare of all it becomes General Will though it is held by a small number of people. But Rousseau believes that the possibility to err is less if the majority accepts it.

According to Rousseau man has two types of will – (1) the actual will and (2) the real will. The 'Actual Will' corresponds to the will of the individual. It makes man self-contained and does not permit him to think or act in terms of the good of others. On the contrary, Real Will always aims at the good of all. It expresses the inner freedom of the individual. It is pure and perfect. The General Will is a 'Group Mind'. It is the compound of the best wills of all citizens willing the best interests of the state. General Will is sovereign. It can compel anybody to obey it. Rousseau writes "This means nothing less than that he will be forced to be free".

General Will differs from the will of all. While the General Will is the sum total of Real Wills which aims at public good, Will of all is the sum total of particular will, which aim at private interests. Thus General Will have the following characteristics.

- (i) The will of each individual is merged into it. It is a 'Group Mind'.
- (ii) It always aims at public good. If it does not aim at public welfare it cannot be General Will.
- (iii) It differs from the will of all.
- (iv) It is arrived at by asking each member to vote for what he believes to be the common good.
- (v) General Will cannot err. It is always right.

- (vi) It remains always sovereign.
- (vii) It is the ultimate source of all human laws.

Rousseau also lists out a number of attributes that General Will has. The following are its attributes;

- (i) General Will acts in unity. It makes and preserves the unity of the national character.
- (ii) It is unlimited. Just as Hobbes made his Sovereign unlimited, so also Rousseau made the General Will unlimited.
- (iii) It is inalienable and indivisible.
- (iv) It is the highest source of law. It cannot be executive will.

Check Your Progress - I

1. What is the difference between General will and will of all?

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13.7 CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENTS

As Dunning says “Rousseau’s classification of Governmental forms follows the ancient and familiar categories... Rousseau expresses no definite judgment as to what form of Government is best.”

He followed Aristotle in his classification. It is based upon the number of the members who composed the government.

The sovereign may, in the first place, entrust the exercises of government to the whole people, or to the majority of the people, with the result that there are more citizen magistrates than private citizens. Rousseau calls such a form of government ‘democracy’.

If the exercise of government is restricted to a small number and if there are more private citizens than magistrates it is known as ‘aristocracy’.

If the whole government is concentrated in the hands of a single magistrate, from whom all the others derive their power it is known as ‘monarchy or royal government’.

Rousseau was also aware of the varying forms and degrees of democracy and aristocracy. Democracy may embrace all the people or exclude any number up to one-half. Aristocracy may include any number from the smallest up to one half. Even in monarchy the government may be shared to some extent. Under the Constitution, Sparta had always two kings. Even in the Roman Empire there was as many as eight emperors at one time without dividing the empire. These forms may be combined to produce a multitude of mixed forms. Each form is best in certain circumstances and the worst in others. It is difficult to say which form of government is the best. If the number of supreme magistrates in any given state ought to be inversely proportional to the number of citizens, it follows as a general rule that democratic government is suitable to small states, aristocracy to those of medium size, and monarchical government to large states. In sum, according to Rousseau, the sovereign power in state is identified to be not with the Prince but with the ‘Volonte generale’ (General Will) of the people who delegate to him irrevocable authority. Though they unfortunately came to be availed of during the Reign of Terror, it could be regarded as the basic theory of democratic government.

Check Your Progress - II

2. According to Rousseau's classification of Govts. What is Democracy?

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13.8 CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS

Rousseau is considered to be an extreme individualist, the latest and greatest of the individualist political theorists. At the same time he is an extreme absolutist, the precursor of the 19th century German idealism. Constant calls him 'the most terrible ally of despotism in all its forms. Duguit too considers him to be "the father of Jacobian despotism". Vaughan observes, "a fiery champion of the individual on the other hand, he could never bring himself wholly to sacrifice the one ideal to the others." His General Will is considered "Hobbes' Leviathan with its head chopped off". Similarly, it is observed that he began with Locke and ended with Hobbes. Since the problem he tried to solve is of a very complicated nature, Rousseau is subjected to conflicting interpretations.

13.9 SUMMING UP

Rousseau's works became the text book of the French Revolution. He supplied not only the required philosophy but also ringing phrases. Doyle says "Rousseau offered to Europe at a moment of deep perplexity and discontent a justification to break from the old worn out system and as ideal to be fought for after the work of demolition was over". In fact extracts from his writings were quoted very frequently by emotional orators before the public in meetings during the Revolution. His books had inspired the revolutionists" as the Bible inspired men of Reformation and Das-Capital the communist revolutionists.

He contributed the idea that state is a moral being and its membership is indispensable to the individual. From Plato and Aristotle to the thinkers of his time this idea had influenced many writers, but it was Rousseau who gave it new dimension through the putting forth of his doctrine of General Will.

His theory that the state rests on consent, but not on force has influenced many. In England his ideas were elaborated by Green and Bosanquet.

In the history of the theory of sovereignty also Rousseau occupies a prominent place. Bodin and Hobbes could think of an absolute sovereign to defend individual liberty. But they made the State sovereign. Locke and Montesquieu altogether avoided the term to defend individual liberty. Rousseau made the theory of absolute and unlimited sovereign to defend individual liberty. His greatness lies in making absolute sovereign into an essential condition for individual liberty and in assuring sovereignty to people. He widened the channel dug by Locke. He took the Lockean concept of political sovereignty to its extreme end and ended with Hobbes's theory of absolute sovereignty. In fact, his theory of sovereignty comes very close to that of Hobbes. Hence it is said Rousseau's General Will is Hobbes's Leviathan with its head chopped off. In fact, he could combine in himself the philosophies of both Hobbes and Locke.

In the fields of education, literature and religion also Rousseau made salutary contributions. In praising passion and linking it to virtue he anticipated the Romantics. In Emile, he answers the question, "How to make the young virtuous?" The child should be shielded from the damaging artifices of the so called civilization in order that he may be left free to respond to the moral

influence of nature. In fact, Rousseau's contribution to these fields is as immense as that to political thought.

Hearnshaw says "Rousseau displays the people as the ultimate source of political authority; he proclaims the common good to be the proper end of government, he stresses the view that the state is a social organism; he develops the idea that, as an organism, it has a common conscience and a general will, he maintains the doctrine that the true basis of political obligation is consent; he proclaims the possibility of the ultimate reconciliation of freedom and authority. Of these many ideas many are followed upto this day." A similar opinion is held by G.D.H. Cole when he says "Rousseaus' political influence so far from being dead, it is increasing every day".

13.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

W.T. Jones : *Masters of Political Thought*

13.11 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- a) Examine Rousseau's views on 'human nature'?
- b) Critically examine the concept of Rousseau's 'General Will'?
- c) 'Rousseau begins with Locke and ends with Hobbes'. Comment.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- a) 'Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains'. Comment.
- b) Describe Rousseau's 'State of Nature'?
- c) "Rousseau's General Will is Hobbe's Leviathan with its head chopped off". Examine this statement.

– Dr. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

UNIT-14 : UTILITARIAN AND LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC THEORY BENTHAM, MILL

Contents

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Main Features of Utilitarianism
- 14.3 Democratic Liberalism
- 14.4 Bentham's Life and Works
- 14.5 Principle of Utility
- 14.6 Natural Rights
- 14.7 Reforms
- 14.8 Mills Life and Works
- 14.9 On Liberty
- 14.10 Representative Government
- 14.11 Summing Up
- 14.12 Suggested Readings
- 14.13 Model Examination Questions

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain

- 1) the main features of utilitarianism
- 2) views of Bentham on utilitarianism
- 3) views of J.B. Mill on Liberty and representative government.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

There have been many political philosophers since Plato who have had forwarded theories concerning the state and its sphere of activities. Some made the individual the focus of their study and considered the state a means to serve the individual. They regard the individual as the goal or end and the state as a means to that end. There is broad agreement among such philosophers who are known as 'individualist' and their philosophy is known as 'Individualism'. In the previous lessons we have discussed the individualism of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau Popularly known as 'Contractualist'. Thus, through Hobbes and Locke the English people have made a notable contribution to this political philosophy. But 'perhaps it was neither Hobbes nor Locke, but a school which owed something to both of them, which made the greatest contribution to political thought.' This was the Utilitarian school. It dominated the English political thought for over a hundred years from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. Even in the present time the views of the Utilitarians hold good in some form or other.

14.2 MAIN FEATURES OF UTILITARIANISM

Every government strives hard to make its people happy. All the welfare measures undertaken by the modern states are intended to make their people happy. Utilitarians propounded a theory that the state should strive for 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' of individuals in

the state. In other words, the existence of the state and individual's obligation to obey it rests on the principle of utility. Utility is happiness or usefulness which the individual derives from the state. Utilitarians argue that the basis of the state is utility. The ideal state is that which provides the maximum happiness to the maximum number of people. The test is that of the greatest good of the greatest number". Thus the whole philosophy of the Utilitarians revolves round the utilitarian aspect of the state in relation to the individual.

Utilitarianism developed as a result of the efforts of Hume, Priestly, Hutcheson, Paley, Helvetius and Beccaria. But it is Jermy Bentham who systematised it, gave it the status of a school of thought. His followers were known as Benthamites. James Mill was another thinker associated with it. He converted Bentham to Radicalism. Through his association with eminent economists like Malthus and Ricardo, James Mill brought Utilitarians and the classical Economists together. These philosophers are popularly known as Utilitarians or Philosophical Radicals.

Utilitarians were great individualists also. They were firm believers in the general principles. They based their political philosophy on universally accepted general principles. They argue that all men seek happiness. Pleasure alone is good. Right action is that which produces the greatest happiness. The sole justification of the state is that it gives the greatest happiness. They were all Philosophic Radicals. They support democracy and universal adult suffrage. Some Utilitarians like Grote, Roebuck, Buller, Molesworth and J.S. Mill became members of the Parliament also. Contemporary philosophers like Rousseau, Kant, St. Simon and Marx did not influence much the people of England. G.M. Yound says "It would be hard to find any corner of our public life where the spirit of Bentham is not working to-day". Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill are the great exponents of Utilitarianism.

14.3 DEMOCRATIC LIBERALISM

Utilitarianism underwent a revision in the hands of John Stuart Mill. Both Bentham and J.S. Mill are staunch supporters of democracy. While Bentham gives the utmost importance to utility Mill gives it to the concept of liberty. He puts forth the theory of liberal democracy. Mill's Books 'On Liberty' and 'Representative Government' exposed the weakness of democracy.

14.4 BENTHAM'S LIFE AND WORKS (1741-1832)

Jeremy Bentham was born on February 15, 1748 in Red Lion Street, Houndsditch, London – in a well-to-do Lawyer's family. He was a child prodigy and even at the age of three he started learning Latin. He also learnt Greek and French. He did not take interest in games but had always shown interest in reading. He received his early education in West-minister School and later joined Qween's College, Oxford. He was graduated at the age of sixteen. He took his M.A. degree in 1766. He had interest in Science. He studied Law and entered Licoln's Inn to practice of law. But he did not like the profession. The practice of law was not to his taste. He studied chemistry and physics. He was influenced by Priestley' "Essay on Government". In that book Priestley quoted from Hutcheson "The greatest happiness of the greatest number". He began to think in terms of finding a way of further human happiness. He devoted his time to the study of Jurisprudence and legal philosophy. His aim was to reform and restructure the English Legal system. He also visited Russia as his brother was organising a model colony in Ukraine.

The French, National Assembly conferred French Citizenship on Bentham for his "ardent love of humanity". He visited France and was given a warm reception. Emperor Alexander sought his co-operation in drafting a legal code. The Courts of Spain and Portugal voted to publish his works at the states expenses. In 1801 he came close to James Mill and turned into a Radical. He became a radical democrat at the age of sixty from which time he became popular in England as a reformist. He died at Queen's Square place, Westminister on June 6, 1832.

His works cover a wide range of interests including economics, logic, psychology, panology, theology, politics and Ethics. Besides several essays published in the London and Westminster Review, he wrote many voluminous works. The following are some of his important works :

1. A Fragment on Government
2. A Defence of Usury
3. Discourse of Civil and Penal Legislation
4. Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation
5. A Treatise on Judicial Evidence
6. A Theory of Punishments and Rewards
7. Papers on Codification and Public Instruction
8. Essay on Political Tactics
9. Radicalism not dangerous
10. The Book of Fallacies, etc.,

14.5 PRINCIPLE OF UTILITY

Bentham used the word 'Utility' as a synonym for the word 'good' or 'value'. Everything that brings happiness is good and anything that does not bring happiness is not good. The doctrine of Utility is a hedonistic doctrine. Any action that gives happiness is good and action that gives pain is bad. All human experiences are either pleasurable or painful or both. Pleasures are simply individual sensations. But happiness is not a simple individual sensation. It is a state of mind and a bundle of sensations. It cannot recognise any distinction in pleasures except quantitative differences. He says : 'a push pin is as good as poetry' and "Utility is property in any object, whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness (all this in the present case comes to the same thing or what comes again to the same thing) to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered; if the party be the community, to general, then the happiness of the community; if a particular individual, then the happiness of that individual."

He argues that "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pleasure and pain." They govern us in all we say, feel, and think. The doctrine of utility also teaches us how to measure pleasure. Bentham gives his famous "felicific calculus". The value of pleasure or pain depends upon the following factors : 1. Intensity, 2. Duration, 3. Certainty or uncertainty, 4. Proximity or remoteness, 5. Fecundity, 6. Purity, 7. Extent. A legislator must take into account these factors while making laws. It is necessary to know whether the proposed legislation gives pleasure or pain to the people, how much and to how many. The end of legislation should be the happiness of the people. In the matters of legislation, general utility should be the guiding principle. The science of legislation consists therefore, in determining what makes for the good of the particular community whose interests are at stake.

Bentham also lists out the following four sources of pleasure or pain :

1. Pleasure and pains which occur due to physical or natural sanction. We experience or expect them in the ordinary course of nature, not purposely modified by any human interposition.
2. Pleasures and pains which occur due to moral sanction. These are pleasures and pains which we experience or expect at the hands of our fellows prompted by the feeling of hatred or good will.
3. Pleasures and pains which occur due to political sanction. Such pleasures or pains are received from the magistrate or the legislator.

4. Pleasures and pains which occur due to religious sanction.

Bentham himself gives an example to explain these four types of sources. Suppose a man's house is destroyed by fire. If it is due to his own imprudence it is a punishment of the nature. If it is at the direction of some power it is a punishment of political sanction. If it is done by his neighbour due to ill-will it is a punishment of moral or popular sanction. If it is an act for offending divinity it is a punishment of religious sanction.

Bentham also classified pleasures and pains into "Simple" and 'Complex' ones. Accordingly, there are fourteen kinds of simple pleasures. They are Pleasures of 1. Sense, 2. Wealth, 3. Skill, 4. Amity, 5. Repute, 6. Power, 7. Piety, 8. Benevolence, 9. Malevolence, 10. Memory, 11. Imagination, 12. Expectation, 13. Association, and 14. Relief.

Similarly, Bentham lists out pains also. They are Pains of 1. Privation, 2. Senses, 3. Awkwardness, 4. Enmity, 5. Ill-repute.

Bentham also provided a theory known as 'Hedonistic Calculus'. He claims that by using it one can measure the pleasure of utility. Man does only that thing which gives him the maximum utility and through it the maximum pleasure. If we want to know which thing gives the maximum happiness, we must be able to measure utility. For this Bentham provides his famous 'Hedonistic Calculus'. There are several factors which give pleasure or pain. They are 1. Health, 2. Strength, 3. Hardiness, 4. Bodily imperfection, 5. Quantity and Quality Knowledge, 6. Strength of intellectual power, 7. Fairness of mind, 8. Steadiness of mind, 9. Bent or inclination, 10. Moral Sensibility, 11. Moral Biases, 12. Religious sensibility, 13. Religious biases, 14. Sympathetic sensibility, 15. Sympathetic biases, 16. Antipathetic sensibility, 17. Antipathetic biases, 18. Insanity, 19. Habitual occupation, 20. Pecuniary circumstances, 21. Connections by way of sympathy, antipathy and 22. Radical frame of body, mind, sex, age, ranks, education, climate lineage, government, and religious profession.

In short, Bentham's utilitarian doctrine bears the following characteristics:

1. It is a hedonistic doctrine.
2. It is based on quantity.
3. It is concerned with result but not motive.
4. It tells us whose happiness or pleasure is to be sought.
5. It tells us how to regulate our conduct.
6. It is universal.
7. It is objective, verifiable, unequivocal and clear.

14.6 NATURAL RIGHTS

Bentham did not believe in natural rights. He is a staunch critic of natural rights. He says "Natural rights are simple nonsense; natural and imprescriptible rights as rhetorical nonsense—nonsense upon stilts."

According to him, rights are sanctioned by law. Law is based on utility. Rights are correlative with duties. There must be penalty also for violation of a right. The sanction behind right is the sovereign. The sovereign is absolute but resistable by the subjects basing themselves upon the principle of utility. He rejected the natural rights of Locke but accepted the right to property because of its utility. Though he denied natural rights or natural law he carried them into his philosophy. He argues that one man is worth as much as another man. In calculating the greatest happiness 'each person is to count for one and no one for more than one'. He is indirectly borrowing the principle of equality from natural rights.

14.7 REFORMS

Bentham was a great reformer. His reforms won him more reputation than his philosophy. He was a legal reformer and jurist. He was a true reformer and a practical man. He did not escape from grim actualities into mysticism. He suggested reforms in punishment and the elimination of obstacles in the way of justice. Henry Maine says; "I do not know a single law reforms effected since Bentham's day which cannot be traced to his influence." Such has been his influence:

Bentham bitterly criticised the intolerable condition of the prisons, the injustice and severity of punishments provided in the English Criminal Law. He urged for reforms in English prisons. He was inspired by Howards who was making efforts for reforming prisons. He supported the need for imparting education to criminals and training them for useful labour. His reforms were implemented even outside England and won world-wide reputation. He also suggested universal adult suffrage, women suffrage, annual Parliament, Secret ballot system, the equalising of electoral districts abolition of beggary, national education, Frugality Banks (savings bank system), good schemes for health, industrial schools and a number of such welfare measures. Thus Bentham's schemes though radical, were reforming, progressive, suggestive and practicable in nature. He is in fact, more a reformist than a philosopher.

His utilitarian doctrine was criticised on many grounds. Prof. Murray criticised utilitarianism as a purely materialistic theory. J.S.Mill criticised it for its ignoring values. He says that it is better to be a Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. The theory of utility was also impractical. It is difficult to calculate the maximum happiness of the maximum number of individuals. Prof.Sorely says that the whole system would be completely upset if the qualitative distinction between pleasure was admitted.

Check Your Progress - I

1. What are pleasures classified by Bentham?

14.8 MILL'S LIFE AND WORKS

John Stuart Mill was born on May, 20 1806 in London. He was the eldest son of James Mill, who was a disciple and close friend of Jeremy Bentham. J.S.Mill was a child prodigy. James once told Bentham that his son was "a successor worthy of both of us." Mill started learning Greek even at the age of three. He could read and write Latin even at the age of eight. He read Plato, Herodotus, Xenophon and Lucian at that age. Before he was twelve he read Homer, Thucydides, Sophocles, Euripides and a number other great philosophers including Aristotle. At the Age of fourteen he went to France and stayed there for one year. He learnt French.

At the age of seventeen he was appointed in the East India Company and soon became Examiner by dint of Merit. He was a radical member of the Parliament from Westminster from 1866 to 1868. He was not very successful in the parliament. He died on May 8, 1873.

His father James Mill and Jeremy Bentham had immense influence on him. From birth Mill was destined by his father to carry on the torch of utilitarianism and philosophical radicalism. At the age of Seventeen Mill founded the Utilitarian Society for the propagation of Radicalism. He contributed regularly to the Westminster review and became the editor of London Review.

Mill was a prolific writer. He wrote extensively on many subjects including politics, ethics, logic, economics and metaphysics. The following are some of his great writings.

1. A System of Logic.
2. Essays on some unsettled questions in political Economy.
3. On Liberty
4. Considerations on Representative Government
5. Utilitarianism
6. Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform
7. The Subjection of Women
8. Principles of Political Economy
9. Woman's Suffrage
10. The Spirit of the Age
11. Autobiography

14.9 ON LIBERTY

Mill is considered a champion of Liberty. Due to the impact of Utilitarianism the Parliament increased its power of legislation. At the same time there was expansion of franchise. It was felt that the state is interfering in individual matters thereby infringing individual liberty. Expansion of education and the growing importance of local governments brought about a change in the outlook of the people. There was an increasing demand for individual liberty. Mill wrote his famous book, 'On Liberty' in this context. He at once became the champion of individual liberty. This book is compared with Milton's *Aeropagitica*. He advocated liberty of thought, expression and action for the individuals as against the suppression of it by the Parliament and public opinion. Mill says "Over his body and mind man alone is sovereign." He condemned the tyranny of majority. He argues that the individual needs protection against the tyranny of magistracy and even the tyranny of the society. He is against society imposing its view on any individual against his will. He argues that this type of imposition does not permit the individual to achieve around development.

Mill is of the opinion that social progress is possible only when the individual has full scope for all round development. Increased social legislation leads to tyranny of collectivism. He believes in toleration of opinions and unrestricted freedom of discussion. Truth emerges only out of free and frank discussion. Truth survives only when there is a struggle of ideas. Sabine says. "For Mill freedom of thought and investigation, freedom of discussion and the freedom of self-controlled moral judgement and action were good in their own right. They aroused in him a warmth and a favour that hardly appeared in his own writings but which placed the essay 'On Liberty' besides Milton's *Aeropagitica* as one of the classical defence of freedom in English language." Mill considers political freedom necessary for a higher type of moral character. Responsible human beings are produced only if there is public participation in frank discussion, and share in political divisions. Barker says: "Mill rose to the conception of liberty as freedom as free play for the spiritual originality.

Mill puts forth a powerful argument in favour of individual liberty. He argues that individual should not be subjected to legal coercion by means of laws or moral coercion by means of public opinion. Any coercion of the individual is justified only if it is to prevent harm to others. His own good is not a sufficient ground for interference. Mill's conception of liberty is a negative concept of freedom. He considered society a collection of self-seeking individuals. Social good is nothing more than the sum total of the separate satisfaction of all individuals. He stood against

increasing the power of the state as it reduces individual liberty. However, he excludes children, backward people and races from such liberty.

14.10 REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Mill is also well known for his views on democracy. He is a strong supporter of democracy but is against the tyranny of the majority. He pleads for toleration of minority opinion. He felt that the British Parliament did not provide a proper place for the minority. Mill suggested a number of reforms to provide a better form of democracy. He offered the following suggestions.

1. He supported proportional representation. He thought that the minorities are not having adequate representation in the Parliament. So he suggested the seats in the Parliament should be based on the number of votes polled by each party.
2. He argued that women should be given the right to vote.
3. Intellectual qualification should be prescribed for the right to vote. The right to vote must be restricted to those who can read, write and do at least simple problems of arithmetic.
4. He advocated plurality of voting, and as such, intellectuals with distinction should be given more votes.
5. He urged that there should not be any payment to the members of the parliament.
6. In the Parliament he stood for women suffrage, labour classes and reforms in Ireland.
7. He favoured the open ballot system. Secret ballot would lead to irresponsible and selfish voting according to him.
8. He pleaded for more legislative powers to the House of Commons. The final authority to legislate must be with the House of Commons. But the drafting of the bill could be done by the House of Lords as it had the legislative ability.
9. Local governments must be expanded to enable more people to participate in democracy.
10. He rejected the idea of annual elections to the parliament. He is also against the control of intellectual by those inferior to them.

Mill supported democracy as the best form of government. But he was fully aware of the ills of democracy. Hence he offered a number of reforms to make democracy, more representative in character. He is a democrat not because he believes that democracy makes men happier, but because he is convinced that it makes them better.

His views on Utilitarianism also differ from those of Bentham. Though he was originally inspired by his father, James, he realised the defects of Utilitarianism. Weyper says "In his desire to safeguard Utilitarianism from the reproaches levelled against it, Mill goes far towards overthrowing the whole Utilitarian position." At that time Carlyle was attacking Utilitarianism and leading an anti-hedonistic movement. But Mill knew its strength.

He argued with non-utilitarians about some pleasures being of higher quality than others. He did not agree with Bentham's oft quoted saying "Quantity of pleasure being equal, the pushpin is as good as a poetry". He declared Bentham to be wrong in this respect. He opined that men who experienced both higher and lower pleasures would agree in preferring the higher to the lower. He says, "It is better to be human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. And if the fool or the pig is of a different opinion it is because they only know their side of question. The other party to the comparison knows both sides". Mill accepted the qualitative difference between pleasures. If pleasures differ qualitatively, it is the higher pleasure that should be sought, and not the principle of Utility.

Mill also agrees with non-utilitarians that pleasures cannot be objectively measured. He rejected the felicific calculus'. Mill gave more importance to the development of dignity of man

than mere pleasure. He says that a certain pleasure is better than another if it promotes dignity in man. Mill introduces a concept of good life in opposition to that of the life devoted to pleasure. By doing so Mill considers the state a moral institution with a moral end, "The state must aim not simply at Utility but at promotion of Virtue." "Thus Mill has defended Utilitarianism only by abandoning the Utilitarian position. He gave supreme importance to liberty and only secondary importance to Utility. But to Bentham utility is more important than liberty. As Wayper says. "In all these alterations that he makes in Benthamism, Mill may think he is defending it, but in fact he is destroying it." But by removing the negative character of the state to a large extent, he introduced sounder Utilitarianism than Benthamism.

Check Your Progress - II

2. Why did J.S. Mill support open ballot system?

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14.11 SUMMING UP

Mill's writings were of great importance to the realization of need for placing the utmost value on individual judgement and action. His essay, *On Liberty* is perhaps, the most eloquent expression of the noble liberalism which was championed by the 19th century thinkers.

A close study of Bentham and Mill reveals a striking comparison between them. Both of them stood for Utilitarianism, individualism, democracy and reforms in many fields. Yet there is a considerable difference between the two. These differences may be thus summed up:

1. Bentham regards all pleasures as one but with varying degrees. He accepted quantitative difference in pleasure but not qualitative difference. Mill did not agree with this proposition. He argues that there are qualitative differences in pleasures.
2. Bentham believed in the equality of all men. Mill believed the inequality of men.
3. Bentham followed Adam Smith and supported free trade. Mill believed in private property but urged the mitigation of inequalities.
4. Bentham was interested in individual pleasure. Mill was interested in social pleasure.
5. Bentham gave the supreme position to pleasure. Mill gave supreme position to liberty.
6. Bentham supported universal suffrage and secret ballot. Mill stood for plural voting and open voting.
7. Bentham opposed the Second Chamber. Mill was in favour of a Second Chamber.
8. Bentham stood for prison reforms. Mill stood for reforms in Ireland.

In spite of these differences Bentham and Mill were able to influence the total political philosophy of contemporary England. Their contribution to political philosophy is immense.

14.12 SUGGESTED READINGS

C.C.MAXEY : *Political Philosophies*

14.13 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- (a) What are Bentham's views on 'Utility'?
- (b) Examine Mill's views on Liberty and representative government.
- (c) How far do you agree with the view that Mill in fact destroyed utilitarianism?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- (a) What are Bentham's views on Natural Rights?
- (b) What are the reforms proposed by Bentham?
- (c) What are the views of Mill on democracy?

-- Dr. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

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UNIT - 15 : IDEALIST THEORY - HEGEL AND GREEN

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- 15.12 Positive Freedom
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- 15.14 Suggested Reading
- 15.15 Model Examination Questions

15.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain the main features of idealism and the contribution of Hegel and Green.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Idealism is considered as one of the most important theories regarding the state. Idealists contributed a great deal to political philosophy. The idealist theory of the state is as old as political philosophy itself. Its original basis could be found in the writings of Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle. Idealist theory is known by different names. Bosanquet called it the "philosophical theory of the state." Joad called it the "absolutely theory of the state." Hobhouse termed it the "metaphysical theory of the state." Though the Idealists differ in terminology and style, they have much in common in respect of their views relating to state.

Plato regarded political philosophy as an ethical inquiry into the State. Aristotle separated politics from ethics but subordinated the state to ethics. Both of them considered the state a natural institution born out of the social nature of man. They considered participation in life of virtue as the end of the State. If every man performs his function in the State there can be good life.

These ideas of Plato and Aristotle were moulded into a political philosophy in Germany at the end of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Kant, Fichte, Von Humboldt and Hegel were German Idealist. German Idealism was an antidote to the excessive dose of materialistic rationalism during the second half of the eighteenth century. German idealism underwent a revision in the hands of British Idealist, T.H.Green, Bradley and Bosanquet, who were regarded as Oxford Neo-idealists.

15.2 MAIN FEATURES OF THE IDEALISM

Idealist theory is based upon the following principles of Greek Philosophy.

1. The State is an ethical institution. It is a partnership in a life of virtue. It is all comprehensive, and without state man cannot attain the possible highest perfection.
2. The state is identified with the society. It has an absolute character. The state represents and contains in itself all the social aspirations. It fulfills all the social needs of all the individual. Hence the claims of the state are based upon absolute authority. All the claims of the individual or any association must be a system in which the individual has to play his part well. The state is a moral organism. The individual is only an intrinsic part of this whole structure. The individual has no identity or existence when separated from it.
3. Since man is a social animal he must live in society. Living outside the state is against nature. By living in society alone man can realise perfection and perform his social duties and obligations. As the state is the highest good on earth and as it provides man with the conditions of better life, he owes obedience to it.

Rousseau in his Social contract tried to solve the problem of political obligation through the concept of 'General Will' It was his transmission of Greek ideas that made it possible for the German idealists to formulate a concrete theory of philosophy at Berlin. Soon he became a favourite of government and acted as official philosopher of Prussia. He died of Cholera in 1831.

Hegel contributed the following works:

1. Science of Logic
2. The Philosophy of Right
3. The Philosophy of History
4. Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences
5. The Phenomenology of Spirit

15.4 DIALECTIC AND SPIRIT

Before Hegel, three, philosophes sharpened the opposition between the order of nature, as to be understood through science, and that at it is presented by ethics and religion. Hume showed the difficulties in respect of the interpretation of the word, 'Reason,' Rousseau set the reason of the heart against the reason of the head. Kant recognised the autonomy of both science and morals. But all these three philosophers followed an analytical principle, 'divide and conquer', Hegel proposed a bolder speculative principle of synthesis against them. He found the analytical logic of science helpful to the justification of both morals and religion. For this he discovered a new, bold and powerful logic of synthesis known as the dialectic method'.

The word, dialectic, is derived from the Greek word, "dialego", which means to discuss or debate. It was first employed by Socrates who tried to arrive at the ultimate truth by constant questioning and exposing the contradictions by discussion. Plato also followed the dialogue method in his Republic. The Greeks had observed that if anything was pushed too far it would tend to produce its opposite. For example, absolute monarchy, if pushed to the extreme limit will result in despotism which in turn leads to violent reaction and to the establishment of democracy. Similarly if democracy is pushed to the extreme limit it results in the emergence a dictator. Thus there will be a dual rhythm of a thing and its opposite. later, they felt that it was a triple rhythm. Monarchy changed first into Aristocracy and then only into democracy. Similarly, democracy changed into dictatorship and then only into Monarchy. As Wayper observes "It was these ideas of the later Greek thinkers rather than the Socratic notion of dialectic which inspired Hegel.

Hegel believed that everything, except, that is, Reason or the Spirit when it has reached its goal, contains not only itself but in some sense its opposite. Every being should be understood not only by 'what it is but also by what it is not'. The opposite of Being is Non-being. Being and Non-being are neither completely true nor completely false. Hence by combining the partial truths contained in both Being and Non-being into one, we arrive at a third proposition carried further towards reality in Becoming. Each stage of a thesis must fall short of perfection until it arrives at the goal. Its imperfections call for a movement to remove them. This is antithesis' to thesis. At a later stage thesis and antithesis combine together to give rise to synthesis'. Synthesis again turns itself into thesis and produces antithesis which again results in the emergence of another synthesis. Thus everything goes on by a triple rhythm of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Synthesis again turns into thesis, gives rise to antithesis and there by another synthesis. Thus it grows stage by stage in a spiral way till it reaches the goal or perfection. Every stage is a development over the previous one. As pointed out by Wayer, "There will be a struggle between thesis and antithesis until such time as a synthesis is found. The synthesis, will preserve what is true in both thesis and antithesis. The synthesis, in its turn, becomes a new thesis, and so on until the Idea is at last enthroned in perfection. For example, if despotism is thesis, democracy is its antithesis. The clash between them results in synthesis 'Constitutional Monarchy', which contains the best of both. Similarly, if family is thesis, bourgeois society is its antithesis. From their clash emerges a synthesis, 'state'. In this the thesis and the antithesis are raised to a higher level and are reconciled." Hegel did not consider synthesis a compromise between thesis and antithesis. It is a victory of one over the other. Both thesis and antithesis present and find their form in synthesis with more perfection. The Dialectic considers that anything which is true cannot be lost. It will be expressed in higher forms. Hegel holds the view that contradictions are not obstacles to reach truth but are essential to find truth. "It is not men who remove these contradictions but Reason herself. Dialectic a self generating process it is the very moving principle of the world."

15.5 SPIRIT

Universe is a coherent whole to Hegel. Reason or Spirit or Idea or the Divine Mind is the only reality. Everything is the creation of this Spirit or Reason. Reason is the sovereign of the world. The nature of this Spirit is to know all things. In the beginning of the world process the Spirit of Reason knew nothing. Its nature was as undeveloped as that of man before he entered Polis. It has gradually grown or developed through after. It learns more and more becomes more and more perfect as it is itself knowledge. Through the process of its own development it becomes whole or reaches the stage of complete perfectness. Thus Hegel interprets history as the unfolding of truth by successive stages and evolution. History is the process through which Reason or Spirit passes from knowing nothing to full knowledge or awareness of itself. It is the increasing revelation of the purpose of rational mind. Hegel says "History of the world, therefore, presents us with a rational process." The Spirit on its way to its goal makes many experiments. Everything is a trial to remove its mask and is useful for the time being. But it discards it and proceeds to the next higher stage. It is a long process through which it becomes self-conscious and all pervading mind. He observes, "The rational is real and the real is rational." He rejected Fichte's teaching that only the ideal state is rational and that the existing states are irrational. He argues that actual and real existing states are rational and that they are to be treated with difference. He tries to idealise the actual state. Everything happens as the Reason or spirit needs it and hence is right. Many consider Hegel to be conservative as he supports the actual to ideal. But Hegel warrants and supports changes as they are in the nature of spirit itself. Hegel puts forth a theory of change for the better, and a promise of assured progress. History is the process of the development or march of Spirit through the world. It is through his famous dialectic method that he illustrates the march of spirit. Thus to him dialectic and spirit are complementary.

The progress of human civilization did not proceed in a straight line but in a zig-zag sort of movement. The world is dynamic and undergoes change continuously. Something undeveloped develops by constant splitting, differentiation and uniting to assume a new and better form. The lower forms proceed to higher levels. Hegel's greatness lies in using the dialectic to prove the developments of spirit. It was Karl Marx who at once applied his dialectic to support his own theory of socialism. He claimed to have turned Hegel up side down. He replaced Reason by matter. Hegel's dialectic is criticised as a method of confusion. He puts art, religion and philosophy as thesis, antithesis and synthesis respectively. But it is not understandable how religion is the opposite of art. Catlin calls his dialectic an amusing intellectual exercise. Sabine says, Hegel's dialectic was in truth a curious amalgam of historical insight and realism of moral appeal, romantic idealization and religious mysticism.

Check Your Progress - I

1. Write two sentences about Hegel's dialectic.

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15.6 THEORY OF STATE

Hegel gives the utmost importance to the state. As an idealist, he says, The state is the march of God on earth. It is an end by itself. It is a whole and greater than the parts. He is a staunch supporter of the organic theory of the state. The state is a moral organism. The individual should find his place to play his role as a component of the state. He cannot claim any right against the state. No moral law can check the state, as the state itself is the source of all moral principles. The state has no obligation except to look after its own safety and existence.

Hegel rejects the social contract theory. The state of free and equal men coming together in the state of nature to conclude a contract is absurd. He almost revived the Divine Right of Kings or Divine Origin of the State. Life at first was predominantly of gusto and violence, of untamed natural impulses of inhuman deeds and feelings. Men lived in groups rather than as individuals. To satisfy his sensual pleasure man entered into family structures. Family is thesis. Family became a strong unit because of love. As more and more families came into existence, there emerged a tribe or bourgeois society. The family is too small to cater to all the needs of the individuals. Hence as an antithesis to the family, the bourgeois society emerged. But unlike the family which is a strong hold of love, the bourgeois society consists of individuals with differing views and interests, which promotes competition. Through trade and industry the bourgeois society tries to cater to the needs of the individuals but does not fully succeed. It is also imperfect. Hence as a synthesis the state emerged. The state preserves the best in the family, the thesis, and in the bourgeois society, the antithesis, the State harmonizes the family and the society.

The state is divine. It is the highest embodiment of spirit or Divine Reason. It is the Divine idea as it exists on earth. It is, in fact, the march, of God on earth. He rejects the limits to social contract put forth by Rousseau. The state is the result of process of human consciousness guided by Divine Reason.

Hegel Considers the state an end by itself. It cannot be regarded as means to an end. He rejects the utilitarian conception of state altogether. It is the highest expression of the spirit and the final embodiment of spirit on earth. There can be no spiritual evolution beyond the state. Thus he subordinated religion or church to the state.

The state is the whole. It is greater than its component parts. Individuals are only intrinsic parts of the whole. They are subordinated to the state. "It has highest right over individual, whose highest duty is to be a member of a state."

The state is omnipotent. It is not checked by any moral law. It is the source of all moral principles and law. It lays down the standard of morality. The state is the trust interpreter of the tradition of community.

Hegel says; "the state must be comprehended as an organism," It is a natural growth. It develops from within and has a will of its own.

Check Your Progress - II

1. What is State according to Hegel.

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15.7 CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM

Hegel considers the state essential to freedom. The essence of man is freedom. According to Maxey, the state must be regarded as the ethical whole and the actualization of freedom. Man does not enjoy inalienable rights and his freedom is a gift of the state. To remove one's freedom is to renounce one's humanity. Hegel regards kantian freedom as negative, limited and subjective. But Hegel's conception of freedom is positive, objective and less individualistic. Individual freedom is a social phenomenon. The Individual's freedom consists in conformity to laws and customs of society and participation in its moral life. Freedom is creative.

Freedom can be attained through law. Man's will is free. These free will expresses itself through law, rules of inward morality and the whole system of social institutions. Since the state is the highest embodiment of spirit, it is the highest source of freedom. Commands of the state give man an opportunity to find freedom.

WAR

Hegel considers war to be essential to the state. He glorifies war. Struggle is an essential feature of every state and it is in consonance with nature. The state can become perfect only through its relation with other states which is one of enmity. At any given time only one nation can be the fullest realisation of God. War is always justified if it involves national interest. War reveals the political strength and the presence of spirit in nation. The state of war brings out the omnipotence of the state. The spirit fulfils its aim between nations through war only. The state that wins in the war is the agent of spirit.

15.8 THOMAS HILL GREEN

By 1830 there was a change in the British outlook regarding laissez faire. The poor and the middle class people found it difficult to survive in competition with wealthy class. The free markets were an obstacle to the economic self-expression of all classes of people. This encouraged a demand from the lower and middle class masses for state intervention in the interest of all. Thus, the trend was moving from individualism to collectivism. Hegelian philosophy was acceptable to the Britishers if the excess dose of aboslutism was removed from it. The time needed a philosophy which would combine English liberalism with Hegelian idealism. This was done by

T.H.Green, Bradley and Bosanquet who constituted a Neo-Hegelianism school of philosophy in England. They are known as 'Oxford Idealists'. Green attempted to bring about a compromise between English liberalism and Hegelianism. Infact he treid to idealise liberalism and liberalise idealism.

Thomas Hill Green was born on April 17, 1836 in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His father was a clergyman in the Church of England. He received his early education in Yorkshire and later at Rugby. He joined the Ballial College, Oxford. He worked in the same college for some time. He took an active part in the Civil affairs. He worked as Inspector of Schools. later, he was elected to the Oxford Town council too. He became the President of Oxford Band of Hope Temperance Union. In 1882 at the early age of 46 he died.

Green contributed many works to political philosophy. Mention may be made of the following works.

1. Lectures on Principles of Political obligation
2. Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Control
3. Lectures on English Revolution
4. Prolegomena to Ethics

15.9 THEORY OF RIGHTS

Green says: "Human consciousness postulates liberty; Liberty involves rights and rights demand the state". Green does not accept the theory of natural rights. He rejects the contractual basis. The state has natural growth and its chief purpose is purely ethical. Individual rights are a necessary condition for Free Moral Will. General Will is a moral law. Rights are claims of individuals. They involve an obligation to recognise similar rights in others. These rights are recognised by the society. The individual obtains rights not as an individual but as a member of the society.

A right has always two elements. In the first place, it is a claim to freedom of action which is necessary to realise one's own inner power and capabilities. But mere desire cannot be a claim for right. The desire must aim at general good. General good always allows freedom of action. It is a claim to participate and contribute to general good. Secondly, the right must always contribute to general good of the society. A right has thus both personal and social aspects.

Green makes a distinction between legal rights and moral rights, ideal rights are recognised by the moral consciousness of the society. Ideal rights are translated into legal rights by the state. He establishes a relation between morality and rights. Since rights lead to the state there cannot be rights against state. Though he rejected the concept of Natural Rights, he retained the term to denote ideal rights.

Green also recognises the possibility of a conflict between Ideal Rights and Legal Rights. Hence he permits individual resistance to the state in certain circumstances. This is a definite departure from the Hegelian concept: If a legal right is opposed to public good or interest, the individual has a right to resist it. It is, in fact, his duty. If resistance to a law is in public interest it is justified. Violation of Law must carry popular support. This is the reason why Wayper says, "In spite of Hegelianism, Green remained a radical and individualist."

15.10 NATURE OF STATE ACTIVITY

Green considers the state as a product of human consciousness. He justified authority on the basis of its being all to promote social good and moral values. He says, will not force is the basis of state".

The real function of the state is to maintain conditions of moral life in which the individual realise his purpose. It has to remove hindrances to moral life. As such, it must be a hindrance to hindrances in the attainment of full and developed moral life. He assigns a number of positive functions to the state to remove hindrance in the way of the individual self-realisation.

He divides the state functions into constructive functions and negative functions. The state has to promote education. He supports property and holds the opinion that it is necessary to the free play of capacities.

15.11 INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

Green combines individualism and idealism in his philosophy. The Government is the product of consent not force. Even the most despotic government cannot hold the society together by force. It makes the individual realise his own self and work for its full development. At the same time it makes the individual realise that this is possible to him only as a member of a society. Green is at once an individualist and a collectivist. He supports individual action in terms of social good. He is nearer to Aristotle and Kant than to Plato and Hegel.

15.12 POSITIVE FREEDOM

Green sets forth a theory of positive freedom in his 'Lectures on the principles of Political Obligation'. He delivered these lectures during the winter of 1879-80 at Oxford.

According to Green, there is eternal self-consciousness of God, we must make our reason identical with eternal self-consciousness. All men have self-consciousness. It always moves in the direction of eternal consciousness. One can expand his self-consciousness not living in isolation but only by living in the society. Barker says 'The self must not only know itself, but also will itself, in the sense of willing the ideal objects with which it has identified itself or rather seeking to identify itself. But the self is not only consciousness of itself; it is also conscious of other selves. If we live in a higher form of institution we can drive the self-consciousness towards eternal consciousness.

Liberty, is not viewed as the absence of restraints. It is a positive power of doing or enjoying something which is worth doing or worth enjoyed. Liberty is the pursuit of those objects which good will permits. It consists in obeying the law of our own moral being. Hence freedom is not negative in nature but positive. It is active involvement in seeking self-perfection or self improvement. It is not enough if legal equality or freedom is given to people. Freedom lies in the claim of the individual to harmonise and adjust to rationalised life. It is the free will to do good things. It is free moral action. He expands the scope of Kant's doctrine of Free Moral Will'. Thus he says Human consciousness postulates liberty; liberty involves rights and rights demand state.

15.13 SUMMING UP

Green has followed in the foot-steps of Hegel but injected a dose of individualism into Hegelianism. Green's liberal attitude made him modify and reduce absolutism and authoritarianism present in Hegelianism. Like Hegel, Green believed in the existence of Divine Spirit or Reason. Both of them believed that man could lead the life of a real man and develop only as a member of the state. State is the source through which man can realise his true self. Thus as far as the state is concerned both Hegel and Green are idealists.

But while Hegel believes that the state is an end by itself Green believes that the state is not an end by itself but only a means to an end. The end of the state is the moral development of the individual and his self-consciousness with a view to identifying itself with eternal consciousness. Green believes that institutions exist for the individual but not the individual for the institutions.

He even supports the individual's resistance to the state if the dictates of the state clash with his moral self-consciousness. Hence "in spite of Hegelianism, Green remained a radical and an individualist".

15.14 SUGGESTED READINGS

V. Venkat Rao : *A History of Political Theory*

15.15 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- a) How does Hegel make use of dialectic to explain the origin and nature of the state?
- b) What is Hegel's contribution to political philosophy?
- c) Examine Green's contribution to political philosophy?
- d) How far do you agree with the view that "In spite of Hegelianism, Green remained a radical and individualist?"

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- a) What are the main features of idealism?
- b) What are Hegel's views on state?
- c) What are Green's views on Rights?
- d) What is the sphere of state activity according to Green?

– Dr. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

BLOCK V

SOCIALIST POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 16. Early Socialists : Owen, St. Simon

Unit 17. Marx & Engles

Unit 18. Lenin

Unit 19. Mao

Unit 20. Democratic Socialism

Unit 21. Anarchism, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism

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UNIT - 16 : SOCIALIST POLITICAL THOUGHT

Contents :

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Introduction to socialism
- 16.3 Features of Utopian socialism
- 16.4 Robert Owen
- 16.5 Saint - Simon
- 16.6 Summing Up
- 16.7 Suggested Readings
- 16.8 Model Examination Questions

16.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain the ideas of the early socialists.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The early socialists of the 19th century are referred to as the Utopian Socialists because they expressed their socialist ideal in utopian terms. They did not propose systematic methods for the transformation of the capitalist into a socialist one. Thus the early systems of socialist thought were different from Marxian revolutionary Socialism. In this lesson we shall study the ideas of the early socialists and the ideal communities which they projected.

16.2 INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM

Modern political theory and practice is profoundly influenced by socialism. The course of history itself has been changed by the socialist thought. In this unit of lessons we shall study the political ideas of the Early Socialists or the Utopian Socialists of the 19th Century, the philosophy of Marx and Engels, popularly known as Marxism, Lenin's interpretation and adaptation of Marxism to Russia, Mao's adaptation of Marxism Leninism to China, Democratic Socialism and the different variants of Socialism, viz., Anarchism, Syndicalism and Guild Socialism.

Socialism is as old as the western civilization itself. Both Greek and Jewish-Christian thought categorically reject the conception of wealth as the basis of good life. Plato's Republic portrayed a city in which even wives and children were held in common. Thomas More's Utopia (1516) attacked private property as the chief cause of crime and advocated common ownership of property. Campanella's ideal, in the City of the Sun (1623) was communism in goods and wives, and labour for all. Harrington's Oceana (1656) placed limits upon the amount of land that could be held by any individual.

16.3 FEATURES OF UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

The nineteenth century witnessed a notable resurgence of Utopianism. A large number of utopian books, both fictional and expository became best sellers in the middle part of the nineteenth century. Some of them inspired active movements to realise the proposed schemes immediately. But all the attempts at the realization of the perfectionist societies were unsuccessful. Social reconstruction is too complex a problem to be solved by purely idealistic methods. Utopian thought flourished mainly in France, England and the United States in the 19th century. Under

this term, utopian socialism included the doctrines and projects of Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier and others.

Plato, More and Campanella had constructed their fanciful commonwealths without expecting them to be realized. But the 19th century utopian socialists were profoundly convinced that their systems were destined to bring about a total transformation of social life.

Socialism as a major political force originated as a result of the emergence of modern industrial capitalism. Since 1815 new economic factors had appeared which made the rise of socialism inevitable. The Industrial Revolution brought in its wake many economic and social evils. The factory system of production made the rich richer and the poor poorer. The gulf between capital and labour got widened. The economic structure of society was altogether changed by the Industrial Revolution. The Population shifted from rural to urban, i.e., industrial areas, resulting in the spread of ill health, misery and poverty. The trade union movement was suppressed by the capitalist governments. Anti-labour laws were passed in many industrial countries. In seeking remedies for this situation, some sought relief in utopian doctrines and projects.

To the early socialists all the social evils would disappear when the society gets organised on proper principles. All these socialists agreed that the most important source of the ills that afflicted mankind was poverty and its consequences. Prevalence of poverty was largely due to the undue emphasis on self-interest as the main-spring of human action. The existing system of industry and commerce based upon this principle and unrestricted competition led to increasing of misery and suffering. They protested against the injustice of unearned wealth. All the early socialists denounced the prevalent capitalistic system.

Sympathy - the sense of likeness - brings men inevitably together; benevolence - willing the good of all - is the natural principle of association. These basic factors have been almost wholly lost sight of in the theory and practice of social life. Rivalry, competition, strife and war with the endless exploitation of the weaker by the stronger have become the accepted methods for determining the relations of individuals and of peoples to one another. To change all this and restore the reign of nature's peace and order to humanity is the proclaimed purpose of all the utopians.

Utopian Socialism passionately voiced the liberal revolt against laissez-faire. It relied on voluntary co-operation rather than on political action to correct the inequalities of the economic system.

Utopian Socialism aimed at the welfare of all and not only of the workers. It stood for evolutionary and not revolutionary methods. The utopian socialists believed that political ills would be removed by the removal of social evil. They denounced unfair competition in commerce and industry, unearned increments and the existing capitalist system as the chief cause of the present poverty. They were against economic individualism.

The projects of various schools for the achievement of the ideal society had some things in common, but were for the most part widely divergent from one another. Let us briefly estimate the doctrine and projects of Robert Owen and the socialist doctrines of Saint-Simon, the most important among the utopian socialists.

16.4 ROBERT OWEN (1771 - 1858)

Robert Owen was responsible for the rise of what is known as 'sentimental or utopian socialism' in He has been called the "father of Socialism."

Robert Owen was a remarkable person. He was born of impoverished parents in 1771. He received almost no schooling and at the age of eleven was apprenticed to a London merchant. He

became very successful, in business. In 1794 at the age of 23, Owen became a managing partner of a textile factory. His success brought him both wealth and fame as a business leader. Owen became an eager student of social problems. He became profoundly convinced that improvement of environmental conditions was the key to the perfection of mankind both individually and socially.

In 1799, Owen purchased the cotton mill at New Lanark Scotland, together with the village. It was a typical mill town-ugly, insanitary and impoverished. He cleaned the whole village, built a new drainage system, constructed comfortable houses for the factory workers, and established a model school. The whole village was transformed into a model community. In the cotton mill he voluntarily reduced the hours of labour, and raised wages. The prevalent system of penalties for faulty work was abolished. When his mill was closed, he retained all the workers and paid them full wages for the duration of the shutdown. Owen's remarkable success at New Lanark in the first decade of the nineteenth century brought him international fame and influence. His advice was sought by statesmen and industrialists at the world over. In 1813 he wrote a series of essays entitled, *A New View of Society*, expounding his views.

In 1817, Owen prepared and submitted his remarkable Report to **The Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor**. In this document, he analyzed the economic and social effects of machine production and proposed a plan to alleviate the poverty of the working classes. Owen's report was politely received by the parliamentary committee and promptly consigned to the official archives. Owen was bitterly disappointed.

Owen turned his mind more and more to the possibilities of social reconstruction in the New World, that is, U.S.A in 1824. he brought a 30,000 acre tract of land in the New State of Indiana, U.S.A and founded there a settlement. He called it New Harmony and conducted it on communistic principles. Owen's communistic experiment at New Harmony was a failure. The land was leased out to private settlers in 1827.

However, the Owenite community at New Harmony inspired imitation. Several other settlements of the same type were started in various parts of the United States with Owen's advice and approval, but they were shortlived and demonstrated conclusively that the Owenite programme was impractical.

Owen died in 1858, at the age of 87. In spite of his mistakes and failures, he had done more to combat the evils of industrialism than any other man of his generation. In his own life time he was a witness to the remarkable success of his utopian socialism and also to its dismal failure.

In his work *A New View of Society*, Owen set forth his ideas for the betterment of industrial society. He proposed an old age pension fund, a supervised recreation programme, a community nursery for the care of children, a common school for the education of all children, a community church and a housing plan for all the workers.

In his **Report to the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor**, Owen proposed a plan to alleviate the poverty of the working classes. The central feature of his plan was the establishment of co-operative villages, in which the working population would be partly employed in industry and partly in agriculture. Each village would consist of about, 1,000 inhabitants, and occupy about 1,200 acres. The farm lands, mills, and other productive properties should be held and worked in common. There would also be common kitchens and common dining rooms, adequate facilities for education, worship and recreation. All members of the community should be employed in the various occupations of farming, manufacturing and managing of the different establishments of the community. All would share in the prosperity of the community and none would be unemployed or in want. Owen went into great detail in preparing the plans.

These communistic proposals of Owen were not received favourably by the Parliamentary Committee or the general public.

Owen strongly attacked religion as the enemy of social progress. But no man of his time had done more to promote practical Christianity than Owen.

Owen's interest in communism lay in his belief that it would inculcate the lessons of harmony and co-operation needed for the development of a sound social system.

The influence of Owen and his followers in England was an important element in creating co-operative societies, in bringing about legislation in the interests of the working classes, and in removing the restrictions upon labour unions.

The economic conditions in France during the period of the Revolution and the Restoration gave rise to a group of interesting utopian socialists. They approached social reform by way of philosophic speculation, not from the practical point of view of Owenism. Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Etienne cabet were the most important leaders of the utopian movement in France.

16.5 SAINT - SIMON (1760 - 1825)

Saint Simon was born in a noble family. He entered the army at age of seventeen and took part in the American War of Independence. Military service took him to Mexico and then returned to France with the rank of Colonel. He resigned his commission and set out to do two things: to educate himself for intellectual leadership; and to make a fortune sufficient to give him power and independence. In both of these undertakings he was eminently successful. He sought the company of philosophers and scientists to equip himself with learning. He soon became a radical. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789 he gladly renounced his title to nobility but refused to take an active part in politics.

Saint-Simon got married and invited scientists and scholars to his house. He started writing scientific and political papers. On account of his differences with his wife, they were legally separated within a year. Lavish expenditure and crooked business associates reduced him to penury in a short time. He was forced to work as a clerk in order to make a living. In his declining years he was thrown out of work and lived in object poverty. It was only the help of his friends that saved him from starvation. However, in spite of his poverty, St.Simon did not give up his mission in life. In his life time, St.Simon made few converts, but he left a small circle of dynamic disciples who spread his gospel among the people.

Saint-Simon's most influential writings were:

- (1) Letters of a Resident of Geneva (1802)
- (2) The Reorganization of European Society (1814)
- (3) The Industrial System (1821), and
- (4) The New Christianity (1825)

Within ten years after his death, St.Simon was made a prophet and his creed became fashionable. His doctrine appealed to the people who were sick of Rousseauism, Bonapartism and Legitimism. It appeared to the people that Saint-Simon found the right answer to the problem of government.

The Saint-Simonian doctrine presents no scheme as concrete as that of Fourier or even that of Owen for the reformed organization of society. On the other hand it is far more profound and coherent in its underlying philosophy.

Saint-Simon taught that the goal of social activity is "the exploitation of the globe by association." He viewed the French Revolution as a class struggle and was chiefly interested in the welfare of the workers. He believed that politics was primarily the science of production, and that it would ultimately to absorbed in to economics. To St.Simon, the industrial class was

the one useful class in society. He exalted the workers and denounced the idlers in society. He proposed a new social order resting upon the leadership of the producing class aiming at progress in industry. The final authority should be vested in a **Parliament** of three houses. First, **House of Invention** composed of civil engineers, poets, and artists; second, **House of Examination**, composed of mathematicians and physicists; and third, a **House of Execution**, consisting of captains of industry. The first house should suggest laws; the second would examine and pass upon them; and the third would carry them into effect. His ideal was a society resembling a factory, a nation transformed into a productive association.

Saint-Simon believed that successful social and political reform must rest upon a spiritual basis. In his **New Christianity**, he was bitterly critical of both Catholics and Protestants. He suggested a new social order based upon the teachings of Jesus Christ, and having for its object the amelioration of the conditions of the poor. He made his appeal especially to the cultured classes. His ideas represented the generous aspirations of the new bourgeoisie. They projected industrialism linked with socialism.

The importance of St. Simon lies in the fact that he realises that **private property** is exploitation unless it is the result of effort i.e., labour. He clearly recognised the existence of class warfare. The real distinction between men is one between the work and the idler, a distinction depending largely on the form of property organization. He was opposed to the institution of functionless property. In his own words, 'there can be no change in the social order without a change of properties.

St. Simon suggested a socialization of the entire nation which would lead logically to state socialism.

After his death, St. Simon's system was developed by his disciples in the direction of collectivism. The most prominent among his disciples were Enfantin and Bazard. They formed a society, to practice the Simonian religion, which became a centre of radical agitation. This society, however, was dissolved six years later, in 1831, by the police. The Saint-Simonians profoundly influenced J.S. Mill who was a friend of Enfantin and Auguste Comte. St. Simon is hailed as a forerunner of many vital doctrines. In the words of Maxey, "Saint-Simon's brilliant originality has won him the glory of foreshadowing some of the notable ideas of modern political thought, including socialism, positivism, technocracy, and internationalism. He was unquestionably the first nineteenth century thinker to envision a fully rounded science of society". He is regarded as one of the great formative influence of nineteenth century **political thought**.

16.6 SUMMING UP

Utopian Socialism aimed at the welfare of all. It accepted evolutionary methods. Robert Owen believed that improvement of environmental conditions would lead to the perfection of an individual and the society. St. Simon named society as a productive association. Utopian thought flourished in England, France and United States during 19th Century.

16.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

C.C. Mamey : *Political Philosophies*

16.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- a) Explain the main features of Utopian Socialism.
- b) Briefly examine the contribution of Robert Owen to the early Socialist thought.
- c) Do you agree with the view that Robert Owen was the 'Father of British Socialism.
- d) Explain the socialist ideas of Saint-Simon.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- a) Describe the reasons for the growth of socialism as a major political force in the 19th century.
- b) Explain Saint-Simon's contribution to the development of political thought.
- c) Describe Robert Owen's ideas on social reconstruction
- d) Describe Robert Owen's socialist project at New Lanark

– Dr. K. VEERAM REDDY

BRAOU

UNIT-17 : MARX AND ENGELS

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17.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and their contributions to political philosophy.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the political philosophy of Karl Marx and Engels.

17.2 KARL MARX

Karl Marx the father of scientific socialism, was born in 1818 in Rhineland, Germany. He was born of Jewish parents. They embraced Christianity when Karl Marx was a boy of six. Marx showed intellectual brilliance at an early age. He was educated in the universities of Bonn and Berlin. He studied jurisprudence, history and philosophy. For his graduation he went to the University of Jena, where in 1841 he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. in Philosophy. Marx wanted to secure a position in the University but failed to get the same. He became journalist and soon turned to revolutionary politics.

In 1844, Marx met Engels at Paris. Between Marx and Engels there sprang up a friendship which culminated in one of the most remarkable intellectual and spiritual partnership in history. For his revolutionary activities, he was expelled from Germany and also from France. He went to England and remained there till his death in 1883. He spent much of his time in the British Museum and other libraries writing voluminous treatises.

In his time Marx was recognised as the unquestioned leader of the European working class movement. He took part in forming a socialist association in 1864, popularly known as the First International. Marx was a prolific writer. His writings are to be found in essays, tracts correspondence and other works.

The most important writings of Marx are :

- 1) The Poverty of Philosophy (1847)
- 2) The Communist Manifesto drafted in co-operation with Engels (1848)
- 3) Critique Political Economy (1859)
- 4) Das Kapital (1867)

17.3 FREDRICK ENGELS

Frederick Engels, a close friend and collaborator of Karl Marx played an important role in the evaluation and development of Marxism. He was born in 1820 in Germany. His father was a prosperous textile manufacturer owning mills both in Germany and in England. As a student Engels was attracted to the radical views for which his father had no sympathy. He was forced into business at the age of 17. Later on he was sent to Manchester in England as the agent of his father's business.

Engels observed very closely the miserable conditions of the workers in Manchester, Leeds and London and wrote a book entitled The Conditions of the Working in England. This was published in 1844.

Engels met Marx at Paris in 1844 and remained a close friend and collaborator and a dedicated follower throughout his life. They took part in the revolutionary activities of 1844 in France and Germany. Engels collaborated with Marx in several of his works. The Communist Manifesto was drafted by Marx and Engels.

The important writings of Engels are :

- 1) Socialism, Utopian and Scientific;
- 2) Anti-Duhring; and
- 3) The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.

After the death of Karl Marx, Engels edited the Second and Third volumes of Das Kapital. Engels continued to be the counsellor and leader of the European Socialists till his death in 1895.

17.4 THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The Communist Manifesto or the Manifesto of the Communist Party is remarkable for its style, clarity of thought, unity of purpose and propagandist force. It is the most widely read of all the socialist documents. It has been translated into almost every civilized language of the world.

The Communist Manifesto is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the history of social evolution and the growth of modern bourgeoisie. The Manifesto states that the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles'. The society has been divided into haves and have nots, the exploiters and the exploited throughout history. The progressive and the revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie is described. Like the feudal class that preceded the bourgeoisie, it is doomed to destruction by the growth of the modern working class-the proletariat.

In the second part, the relation between the proletarians, and the Communists is analysed. The Communists do not form a separate part opposed to other working class parties. Their interests are the same as those of the proletariat. The abolition of the private property is the chief aim of the Communists. For the transition from capitalism to socialism, the Communist Manifesto explains the programme the measures for implementation.

The third part of the Manifesto contains a criticism of the contemporary socialist and communist literature. The feudal socialism, the petty bourgeois and bourgeois socialism and the utopian socialism or Communism are condemned in strong terms.

The fourth part of the Communist Manifesto explains the position of the Communists in relation to the various existing opposition parties. The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. The fundamental philosophy of the Communists is very powerfully stated in the concluding para of the Communist Manifesto.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite";

The important influences of Marx's thought were those of Hegel and Fredrick. The most important philosophic idea, **the dialectic** was borrowed from Hegel. From Fredrick, Marx learnt that it is not God who created man, but it is man who created God.

Marx was also influenced by the English economists like Adam Smith, Ricardo and William Thompson. The idea of surplus value is borrowed from William Thompson's **Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth**, published in 1826. The materialistic interpretation of history had already been given by Harrington. The notion of class war was set out by St.Simon in his Geneva Letters. The important thing about the work of Marx was not its originality, but its synthetic power. His main contribution to Socialism was the outlining of deductions to be drawn from the generalizations of earlier writers.

17.5 DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

The starting point of Marxism is the Hegelian Dialectic. In simple language, the dialectic explains that human progress is the result of contradictions. It is in the form of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Thesis affirms a proposition, antithesis negates it and synthesis reconciles thesis with the antithesis. It is a unity of opposites. History does not show a smooth continuous evolution. Human evolution is like the ascent of a spiral staircase and following a zig-zag movement. It consists of contrast, negation and contradiction.

With the dialectic as his starting point, Marx developed theory of dialectical materialism, economic interpretation of history or economic determinism, the theory of surplus value and class-war.

The theory of dialectical materialism was completed by Marx near about 1846. A statement of the theory was given by Engels in 1878 in his Anti-Duhring. Both Marx and Engels relied on Hegel for the general nature of the dialectic. But they rejected the idealistic interpretation of it as a self development of thought. Hegel's dialectic applies to the realm of ideas whereas Marx and Engels applied it to the material world.

Materialism for Marx, says Sabine, meant three things: (i) the real motive forces in history were material conditions; (ii) materialism implied a radical rejection of religion and theism; and (iii) suggestion of a new and far-reaching revolution. Marx makes it plain that his materialism is dialectical but not mechanical. In mechanical materialism, evolution is the path taken by material things under the pressure of their environment. In dialectical materialism evolution is the development of matter from within, environment either helps or hinders but does not originate or prevent the evolutionary process. Matter, to the dialectical materialist, is active not passive, but moves by an inner necessity of its nature. It contains its own contradictions which cause struggle and, therefore, movement. The source of motion is matter.

According to Marx, Hegelian dialectic, based on the evolution of idea, is standing on its head. By replacing Hegelian Idea with Matter; Marx claimed to put the dialectic right side up. The fusion of the Hegelian dialectic with Marxist materialism resulted in dialectical materialism.

Marx borrows the idea of dialectic evolution from Hegel whereas the evolving reality in the Hegelian dialectic is Spirit or Idea. For Marx it is matter. Marx substitutes the Spirit or Idea of Hegel with material forces in the shape of economic classes. He conceives of history as a struggle between economic classes. He conceives of history as a struggle between economic classes. Dialectic evolution of society results from this struggle. The thesis, antithesis and synthesis of dialectical materialism are economic classes. Dialectical materialism will result in the evolution of a classless society. When once a classless society is established, dialectic evolution through conflict will stop because there will be no classes and no conflict in society.

17.6 MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

Historical materialism is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the development of society. It is, in fact, an **economic or materialistic interpretation of history**. It is also referred to as economic determinism. According to this principle all mass phenomena of history are determined by economic conditions.

The theory begins with the simple truth that man must eat to live. He is moved to activity and struggle by his material needs. His very survival depends upon the success with which he can produce what he wants. Production is therefore the most important of all human activities.

Human history has a material base. The most important material conditions of life are governed by factors of production like land, labour, technology, etc. Next in importance to the factors of production are the productive relations between men. The productive relations depend upon and vary according to the factors of production. If in a country, the productive forces are the land and the plough, the productive relations will be that of the landowner and the peasant. If the productive forces change from land and unskilled labour to industries and skilled and semi-skilled labour, the productive relations will be that of mill owners and the industrial proletariat.

According to Marx, the economic system is the base or substructure and on it rests the superstructure of social, political, ethical and spiritual relationships. The superstructure is built upon and is determined by the substructure. A change in superstructure will be only superficial; only a change in the substructure can be real and lasting. Since the substructure will be controlled by the economically dominant class, the superstructure will be so made as to suit the interests of this class. Laws, institutions, political principles, religious percepts, social code and moral values are carefully framed and shaped to suit the interests of the economically dominant class. Real and purposeful changes will take place only if the control of substructure passes from the capitalist to those of the proletariat.

Marx interpreted history purely in materialistic terms and not in terms of God, purpose or design. Economic forces influence human affairs much more than any other force such as morals, religion or nationalism. History is determined in the interplay of economic forces, and the evolution of human society will at each stage reflect the stage of material development reached in the external world.

Thus to each stage of economic production there corresponds an appropriate political form and an appropriate class structure. In a feudal society, those people who possess land control the legal, political and religious institutions in the community. In a capitalist society, the capitalist controls not only the industries, financial institution and public services but also control the legal, political and religious institutions.

Marx's theory of **historical materialism** is not a sovereign formula to be mechanically applied but a working hypothesis, a method of investigation which will help us to understand the pattern of the past and to predict the path of the future. In *Das Capital* Marx supported the doctrine of historical materialism with an economic analysis of capitalist exploitation of Surplus Value.

17.7 THE THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE

The basic concept of Marx's economic analysis was surplus value'. The theory of surplus value is an extension of Ricardo's labour theory of value. According to Ricardo, labour is the source of value. In other words, the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour needed for its production. Marx develops this theory and draws conclusions which are almost the exact antithesis of those drawn by the economists.

In the modern industrial society, the instruments of production are owned by a relatively small class, the capitalist class. The capitalist buys the labour power of the worker, applies it to the machinery and raw-materials which he owns and produces commodity. This commodity has exchange value, that is, it can be sold for a price. This is greater than the amount expended for the payment of wages and the upkeep of the factory. The difference between the exchange value of the manufactured commodity and the price paid to the workman for his labour is called Surplus Value. Surplus value is concealed labour or labour not paid for. It is brought into being by the labour of the workman, and appropriated by the capitalist who employs him. It is in fact the product of unpaid labour.

The appropriation of the surplus value by the capitalist constitutes the fundamental injustice of the modern industrial system. This is different only in form from a slave society. The slave worked and created surplus value under compulsion. The modern workman creates surplus value under free contract into which he voluntarily enters.

17.8 CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL

Marx's economic analysis produced a number of predictions about capitalism. Because of the competition among the capitalists, industry will tend to be concentrated in larger and larger units of production. These will tend to become monopolistic, and wealth will be concentrated in fewer and fewer people. According to the law of capitalist accumulation there occurs "the concentration of already formed capitals, the destruction of their individual independence, the expropriation of capitalist by capitalist, the transformation of many small capitalists into a few large ones".

Competition, the growth of credit, the development of a jointstock system, technical improvements involving capital costs, all speed up the accumulation and the centralization of the capital. Competition to keep up profits will make exploitation more severe and keeps the worker's wage at the lowest possible point. This makes the working classes more impoverished. Capitalist economy will be subject to periods of overproduction, depression and unemployment because of the low level of consumption. Small businessmen, farmers and independent artisans are reduced to the level of wage earning proletarians. Poverty grows as the accumulation of capital grows. The development of capitalism simplifies the class struggle, since it leaves only two classes, namely the capitalists and the proletarians. Thus by simplifying the class struggle the law of capitalist accumulation leads capitalism to its own destruction.

17.9 CLASS WAR AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The idea of class war was not new. St.Simon and Guiot have both made use of it. What is original in Marx is the union of this idea with Hegels dialectic.

The doctrine of class struggle is a corollary of historical materialism. If historical materialism contains the theory of social evolution, class struggle represents its mechanism. Social movements are class movements.

To Marx, the class represents a very important entity. It has a collective unity of its own with its characteristic beliefs, notions, and heritage. The individual has important traditions and notions of his class by environment and education. It is the class which determines for the individual the pattern of his social environment and the manner in which he will deal with the environment. Economic relationships between men get crystallized into economic classes which become thesis and anti-thesis in dialectic evolution of mankind.

All Social change has been determined chiefly by the economic class struggles that have pervaded history since the break up of tribal community. In fact, humanity has evolved to higher stages of development through principal and mutually hostile classes, namely the exploiters and the exploited, the owners and the toilers. In every society, the class which is able to control the means of production and distribution will govern that society. By economic necessity, it will have to govern oppressively and to exploit other classes. The exploited class cannot survive unless they resist this oppression and exploitation.

According to Marx and Engels, "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, the lord and serf, guild master and journeymen, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open, fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Since the establishment of private property, society has been divided into two hostile economic classes. In the ancient world the interests of the slave owners was opposed to that of the slaves. In Medieval Europe the interests of the feudal lords was opposed to that of the serfs. So in our own times, the interests of the capitalists class is opposed to the proletariat class. In our industrial society rich grow richer and the poor become poorer, as the wealth of the community gets concentrated in the hands of a few people. There will be serve struggle between the capitalists class and the working class.

A Social revolution is inevitable because the future development of capitalism will take the form of the concentration of capital in fewer and fewer hands. At the same time there will be the ever closer and more elaborate organization of the proletariat." The exploitation of the workers become more and more severe and the working class becomes more militant. The struggle between the capitalist and the proletariat will be further intensified. "At its climax, the proletariat will arise, overthrow the capitalist class and expropriate them of the means of production."

The working class is destined to win because they are numerically very large and the battle they are fighting is for a just cause. As there is no other class below the working class for its exploitation, the success of the working class heralds the end of all exploitation, The victory of the proletariat carries with it the emancipation of the whole humanity.

17.10 THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The dominant class will not, however, give up comfort and power without severe struggle. "The Red Terror", wrote Trotsky, is a weapon utilised against a class, doomed to destruction which does not wish to perish." To stabilize the results of the revolution the dictatorship of the proletariat is established. To Lenin, the dictatorship of proletariat means, not the anti-thesis of democracy, but the anti-thesis of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It will transform the unreal bodied and subject public opinion. It will transform the unreal democracy of the capitalist society into he real democracy of the socialist society. It is the proletariat organized as the ruling class.

The dictatorship of the proletariat will confiscate all private capital, organize labour, compel all to work, centralize credit and finance, establish state factories central means of transport and speed up production. During the revolutionary period only the dictatorship of the proletariat continues. It is only transitory in nature. After the socialist society has been established the need for the dictatorship will not remain. Under socialism, payment is according to one's contribution to the society.

17.11 WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE

When once the bourgeoisie is finally liquidated and the danger of counter-revolution has disappeared there is no longer a reason for State's existence. In the classic formula of Marx and Engels, the state will wither away', giving place to a free society of voluntary associations formed for the transactions of public business. The state is the product of society at a certain stage of development. It has been an instrument of class coercion. When the perfect classless society is established, the state disappears. It is not abolished, but it just fades away. Its place is taken by an administrative apparatus which controls and manages the instruments of production. To quote Engels, "the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things."

The new society will be organised on the principle 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need's. Each man will contribute to the social wealth by his labour as much as he can, and will take from it what he needs. Life will be associational and not political. There will be no ruling class. It will be a society of the free and equal.

17.12 EVALUATION

The fundamental principles of Marxian theory are subjected to vigorous criticism.

- 1) The dialectic is an artificial way of forcing history into a preconceived pattern. It is not possible to explain history dialectically. The span of history being unlimited, it is difficult to determine the stages of history which correspond to thesis, antithesis and synthesis. History is not merely a record of progress. It also tells the story of downfall and regress. The principles of dialectic stands in sharp contrast to actual history which is as much a narrative of rise and progress as well as tale of decay and dissolution. The term 'dialectic has not been precisely defined and uniformly used. Again, when once, Communism is established, the dialectic suddenly ceases to operate according to Marx and Engels.

The labour theory of value on which is based the notion of surplus value, is an inadequate explanation. Other factors such as the relation of supply and demand and existence of competition or monopoly, must be taken into account for determining the value of the commodity. In the words of C.L. Weyper, as a theory of price, the theory of surplus value is rubbish; as an appeal that it is degrading to treat labour as a commodity, it is powerful". Lenin, the great disciple of Marx, hardly mentions surplus value in his discussion. It is today, "a relic of the teaching of the master than a serious part of the system." On the whole, the theory is abandoned by a majority of the modern Marxists.

The materialistic interpretation of history is a partial view. Historical events are the outcome of multitudinous events and not determined by a single factor, the economic factor. What actually happens in history is determined not merely by the working out of fundamental principles and underlying trends, but by a thousand and one irrelevant and incidental factors. "A thousand cross-currents deflects the stream, a thousand side-winds blow a thwart the course of history." Personal intrigues, sexual jealousy and desire, love of power, slighted vanities and injured prides, religious enthusiasm, reforming zeal, party strife - all these on occasion play a part in determining events. The theory also ignored the part played by exceptionally gifted individuals in determining historical events. The theory does not take in to account the contingent element' or chance happening of great historical significance.

The law of capitalist accumulation or concentration is not borne out by facts. The number of small independent manufactures is actually increasing. The development of modern joint-stock companies shows that the concentrations of industry does not necessarily imply centralization of property. Marx's predictions about the collapse of capitalism did not come true.

The Marxian theory of class struggle is contrary to historical facts. It is not true to say that struggle has always existed in society. Moreover, the idea of a long continued class struggle is unduly pessimistic and over-dramatic. Marx was also wrong in his conception of classes. Classes are not fixed and rigidity maintained blocks. There is a constant movement from class to class. It is pointed out that class struggle is not fundamental in society. In fact society develops through the process of harmony and co-operation. It is possible to reconcile the interests of the working class and the capitalists. The rise of the middle class consisting of the petty bourgeoisie, white collar workers, the technocrats, the skilled labourers etc., projects a complete contradiction to the polarisation theory of Karl Marx.

A social revolution of the kind predicted is not inevitable. Recent economic history shows that social thought and foresight have brought about a gradual amelioration of social ills.

It is argued that the technique of revolution will lead to disastrous results if applied in the modern community. The struggle to overthrow capitalism will be protracted and subject to set backs. The result of the struggle may not be the establishment of communism, but a return to barbarism. Under modern conditions the most probable outcome of a revolutionary attempt to overthrow capitalism is the establishment of fascism. Further the dictatorship of the proletariat envisaged during the transitional period is clearly undesirable. Any form of dictatorship is defective because there is no assurance that the interests of the dictators will always coincide with the interests of the community. Dictatorship is incapable of voluntary abdication. The study of history suggests that dictatorships from their very nature become more extreme and more sensitive to and impatient of criticism. Political developments in the 20th century support this view.

Marx speaks of the possibility of having a classless society in which the state has no reason to continue. To both Marx and Engels the state will ultimately wither away. Such a condition can be better imagined than realized. The post-revolutionary periods in Russia and China show a trend opposite to Marxian expectation. In the words of Sabine, "The classless society is the myth of the future which compensates for the disillusionments of the present and the disappointments of the revolution itself."

17.13 SUMMING UP

In spite of its failure and shortcomings, Marxism has made an appeal to increasing number of people. It is an accepted revolutionary philosophy of the toiling masses. Marxism provides a coherent and consistent account of the history of mankind and its scientific approach reveals a universal phenomenon of society. It is an admirable diagnosis of capitalism. We may reject Marxism but we cannot ignore the indictment which it makes of capitalism.

On the level of theory the political impact of Marx has been extremely revolutionary. Due to his influence politics has been compelled to consider the comprehensive social context in most of its formulations. This sociological upsurge in modern political analysis is, in a large measure, a product of his reconstruction of political sociology.

In the realm of practice, the assault of revolutionary Marxism on traditional liberalism has compelled the liberals everywhere to concede welfare of the masses as one of the basic programmes. The modern welfare state is in a large measure a result of the impact of Marxism.

Marx gave a philosophy which has revolutionized the world. He has profoundly influenced a whole generation of political philosophers, writers and statesmen alike. In the words of C.L.

Wayper. "For the power of his message, for the inspiration of his teaching, and for his effect upon future development, Marx can be sure of his place in any collection of the World's great masters of political thought."

17.14 SUGGESTED READINGS

C.L. Wayper : *Political Thought*

17.15 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- (a) Critically examine the doctrine of dialectical materialism as propounded by Marx and Engels.
- (b) Explain Marx's doctrine of Historical Materialism.
- (c) Critically explain the theory of Surplus Value.
- (d) Explain the main tenets of Marxism. How far are they applicable to present day conditions.>
- (e) 'It is not easy to over-estimate the significance of the Manifesto..... It contains, broadly speaking, four definite groups of ideas, Discuss the main ideas contained in the Communist Manifesto.
- (f) What was the contribution of Karl Marx to political philosophy?
- (g) A great man works with the ideas of his age and regenerates them.' In what way is this statement true of Karl Marx's political philosophy?
- (h) Critically examine the Marxian theory of economic determinism in politics.
- (i) When, ultimately, the state becomes truly representative of society as a whole it makes itself superfluous. (Engels) Discuss.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- (a) The important thing about the work of Marx was not its originality but its synthetic power. Explain the intellectual indebtedness of Marx.
- (b) Examine briefly Marx's notion of class struggle.
- (c) Explain the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- (d) Critically explain the Marx's economic analysis of capitalist concentration.

– Dr. K. VEERAM REDDY

UNIT-18 : LENIN

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- 18.11 Model Examination Questions

18.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to discuss Lenin's interpretation and development of Marxism and its adaptation to the conditions in Russia.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study Leninism

18.2 LENIN'S LIFE HISTORY

The real name of Lenin was Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov. Lenin was merely his pen name. He was born in 1870. His father Ilya Ulianov, was an inspector of schools. Ilya Ulianov had six children and Lenin's elder brother was arrested and hanged in 1887 on a charge of conspiracy against the life of Alexander III. The execution of his brother radically transformed the future life of Lenin.

Lenin took his degree in laws as a private student from the St. Petersburg University in 1891. In 1895 he went out of Russia and arranged to import banned literature into Russia. He was arrested and imprisoned. After that he was sent to Siberia as an exile for three years. In 1900, Lenin left Russia and founded in Munich a journal called Iskra (The Spark). Later on, the Iskra was shifted to London and from there to Geneva. It was in London that Trotsky met Lenin.

Lenin became the leader of the Bolshevik or majority wing of the Marxian Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia. He favoured immediate preparations for a revolution in Russia. The moderates who believed in peaceful and constitutional methods became the minority. They were called the Mensheviks. From 1900 to 1914, Lenin was busy in propagating his views and organizing the people of Russia for a revolution. When the World War I came in 1914, Lenin was happy that Russia was participating in the war. He continued his ruthless campaign against the Czar and his government.

In 1917, the Czar was overthrown. The German General Staff sent Lenin Russia. But he reached late and the power was held by the Mensheviks for some time. The Mensheviks were overthrown by Lenin and his followers in November 1917.

After capturing power Lenin had to fight against heavy odds. Russia was attacked on many sides. It was a heroic job to beat back the foreigners. Lenin was confronted with formidable economic problems. He met the situation boldly and introduced a new economic policy.

Lenin died in January 1924. Probably, he was the most influential man in history from the time of Julius Caesar. He was the hammerer of world revolution.

Lenin's writings are numerous. Some of his important writings are :

- 1) Development of Capitalism in Russia
- 2) Materialism and Empirio-criticism
- 3) Imperialism : The Highest State of Capitalism; and
- 4) State and Revolution.

18.3 DEFINITION AND MEANING OF LENINISM

In his Problems of Leninism (1924) Stalin gave the official definition of Leninism. 'Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution'. In the same essay, Stalin mentioned another interpretation of Lenin's philosophy, that it was an adaptation to the state of affairs in Russia. Of course Stalin rejected this interpretation because Leninism becomes a local variant of Marxism.

In the early part of the 20th century conditions in Russia were broadly characteristic of backward and colonial countries of the world. Therefore, Lenin's adaptation of Marxism to Russia turned out to be an adaptation of it to the age of imperialism. His methods were effective in the colonial dependencies of imperialist countries. Lenin's success in Russia had a powerful attraction to the countries which were industrially backward and predominantly agricultural. "Leninism can therefore best be defined as an adaptation of Marxism to non-industrialized economies and to societies with a prevailing peasant populations". The importance of Leninism lies in the fact that the modern world is full of such societies.

Lenin professed himself to be a faithful disciple of Marx. He assumed the task of bringing Marx upto date, restating the true revolutionary Marxism and adapting Marxism to Russia. In doing so Lenin effected important changes in Marxism and made Marxism adaptable to the colonial and under developed countries. Many of the views, prophesies and doctrines of Marx became inapplicable to the prevailing conditions in Europe and in the World in the 20th century. Marx had written before the development of monopolist capitalism and imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin had to restate Marxism in the light of these developments. The result is a body of doctrines known as Marxism Leninism. Thus Leninism is Marxism in the era of Imperialism.

Check Your Progress - I

1. Mention the works of Lenin.

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18.4 LENIN'S THEORY OF IMPERIALISM

Lenin regards imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. As capitalism develops, Lenin says, units of industrial production grow bigger and combine in trusts and cartels to produce monopoly capitalism. The same process takes place in the financial world. Banks combine and become masters of capital that the industrialists use so that monopoly capitalism is also finance capitalism. Monopoly-finance capitalism is aggressively expansionist. Its characteristic is export of capital, and this leads to three consequences, namely, exploitation of colonial people, promotion of wars between capitalist countries and the ultimate collapse of capitalism itself.

Monopoly and finance capitalism are logical developments from free, competitive capitalism. Political imperialism is a logical development of monopoly capitalism; and war is a logical development of imperialism. Hence imperialism is "the highest stage of capitalist development". It is transitional stage leading to a higher communist economy in any society.

To Lenin, imperialism is 'moribund capitalism', containing a number of contradictions which ultimately destroy capitalism. There is, firstly, the contradiction or antagonism between capital and labour. Capital exploits the labour and brings the exploited workers to revolution. There is, secondly, the contradiction or struggle between various imperialist powers and industrial combines for new territory, new markets and sources of raw-material. There is also the contradiction or antagonism between colonial powers and the dependent colonial peoples. Imperialism thus creates conditions favourable to the destruction of capitalism by promoting class and international conflicts and revolutionary outlook among the proletariat.

By scientific standards Lenin's analysis of imperialism was inferior to that of earlier Marxian scholars.

Lenin asserts that monopoly capitalism governs the politics of the imperialist age. At the same time he says that the politics of the imperialist age govern the development of monopoly capitalism. That is both true and non-Marxist. His view is a credit to his realism and not to his Marxism.

Lenin argued that investing capitalists pushed their governments into dangerous diplomatic adventures and this was the root cause of wars in the age of imperialism. But this views has not been found always valid. More frequently the very opposite has happened.

He insisted that there is inseparable connection between the export of capital and empire. The Swiss surpassed all other nations in their holding of foreign investments per head of the population yet there is no Swiss empire. He held that the possession of an empire allowed a labour aristocracy in the mother countries to enjoy a high standard of living by exploiting colonial workers. Yet Sweden and Denmark, which had no empire maintained a standard of living higher than that of France and Belgium. As Prof. Staley has conclusively shown, the correlation between the movement of capital and poverty seems to be the direct opposite of what Lenin declared it to be. In the words of C.L.Wayper, "His theory of Imperialism, in fact, in so far as it is a defence of Marxism, is both dishonest and untrue; in so far as it is true it is not a defence but an effective renunciation of the teachings of the master".

18.5 BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAT REVOLUTIONS

According to the classical Marxism, Proletarian or Socialist revolution is possible and successful only in mature capitalist or industrial societies. But Russia was industrially backward and primarily an agricultural country. Hence, the completion of the bourgeois or middle class revolution should precede proletarian revolution. These two revolutions are distinct and there should be time lapse between the two revolutions. The problem of two revolutions was the subject of much anxious thought after 1905 in Russia among the Marxian scholars. The boldest

attack on the problem of two revolutions was made by Trotsky. His theory of 'Permanent Revolution' was a brilliant Marxian analysis.

According to Trotsky, "in a country economically backward, the proletariat can take power earlier than in countries where capitalism is advanced". It must begin as a middle class or bourgeois revolution, for it must destroy the relics of feudalism. It should not stop there. The revolution should attack capitalism and expropriate the capitalists of their means of production. The two revolutions will merge. The merging of the two revolutions, Trotsky called "the law of combined development".

Like Trotsky, Lenin believed that the interval between the two revolutions will vanish. In 1917, Lenin adopted the kernel of Trotsky's theory that the two revolutions would merge. The central idea of Lenin's theory was that the peasantry had revolutionary possibilities which a proletarian party could exploit. Like Trotsky, Lenin believed that the alliance between the working class and the peasantry must be temporary. At a proper time this alliance should be shifted to the proletariat of Western Europe.

Marx asserted that if a workers movement is not revolutionary, it is nothing. But he had not expounded in any detail the theory or technique of revolution. This deficiency was made good by Lenin. As a practical revolutionary he, did not believe in the transformation of capitalism into socialism by the evolutionary dialectical process. To wait for the workers becoming the majority party and establishing socialism was an illusion. Besides, the history of all earlier revolutions clearly indicated that the more organized, more class-conscious, better armed minority forces will upon the majority. Lenin saw that a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East in a united World front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable.

Lenin believed in vigorous revolutionary action. He formulated the theory and tactics of proletarian revolution. He believed that the proletarian victory could only come as a result of carefully calculated revolutionary action, accurately timed and rationally confined to objectively feasible steps. Lenin was emphatic that progress towards socialism could only be revolutionary, and not evolutionary as Bernstein and the revisionists maintained.

18.6 LENIN'S CONCEPT OF PARTY

The question of the organization of the party was the subject of Lenin's first important theoretical work, a pamphlet entitled what is to be done? published in 1902. According to Marx, the emancipation of the working class is the work of the working class itself. The socialist revolution cannot be made by force or exhortation. But Lenin gave a new non-Marxian theory of revolutionary function of intellectuals. According to Lenin, emancipation of the working class is the work of a band of intellectuals leading the working class. The workers, he says, do not spontaneously become socialists but trade unionists and revolutionary ideas must be brought to them by the middle-class intellectuals.

Lenin believed that a revolutionary party takes power and gets its majority afterwards. He advocated the organization of party with professional revolutionaries. His party was designed to be an elite, a minority chosen for intellectual and moral superiority, the most advanced party of the working class and so its 'vanguard'. But Lenin had no notion of creating an aristocracy. The party's work was distinguishable but never separate or apart from the people whom it leads.

The party had three main features which became distinctive of Communist parties everywhere. First, it was assumed that the party possessed a unique type of knowledge and insight, with a uniquely powerful method, the dialectic. The party had something of the quality of a priesthood and it demanded the total subjection of the private ends to the ends of the organization.

Secondly, Lenin's party was never designed to become a mass organisation but it consisted of a carefully selected and rigidly disciplined elite. The party claimed both intellectual and moral superiority.

Thirdly, Lenin's party was designed to be a tightly centralized organization. It excluded any form of federalism or autonomy for any local or other constituent bodies. The party had a quasi-military organization, subjecting its rank and file to strict discipline and rules of obedience and its leaders to a hierarchical chain of authority from the top down.

Thus, the outstanding characteristic feature of Lenin's party is its centralised organization. But he modified his practice by introducing the principle of "democratic centralism". The democratic part of the plan consisted in a member's right to discuss policies on which the party had not pronounced a decision. When a decision was taken, there should be no dissent. Again, the members had a right to elect higher party organs. Centralism meant that every party organ was strictly bound by the decision of any body with a higher position in the chain of command.

The principle of democratic centralism appears reasonable for any revolutionary party or for any organization whose duties are executive alone. The party developed the organization characteristic of any bureaucracy with a fixed chain of command. Its structure becomes hierarchical, with a dictator or some inner clique controlling the central committee and the central committee controlling the party. The party which is the 'vanguard' of the working class controls government and all organizations outside the party. Thus the dictatorship of the communist party ultimately becomes the dictatorship of an individual who controls the party.

18.7 LENIN ON STATE AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

In his *State and Revolution*, Lenin accepted the views of Marx and Engels on the State and elucidated them. To Lenin, the State is 'the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonism'. State is an organ of class rule. It is an instrument whereby one class oppresses other classes. The origin of State is traced to the emergence of classes in society. 'History shows that the State as a special apparatus for coercing people arose only wherever and whenever there appeared a division of society into classes, that is, a division into groups of people some of whom are permanently in a position to appropriate the labour of others, where some people exploit other's. The class that controls economic power controls the state, which is nothing but a repressive organ. The pre-socialist state, to Lenin, is a special repressive force wielded by the possessing class.

Lenin was not a believer in democracy. All bourgeois democracies were the dictatorships of capitalists over the exploited workers.

The Proletarian revolution, says Lenin, like all other revolutions, will transfer power from one social class to another. The state which it will produce will be an instrument of repression. It will be the 'proletariat organised as the ruling class'. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To Marx and Engels the dictatorship of the proletariat meant the establishment of a true democratic state with the workers majority ruling over bourgeois minority. To Lenin, dictatorship of the proletariat meant dictatorship over the proletariat of the communist party. Because, the communist party alone was the only revolutionary party capable of crushing capitalism, establishing socialism and maintaining it.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must pursue two purposes: it must 'hold down the exploiting classes' and to prevent counter-revolution. It must destroy capitalism and expropriate the means of production from the exploiting classes. Secondly, it must organize the new social and economic order. The latter is the function of the communist party which is the teacher, guide, and leader of the exploited classes that have not yet become fully class conscious.

18.8 WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE

State and Revolution add a permanent element to communist ideology. This was the theory taken from Marx, that communist society will develop in two stages. The first stage is called socialism as distinguished from communism. In this stage exploitation will be abolished as the means of production are owned by the people. A kind of equality will prevail because everyone will receive as much as his own labour has created. Its principle is 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work - Social classes at this stage are disappearing and with them the state as a repressive instrument is in the process of withering away.

Finally, humanity will be prepared for true communism, in which a classless society and also stateless society will be established. It is a society capable of living by the principle, 'From each according to his ability to each according to his needs'. An individual's place in the system of production and distribution determines his class and once the means of production and distribution have been nationalised, all belong to the same class and the society becomes classless.

Lenin's view regarding the classless society and withering away of the state is rather utopian. Will not the classless society need any 'division of labour' and will not this division of labour bring in new classes? when the state disappears government of persons is replaced by 'administration' of things. But administration is government.

18.9 SUMMING UP

Lenin's interpretation of Marxism and its adaptation to Russia has powerful appeal to all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world. With his genius for political analysis and organizational strategy, Lenin understood at such an early date that communism would first be established in underdeveloped countries. 'A master strategist. Lenin hoped that, once the "soft underbelly" of the world capitalism had been conquered by communism, Western Europe and North America would not put up too much resistance'.

Lenin's emphasis on the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry, organization of the communist party with professional revolutionaries, exposition of the theory of imperialism are his great contributions to theory and practice of Marxism.

To conclude in the words of C.L.Wayper, "Marx's statement that a socialist society can be established only in a highly civilized and industrialized country, remains unrefuted-in spite of Lenin's adaptation of Marxism to Russia. Yet, even if his is a bastard Marxism, no one will minimize the significance of what he bequeathed to Russia and to the world".

18.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

R.P. Sharma : *Modern Western Political Thought.*

18.11 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Critically examine the philosophy of Communism.
2. Attempt a comparison of the philosophy of Lenin and of Karl Marx.
3. "The essence of Leninism lies in the stress upon the dynamic and revolutionary elements in Marx". Discuss.
4. Critically examine Lenin's theory of imperialism.

5. Briefly examine Lenin's views on Bourgeois and Proletarian Revolutions.
6. What are the views of Lenin on the organization of party?
7. Explain Lenin's contribution to the growth of Marxist theory.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. What are the views of Lenin on state?
2. Explain Lenin's theory of the Dictatorship of the Profetariat.
3. What according to Lenin is the technique of Revolution?

– Dr. K. VEERAM REDDY

BRAOU

UNIT-19 : MAO ZEDONG

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- 19.5 The Theory of Continuous Revolution
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- 19.7 Foreign Policy and the three worlds
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- 19.9 Suggested Readings
- 19.10 Model Examination Questions

19.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to discuss Mao Zedong's Interpretation of Marxism - Leninism, its revision and adaptation to the peculiar conditions that existed in China.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study Mao's Political Philosophy.

19.2 MAO ZEDONG LIFE AND WRITINGS

Mao was born in 1893 in the province of Hunan, China. He had an active career in his early life. In 1918, he went to Peking and joined as an assistant librarian in Peking University. He read extensively and came into contact with the University intellectuals and moved towards Marxism. During 1920, he read *The Communist Manifesto*, *Trotsky's Class Struggle* and Kirkup's *History of Socialism* and acknowledged their decisive influence on him.

Mao took active part in the organization of the Communist movement from 1921 and soon became the leader of the Communist Party of China. In 1928, he met Chu Teh and merged his troops with the Teh's to form the Fourth Red Army. Kuomintang (KMT) partly launched an offensive against Mao and other communists in Canton, so they retreated to Hunan. This retreat became a major political campaign known as the famous **Long March** which took place in 1934. In 1935, Mao was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and of the Executive Committee of the Communist proclaimed.

In 1937, Mao and his colleagues moved to Yen-an. The Communist Party of China evolved the principles of peoples war in this period (1937 to 1949) known as Yen-an period. In 1949 Peking was liberated and the Peoples Republic of China was proclaimed.

In 1954, the First National People's Congress adopted the new constitution for the People's Republic of China and elected Mao as the Chariman of the Republic. The strategy of the Great Leap Forward for socialist construction and rapid industrial development was introduced in 1958 and the great proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966. In 1971, the US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger met Mao, and the next year US President Richard Nixon met him in Peking. This resulted in the normalization of relation with the U.S.A. Mao died in 1976. The

Eleventh Party Congress of the Communist Party of China declared Mao as the greatest Marxist of the present times.

Some of the important writings of Mao Zedong are:

- 1) On Practice
- 2) On Contradiction
- 3) On New Democracy
- 4) "An Analysis of the classes in the Chinese Society"
- 5) Strategic problems of China's Revolutionary War
- 6) On protracted war

19.3 THE THEORY OF NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The theory of new-democratic revolution is an application of the Marxist theory of bourgeois democratic revolution to the colonial situations. According to Mao, the bourgeois democratic revolution had to take a new form, the people's democratic revolution which is both anticolonial and anti-feudal. The new-democratic revolution was conceived as an intermediate stage of revolution between bourgeois democratic and socialist revolutions. It was to take place in semi-colonial and semi-feudal situations.

To Mao there are three 'magic weapons' of the new-democratic revolution, the united front, the communist party and the people's liberation army. A correct revolutionary strategy depends on identifying the principal enemy class. When once the principal enemy is identified, all other forces were to be united to struggle against the enemy. For example under colonial and semi-colonial situations, the principal enemy class is the imperialists, landlords and comprador bourgeoisie. The revolution should be led by the proletariat and the peasantry and organize a united front of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie against the principal enemy. According to Mao, this stage of the revolution is called the new democratic revolution.

The content of China's democratic revolution consists in overthrowing the rule of imperialism and its warlord tools in China so as to complete the national revolution. Agrarian revolution should be carried out so that feudal exploitation of the peasants by the landlord class is eliminated.

Mao recognised and emphasized the revolutionary potential of the peasantry. The Communist party should lead the agrarian revolution. Like Lenin, Mao advocated a strong, well-organized and ideologically committed communist party. But he relied excessively on the peasantry. The communist party is transformed into an instrument of political power and discipline enforced in it. In the name of ideological education of the party members, the policy of brain-washing is adopted.

According to the theory of new-democratic revolution there must be an army under the leadership of the communist party, which must master the principles of people's war. Mao regarded people's war as the main component of new-democratic revolution. Many commentators have equated the theory of new-democratic revolution with 'Maoist revolutionary strategy.'

The most important principle of the people's war is the organization of the people's army. The people's army is the political arm of the revolution. According to Mao, 'Every communist must grasp the truth, political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' Our principle is that, the party commands the gun and the gun must never be allowed to command the party. Thus the people's army must be a politically motivated organization. The other three essential principles of people's war are: (1) protracted war using guerilla, mobile and positional war; (2) establishment of revolutionary base areas; and (3) policy of self-reliance.

These principles were only applicable to specific military situations. In spite of their success in China they could not be regarded as universal principles of people's war.

Mao radically changed the traditional communist view that the city must be the centre of uprising for the outbreak of revolution. He made the country-side as the centre for communist revolution. Cities should be attacked by establishing base areas in the country side. When once the cities are encircled by the rural bases of the people's army, it is easy to conquer them. This principle is one of the major contributions of Mao which was successfully applied in China and in Vietnam.

Check Your Progress - I

1. What is new democratic revolution?

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19.4 PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY OR PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

After the seizure of political power, the united front of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie established a "joint dictatorship" which was called people Democratic Dictatorship or peoples Democracy. This system ensured democracy for the people. The people according to Mao are the four classes the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeois and the national bourgeoisie who constituted over ninety percent of the population. Since every state, according to Marx was a class dictatorship, the people's democratic state was also a dictatorship and denied freedom to the enemy classes. Its task is the liberation of the nation from colonialism and semi-colonialism and the destruction of semi-feudalism. This is the policy of New Democracy. But this is only a transitional stage.

The completion of the national revolution and the agrarian revolution brings the new-democratic revolution to an end and the Socialist or the proletarian revolution begins. At this stage, the bourgeoisie is the principal enemy, the proletariat with the alliance of the peasantry should fight the bourgeoisie and seize power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat or socialist democracy. This will usher in the onward march to socialism and to Communism.

The East European concept of people's democracy was similar to the Maoist notion of new-democracy in some respect.

Both Possessed the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal content. Each concept meant a stage prior to the establishment of the Soviet type of dictatorship of the proletariat. Both in China and in Eastern Europe the working class assumed the leading role under the leadership of the Communist party for a smooth transfer to socialism. Finally, in practice bourgeoisie was partially tolerated in both the situations after the victory of the revolutionaries.

But there is a fundamental difference between the two. China experienced a long drawn agrarian revolutionary war and in course of that war a four-class united front was forged. Mao Tse-tung formulated the theory of new-democracy in 1939-1940 as a transitional stage prior to socialism. On the other hand, only after the revolutionaries had seized political power in eastern Europe with the help of the Soviet Army, the Soviet theoreticians conceptualised this situation in terms of 'people's democracy' as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

19.5 THE THEORY OF CONTINUOUS REVOLUTION

Mao is credited with the discovery that classes and class struggle still continued in socialist society, and therefore there is need for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This happened to be the most controversial of the theoretical issues debated between the Chinese and the Russian Communists.

According to Mao, even after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie from political and economic power, it uses the cultural realm and transitional economic forms to stage a comeback. The bourgeoisie continued to be a force in some spheres in the socialist society. Therefore, the proletariat must continue the revolutionary class struggle until the onset of the communist stage. In the communist stage, the political, economic and cultural power of the bourgeoisie would have been fully replaced by socialism. The restoration of capitalism in some socialist states and the attempt at counter revolution in Hungary is attributed to the absence of class struggle.

Class struggle or contradictions can be resolved one after the other by the socialist system itself, whereas under capitalism, they are sharp and lead to socialist revolution which resolves those contradictions and struggles.

Even under socialism, the best guarantee against counter-revolution, revisionism and capitalist restoration is the class struggle and continuous revolution.

19.6 CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The cultural Revolution provided the form and the focus to the idea of continuing the revolution. The great proletarian Cultural Revolution was initiated in 1966 by the Communist Party of China. It was primarily a large scale practical demonstration of the theory of continuing revolutionary class struggle.

Mao was disturbed by the growing influence of deviation from his teachings and therefore found it necessary to promote an extensive cultural transformation and political purge. The Red Book, containing 426 nuggets of Mao's thought, was compiled for the ideological rearmament of the PLA (Peoples Liberation Army) to spearhead the revolutionary consciousness of the country. Mao encouraged the young people to form the Red guards, to become the little revolutionary generals, and let loose the masses against his erring colleagues. The Red guards were to discredit and overthrow the leadership elements who represented bourgeois thinking.

The cultural revolution was a campaign against the old feudal and bourgeois ideas which continued even in the socialist society. The effect of the cultural revolution was that the Chinese society descended nearly to anarchy until the army was able to restore order.

19.6.1 Mao and Trotsky

Mao's theory of continuous revolution is compared with Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky unites the democratic and socialist stages into one permanent revolution. This is compared to the actual experience of the Chinese revolution which made a smooth and swift transition from the democratic to the socialist stage. Like Mao, Trotsky had advocated pervasive effect of revolutionary class struggle in all spheres of social activity. Trotsky's notion of world revolution is compared with Mao's theory of Chinese revolution which is a part of the world revolution.

This comparison is very superficial. Mao's theory of people's democratic revolution was an agrarian revolution with peasants as its main force and where the countryside surrounded the cities. Trotsky consistently distributed the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry and advocated revolutionary uprising in cities.

19.7 FOREIGN POLICY AND THE THREE WORLD'S

Mao regarded the present epoch like Lenin, as that of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The concept of the united front was one of the main strategic principles of the Chinese Revolution. All classes opposed to the enemy were to be united both from above and from below. This concept of the united front is applied to the international sphere. According to Mao, U.S. Imperialism is the principal enemy. All the revolutionary forces and countries must form an anti-imperialist united front headed by the Soviet Union. People of the world unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs.

There was radical change in the Chinese foreign policy after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 by the Soviet Union and Sino Soviet border clashes in 1969. The Chinese revived two terms to describe the U.S.S.R. One was Social Imperialism, the other was "the new Tsars" recalling the Tsarist expansion of the pre-revolutionary years. By social imperialism, they meant, quoting Lenin, "socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism." Since capitalism is increasingly restored in the Soviet Union, its international expression is imperialism. Hence, Mao described the U.S.S.R. as Social Imperialist. The Soviet Union was pushed into the company of the U.S.A. The two super powers are a source of a world war. Therefore, the broadest possible united front against imperialism and against the hegemonism of the two super powers is advocated.

The term, 'super power' was a new addition to the Marxist vocabulary and it was applicable only to an imperialist country.

The two superpowers, the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R constitute the First world.

The developed countries other than the two super powers—both capitalist and socialist—make up the Second World.

The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World.

The three worlds analysis is clearly an innovation of the Marxist terminology.

Check Your Progress - II

1. Why did Mao call U.S.S.R. a Social Imperialist?

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19.8 SUMMING UP

Maoism is unique for its revision, improvement or even complete abandonment of various aspects of communist doctrine and Soviet practices.

As a political organizer and guerilla leader, Mao was a great genius. It was also claimed that he was a philosopher genius as well. Mao's On Practice and On Contradiction were logically clear in most aspects and doctrinally correct. He had implicit faith in armed struggle. It became the basic law of revolution. The principles of people's war were formulated by him. He made a major contribution to theory by placing a high value on liberation struggle and inducing underdeveloped areas to attack imperialism.

Mao is credited with formulating 'basic line' class struggle in socialist society and the theory of continuous revolution. His theory of New Democracy and people's democratic dictatorship are new additions or alterations to the Marxist theory and practice.

However, the main character of the totality of Mao's ideas is less fundamentally universal than Marx's or Lenin's. Mao has written a new chapter in the development of communism but it is Lenin who remains its characteristic exponent. His contribution to the emergence of China into a strong and powerful nation is tremendous.

Mao Tse-tung's great accomplishment has been to change marxism from a European to an Asiatic form. He uses Marxist Leninist principles to explain Chinese history and the practical problems of China. He is the first that has succeeded in doing so. He has created a Chinese or Asiatic form of Marxism.

19.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

R.C. Gupta : *Great Political Thinkers*

19.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.
- (a) Explain briefly Mao's Political Thought.
 - (b) Examine briefly Mao's theory of New-Democratic Revolution
 - (c) Compare and contrast Mao's theory of People's Democratic Dictatorship with that of the east European concept of Peoples Democracy.
 - (d) Compare Mao's theory of Continuous Revolution with that of Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution.
- II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.
- (a) What are the Principles of People's War?
 - (b) Describe the change in China's foreign policy under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung.
 - (c) Mao has created a Chinese or Asiatic form of Marxism' Explain.

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UNIT - 20 : DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

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- 20.0 Objectives
- 20.1 Introduction
- 20.2 Historical Background
- 20.3 Definition of Socialism
- 20.4 Socialism and Capitalism
- 20.5 Essentials of Democratic Socialism
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- 20.7 Fabian Socialism
- 20.8 Social versus Communism
- 20.9 Evaluation
- 20.10 Socialism in Developing Countries
- 20.11 Socialism in India
- 20.12 Summing Up
- 20.13 Suggested Readings
- 20.14 Model Examination Questions

20.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain the historical background of Socialism, its main elements and methods and attempt a comparative study of communism and socialism in developing countries.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

Democratic Socialism is that school of thought which regards the state as a positive good and holds that its mission is to promote the common economic, moral and intellectual interests of the people as a whole. The democratic socialists accepted the existing government as the agency for carrying out their programme, and argued for an extension of the functions, of the state. On the one hand, a number of economists began to limit the application of the principle of laissez faire. They argued for a considerable sphere of state action. On the other hand, a number of socialists wanted to use the powers of the modern state in order to transform the unjust society of the present into the more perfect society of the future. In this unit we study Socialism and Communism.

20.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to Kirkup the term 'Socialism' was first used in *The poor Man's Guardian* in 1833 for the Owenite theory of social reconstruction. As a theory of economic and social reconstruction Socialism is the result of **modern industrial capitalism**: But it is not altogether a new thing. Even ideal common wealth in Plato's *Republic* is socialist as the ruling class has no property of its own and shares all things in common. According to some, the Bible, particularly the old Testament, constitutes the first socialist code, as it covers the protection of workers, women, and the weak.

The early Christians rejected the concept of 'mine and thine' and practiced socialism in their everyday lives. In the Middle Ages numerous sects and movements, mostly religious, attacked

wealth and commerce as wicked and incompatible with the Christian way of life. During the Renaissance and the Reformation, there was a revival of protest against inequality based on wealth. In the Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century, there arose a more radical group called "Diggers" or "True Levelers" who sought to attain communal ownership of land. Thus, socialism as a protest against social inequality is as old as Western Civilization itself.

In the early nineteenth century Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier etc put forward numerous proposals for social and economic reconstruction. But their socialism, as has been discussed in the earlier unit, was Utopian or visionary in character. All their attempts at the realization of the Socialist societies were unsuccessful. There were also a number other thinkers during the nineteenth century who came to be known as Christian Socialists, Though the Christian Socialist were quite influential in promoting a general movement promoting the co-operation among working men, they failed in their objectives. A scientific and popular basis was imparted to Socialism by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1848 through the publication of the **Communist Manifesto**. Marx made socialism scientific and militant, and gave it a distinctly political turn. Socialism assumed different forms and came to be known by various names such as Fabianism, Guild Socialism, Collectivism and Marxian Socialism.

All the different schools of socialism believe that capitalism is fundamentally unjust and bad and that it should be replaced by Socialism. Except Marxian Socialism and Syndicalism, all the other schools of Socialism believe in political democracy, and adopt democratic and constitutional methods for the transformation of capitalist society into a Socialist one.

Check Your Progress - I

1. What is utopian Socialism?

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20.3 DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM

To give an exact and acceptable definition of Socialism is a difficult task. There are different definitions of Socialism and each has tried to emphasize some particular aspect of Socialism. In the words of C.E.M. Joad, Socialism is like a hat which has lost its shape as everyone started wearing it'. The ambiguity of the concept is clear from the different definitions given below.

Socialism is defined in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* "as that policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution and in due subordination thereto, a better production of wealth than now prevails."

To **Bernard Shaw**, "Socialism means equality of incomes and nothing else".

According to **Schaffle** "let us repeat once again that the Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united collective capital."

According to **G.D.H.Cole**, "Socialism means four closely connected things - a human fellowship which defines and expels distinctions of class, a social system in which no one is so much richer or poorer than his neighbours as to be unable to mix with them on equal terms, the common ownership and use of all the vital instruments of production and an obligation upon all citizens to severe one another according to their capacities."

20.4 SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

An analysis of the above definitions clearly shows that Socialism is opposed to capitalism and emphasizes the social or government control over the means of production and distribution. Socialism is also opposed to the doctrine of individualism or laissez faire and believes that individual freedom can be better secured under state regulation and control than under a regime of unrestricted private competition.

Socialism arose in opposition to Capitalism, and is a school of thought as well as a movement which seeks to replace it. All socialists are united in their opposition to, and criticism of, capitalism is directed against wasteful competition, callous exploitation, inequitable distribution and an almost complete lack of social purpose. Socialism is a powerful protest against the capitalist order. Capitalism has not only produced economic ills, it has also dehumanised the man. It has reduced him to the status of an "appendage of the machine." In the midst of the impersonal capitalist system, man suffers from a sense of powerlessness, isolation and helplessness.

The essentials of democratic socialism may be briefly summarized as follows :

- 1) Socialism lays emphasis on the social aspect of the life of the individual. It implies the subordination of the interests of the individual to the interest of the society. Under socialism only the things which are needed by the society, will be produced. Social good, not profit motive, will be the criterion of production in a Socialist state.
- 2) Democratic socialism aims at the elimination of capitalism, for capitalism is based on the principle of private profit and not public good. Capitalism leads to the exploitation of the labour, poverty and misery. Under capitalism, the rich become richer and the poor poorer. Production is carried on without any regard to the needs of the community and the system of distribution is unfair and unjust. Hence, democratic socialism seeks to control and organize the productive system according to the needs of the community.
- 3) Socialism aims at eliminating anti-social forms of competition. Under the capitalist system, competition leads to extravagance and wastefulness. On account of the economic inequality there is no fair competition between the rich and the poor. Democratic socialism seeks to prevent the competition and substitute co-operation for competition.
- 4) Approximate economic equality is the cherished goal of democratic socialism.
- 5) Socialism stands for public control of the means of production. It would abolish private enterprises in so far as they are a source of exploitation.

However, democratic socialism is not doctrinaire in its approach. Only those industries which are necessary in the large interests of the society will be nationalized. For example in U.K. the natural step to be taken is to nationalise the supply of gas, light and water. Similar industries like the coal, and the iron and steel industry which are vital to the nation have to be nationalized under their system. Inland transportation by rail, road and air, also have to be added to this list on the ground that wasteful competition could best be avoided.

Where small units of property have survived as a **technologically efficient** unit, as in agriculture, the professions, the arts and some areas of retailing, servicing and manufacturing, private ownership is kept and strengthened. Democratic socialism does not believe in forced collective farming or state farming. On the other hand, small farmers are protected by cheap credits, guaranteed parity prices and other policies.

Democratic socialism provides a comprehensive scheme of **social security**. The system provides protection against sickness, unemployment and old age, supplemented by maternity grants, widow's pensions, family allowances. It aims at greater social equality and adequate

educational opportunities to large sections of people. Taxation is the greatest leveler. Inheritance taxes and steeply graded income tax reduce the disparities in wealth and income.

20.6 METHODS OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Among nations with strong democratic traditions, socialism can be established by democratic and constitutional methods. Democratic socialists believe in evolutionary methods. Society gradually changes and that change can be stimulated through necessary reforms.

Democratic socialism maintained that the state is not a necessary evil, but a beneficial and essential institution. It considers the state as an instrument, necessary and useful for the transformation of society into a socialist one. It does not believe in the 'withering away' of the state.

The establishment of a socialist society is possible through the state and its machinery. Democratic methods are to be the means of realizing the desired goal. The democratic methods are not to be centralized either; on the other hand there should be greater decentralization of democratic authority consistent with socialist necessity.

According to the democratic socialists only nations without tradition of practical democracy are attacked by totalitarian communism or other forms of authoritarian systems.

20.7 DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND FABIAN SOCIALISM

Fabian socialism profoundly influenced Democratic Socialism particularly in the United Kingdom.

The Fabian Society was founded in 1884, named after a Roman general, Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator the "delayer". The founders and early members of the Fabian Society included George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, H.G. Wells, and Graham Wallas. Sidney Webb's historical survey of the basis of socialism, included in the *Fabian Essays* (1890) is still the basic philosophy of Fabianism and also of British socialism. Webb looked upon socialism as an inevitable outcome of the full fruition of democracy. But his "inevitability of gradualness" was sharply different from marxian inevitability of revolutionary and catastrophic changes.

According to Webb important "organic changes" in social organization can take place only under four conditions : first, such changes must be democratic and acceptable to a popular majority; second, they must be gradual, causing no dislocation; third, they must not be regarded as immoral by the people; fourth, they must be constitutional and peaceful.

Marxists aimed their propaganda at the proletariat. They did not aim at converting the middle classes to socialism. They had only to be liquidated. Fabian Socialist, on the other hand aimed at persuading the middle and upper classes for a just social order under Socialism. Since the governing classes of Britain are largely recruited from the middle and upper classes, there could be no change of policy without the consent of these classes. Thus the philosophy of Fabianism is totally absorbed in the democratic socialism.

20.8 SOCIALISM VERSUS COMMUNISM

Socialism and Communism represent two incompatible ways of thought and life. They are incompatible as constitutional liberalism and revolutionary totalitarianism. The most important difference between the two are :

First, Communists believe only in revolutionary upheaval and civil war. Once in power, communists are determined to stay there indefinitely. Socialists think in terms of parliamentary majorities. They even reject the term 'Proletariat' and they are interested in the society as a whole.

Third, according to the Communists, the transition from capitalist enterprise to public ownership is **sudden and complete**. As the capitalist ownership of property is no better than theft, there is no compensation for expropriated property. In contrast, Socialists do not believe that the transition from private ownership to public ownership is sudden or complete. Public ownership has to be built up gradually in instalments. If one phase works, then the next will be tackled. The usefulness and practicality of public ownership in particular industries must be proved through actual accomplishments.

Fourth, **all means of production, distribution and exchange should be transferred to the state** according to the Communists. By contrast, the socialists believe that only those industries and services should be taken which are useful and practical for efficient management and control.

Fifth, the Communists believe and practice the theory of **ruling elite**. The Communist Party, which is a minority, **leads the proletariat**. Within the party a small group formulates policies and assumes leadership. The **elite concepts** is totally rejected by the socialists. They believe in **democracy and majority rule** within their own party and in their own nation.

Sixth, to the communists, every capitalist system, whether democratic or fascist is a **dictatorship of the capitalist class**. The socialists distinguish between the political dictatorship and the liberal democracy. In a liberal democracy socialists believe in playing according to the rules of the games, provided the other side also follows the rules.

Finally, socialists reject the communist thesis that the choice is between **full capitalism and full collectivism**. They do not believe in establishing an ideal society or bringing about a total change by a certain date. They attempt to solve problems as and when they arise.

20.9 EVALUATION

The criticism against Socialism :

- a) As important means of production are nationalized, Socialism kills incentive to produce more.
- b) Socialism is synonymous with statism, because the state assumes all powers in the name of social welfare.
- c) While on the one hand collectivism gets rid of evils of private property, on the other, it creates the evils of bribery, corruption, favouritism and red-tape.
- d) Socialism is considered by many as state capitalism.
- e) Socialism runs counter to human nature. If mankind is perfected to the point socialism demands, it makes no difference what form of organization is adopted.

Democratic socialists recognize the force of these criticisms. Therefore, democratic socialist movements gave greater importance to the **Welfare state, economic security and social justice**. In the words of Douglas Jay, the leader of the British Labour Party "Modern experience has proved that although governments are not always very efficient at producing goods, they are highly efficient at redistributing income and wealth.

20.10 SOCIALISM IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The desire to attain rapid economic growth is the overriding political fact in the developing countries, Rapid economic growth is the only means of satisfying the yearning of the people for better living standards, health and education.

There are two methods of rapid economic developments: first is that of the most advanced Western nations. The factors that favoured rapid economic growth in Western nations are largely absent in developing countries. The second; historically proved method, is that of **Communism**.

Generally, developing nations do not wish to imitate either the Western capitalistic path or the communist path of development. They believe in methods which are different from both Western Capitalism and Soviet or Chinese Communism. The label which is attached to the 'third way' is that of **Socialism**.

Socialism means many things to those who profess it in developing countries :

First, Socialism stands for the **ideal of social justice**. In developing countries the difference between the rich and the poor is greater than in the rich nations. Socialism aims at raising the standard of living of the poor. It means more welfare services for the poor, more schools, and more than human dignity for the underprivileged.

Second, Socialism in developing countries often stands for the ideal of **brotherhood and world peace**. They frequently advocate non-alignment between the two power blocs. They held the view that the world is divided, not between capitalist and communist countries, but between the rich and the poor countries. Therefore the poor countries should be careful not to allow themselves to be exploited by the rich countries, whether capitalist or communist.

The third aspect of Socialism is commitment to planning. Some basic elements of a modern economy-highways, means of transportation, hospitals, low-cost housing, schools should be controlled by the state. Heavy industries, where the capital outlay is huge, should be undertaken by the State. Planning in developing countries does not mean overall or even largescale nationalization of the means of production.

Socialism in developing countries necessarily favours mixed economy.' Accordingly some industries such as farming, handicrafts, small business are completely in the private sector some in both public and private sectors while in others public sector dominates.

20.11 DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN INDIA

The preamble of the Indian constitution embodies the socialistic principles. The successive five year plans have reiterated the socialistic goals. There is consensus among the Indian political parties about the welfare state, economic security and social justice. A large number of welfare schemes were launched both by the central and state governments for the benefit of the poorer sections of the community. In the agrarian front, land to the tiller policy is pursued and series of land reform measures were enacted and enforced in the countryside.

"Indian economic policies follow a pragmatic course rather than a rigid ideology of public enterprise for the sake of public enterprise" India has much public enterprise in heavy industry, coal, electric power, rail and air transportation, chemicals and life insurance. In 1969 fourteen of the biggest banks were nationalised to ensure financial control over the whole economy. Due to rapid growth in population and certain other constraints, the benefits of growth and developments are not fully reaped and shared by the poorer sections in India.

20.12 SUMMING UP

In the affluent countries of the West, Socialism has meant the distribution of the fruits of a wealthy society in a more equitable way. As a result, the concept of Welfare State has virtually absorbed the idea of Socialism. By Contrast, socialism in developing countries, does not aim at distribution of the fruits of an industrial economy it seeks to build an industrial economy, so as to raise the economic and educational levels of the masses of the people.

20.13 SUGGESTED READINGS

J.P.Suda : *A History of Political Thought*

20.14 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines.

1. Define Socialism and examine its essential features.
2. Explain the influence of Fabian Socialism on Democratic Socialism.
3. Give a critical evaluation of Democratic Socialism

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Distinguish between Socialism and Communism
2. Explain the meaning of democratic socialism in developing countries.
3. What are the methods of Democratic Socialism

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UNIT-21 : ANARCHISM, SYNDICALISM AND GUILD SOCIALISM

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21.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a wide gulf between philosophical and revolutionary anarchism. William Godwin, Proudhon, Henry, D. Thoreau and Count Leo Tolstoy are the philosophical anarchists. They extolled the intrinsic goodness of human nature and brought forth the romantic visions of the perfect life in the anarchistic society. But they did not propose to do anything in particular to hasten the coming of the perfect order. Their ideal was absolute individual liberty in a voluntary society. They did not regard it as immediately practicable or advocate aggressive steps to establish the perfect order.

The attitude of the revolutionary anarchists like Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin was different. These two and their followers were not advancing intellectual arguments for anarchism. They advocated revolution and made comprehensive plans for the reorganization of society by means of revolution.

21.2 LIFE SKETCHES OF PRINCIPAL ANARCHIST THINKERS

21.2.1 Michael Bakunin (1814 - 1876)

Bakunin was the son of the a Russian nobleman, He started his career as an officer in the Imperial Guard and saw service in Poland. He resigned his commission and left the army because of the cruel and despotic measures used against the Polish revolutions. He went to Germany and studied Hegelian philosophy. Later he went to Paris and became acquainted with Proudhon and George Sand. By this time, he was a fullfledged revolutionary. From Paris Bakunin proceeded to Switzerland where he took prominent part in socialist movement. For his active participation in the revolutionary struggles in Germany, he was arrested in 1849 and condemned to death. His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was handed over to the Russian Government. He was permanently exiled to Siberia in 1855. In 1861, Bakunin escaped from Siberia, went to Switzerland and resided there till his death in 1876.

In 1869 Bakunin founded the Social Democratic Alliances which was soon united with Marx's International Working men's Association. In 1872 the Marxists expelled the Bakunin faction from the International. He became the recognised leader of the extreme left wing o the proletarian movement.

Bakunin was a prolific writer, mostly of tracts and pamphlets. His well known book is God and the State, posthumously published in 1882.

21.2.2 Peter Kropotkin (1842 - 1921)

Kropotkin was born in a noble family in Russia. He was educated for the army and at the age of twenty he became a military official in Siberia. He worked in the army for six years but resigned in disgust. Kropotkin headed several geographical survey expeditions and made notable contributions to geographical knowledge. In 1872 he joined the International Workingmen's Association at Geneva. He founded its socialism too mild for his taste and turned to anarchism. In 1874 he was arrested and imprisoned for subversive propaganda. In 1886 he settled in England and remained there until the Russian Revolution of 1917. Returning to Russia he supported the moderate government of Kerensky. He devoted himself exclusively to literary activity after the success of the Bolshevik revolution. He died in 1921.

Kropotkin was the author of many books and large number of articles and pamphlets. He was recognized as an authority on geography, Russian life and literature and as an outstanding theorist of anarchism in recent times. The principal writings of Kropotkin were :

- a) The place of Anarchy in Socialist Evolution (1886).
- b) The Conquest of Bread (1888).
- c) Anarchism : Its Phylosophy and ideal (1896)
- d) Modern Science and Anarchism (1903)

Check Your Progress - I

Name a few famous Anarchists.

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21.3 MAIN FEATURES OF ANARCHISM

Anarchism is "a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government." It stands for a social system organized on a voluntary basis. The anarchists do not like authority in any form or shape, and advocate a "free organization of society." In an anarchist society every individual is free from every kind of authority.

The chief aims of anarchism are as follows ;

- 1) To liberate every individual from the authority of religious morality, Church and God;
- 2) To release every individual from the exploitation of capitalism.
- 3) To free everyone from the yoke of state.

Anarchism was strongly opposed to religion. According to the anarchists institutional religion is the handmaid of political and economic oppression. It has always been the ally of the rich. The religion is the opium of the people. It is static and opposed to progress, Social progress is impossible so long as the authority of the church or religion is not estimated altogether.

Likewise, the anarchists condemn the capitalist system. Capitalism makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. It enables a few to enjoy the fruits of the labour of the many. It results in unemployment and misery of the poor. It encourages idleness, ostentation and wastefulness among the rich. It encourages war and is responsible for debasing of the society.

Anarchism is opposed to the state or any kind of political authority. The anarchists maintain that the state is not only undesirable but also unnecessary. It is superfluous and injurious to the society. The police, jails, courts etc., which have been established by the state tend to increase the evils and the vices in society. The state acts through force and the use of force by the state corrupts those who exercise it and debases and dehumanises those on whom it is exercised. It makes them selfish and cruel.

According to the anarchists, the state is superfluous. There is nothing which the state does and which cannot be done without its existence. Such functions as the defence of the country, maintenance of law and order and the spread of education can be successfully obtained without the state by the co-operative associations organized on voluntary basis.

In the early history of the race men lived for centuries without the state. The anarchists think that the appearance of the state upon human scene has been an unnatural disastrous event. It has displaced reason with unreason, justice, freedom with tyranny. In order to re-establish freedom, justice and equality, private property and its ally state, must be destroyed. As religion is the handmaid of the political and economic oppression, it must go. The anarchists maintain that their criticism of the state applies not only to autocracies and oligarchies but also to representative democracies.

21.3.1 Organization of a Free Society

A Vague outline of the anarchist theory of society is given by its advocates. It is necessarily vague because the theory, though simple in outline, exists in outline only.

Stateless and classless society is the ideal of anarchism. The state would be replaced by a free association of autonomous groups, each having the right of secession. Voluntary associations are formed on an adhoc basis for special purposes. Each trade and business should be carried on by a society voluntarily formed by all its members. A complex interweaving of associations with order everywhere and compulsion nowhere, forms the stuff of which an anarchist society will be made. Anarchy is not the absence of order; it is the absence of force.

The associations, groups and federations vary in size and degree, to satisfy different purposes. Harmony is ensured in society by the equilibrium of the forces and influences brought to bear upon it. In these groups all forms of property would be held in common and operations of production and distribution are carried on by voluntary co-operation. There would be no friction and discontent under anarchism because the people are properly educated, the inequality between the rich and the poor is removed and the state which is a repressive instrument of coercion is destroyed.

21.4 ANARCHIST METHODS

The leading advocates of anarchism, Bakunin and Kropotkin believed in revolutionary methods. They believe in the wholesale destruction of the present society. The institutions of the state, capitalism and religion cannot be eliminated without force. The vested interests are bound to resist with force and the only way to deal with force is to employ force. Previous revolutions had erred in replacing one form of government by another; the only true revolution would be that which would destroy all government. They believed in bloodshed and confiscation. They are the only methods by which the present system can be overthrown.

However, anarchists like Tolstoy stand for a peaceful approach; All that is noble and beautiful in society can be achieved only by peaceful means. According to them, anarchist society can be established by methods of education, example and persuasion.

21.5 CRITICISM

It is impossible to establish an anarchist society on the lines suggested by its advocates. Society cannot be built up on a voluntary and co-operative basis without any authority.

Man is by nature selfish and it is difficult to curb the criminal tendencies of the individual. It is absolutely necessary to maintain the authority of the state in reserve to regulate and control the aggressive selfishness of the human being.

Anarchists put undue emphasis on liberty. They forget that liberty is only a means and not an end in itself. Moreover liberty and authority are not mutually exclusive. They are complementary and contributory to each other.

Stateless and classless society can be better imagined than realized. In the words of Bertrand Russell, "The state in some form, whatever may be said in criticism of its mistakes, its inefficiency, its abuse of power, is and always will be an absolute necessity among civilized men."

However the criticism levelled against the state, capitalism and institutional religion by the Anarchists is largely true.

21.6 SYNDICALISM

21.6.1 Meaning of Syndicalism

The word 'syndicalism' is derived from the French word 'syndicat' which means labour union. Syndicalism is essentially a French school of thought and is the offspring of the French labour movement. Its leading exponents are Fernand Pelloutier (1867 - 1901) and George Sorel (1847 - 1922). It was popularised by the French Confederation General du Travail, the Central Federation of Labour. Syndicalism grew up in France under the influence of a century of revolutionary conditions and of political disillusionment.

Syndicalism draws its inspiration from the works of Proudhon rather than those of Karl Marx. On account of its close association with Anarchism it is often called "Anarcho-Syndicalism." It has also been described as "organized anarchy." Syndicalism repudiates Marx's political

programme, but retains his revolutionary doctrine of violence. In this respect, it is a child of Anarchism and Marxism.

C.E.M.Joad defined Syndicalism as that form of social theory which regards the trade union organization as at once the foundation of the new society and the instrument whereby it is to do be brought into being." It is a socialist theory because it adopts the general socialist view of capital as theft. It believes in the class war as fundamental in capitalist society, and proposes to abolish the private ownership of the means of production and to substitute ownership by the community.

21.6.2 Main Features of Syndicalism

Syndicalism is opposed to the state and looks upon it as a bourgeois and middle class institutions. All states are instruments of class rule. The state is an instrument of capitalist exploitation. The services of the state make men bureaucratic and unsympathetic to the needs and aspirations of the workers.

Syndicalism is opposed to middle-class socialism. It claims to be the only school of socialist doctrine which is the product of workers themselves. All other forms of socialism have emanated from the brains of clever middle-class theorists and betray their origin.

The syndicalists regard trade unions organized on a functional basis as the corner-stone of future society. A system of producers' societies is to take the place of the state. Under syndicalism, it is claimed that the worker will take a personal interest in his work and that both the quantity and quality of goods produced will improve. The ideal of the syndicalist is "free work in free society." He believes that when workshop is free, society would be free.

The syndicalists attacked the idea of patriotism. The term 'our country' has no meaning for them. The country of the worker is where he works. He has no fatherland as such. The only realities are the economic interests which bind together all the workers of the world and separates them from the capitalists. Thus they seek to promote class solidarity. In the words of Hallowell, Syndicalism regards itself as trade union reading of the Marxian economic doctrine and the class war.

21.6.3 Methods of Syndicalism

The syndicalists are opposed to the political method as a means of achieving the changes in society which they desire. They believe that even the working class leaders when elected to legislatures lose their revolutionary ardour and adopt bourgeois policy of constitutional amelioration. Therefore, they believe in a policy of 'direct action' which means violent action when necessary. They do not believe in peaceful and constitutional methods.

The methods advocated by the syndicalists are strikes, sabotage, boycott and lebel. For a variety of reasons, the Syndicalism concentrates on the economic sphere. In that sphere its chief weapon is the strike. Strikes are encouraged whenever and wherever possible; strikes for more control. Strikes have an educative value also; they inculcate in the workers the lessons of obedience and discipline. All strikes are a rehearsal for the general strike.

The doctrine of the general strike as a political weapon is borrowed from the French socialist writer, Blanqui. The general strike is not necessarily a strike of all workers. It is a strike by a sufficiently large number of persons employed in key industries. These should be enough to paralyze capitalism. As soon as a sufficient number of class-conscious minority of workers are prepared to go on strike, a general strike is declared and the instruments of production seized. This brings about the end of capitalism.

Another kind of direct action is **sabotage**. Breaking machinery, doing bad work and spoiling the work which has already been done are the various forms of sabotage. The policy of boycott and label shows that the work has been done under trade union conditions. The practice of doing a minute quantity of work with scrupulous care is the method of 'Ca' 'Canny' which is also followed by the syndicalists.

Check Your Progress - II

Why Syndicalism is opposed to the State?

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21.6.4 Society Under Syndicalism

The syndicalists plan of action is direct, vigorous and well- defined. But the condition of society under it is extremely nebulous. Syndicalism is mainly a creed of opposition. It is negative and offers primarily a policy of revolution and not of administration.

Under syndicalism, syndicat or trade union is to be the basis of industrial organisation. Workers assume control of production and private capital is to be replaced by collective capital. National services like highway, railway and post offices are to be placed in the hands of the national federation of workers. Prisons and courts are to be abolished and punishment is taken the form of social boycott. The goal of syndicalism is the founding of a society made up of federated and self governing industries.

This picture of the syndicalist society is necessarily incomplete and hazy. Two features stand out clearly from this picture. In such a society the producer's control industry, and the state will disappear.

21.6.5 Syndicalism and Socialism

Syndicalism is also a variant of Socialism. But there are important points of difference between the two.

Most of the Socialists want to retain the state and make the maximum use of it. The syndicalists want to abolish the state altogether.

Socialism generally takes into account the welfare of both producers and consumers. On the other hand, Syndicalism is interested in promoting the interests of producers only.

Socialism generally believes in peaceful and constitutional methods whereas Syndicalism is a creed of violence, revolution and direct action.

21.6.6 Syndicalism and Anarchism

Both Syndicalism and Anarchism are intimately connected with each other. Both of them are opposed to the state and advocate a state less society. Syndicalism stands for a loose federation of associations of workers and peasants who have control over the means of production. The Anarchists also stand for grouping of people on voluntary basis for co-operative production.

Both Anarchism and Syndicalism condemn political and parliamentary methods for the achievement of their goal. They believe in violent, revolutionary methods.

As regards the differences between the two, syndicalism is a working class movement, whereas anarchist philosophy was given by the persons who belonged to aristocratic families. Moreover, Syndicalism ignores the interests of the consumers and puts everything in the hands of the workers. It is presumed that interests of all people are safeguarded under Anarchism.

21.6.7 Criticism of Syndicalism

Syndicalism has made little headway outside France and Italy because of its intrinsic weakness.

Syndicalism overstates its tactics and is deliberately vague in its objectives. It is too doctrinaire, too extreme and too logical" to appeal to those who believe in natural compromises in a world of practical politics.

It antagonizes the consumers by paying "too much attention to the rights and responsibilities of producers and too little to those of consumers."

General strike is only a myth. It is nothing more than organized anarchy. A general strike is unnecessary, because a general election is never far off. Given the discipline and unity which are necessary for a successful general strike, the defined end can be achieved gradually through constitutional methods. Indeed, the chances of success are greater, and the results more lasting, if syndicalists adopt constitutional methods. In a general strike, the working classes are likely to starve before achieving their objects; and the failure of a strike may produce reaction against the workers.

Further the different forms of sabotage and Ca Canny are sure to have a vicious effect on the morale of the workers.

21.6.8 Evaluation

The Syndicalist movement had a very great stimulating influence on socialist thinking. It called attention to the weakness of parliamentarism, the defects of bureaucratic socialism, the possibilities of trade union movement and the importance of producers in the new social order. It stimulated the development of a new school of socialist thought, Guild Socialism, as a compromise between the older socialism and Syndicalism. The syndicalist's influence can be seen in the early Bolshevik movement, which borrowed many of the leading tenets of Syndicalism.

21.7 GUILD SOCIALISM

21.7.1 Meaning of Guild Socialism

Guild Socialism is built upon the economics and sociology of the twentieth century. It is described as "the intellectual child of English Fabianism and French Syndicalism." Guild Socialism is to Fabianism as Syndicalism is to Marxism. It combines the state-ownership concept of the collective and the idea of products control urged by the syndicalists.

The guild socialists were the English intellectuals. Most of them were previously members of the Fabian Society. The most important exponents of Guild Socialism were A.J.Penty, S.G.Hobson, A.R.Orage and G.D.H.Cole. It is not out of place to mention that G.D.H.Cole was the infant-prodigy, of guild socialism. He was the most active propagandist of the movement.

Guild socialism aims at the achievement of socialism with the guild as its foundation. The guild is a trade union modified in two ways. It has in its fold all the workers in the industry the unskilled workers as well as clerical, technical and managerial workers who are generally excluded from trade union membership secondly the guild is organized in order to control industry, not merely to secure better conditions of work and better wages. The trade unions are the key to the situation in two respects- firstly, they become guilds of tomorrow; and secondly, they are the organizations by means of which the actual transition to socialism is to be accomplished.

21.7.2 Principles and Objectives of Guild Socialism

The goal of the guild socialists as described by the National Guilds League is "the abolition of the wage system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry through a democratic system of national guilds working in conjunction with other democratic functional organizations in the community." According to Cole, Guild Socialism is based on the idea of partnership between the producers and the state in the control of industry.

The guild socialists recognize with other socialists the evils of the present social organization viz, poverty, inequality and insecurity. In particular they stress two defects the one political and the other economic.

From the political point of view, it is felt that a parliament elected from territorial constituencies should exercise a general power of law-making is wrong. No man can represent another. The interests of the agriculturists may be represented by an agriculturist, a lawyer of lawyers and coal miner of coal mines. **Functional representation** is clearly indicated. Further the state, being but one association among several associations, can exercise power only in a limited field, that is, the political. The state should not be concerned with other functions, which should be left to other organized, functional bodies. The Guild Socialists stood for functional democracy.

From the economic point of view, the most important defect of the present social organization is the wage-system. Economic freedom demands that industry should be administered by all the workers, both manual and intellectual who carry on the industry.

21.7.3 The Guild Socialist Society

The structure of the guild socialist society is somewhat as follows

There should be a guild for each industry which is administered by the guild on behalf of the society. Provision is made for taking appeals to the national guilds. According to G.D.H.Cole, a **National Industrial Guild Congress** has to be set up to represent all the national guilds. It is the final representative of the guild system as a whole. It acts as the guild legislature and the final court of appeal in those questions which relate to the guilds. It also lays down the general principles for the working of the various guilds and to levy taxes and realize the amount from them.

The guilds are kept in charge of the whole productive systems of the country. The guilds may ignore altogether the interests of the consumers. They may not produce the type of things required by the consumers. They may demand unreasonably high prices for the goods produced by them. With a view to provide against these and other dangers, the guild socialist advocates joint consultation of the producers guilds and consumers councils, It is in these meetings that the questions of costs and prices and other matters are settled.

A common parliament shall (according to some guilds socialists) administer the affairs concerning all, such as defence and taxation. On this point, however, there is some difference of opinion. Some thinkers suggest a body representing the essential functional associations to regulate such matters.

There shall be local regional bodies to look after matters of common interest in a particular locality.

21.7.4 Methods of Guild Socialists

The guild socialists advocate the use of **constitutional and peaceful methods** for the establishment of a guild socialist society. They believe in **evolutionary methods** as against the violent

methods advocated by the syndicalists. The trade unions are the key to the methods of Guild Socialism. According to them the existing trade unions are to be transformed into guilds under a guild socialist society. A trade union is merely an organization of manual workers, while a guild includes all the workers, both manual and intellectual. While a trade union fights for higher wages and better conditions of work, the guilds are organized to manage and control industry.

Fundamental economic transformation can be secured only through economic means. Therefore the guild socialists advocate a policy of **encroaching control**. By encroaching control is meant 'wresting bit by bit from the hands of the possessing classes the economic power which they now exercise by a steady transference of functions and rights from their nominees to the representatives of the working class'.

Another important feature of encroaching control is the **Collective Contract**. A trade union may conclude a collective agreement with the employer for the production of fixed quantity of output and specifying the wages in lumpsum payable for all the workers. The amount so received is distributed among all the workers in the industry by the factory committee.

The guild socialist, thus, intend to achieve their goal through evolution of "a natural and gradual, though consciously guided and expedited development of the existing industrial situation."

21.7.5 Criticism

The philosophy of Guild Socialist has been criticised on many grounds.

Guild socialism idealize and idolizes the guild system of the middle ages. As a socialists system, it asks too much of human nature.

It is not possible to divide the economic and political questions into wat-tight compartments. In actual practice it is difficult to see as to how economic questions can be given completely to the guilds and political questions to the state, Both economic and political questions are intermixed and it is impossible to separate them.

The guild socialists stand for two parliaments. The political parliament has to be organised on the territorial basis and the economic parliament on the functional basis. The questions is: if there is a conflict between the two, how can it be resolved. A joint committee of the two parliaments with equal powers may not be helpful in solving the difficulty. The state with supreme power in one form or the other is essential.

The control of production by the guilds brings about stagnation in industry resulting in indiscipline, slackness and inefficiency among the workers and consequential fall of total production. The motive of social service along may not be strong enough to give the necessary incentive to hard work. There may be no encouragement for inventions and new methods of production. In other words, guild socialism discourages and damps down all the instincts of hard and creative toil and its genius is purely predatory.

The functional representation which the theory stresses is open to the objection that it underestimates the unity of society; territorial representation with all its defects is a rough device for the expression of the common interest.

The guild socialist's plan may result in an anarchy of groups, or the Industrial Guild may become a new form of all-powerful sovereign like the present autocratic state.

21.8 SUMMING UP

The guild socialists have contributed ideas of great value. At a time of ever-increasing governmental control of industry, they utter a warning against the danger of bureaucratic control.

They suggested possible methods of self-government in industry. They have also reexamined the questions of state sovereignty and proposed useful modification on the basis of representation.

Guild socialism represents a strong belief in democratic individualism. It aims at a sane compromise between autocracy and anarchy. It seeks to decentralize the powers of an omnipotent institution in order to save the individual from institutional tyranny. In this process it welcomes the aid of the various associations with their roots in natural human interests. It attempts to devise a social machinery that will adequately represent the various activities of men in a complex modern society.

21.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

Andrew Hacker : *Political Theory*

21.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- 1) Critically examine the philosophy of Anarchism.
- 2) Compare Anarchism with Communism, and Syndicalism.
- 3) Critically examine the philosophy of Syndicalism.
- 4) Give an outline of Guild Socialism.
- 5) Give a critical estimate of the philosophy of guild Socialism.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- 1) Give an outline of the Anarchist theory of society.
- 2) Mention the main features of Syndicalism.
- 3) Compare Syndicalism with Socialism.
- 4) What are the principles and objectives of Guild Socialism?
- 5) Explain the methods of Guild Socialism.

– Dr. K. VEERAM REDDY

BLOCK VI

MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 22. Gandhian Political Thought

Unit 23. Political Ideas of Nehru

Unit 24. Political Ideas of Ambedkar, M.N. Roy, Md. Iqbal

Unit 25. Sarvodaya and Bhoodan Movement

Unit 26. Socialist Tradition in Modern India

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UNIT-22 : GANDHIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Contents

- 22.0 Objectives
- 22.1 Introduction
- 22.2 His life and works
- 22.3 The concept of Ahimsa
- 22.4 Doctrine of Satyagraha
- 22.5 His ideas on Religion and Politics
- 22.6 The concept of Rama Rajyam
- 22.7 Gandhi as a Philosophical Anarchist
- 22.8 Summing up
- 22.9 Suggested Readings
- 22.10 Model Examination Questions

22.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to discuss Gandhi's Political thought, his concepts and categories, and the meaning, scope and relevance of his ideas to the modern world.

22.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the political philosophy of Gandhi and its relevance.

22.2 HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) was born at Porbandar in Gujarat State. He came from a prosperous Gujarati family employed in the service of the ruler of a small principality in Gujarat. After qualifying as a Barister in England, Gandhi lived from 1903 to 1914 in South Africa where he practiced law. It was there that his political activities began when he started to defend the rights of the Indian immigrants who were subjected to cruel discrimination. It was during his stay in South Africa that his socio-political and philosophical ideas took shape and determined the tactics he was to adopt later in the struggle against the British colonial rule in India. While he was in Africa, Gandhi put into practice the principles of **Satyagraha** because of his realisation of the need for organised mass action to bring pressure to bear on the political opponents. After returning to India, Gandhi set up in 1915 an organisation in Ahmadabad, namely, Sabarmathi Ashram, for the propagation of the principles of **Satyagraha**. He, then, successfully organised three civil disobedience campaigns based on non-violent resistance: 1) In 1915 in the state of Rajkot for the abolition of certain customs tariffs; 2) In 1917 to reform the system of recruitment of coolies for work outside India; and 3) In late 1917 and early 1918 in Bihar against the system of exploitation of peasants by the British planters. These campaigns had a strong impact on the public opinion and brought Gandhi to the forefront of Indian political life. His speeches and writings convinced the nationalists of the necessity of involving the masses in the fight against British colonialism in India. Since then and until India became independent, the history of the Nationalist Movement has come to be regarded more or less as the history of his brilliant leadership. His greatness lies in his being able to mobilise masses through the length and breadth of the country for the struggle for independence in accordance with his unique principles of **Satya, Ahimsa and Satyagraha**.

Philosophers like Socrates, Plato, Tolstoy and Thoreau and prophets like Jesus Christ and Buddha enormously influenced his ideas. This is so because of the synthetic character of his thought which was inspired by the dominant religious scriptures of the world, viz the Bible, Koran and Bhagavad Gita. His ideas are being emulated, followed and venerated even now across the world. To the people of independent India he is "Father of the Nation" and "Mahatma." A Hindu communalist shot him dead on the 30th of January, 1948, for his attempt to bring about communal harmony in the midst of wide-spread Hindu-Muslim riots that broke out in the wake of the partition.

Though he claimed "that he was not built for academic writings" but for "action" his works run into volumes. His collected writings, when published in their entirety, will cover over 80 large volumes. Most of his writings are inclusives and many are fragmentary. He wrote *Hind Swaraj* which set forth his "severe condemnation of modern civilization" He wrote it in Gujarati and in the form of a dialogue. His other works include *Ethical Religion*, a collection of talks; *Satyagraha in South Africa*, a full account of the movement which he launched; *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, an unfinished autobiography; *From Yerawada Mandir and Ashram observances in Action*, both collections of letters to the members of Sabarmathi Ashram; and lastly, a pamphlet in English entitled *Constructive Programme*. Besides these books, he translated Plato's *Apology* into Gujarati. His other works are *The Story of a Satyagrahi*; a paraphrase of Ruskin's *Unto this Last*; a collection of articles on sexual morality entitled *Self-Restraint Versus Self-Indulgence*. His *Guide to Health, Economics of Khadi and Cent Percent Swadeshi* contain his ideas on health and village industries. *The Gita According to Gandhi* whose English edition was done by Mahadev Desai is considered one of his most important works.

Check Your Progress - I

When did Gandhiji start Satyagraha?

22.3 THE CONCEPT OF AHIMSA

Although Gandhi regarded Satya or truth as the highest value, his name is commonly identified with the concepts of Ahimsa or non-violence.

The word **ahimsa** literally means non-injury or more narrowly, non-killing, and more importantly the renunciation of the will to kill and of the intention to hurt any living thing, the absence from hostile thought, word or act. Though different religions preach the ideal of non-violence, Gandhi's concept is refreshingly original in that he extended, interpreted and applied the concept to political life. Gandhi's idea of non-violence seems to have been influenced by Tolstoy's book *The Kingdom of God is within you*.

Gandhi distinguished between the negative and positive meanings of **ahimsa**. In letter to *Modern Review* as early as 1916 he wrote: In its **negative** form it means not injuring any living being whether by body or mind. I may not, therefore, hurt the person of any wrong-doer or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement does not cover suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill will..... **ahimsa** requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer..... In its **positive** form **ahimsa** means the largest love for my enemy or a stranger to me as I would for my wrong-doing father or son. This active **ahimsa** necessarily includes truth and fearlessness.

He had equated **ahimsa** more or less with humility, forgiveness, love, charity, selflessness, fearlessness, strength, non-attachment, meekness and innocence; he extended the meaning of **ahimsa** or violence to include trickery, falsehood, intrigue, chicanery and deceitfulness in short, all unfair and foul means. However, **Ahimsa** according to him, is not mere **daya** or mercy or mere **anasakthi** or selflessness or charity or love. It is a "quality of the disembodied soul alone". It implies an inability to go on witnessing another's pain and from it would thus spring mercy, heroism and all other virtues associated with **ahimsa**. He regarded it as a positive force superior to all forces of brutality. Non-violence is not a retreat from all real fighting against wickedness, but a more active fight against wickedness than retaliation which, by its very nature, increases wickedness. I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, he said, not by putting up against it a sharp-edged weapon but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. Thus, non-violence as he saw it, actually presupposes the ability to strike through puts a deliberate restraint upon one's desire for vengeance. It is soul-force against all violence, all tyranny and injustice; it is world's great principles which no power on earth can wipeout." Gandhi practised **ahimsa** principles throughout his fight not only against British colonialism in India but all kinds of social oppression and political exploitation. He wrote in **Harijan** in May 1939 that:

True Democracy or the **Swaraj** of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means, for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated **ahimsa**.

It is this belief of Gandhi in the concept of Non-violence that shaped his political ideas proxiologically. He not only did believe in it but practiced it in the process of struggle against social and political evils in his time; and felt that more and more people must be prepared to accept the absolute moral value of **ahimsa**; they must accept it as a widely relevant principle of social and political action.

In July 1940, he wrote two articles in **Harijan** in which he identified four fields where **himsa** exists and advocated the practice of non-violence. These four fields are; 1) the constituted authority; 2) internal disturbances or riots; 3) external invasion, and 4) the family. A non-violent state, according to him, is one where the general will is expressed in the absence of every form of coercion; and a non-violent society, where there could be no exploitation. To him, democracy and military spirit are a contradiction in terms, A true democracy relies not on the arms, but on the moral force that the state could put at the disposal of the world. If one depends only upon superior violence in order to destroy violence of the Hitler type, then small nations would have hardly any chance of survival. Unless they could develop the courage needed for non-violent resistance, democracy could never survive. This conviction made Gandhi search for the possibilities of setting up a non-violent police force a non-violent army, peace brigades and the like for constructive programmes. Throughout his life it has been his prime conviction that there is no **prima facie** reason why the masses, if trained in non-violent action, should be incapable of showing the discipline displayed usually by a fighting force.

He treated non-violence as a creed and as also a policy. He laid down five simple axioms of this creed!

- a) "Non-violence implies as complete self purification as is humanly possible". This means rigorous ethical discipline taken by vows.
- b) "Man for man the strength of non-violence is in exact proportion to the ability, not the will, of the non-violent person to inflict violence". This means the acquiring of the capability of displaying **ahimsa** by renouncing nuclear weapons.

- c) "Non-violence is without exception superior to violence, i.e. the power at the disposal of a non-violent person is always greater than he would have if he was violent".
- d) "There is no such thing as defeat in non-violence. The end of violence is surest defeat". This means that non-violence cannot fail; even if one fails it is because of the moral inadequacy of the user; and further, if one thinks violence succeeds it is so because of taking too narrow or short-sighted a view of success.
- e) "The ultimate end of non-violence is surest victory- if such a term may be used of non-violence. In reality, where there is no sense of defeat there is no sense of victory". This implies that the victory of *ahimsa* never aims at defeating any one but merely at achieving a desirable result.

According to Gandhi, love or non-violence should be the law of one's being. Ultimately, it is the intention underlying one's act that stands as a testimony to the genuineness of non-violence. He wrote in *Harijan* in September 1936 that;

"If love or non-violence be not the law of our being, the whole of my argument falls to pieces, and there is no escape from a periodical recrudescence of war....."

Gandhi regarded any concessions to this creed of *ahimsa* as mere concession to human weakness, deviation from the Moral Law. There may be difficulties in strictly adhering to this moral law, but one should regard it as an ideal to be reached. It is an ethical absolute based upon metaphysical beliefs, issuing in a religious conviction requiring an act of faith.

However, while describing non-violence as a policy, Gandhi has declared that :

People must learn to defend themselves against misbehaving individuals, no matter who they are... No doubt the non-violent way is always the best, but where that does not come naturally the violent way is both necessary and honourable. Inaction is rank cowardice and unmanly.

If non-violence is followed because the votary is weak and cowardly, it is fake non-violence.

The concept of non-violence along with that of *satya* or truth constitutes the core of his thought as a whole. Gandhi, however, is not unaware of unavoidable *himsa*. He said "possession of a body like any other possession necessitates some violence, be it very so little. The fact is that the path of duty is not always easy to discern amidst claims seeming to *himsa* becomes inescapable". Describing this absolute necessity Gandhi wrote in *Young India* as early as 1926 that :

We do destroy as much life as we think necessary for sustaining our body.... Even manslaughter may be necessary in certain cases. Suppose a man runs amuck and goes furiously about sword in hand, and no one dares to capture him alive. Any one, who despatches this lunatic, will earn the gratitude of the community and be regarded as a benevolent man.

It is because of its comprehensive nature and the inherent difficulties in understanding what exactly *ahimsa* is that the concept has been criticised by people within the country and outside.

22.4 DOCTRINE OF SATYAGRAHA

Gandhi used 'Satyagraha' as a technique rather than as a concept applicable to the fight of an oppressed people against foreign rule. It is also to be used for the attainment of socio-economic justice irrespective of the form of government and is applicable to industrial strikes, to social evils like communalism and untouchability.

The literal meaning of the word, "Satyagraha", is 'persistence for truth'. In 1920 he wrote in *Young India* that :

The term **Satyagraha** was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement then going on in U. K. and South Africa under the name of passive resistance. Its root meaning is holding on to truth, hence Truth Force. I have also called it Love Force or Soul Force. In the application of Satyagraha I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy for what appeared to be Truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine comes to mean vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's own self.

Satyagraha which is meant to achieve political ends is based on three articles of faith, namely:

- 1) Belief in non-violence;
- 2) The belief that no government can exist without the cooperation of the people, willing or forced, and that if people suddenly withdraw their cooperation, the government would come to a standstill;
- 3) Suffering and sacrifice. In his own words, "no country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. Mother suffers so that her child may live. The condition of wheat growing is that the seed grain should perish. Life comes out of death". He gave a call to the Satyagrahis; "To die for a cause is the law of man, to kill is that of the beast".

He also prescribed certain principles which the Satyagrahis should observe. They are :

- 1) **Satya** (Truth) which means not mere abstinence from telling or practising untruth, but is God. Satyagrahi should civilly disobey the wrong orders.
- 2) **Ahimsa** (Non-violence) means not merely keeping away from killing, its active part is love. The law requires equal consideration to all life.
- 3) **Brahmacharya** : a necessary condition that one should not look upon any woman or man with a lustful eye. Such animal passions must be controlled and better be exclude from mind;
- 4) **Control of the Palate,**
- 5) **Non-Stealing** which does not only mean taking another's property; it may be a breach of trust. It is also against needless possession of things;
- 6) **Physical labour** which is essential for non-stealing and non-possession;
- 7) **Swadeshi** The Satyagrahi as far as possible purchases one's requirements locally and not buy things imported from foreign lands;
- 8) **Fearlessness** which is necessary for the practice of Truth and Love.
- 9) **Removal of untouchability** means not only not practicing untouchability but also fighting against it as a whole.
- 10) **Tolerance** which implies equal respect for all religions.

Civil disobedience, non-cooperation, fasting, hartal and hijrat are some of the techniques advocated by him for practicing **Satyagraha** which envisages a non-violent struggle against all kinds of oppression, exploitation and foreign rule.

Check Your Progress - II

What are the three articles on which Sathyagraha is based?

22.5 HIS IDEAS ON RELIGION AND POLITICS

Gandhi's moral and spiritual standpoint can be seen clearly in his attitude to politics. In a materialistic society the State and the entire system of government and politics would avoid religion and become corrupt. All political institutions become merely instruments for the pursuit of power. He is, however, not completely against the very concept of power; for him, the interplay of power and moral values is at the centre of the problem of politics. He was interested in challenging the conventional view of the nature and domain of politics, in widening the concept of power, and, above all, in destroying the dichotomies between private and public morals, religious values and political norms, ethical principles and political expediency. He opposed the segregation of true religion and power politics.

As early as 1915 Gandhi declared his aim "to spiritualise" political life and institutions. Politics, for Gandhi, is as essential as religion, but if it is divorced from religion it is like a corpse, fit only for burning, and has absolutely no meaning. In the Preface to his autobiography, Gandhi declared that his devotion to truth had drawn him into politics, that his power in the political field was derived from his spiritual experiments with himself, and that those who knew that religion has nothing to do with politics did not know what religion meant. He introduced the ashram or monastic ideal to politics only to purify politics. He spoke about voluntary poverty for politicians; servants of the people must discard all wealth and private possessions. He told a group of missionaries in 1938.

I could not be leading a religious life unless I identify myself with the whole of mankind and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an invincible whole.... I do not know of any religion apart from activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which life would be a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing.

According to him, even social work is not possible without touching politics; political work must ever be looked upon in terms of social and moral progress. If politics were artificially separated from every thing else, especially from religious values and faith, it would either become a game played according to its own moral rules that might be given a moral disguise or else it would become an illegitimate usurper of the religious emotions and needs of men.

When Gandhi spoke of religion he was more concerned with religious values than with religious beliefs, with the fundamental ethics believed to be common to all religions rather than formal allegiance to receive dogmas that become a barrier to religious experience. For him, religion is not sectarianism; it means a belief in "the ordered moral government of the universe". His religion transcends Hinduism.

Gandhi, however, was wholly against State religion even if a country had only one religion, sectarian religion has no place in politics. If most people today fail to see it as such, Gandhi believed that the blame must lie with theologians as well as politicians. Further, he invoked religion against all authority and not in support of the Church or the State.

The core of Gandhi's thought with regard to politics and religion lies in his belief that while "politics today encircles us like the coils of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how one tries" the only way of wrestling with the snake is to introduce religion into politics. He declared: "By religion I do not mean formal religion or customary religion but the religion which underlies all religions." Religion for Gandhi, means a spiritual commitment which is total but intensely personal. He firmly believed in the fundamental unity of life, and rejected the distinction between public and private, secular and sacred. To him, the interplay between politics and religion is such that his view of politics is the consequence of, and not independent of, his view of morality; and that "so long as the seed of morality is not watered by religion it cannot sprout."

Gandhi derived his stand on religion and politics from the **Bhagavad Gita** and his own religious study and experience. In this attempt to make politics religious and religion practical, he sought the path of **Karma Yoga** or spiritual realisation through social action, associated with classical heroes like Rama and Janaka and reaffirmed in modern India by Vivekananda and Aurobindo. To Gandhi religion is like a Polar Star which guides the ship (politics) on the high seas.

Gandhi had taken great pains to explain the relationship between politics and religion because of the prevalence in modern times of double standards in political and social life. According to him, society governed on double standards is self-destructive. He felt that political and personal morality must coincide and extend to all human beings in all walks of life.

22.6 THE CONCEPT OF RAMA RAJYA

His idea of **Rama Rajya** is based upon one's adherence to **satya and ahimsa**. This political vision of Gandhi is ultimately based upon the classical Indian myth of the Ideal polity under Rama, the hero of Ramayana, ascribed to **Satya yuga or Kritayuga**. It attracted such criticism as that his active political imagination took him at times entirely out of the region of existing realities into the realm of utopian fantasy, the anarchists' paradise and the City of God. He disregarded the modern Hindu standpoint which was generally anti-utopian. To Gandhi, **Rama Rajya** represents a society guided by **satya and ahimsa**. To him, **Rama Rajya** is one in which every man invokes, if not become Rama; the heroic ideal exalts the individual and even the adventurer and enables every brave spirit to feel that "the world is his oyster, which with his sword he will prise open." For Gandhi, this is the Sword of **satya** or truth, which has to be used to combat every form of social and political injustice.

22.7 GANDHI AS A PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHIST

Purest anarchy, according to Gandhi, is a political situation in which a society is organised and run on the basis of complete non-violence. He declared that his nation of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the opportunity as the strongest." All sorts of political labels have been applied to him—individualist, anarchist, socialist, communist, liberal, reactionary, revolutionary, nationalist, cosmopolitan and so on. But the fact is that Gandhi, both as a social reformer and as a political ideologue, has been, throughout his life, fighting against all kinds of authority, oppression and exploitation.

Like Proudhon, Gandhi held an anarchist vision of society. In such a society coercion would be replaced by concord. The laws of the state would increasingly become unnecessary. In such a society, Gandhi visualised, there is a certainty of reciprocal relationships of trust and obligation between men. For the purpose of achieving such a goal, Gandhi, unlike Proudhon and other anarchists, had chosen a non-violent path. For him, means is as important as ends. Though the anarchist fight for a society where peace and tranquility prevail, their means of achieving such a society is ridden with violence. For the purpose of achieving their goal of the abolition of

government, and the other oppressive political institutions, they believed in violence and force. Certain anarchists like Max Stirner even believed that the individual is above the state and that his violence is justified and essential. Sorel had justified the ethic of violence elaborately and Kropotkin talked about bloody social revolution. Though Bakunin disliked the very idea of violence, he said that it would often be found necessary. Among the Western anarchist it was only Tolstoy who thought deeply about non-violence as the only permissible ethic in society. He asked how human existence could be essentially a struggle if its whole point was universal love and if we would accept as we must the principle that every human life was considered sacrosanct. To Tolstoy, as also to Gandhi, universal love should be the basis on which the society and politics have to be organised. Gandhi wrote in *Hind Swaraj* that the belief that there is no connection between the means and the end is a great mistake. The means may be linked to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree." In 1939 he went a step ahead and argued "If one takes care of means, the end will take care of itself." And unlike some anarchists who are votaries of violent means to achieve their goal of a society of universal love, Gandhi, for the purpose of achieving such a society, recommended numerous methods which conformed to his concepts of satya (truth), ahimsa (non-violence) and Satyagraha. Of all the anarchists, Gandhi was attracted to Tolstoy whose ideas of philosophical anarchism he developed in his essays, *The Law of Violence and the Law of Love* and *The only Commandment*, where he condoned the law of violence.

Gandhi did not favour the institution of State because of its commanding nature. But he did not make any suggestion as to how the future society could be organised. He expressed the view that he "cannot say in advance what the government based wholly on non-violence will be like." The idea of the "Partyless democracy" was later developed by the Gandhians. The anarchic society of his dreams, when realised, would be according to him, a Rama Rajya where the welfare of all the people or Sarvodaya, could be taken care of by the entire community as a whole.

22.8 SUMMING UP

While assessing the importance of Gandhi's political thought Raghavan Iyer in his book, *The Moral and political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, wrote that the principles of Satya, Ahimsa and Satyagraha as concepts were constructed in the oldest political tradition dating back to the classical Indian thinkers. They do involve a "momentous truth" but they are also deceptive representations in a sense; they could serve the cause of civic education provided that they are not taken to represent decisively the political realities of the future.

His appeal to the forgotten language of tradition when the country became demoralised produced results - but not for long, as he discovered to his cost. In July 1947 six months before his association, he felt that he had been let down by many of his countrymen including some congress men. But he did not blame them for not living upto the standards which he had set but which they never chose or really accepted for themselves.

Gandhi was certainly not a political philosopher and never claimed to be one, says V.P. Varma. He was a man of action standing at the centre of the political stage throughout India's eventful history in the first half of the 20th century. His various concepts constitute less a philosophy than a method of action, cultivated as a result of continuous experiments through a long life of suffering, sacrifice and service to the nation. He himself said:

I have not conceived my mission to be that of knight-errant wandering everywhere to deliver people from difficult situations. My humble occupation has been to show people how they solve their own difficulties..... My work will be finished if I succeed in carrying conviction to the human family that every man or woman, however weak in body, is the guardian of his or her self-respect and liberty.

But it is difficult to be in full agreement with him in so far as his solutions are concerned, because some of them appear to be utopian and unpracticable. In this age when humanity faces the threat of nuclear annihilation, his ideas certainly command attention.

22.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

Tarachand : *History of The Freedom movement in India*

22.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

- a) Explain Gandhi's concept of Non-violence.
- b) What is Satyagraha?
- c) Explain Gandhi's views on religion and politics.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- a) Examine Gandhi's idea of Rama Rajya.
- b) Explain the influence of Western anarchists on Gandhi's thought.
- c) What are the important features of Non-violence as a creed ?

Dr. B. VENKATESWARLU

UNIT-23 : POLITICAL IDEAS OF NEHRU

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23.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain the political ideas of Pandit Nehru.

23.1 INTRODUCTION

It is to Jawaharlal Nehru that India owes her high international standing and the laying of firm foundations for her economic development. The impact of Nehru's vision on the post-war international politics has been such that his ideas of internationalism have shaped into a gigantic movement for peace, solidarity and cooperation among nations. His views on Third World unity, Non-alignment, etc., gave direction to many decolonised and newly independent nations which were suffering from anomie as a result of hundreds of years of colonial exploitation. In this unit we will examine his political ideas.

23.2 HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Jawaharlal Nehru was born at Allahabad on November 14, 1889 to Motilal Nehru and Swarup Rani, a Kashmiri Brahmin family which migrated to Allahabad in the 18th century. Jawaharlal was their only son and Vijayalaxmi and Krishna were their daughters. He was educated at his home-town, Allahabad, and at Harrow and Cambridge in England. He stayed for 7 years in England which has moulded his outlook as a liberal democrat. He came under the influence of G.B. Shaw, J.S. Mill, Gladstone and Russell. He was one of the foremost leaders who fought for India's independence in the penultimate phase of the anticolonial nationalist movement launched by the Indian National Congress. In 1947 when India won her independence he became the first Prime Minister of the country and continued in that capacity until his death in 1964.

He was one of the indomitable fighters of India's freedom who pioneered the ideas of complete independence, Constituent Assembly and Democratic Socialism. He made great personal sacrifices and suffered imprisonment several times in the cause of Indian's freedom. Gandhi gave him a pre-eminent place among his followers and lieutenants.

His pre-eminent position as the Prime Minister of the country and leader of the nation gave him the opportunity to work for the realization of some of his principal ideals. He relentlessly strove for a strong, democratic, secular and socialist India.

In the turbulent years of the freedom struggle against the British rule, Nehru along with Subhas Chandra Bose infused radical ideas into Indian National Congress much against the will of the conservatives who were dominant in the organisation. With Gandhiji's blessing he became the President of the Indian National Congress at its Lahore Session in 1929 and was instrumental in getting the historic resolution for complete independence passed in the face of stiff opposition in the Congress which had aimed at only securing a dominion status for India. In the last phase of freedom struggle, he was the non-prominent spokesman for India in almost all the negotiations with the British. In 1946 he headed the Interim Government and since independence had been the Prime Minister of India till his death on May 27, 1964.

His notable works are

- 1) Glimpses of World History
- 2) Discovery of India
- 3) Autobiography
- 4) His numerous speeches were edited into a number of volumes and published by the Government of India.

23.3 CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY

Though Nehru may not be considered a political thinker in the real sense of the term his philosophical bent of mind has enabled him to view the day-to-day political problems of his times in a broad, theoretical perspective. His idea of democracy, as Donald Duncan has pointed out, represents a combination of the ideas of Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Bentham, J.S. Mill, etc., uneffected by those of Marx. He gave a broad meaning to democracy. In his own words.

"I would say that democracy is not only political, not only economic but something of the mind, as everything ultimately is something of the mind. It involves equality of opportunity to all people, as far as possible, in the political and economic domain. It involves the freedom of the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and ability. It involves a certain tolerance of others and even of others opinions when they differ from yours. It involves a certain inquisitive search for truth - and for, let us say, the right thing. and as it changes it may be that its domain will become wider and wider. Ultimately, it is a mental approach applied to our political and economic problems."

His concept of democracy can be examined in three important aspects namely, a) political democracy b) economic democracy, and c) Social democracy.

23.3.1 Political Democracy

His ideas on political democracy found their expression in the Constitution of independent India which emphasised freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action. His initial enthusiasm about Marxist ideology seemed to have dissolved by 1949. Communism, Nehru asserted, for all its triumphs in many fields crushes the free spirit of man. Referring to the U.S.S.R. Nehru declared:

India cannot follow such a policy. It ultimately hampers the progress of the nation by restricting the creative faculties of the common man.

Regarding the issues involved in the democratic state vis-a-vis the freedom, Nehru felt that in times of war the demarcation should be in favour of the State and that in those of peace it should be to the advantage of the individual. He was aware of the process of centralization which

was taking place in the public life in the name of democracy and felt that it was detrimental to the whole democratic structure of the government. According to him, this centralising tendency endangers individual freedom. However, he considered increased centralisation as not only inevitable but also desirable and necessary in order to bring about the economic development of India. In his *Discovery of India* he observes that it is only through a "democratically planned collectivism" that the country can significantly apply all of its resources to solve the great economic problems confronting it. He regarded India's experiments in national planning as an attempt to solve one of the central issues of modern times viz., "How to maintain individual freedom and initiative and yet have centralized social control and planning of the economic life of the people."

Democracy, according to Nehru, is centred on representative government with popular sovereignty. He pointed out that these ideas are by no means foreign to India tradition. He discovered them in Arthashastra and in other works of Sanskrit literature. That the current disabilities of western democratic institutions were absent in ancient Indian system of democracy. He devoted an entire letter to his analysis of the **Failure of Parliaments**. The democratic institutions that were discovered by him were such that there was -

Common method of function. In social life, in local government, trade guilds, religious assemblies, etc., caste with all its evils kept up the democratic habit in each group. There used to be elaborate procedure, elections and debate.

It appears that these ideas influence him more than Western ideas.

He believed in the extension of not only political equality through the widening of the franchise but also economic equality to all the people. Moreover as Cousins pointed out, he believed that political equality was the basis for other equalities.

Regarding representative democracy, Nehru gave more importance to the methods of election than to the quality of the people elected to the representative bodies. He commented that the democratic state must take "the risk of even choosing wrong people by the right method and hope for the best". Though he recognised the evils of disciplined political parties which would destroy the democratic spirit of the individual, he acknowledged the necessity of having disciplined political parties for efficient government. He regarded the formation of different political parties as a natural outcome. "In a democratic set up", he argued, "it is desirable that every opportunity should be given for the development of ideas and the education of the public in them".

Thus his ideas pertaining to political democracy centre around the principles of popular sovereignty, elections, majority rule and responsible political parties. In Nehru's thinking no democratic state could exist without these elements.

Check Your Progress - I

What is Democracy according to Nehru?

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23.3.2 b) Economic Democracy

In *Glimpses of World History* he wrote that "democracy means equality and democracy can flourish only in an equal society". He gradually realised that within the framework of the

19th century democracy political power had become the monopoly of the upper classes; far from granting some measures of economic equality, formal democracy did not even produce true political equality. He felt that the machinery of democracy had been exploited to maintain a class run government which existed to further its own interests. He saw an essential contradiction between capitalism and democracy and thus for him the capitalist system itself constituted the most serious problem confronting democracy. In his own words:

The conflict between capitalism and democracy is inherent and continuous; it is often hidden by misleading propaganda and by the outward forms of democracy such as parliaments, and the sops that the owning classes throw to the other classes to keep them more or less contented.

Hence he concluded that true democracy could be attained only through the elimination of capitalism. But, later, Nehru had modified his views; he held the view that democracy must be understood in terms of equality, both social and economic. He contended that "the spirit of the age is for equality, although it remains unfulfilled in practice almost everywhere."

He thought that the caste system in India had become a great barrier to the establishing of a democratic society, and that it was detrimental to the democratic ideal and to modern conditions. In his book *The Discovery of India*, he has severely criticised the caste system. In his own words:

In the context of society today, the caste system and much that goes with it are wholly incompatible, reactionary, restrictive and barriers to progress. There can be no equality in status and opportunity within its framework, nor can there be political democracy, and much less, economic democracy.

He dreamt of an India which could have a "classless society." In a broadcast in 1954 he said:

We have to aim deliberately at a social philosophy which seeks a fundamental transformation of the structure which is not dominated by the urge of private profit and individual greed and where there is a distribution of political and economic power. We must aim at classless society based on cooperative effort, where there is opportunity for all.

He had variously described the society of his dreams as 'a classless society,' 'economic democracy', or a 'socialistic pattern of society'. etc. However, he is not unaware of the conflict between economic equality and individual freedom. But it is the concept of equality that has acquired prominence in the twentieth century, he contended. Yet he made attempts to maintain a balance between the two. In a speech at San Francisco on November 1, 1949, he said:

Until you balance the two ideas of freedom and equality, both of which are important, and each of which has to be limited to some extent in order to coordinate with the other, you will not solve the problems of today.

It is this balancing factor that has taken a concrete shape in the Constitution of India in the form of Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights - the philosophy of the former being equality and that of the latter freedom. And this balancing factor in his thinking may, perhaps, be the reason why Nehru favoured a mixed economy, where the conflicting ideas, viz., equality and freedom could co-exist.

23.3.3 c) Social Democracy

Nehru thought that democracy meant not only freedom but also discipline. He stated that "self discipline of the community" should be surely one of the definitions of democracy. "This self discipline" in politics, according to him, is adherence to peaceful and democratic procedures. To him, democracy in social affairs meant "a higher standard of human being". Tolerance and peaceful methods are its distinguishing features. Until a classless society is achieved, he declared,

"the only known method of resolving these conflicts, other than that of force and coercion, is the democratic method." In a circular to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees in 1954 he emphasised:

The very essence of democratic state is its functioning in an atmosphere of peace. Problems, however difficult, are solved by peaceful methods by discussion, negotiation, conciliation and persuasion. A decision once taken is accepted even by those who may not like it. If this basic conception of democracy is not accepted, then democracy cannot function.

No government can tolerate a violent approach, he declared, and those who choose the path of violence have no faith in democracy. If peaceful methods are not followed democracy will be the first victim and progress the second, he warned. He expressed his belief in the Gandhian principle that objectives of social and political life must be sought only through non-violent means.

Thus one finds in Nehru's views on democracy a quest of personal freedom as also equality which can be achieved through peaceful means and a kind of social self-discipline.

23.4 THEORY OF PANCHASHEEL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

His Internationalism

Nehru was considered to be an internationalist. He had been through out his life a champion of the cause of the Afro-Asian solidarity to achieve absolute political and economic freedom for Afro-Asian nations. With his policy of "positive neutralism" he was successful to a large extent in bringing about a kind of international reconciliation in the face of politics of the power blocs. He was also considered, for the same reasons, as "international moderniser". He expressed his sympathy with the revolutionaries of the Spanish Civil War and the Communists in China. His views on Afro-Asian unity inspired many Third World leaders like Nasser, Nkrumah, etc.

He was against fanatical nationalism though he recognised the emotional appeal of nationalism. According to him, some kind of fusion between nationalism, proletarianism and internationalism is necessary to lay the foundations for international equilibrium. In his own words:

What is perhaps not sufficiently realised is the international character of industrialism. It has broken down national boundaries and it has made each nation, however powerful it may be, dependent on other countries. The idea of nationalism is almost as strong today as it was, and in its holy name wars are fought and millions slaughtered. But it is a myth which is not in keeping with reality. The world has become internationalised, production is international, markets are international and transport is international; and men's ideas continue to be governed by a dogma which has no real meaning today. No nation is really independent. They are all interdependent.

He had firm faith in the United Nations and had been critical of Super Power politics and was persistently against joining any power bloc. Accordingly, Nehru not only directed India to follow the path of "positive neutralism" "through the policy of Non-alignment but also was instrumental in building it into a movement among the Third World countries.

The concept of Non-alignment is not a passive concept but a dynamic one. It does not preach passive neutrality. When the freedom and security of the State are threatened, he did not hesitate to suggest modifications in the concept.

Panchasheela

Nehru was a staunch exponent of peace, goodwill, cooperation and concord in international relations. In a joint declaration by Nehru and the Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai in 1954, he laid down five cardinal principles of international amity which became famous as Panchasheela.

These five principles are:

- i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and Sovereignty;
- ii) Non-aggression;
- iii) Non-interference in each others' international affairs;
- iv) Equality and mutual advantage; and
- v) Peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation.

These principles are intended to promote a sense of security, trust and confidence in international relations. His concept of international relations, is against the concept of power politics and the care of force. However, the critics point that his concept of internationalism has degenerated into a policy of appeasement in certain cases.

Check Your Progress - II

What is Panchasheela?

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23.5 DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM - ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY

While he was a student at London Nehru was attracted to Fabian Socialism. When he was touring Europe along with his father he became acquainted with more radical ideas polity, economy and society than those of Fabian Socialists. His participation in the meetings of the Congress League against Imperialism which took place in Brussels and a short visit to Russia in 1927 brought a qualitative change in his mode of thinking. The articles he wrote for *The Hindu*, covering his visit (published in 1928 as *Soviet Russia*) reveal the indelible impact of the "country of the hammer and sickle, where workers and peasants sit on the thrones of the mighty". Regarding the impact of the Brussels' meeting, S.Gopal, his biographer, says that the turning point in Jawaharlal's mental development came with his active participation in the Brussels Congress against colonial oppression and Imperialism that gave him a vision of anti-imperialist solidarity and Third World nationalist forces" which, according to Sumit Sarkar, "he often did not live upto but never totally abandoned." His emotional attachment to Leninist Communism became so strong that while addressing a meeting of the Socialist Youth Congress in 1928 at Calcutta he demanded independence as "a necessary preliminary to communistic society". In 1929 from the Presidential platform of Lahore Congress he declared his commitment to socialism:

"I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican, and I am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry."

When the dominant sections in the Congress had become complascent demanding a Dominion Status for India Jawaharlal along with Subhash Chandra Bose organised a pressure group within the Congress known as Independence for India League for the sole purpose of campaigning for complete independence and the establishment of a Socialist Democratic State in which every person would have the fullest opportunities for development and the state controlling the means of production and distribution. Nehru not only was dedicated to the ethical, sentimental and emotional aspects of socialism as a philosophy but also declared that he was deeply involved with it as an economic theory of state-ownership and control of the basic means of production and distribution. His thought was based on a combination of political liberalism and socialism. One

may find similarity between the socialist ideas of Nehru and those of German State-Socialist such as Wagner, Schmoller, Knies, etc. He regarded socialism not merely as a formula for economic reconstruction but as a philosophy of life. His presidential addresses to the INC at Lucknow and Faizpur in 1936 seemed to have embodied virtually all the radical aspirations and programmes of the left. While disclaiming any intention to impose his socialist ideas on the Congress, Nehru explicitly stated that he was "using the term, 'socialism' the only key to the solution of the world's and of India's problems - not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific economic sense". His emotional attachment to socialism was such that he hailed Soviet Union as the "new civilisation" and declared that "we who labour for a free India inevitably...take our stand with the progressive forces of the world which are, ranged against fascism and imperialism".

Nehru set forth his theoretical differences with Gandhi in letters and articles, later published as *Whither India?* He repeatedly emphasised the need to combine nationalist objectives with radical social and economic programmes.

His socialism was not utopian as some people thought it to be. To him socialism was an economic means for the liberation of the masses from the industrial and agrarian feudal lords and oligarchs. In brief, socialism, to Nehru, meant the "ending of private property, except in a restricted sense". Greedy acquisitiveness must give place to cooperative service.

It is evident from the letters he wrote to his daughter, later published as *Glimpses of World History*, and his *Autobiography*, that he has had a professed belief in Marxist-Leninist philosophy which stressed the change in man's instincts, habits and desires with the advent of socialism. However, his interest and commitment to Marxism-Leninism, as Sumit Sarkar pointed out, has been a partial one. This perhaps, may be the reason why Gandhi, while commenting on Nehru's, interest in and commitment to Marxism-Leninism, mentioned in the course of an interview in September, 1933 to *Bombay Chronicle* that "his (Nehru's) Communist views need not... frighten any one". However, many British officials considered Nehru to be "the high priest of Communism".

He was successful in forcing the Indian National Congress to accept the ideal of socialistic pattern of society at its Avadi Session in 1955. His socialistic pattern of society connoted social ownership of the means of production, acceleration of national production and the equitable distribution of all the wealth. In a speech in Lok Sabha he had almost defined his socialistic pattern of society as one marked by equality, removal of disparities and the possibility for every one to live a good life.

He believed that such a society could be established through cooperation, planning, industrialization and nationalisation harnessing the resources of science and technology. Accordingly, along with an enormous public sector, the private sector also should be encouraged. As for the agriculture sector, he was interested in introducing "Cooperative farming." He also subscribed to the idea of Welfare State and expressed his agreement with the British Labour Party's ideology. However as has been pointed out, his ideas transcended the concept of Welfare state.

23.6 SUMMING UP

In conclusion it may be said that to Nehru democracy, socialism and liberalism were not abstract ideas. His own ideas developed in response to India's peculiar social, political and economic situation and his experience as the undisputed leader of his country. His greatness lies in his capacity to comprehend the dynamic nature of the modern world and its requirements. He has recognised the need for awakening the masses to the possibilities of material improvement of their lot. He was prepared to criticise the failings of both the democratic and socialist systems. He realised that the main problem in modern times was one of harmonising freedom and equality. He was successful to a large extent in his experiments in this direction. The Constitution of India testifies to it.

He devoted his whole life to the practice rather than to the theory of politics and made significant contributions to both the fields. He was perhaps the foremost interpreter of liberal democracy in Asia. When he was alive and at the helm of affairs, the Western observers felt that the future of democracy in India would depend in a large measure on the degree to which Jawaharlal Nehru could succeed in interpreting, applying and adopting democratic ideas to the political life of the people.

Even after his death the cherished ideas of Nehru are respected and followed by various governments which have come to power. His ideas will be cherished by one and all as long as people in India believe in liberal democracy.

23.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Duncun : *Writings of Gandhi*
2. V.P. Verma : *Modern Indian Political Thought*

23.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines.

- 1) Discuss Nehru's economic philosophy.
- 2) Examine Nehru's views on Democratic Socialism.
- 3) Examine his views of Internationalism.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

- 1) Explain Nehru's views on political democracy.
- 2) Critically examine Nehru's views on Marxism.
- 3) Evaluate Nehru as a political thinker.

- Dr. B. VENKATESHWARLU

UNIT-24 : POLITICAL IDEAS OF AMBEDKAR

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- 24.4 Mohd. Iqbal
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24.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to discuss the contribution of Ambedkar, M.N. Roy and Mohd. Iqbal to the development of Social and Political thought in India.

24.1. INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the political ideas of B.R. Ambedkar, M.N. Roy and Mohd. Iqbal.

24.2 B.R. AMBEDKAR

24.2.1 His life and works

Bhim Rao Ramjee Ambedkar, architect of India's Constitution, was born in the year 1891. After completing his post-graduate studies in Economics he went abroad for his higher studies at Columbia University and London School of Economics with a scholarship provided by the Maharaja of Baroda. After his return, he served for some time in the state of Baroda. He was an eminent jurist and a lawyer of modern India. He played a leading role in the drafting of the Constitution of Independent India and was, in fact, called the 'Father of India's Constitution'.

Being born in the Mahar caste of untouchables in Maharashtra, he experienced the agony, anguish, frustration and humiliation while he was at school and in college. He was not allowed to study Sanskrit at college for the simple reason that he was a 'Panchama' or untouchable. The study of Sanskrit was meant for Savarnas in those days. His ideas which were published in a number of works were deeply influenced by the pathetic position of the untouchables in India dominated by Brahminic Hindu ideology.

His writings include Who Were the Sudras, The Untouchables, Caste in India, Annihilation of Caste, The Buddha and His Dharma, What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables, Pakistan or Partition of India.

24.2.2 Social and Political Thought

As observed by V.P. Varma, Dr. Ambedkar was a social prophet of the Untouchables in India. His ideas "breathe a note of deep realism and are also characterised by bitter denunciations of the old law givers like Manu. He had a deep contempt and bitterness for the Hindu society which had been suppressing the Untouchables for centuries. As for the Hindu religious scriptures and Puranas, he declared that "one can do nothing with the Brahminic theories except to call them sense-less ebullienfs of a silly mind". He denounced mercilessly the pettiness, perversities and hypocrasies of Brahminism which, according to him, was a wicked and mischievous agent of social exploitation of backward and untouchable sections of the Hindu society. He ultimately decided to take solace in the teachings of Buddha who never preached the Varna Dharma of the Hindu religion was in fact against it. His contempt for the Hindu religion was so deep that Ambedkar had characterised Gandhi's concern for the Harijans as clever politics and hypocritical.

He did not accept the hypothesis of Aryan invasion of India. According to him Sudras were not dark-skinned aborgines enslaved and subordinated by the Aryan invaders, but were also Aryans. The subordinate status of Sudras was brought about by violent wars. Social vicissitudes and changes of fortune degraded them from their Aryan status.

Ultimately, Brahmins were responsible for the degradation of Sudras. They denied Yagnopaveeta to the Sudras. There were many interpolations in the Hindu scriptures, according to Ambedkar, for the purpose of degrading the Sudras. The Hindu scheme of social structure based on the Varna system, according to him, breeds inequality and has been the original source of the hierarchical caste system and untouchability which are none other than forms of inequality. It was Ambedkar's staunch belief that the problems of the Untouchables could not be solved by mere tinkering here and there.

On the question of economic emancipation of the Scheduled Castes Ambedkar said "...education and services is the most important thing for the raising of the status of the Scheduled Castes. Now what are the means of raising the economic status of the Scheduled Castes? Obviously, the economic emancipation of the Scheduled Castes will depend upon the opportunity that they get for what might be called gainful occupation. Unless... the doors are open to them... for gainful occupation their economic emancipation is not going to take place. They are going to remain slaves... serfs of the land-owning classes. There can be no doubt on that point at all".

For providing gainful employment or occupation, Ambedkar appealed to the government; he said that it "ought to concentrate on giving of land to the scheduled castes. They must be settled on land so that they might obtain independent means of livelihood, cease to be afraid of anybody, walk with their heads erect and live fearlessly and courageously." He supported the giving of land to the scheduled castes not merely for economic livelihood. According to him, "...landholding in India is not merely a matter of economic livelihood. It is a matter of social status. A person holding land has a higher status than a person not holding land... And no Hindu wishes that an untouchable should possess a piece of land so that he may reach a higher status than his community is entitled to under the social system".

He also had a great suspicion about the Indian bureaucracy which largely shared the Hindu prejudices against the untouchables. Such a bureaucracy, he thought, was responsible for the ous of the Untouchables. In order to make public services responsive to the needs of the Untouchables, he argued, members of the untouchable community should be appointed the higher executive cadres in increasing numbers.

He said, "in this country... the fact is quite clear that the higher classes receive the higher education. Their children go to Oxford... Cambridge, Columbia Universities and to all other foreign universities... The Backward Classes are all subject people. They have no authority in any place. None whatever. They have no place in administration - they have no place in the Executive

and the Administration is entirely monopolised by the higher classes. They are monopolising it by reason of the fact that they have been able to get the highest education. Why not examine all the Secretaries of Departments of the Government of India? The son and daughter of every Secretary in the Government is to be found in Cambridge or Oxford. Twice and thrice they have made journeys in order to lodge their children there because they have the amplest means. The backward class man's son cannot get even the primary education. This sort of revolution in the two different classes is going on for centuries. It is an intolerable business because we cannot allow one class to rule for ever. For some time they may but they must see that the other classes also become educationally qualified in order that they too may hold the reins of government. We are not going to be subject people all the time".

When he thought that it would be difficult for the untouchables to be assimilated to the Hindu society, he converted himself to Buddhism and asked his followers to do so. This shows that he contemplated a future for the untouchables only in separation from the broad stream of the Hindu Society.

24.3 M. N. ROY

24.3.1 His life and Works

Manavendranath Roy, whose original name was Narendranath Bhattacharya, was born on 21 March, 1887 at Arbalia, a village in 24 Paraganas district in Bengal. When he was student he came into contact with a revolutionary organisation called **Anuseelan samithi**. When this organisation was banned Naren helped in organising another body called "Juganther group" under the leadership of Jatin Mukherjee. As part of his underground activity in the "group" he took part in a number of conspiracy cases. After being acquitted in these cases Naren along with Jatin Mukherjee established Juganther Party and drew plans for armed insurrection to overthrow the British Government. For this purpose, they sought the help of Germany through the German consulate in Calcutta for arms, etc., and Naren on this mission went to Germany in 1915. After renewed efforts he came to realise that the Germans had no intention to help them. He went in search of help to Japan, and from there to China and lastly to San Francisco. The leader of the Juganther Party, Jateen died and the plans for armed insurrection were given up. In San Francisco Naren came under police surveillance. He left the place and reached Stanford University where he had the opportunity of studying the works of Karl Marx. It was there that he changed his name to M.N. Roy. As America entered the war in June 1917 he came under severe pressure from the police there. In fact he was implicated in a criminal case called "Hindu German Conspiracy" and faced arrest, but was released pending trial on personal security. He jumped the bail and reached Mexico and stayed there for 2 1/2 years from July 1917 to December 1919. He wrote many articles on India in **El Pueblo**, a leading daily of Mexico. He learnt Spanish and published articles and books in that language. He joined the Socialist Party of Mexico and served as its Propaganda Secretary and later rose to the position of its General Secretary. It was in Mexico that Roy came into contact with the well-known Communist leader, Michael Borodin, and the philosophy of Communism and became a full-fledged Communist. Under Roy's leadership the Mexican Socialist Party became the Communist Party of Mexico and Roy became the founder of the first Communist party outside Soviet Union. He was invited to the Soviet Union where he attended the Second Conference of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1920 as the representative of the Communist Party of Mexico. He held several meetings with Lenin and discussed the problems of nationalist movements in various colonial countries and the role of the bourgeoisie in those movements. Lenin's document on "Thesis of National and Colonial Question" which he showed to Roy was not accepted by Roy. Lenin asked Roy to prepare an alternative thesis as his own acquaintance with colonial countries was very limited. Lenin approved Roy's thesis and both the theses were approved by the Second International.

As part of the implementation of the thesis, Roy set up an "Indian Political and Military School" to train Indians in revolutionary methods at Tashkent. At the instance of some of the members of the school the "Communist Party of India" was formed in Tashkent on the 17th of October, 1920. Later the school was closed and in its place the "Communist University of the Toilers of the East" was established.

To promote the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in India, Roy shifted his headquarters to Berlin in 1922 and started a journal called "Vanguard of Indian Independence" and prepared his major work, "India in Transition" which was smuggled to India. He sent many trained communists to India. When Germany expelled him he shifted to Zurich and from there to France. Throughout this period he was in touch with the events in India through his correspondence with many of the leaders in the Indian National Congress. He was accused No. 1 abroad in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case in 1924. When the Communist Party of India was launched in 1925 on the Indian soil, Roy heartily welcomed the event. By 1926 he reached the highest position in the Comintern. The thesis of Roy with regard to the nature and prospects of Chinese revolution was accepted by the Comintern. The thesis recommended Agrarian revolution. Along with Borodin he was deputed to implement his thesis in China in 1927. When there were certain differences on the question of the alliance of the Communists with Komingtang between Roy and Stalin, his thesis was not implemented. However, Mao Zedong proved later that the thesis of Roy on China was a correct one.

He returned to Moscow but only to receive official disfavour. He was smuggled to Berlin. It was here that Roy completed yet another major work of his, **Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China**. He differed with the policies of Stalin, and the Comintern expelled him for his "claim to the right of independent thinking". Roy decided to return to India. On reaching India since he was involved in many cases he remained underground as "Dr. Mahmud" for seven months before he was arrested. He trained many activists. He met Nehru and helped in shaping the resolutions on Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme of the Indian National Congress. Later, in 1931 Roy was once again arrested and spent six years in jail. He completed many of his works, parts of which were published later as 1) **Fascism**, 2) **Historical Role of Islam**, 3) **Materialism**, 4) **Heroes of the Twentieth Century**, 5) **Ideal of Indian Womanhood**, 6) **Our Tasks in India**, 7) **China in Revolt**, 8) **Whither Congress**, and 9) **Letters to the Congress Socialist Party**.

After his release he worked for the radicalization of the Indian National Movement and organised a body called "League of Radical Congressmen" which adopted his thesis called "India and War". This was not liked by the Congressmen. Roy parted with the Congress and founded a separate party called Radical Democratic Party in 1940. He prepared two basic documents for it **People's Plan for Economic Development of India** at **Draft Constitution of Free India**. He became a "Radical Humanist" by 1946. He published his speeches on radical humanism in the book **New Orientation**. His **22 Theses of Radical Humanism** were published as **Beyond Communism**, and its manifesto as **New Humanism - A Manifesto**. By 1947 though Roy regarded himself as a heroic Marxist he had actually discarded communism. His views on political parties and power politics were embodied in his book, **Politics, Power and Parties**, and he dissolved the party started by him. His followers, however, launched a movement called Radical Humanist Movement which later became Radical Humanist Association.

In the closing years of his life, Roy wrote a book in two volumes called **Reason, Romanticism and Revolution**. He had an idea of publishing his memories but passed away on 25 January, 1954 without carrying it out.

ii) His Social Ideas

Radical Humanism, which became an important aspect of Indian Social Thought, can be treated as the lasting contribution of M.N.Roy. Royists consider him "an intellectual giant" a

constant source of original ideas". According to them, the basic inspiration and the consuming passion of Roy's entire life was Human freedom. Roy who was a Marxist and a Communist in the first phase of his intellectual life, had later considered Marxism and Liberalism as the "twins of irrationality". It was in this phase that he made an attempt to transcend Marxism and Materialism. Indeed, he contended that some practitioners of Marxism had failed to understand the true spirit of Marxism which in reality was humanism. The failure of the philosophical school founded by Marx led to the establishment of long lasting dictatorships and power-oriented political movements in large parts of the world. In the process what was discarded was humanism, the essence of which had been freedom and individual liberty.

Roy's radical humanism, which is also described as Scientific Humanism, is the result of adopting a scientific approach to the understanding of man and his place in the world. The approaches to science and philosophy are one and the same; and such a philosophy is known as materialism or monistic naturalism whose characteristics are naturalism, determinism and monism.

Naturalism asserts the existence of nature and holds that everything that exists including man is part of nature. Determinism implies that the universe is governed by certain objective laws, that the process is orderly and that events do not take place without a cause. And if, as has been already said, every existing thing is part of nature and if changes happen there is a deterministic manner it is monism. Man has the capacity to understand this because of his rational mind which is made of superior matter. Radical Humanism postulates man as a rational being. According to Roy, man is also governed by the same principles as those of physical sciences, the only distinction being nationalism which man, who is also made up of matter and hence part of nature, possesses Reason is to man what hardness is to a stone. Rationalism is, thus a part of human nature. It is both an evolutionary and inherited quality of man. Though Roy had firm belief in the Marxian doctrine of historical materialism, he made an attempt to reinterpret it in use with the researches in physical and natural sciences in the modern times. He found in Marxism a kind of dogmatism and artificial determinism which tended to turn man into power-monger and outright materialist, the result of which was power politics at the cost of free development of man.

Man, according to the philosophy of Radical Humanism, is part of nature and it is this basic postulates that enables us to understand human nature scientifically. Between the individual and society, the individual should come first. This is the because while the individual is a biological being (and hence part of the nature) society is not. The individual is possessed of consciousness and can experience pleasure or pain, progress or regress. He has in his brain cells an apparatus for thought and feeling, which society does not possess. Hence social happiness or social progress can have no meaning except as the sum total of the happiness or progress of the individuals who compose the society. And hence the basic humanist principle is that man is the measure of everything.

According to Roy, individual is an end in itself, and any or every organisation is only a means to this end. Everything comes after individual freedom. According to Radical Humanism man has been always struggling for freedom and his joining the Civil State and society is only to protect his freedom; history testifies to the 'fact' that man has always struggled to preserve his freedom. Those institutions and organisations which has been set up to safeguard individual freedom often have tried to gain mastery over him which is quite contrary to the rational life of man and society.

By accepting the primacy of man and his freedom Raddical Humanism looks at the State and society only as a means to end which is the individual.

iii) His Political Ideas

It is not worthy that Roy has given primacy to the individual and his freedom, and command the State and society to be only a means to this end. Freedom of the individual is the touch-stone of everything. To this extent Roy is an individualist and individualism is central to Radical Humanism. In modern society the political institutions, be they of Parliamentary democracies or governments organised on the principles of Marxism, have killed individual freedom. The Individual's urge for freedom is, according to Roy, most natural and eternal. Though the institutions of Parliamentary democracy accepted in theory the ideal of individual liberty, in practice they have been acting to the contrary. He was very critical of the modern party system whose need would be left only when the development of human rationality was very uneven, but unnecessary when sufficient awakening and reasoning power had been developed in human beings. And Marxism in practice had resulted in dictatorship denying the individual his basic freedom. He, in fact, left the Communist party when he came to know that it was opposed to the granting of freedom to the individual and thus it was against human nature.

Being critical of the existing political institutions for their failure in protecting the freedom of the individual, Roy proposed his own theory of democracy called "Organised Democracy", based on the principle of decentralization. The salient features of his "Organised Democracy" are: 1) The establishment of Partyless Democratic Organisation of the Society; and 2) The acknowledgement that power rests with the people in the real sense of the word. The prerequisites for such an establishment are that (i) people should be educated and made to realise their sense of responsibility, that (ii) people should have high moral character, (iii) that the power should be vested only in the hands of those who have established their integrity and high standards of intelligence, and (iv) that it should be a perfect elective democracy. Since such qualitatively better people have not so far been available, in the initial stages there will be both elective and selective elements in the choosing of the representatives. It was on this basic presumption Roy had prepared a model Constitution for India which was to be a model reflecting his concept of "organised democracy". In such a democracy ultimate power rests with the people. It would be a decentralised democracy in the sense that there will be people's organisations at various levels ultimately establishing a Supreme Peoples Council at the centre. These bodies are elected by the people through adult franchise. The method of proportional representation has to be followed with provisions for referendum and recall. The system is organised on a federal basis. Roy recommended a system of planned and cooperative economic system in his organised democracy where there will be no exploitation of the poor and everything is controlled by the people.

Though there is scientific basis and rationality for his political ideas of planned development it has been criticised that there is a bit of idealism in his scheme of ideas.

24.4 MOHD. IQBAL

24.4.1 i) His life and works

Sir Mohammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot in 1873. He got his early education in his home town. After completing his higher education by securing his M.A. Degree in Philosophy he joined the profession of teaching as a lecturer. In 1905 he left for England for his higher studies at Cambridge and Munich and got his Ph.D and has also called to the Bar (Bar-in-law). In 1922 the British Government conferred Knighthood on him. In 1925 he became a member of the Punjab Legislative Council. In 1930 he was elected President of the Muslim League. He was nominated to attend the Second and Third Round Table Conferences held in England with a view to solving the differences and the deadlock between the two major communities in India. He died in Lahore in 1938. He was deeply influenced by the ideas of Jalaluddin Rumi of the 13th Century. His attempt as a thinker was to reconstruct Muslim religious thought, and he was considered an Islamic Revivalist.

The stress and strain of the Hindu-Muslim differences left their indelible mark on the thinking of Sir Iqbal. The poet-philosopher who wrote "Sarejahan se Acha Hindustan Hamara" with all the romantic zeal of a nationalist in his early stages became an advocate of Pan-Islamism as against nationalism in the later part of his life.

Sir Iqbal was a very powerful orator and writer. He was one of the greatest poets which India produced at a time when the whole nation was engaged in a fight against the oppressive British rule in India. Some have placed him only after Rabindranath Tagore as a poet of national significance. His book, **Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam** was a compilation of his lectures. He wrote several articles for various journals. A comprehensive idea about his thought can be had from B.A. Dar's **A Study of Iqbal's Philosophy**.

24.4.2 ii) Iqbal as a Social and Political Thinker

Iqbal was a great literary figure. He earned fame as a poet and was internationally known. His writings bear a testimony to his staunch patriotism and nationalism. He cherished fine romantic sentiments coupled with patriotic nationalism as long as he was a writer and poet in the first phase of his life. However, with the passage of time he began to lean towards politics; or rather the circumstances forced him to join politics. It was natural for a man like Iqbal than to take of politics at a time when the whole nation was in political turmoil as it was fighting against the alien rule. Iqbal praised India, developed immense love for the land and her rich and dynamic cultural heritage. In his famous poem, 'Tiranai-Hindustan', he celebrates India and her past cultural heritage. But as time passed a qualitative change in his thinking occurred. His national political outlook was transformed into a religious one. He favoured a separate state for the Muslims. In his own words:

Self government within the British empire or without the
British empire, the formation of a consolidated North Western
Indian Muslim State appears to me to be final destiny of
the Muslims, at least of North West India.

Muslims in India were in a peculiar position. They were a big minority. It became hard for them to be integrated with the social and cultural life of the Hindus who were in a big majority. With the British policy of 'divide and rule' these issues had acquired added importance and the rift between the two peoples created by the colonial masters had widened. The attitude of the leadership of the Indian nationalist movement was also responsible for the widening gap between Hindus and Muslims. And Iqbal being a Muslim had realised his responsibilities and supported the cause of the Muslims. If they do not have a homeland of their own, Iqbal thought, they cannot prosper and develop their distinct culture. He, therefore, suggested that the Muslims of India should fight against the colonial rule with this object in view; and that they should know that without a separate Muslim state they would always remain under the control and domination of the Hindus.

Iqbal advocated "The setting up of the Consolidated North West Indian Muslim state" for the muslim population in India. This proposal was placed before the Nehru Committee in 1928 which rejected it. He was for the redistribution of the country on the basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities. In a letter to Jinnah, Iqbal stressed the need for it. Thus, he became the spiritual and ideological protagonist of the Pakistanist separatism.

Pan-Islamism

Over a period of time Iqbal had developed a passionate dislike for nationalism and repudiated the idea. The fact that the Muslims are living within certain territorial limits, Iqbal thought, is no reason for their having to be of the same nationality. If Muslims go on developing territorial affiliations, they shall never be in a position to develop the concept of Islamic fraternity, and bonds of Muslims brotherhood shall be considerably weakened.

To overcome this, Iqbal propounded a kind of "Islamic Internationalism" transcending the territorial nationalism. This has come to be known as "Pan-Islamism". According to him the Muslims all over the world were brotheren and as such form into an international state transcending that the territorial nationalism. He has even repudiated League of Nations as it supported indirectly the concept of Nation-State which is again territorial. His concept of Pan-Islamism is international in its outlook. Its basis was the belief that Islam was an international organisation. Muslims living in all parts of the world would thus unite in bonds of peculiar unity by virtue of their being Muslims. For Iqbal religion was a great unifying force and what had been achieved through secularism could be achieved through religious bonds. Thus in his opinion the only international organisation which could be practicable, lasting and desirable was the one based religion; in his own words :

When I realised that the conception of nationalism based on the differences of race and country was beginning to overshadow the world of Islam also and the Muslims were in danger of giving up Universality of their ideal in favour of narrow patriotism and false nationalism, I felt it my duty as a Muslim and as a well wisher of humanity to recall them back to their true role in the drama of human evolution.

However, Pan-Islamism as a concept never pleaded for a political centre for all Muslims of the world; it is only a humanitarian ideal, according to Iqbal. It does not recognise nationalistic barriers and geographical frontiers.

It is only in such a state everything without any distinctions between man and there could be justice, love and feeling of brotherhood.

His view of Pan-Islamism seems to imply religious politics. Like Gandhi, he believed that politics devoid of religion could hardly provide lasting solutions to human problems. Iqbal who was a nationalist in the initial phase of his life became a supporter of a theory of State and government which was based on religion. In a society fraught with materialism, the spiritual development of man, Iqbal believed, is possible only when religion is linked with politics. For him, secularism was a matter for the individual and it was the responsibility of the state and government to uplift man spiritually and morally. The aim or the end of the State must be the realisation of spiritual perfection and development of religious and moral life of the society. He condemned Machiavelli as a 'messenger of Satan' because he separated politics from ethics. According to him both nationalism and atheistic socialism, at least in the present state of human adjustment, must draw upon the physiological forces of hate, suspicion and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man and close up his hidden sources of spiritual energy.

He thought that neither of these ideas and techniques could cure the ills of the society. The modern world which needs a biological renewal according to him, can be found elsewhere; and that is religion and religion... can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of the modern science necessarily involves and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retain it hereafter.

Shariat is the expression of the sovereignty of God that governs, according to Iqbal, all the aspects and phases of human life, because Quran considers it necessary to unite religion and state, ethics and politics in a single revelation much in the same way as Plato does in the Republic. Thus Iqbal propounded the concept of a theocratic state.

24.5 SUMMING UP

Dr. Ambedkar is considered champion of the cause of the untouchables in Modern India. His contribution to the progress of his community which has been experiencing inequality and social oppression for hundreds of years is, in fact, laudable. There can hardly be any opposition

to his views about the degradation and humiliation imposed by Hindus of Higher castes on the untouchables. As V.P. Varma pointed out "Ambedkar will have a significant place because through his scholarly writings, speeches, leadership and constructive work, he made significant the awareness of the political, economic and social problems of the vast untouchable community whose members may be now more than eight crores".

It is felt that M.N.Roy's Radical Humanism was not something new. Many political thinkers in both the West and the East have championed the cause of individual freedom. Roy's idea of human freedom lies in freeing the human being from all kinds of bondages, which can hardly be a practical proposition. Both in India and abroad he joined every important organization but nowhere could he feel that he was free. He failed to adjust himself the organisational requirements of the bodies of which he was a member. And as a result, his philosophy did not get the requisite prominence, importance or popularity.

His idea of organised democracy is good but is not again without an element of idealism in it.

However, the impact of his thought was such that he had almost given a new orientation to Marxism and Humanism cherished even today by certain sections of the population in the country by organising themselves into "Royists" and "Radical Humanists".

Iqbal is held in high esteem for his liberty works in Urdu as well as Persian. He was one of the greatest Urdu poets of modern India. But his ideas on politics, society and metaphysics were not as profound or original as were held to be by some people. He made an attempt to interpret Koranic Tenets in the light of modern advancements in knowledge. The result was his Pan-Islamism and Islamism revivalism. His love of religion, especially Islam, has driven him to put forward the concept of a separate state for Muslims. According to some, "the ideology of Pakistan was conceived in its basic form in the speeches of Iqbal, and he can be considered the spiritual father of the ideology of Muslim separatism."

24.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

V.P. Verma : *Modern Indian Political Thought*

24.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.
- Examine Ambedkar's contribution to the development of Social and Political Ideas in Modern India.
 - Write an essay on M.N.Roy's Radical Humanism.
 - Discuss Iqbal's Pan-Islamism and its consequences.
- II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.
- What are the suggestions of Ambedkar for the emancipation of the Untouchable community in India?
 - Examine Roy's Ideas on human freedom and organised democracy.
 - Write a note of Iqbal's Pan-Islamism.

– Dr. B. VENKTESWARULU

UNIT-25 : SARVODAYA

Contents

- 25.0 Objectives
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 Meaning of Sarvodaya
- 25.3 Bhoodan Movement
- 25.4 Partyless Democracy
- 25.5 Gram Rajyam
- 25.6 Summing up
- 25.7 Suggested Readings
- 25.8 Model Examination Questions

25.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to explain the philosophy of Sarvodaya.

25.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we analyse the Philosophy of Sarvodaya.

25.2 MEANING OF SARVODAYA

The origin of Sarvodaya Philosophy can be traced back to John Ruskin's teaching in his book *Unto This Last*, and Tolstoy's "Bread Labour". Some components of the Sarvodaya ideology are based on Gandhian thought. The Karma yoga and Adhyatma yoga of the Gita. The saying, "In the sweat of the brow shalt thou eat thy bread" expresses what is implied in the Sarvodaya way of life.

Ruskin's work, *Unto This Last*, considers the welfare of all. The statement that 'The life of the labourer and the life of the tiller of the soil is the life worth living' expresses a cardinal truth of Ruskin's Philosophy. The truth concerns the Universality of objects, freedom of the individual and dignity of the individuality of the poor. These welfare doctrines have their origin in the memorable teachings of St. Matthew. Ruskin has indeed gone ahead of them to preach even the uplift of the Anthyodaya in which Sarvodaya attains maximum significance.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has given a new hope to humanity by reiterating the ancient principles of Sarvodaya and framing them in terms relevant to the modern world. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, the 'Walking Saint of India', preached the "will-to-good" to all through the exposition of his humanitarian ideals of Sarvodaya philosophy. Vinoba Bhave can be called a creative Prophet of Humanism of the East. He advocated the self cultivation of certain human values which gives man the desired courage and confidence to meet the challenges of society. Bhave's ideal has been 'perpetual peace'. Bhave initially preferred to lead a life of an ascetic, inspired by the Gandhian principles. He set out on a walking tour of rural India. Throughout his travel he stressed the need for the improvement of the economic condition of the masses.

25.3 BHOODAN MOVEMENT

In the year 1951, the people of Telangana rural areas were subjected to violent attacks by Razakars and counter attacks by the Communists which caused wide spread destruction in their attempt to solve the land problems through violent means. Reacting to this Bhave appeared on

the scene. He travelled through the trouble - ridden areas. During his brief stay at Pochampally village he tried to investigate the real cause of their discontent and their incessant needs. The Harijans who thronged to meet Vinoba told him that they badly required land, one acre each. Vinoba accosted the local landlords to give the required land to the poor as there was no government land. Immediately, one landlord stood up and offered 100 acres of land towards the betterment of the poor and executed the required deed then and there itself. This marked the birth of the Bhoodan movement which very soon spread like wild fire. It gradually spread to other parts of the country. Sarvodaya ideology is fast tending to practise distributive justice through its creative and noble mission of Bhoodan.

Sarvodaya is a social, economic, political, and spiritual philosophy. It emphasises the sacrosanct character of the human spirit, since its emphasis is on values of freedom, equality, justice and fraternity. It is opposed to the State machine and Statism, Gandhi was opposed to it. He pleaded for Swarajya. Swarajya, which is based on moral sovereignty of the people is a cardinal principle of Sarvodaya. The aim of Sarvodaya is to replace the politics of power by the politics co-operation.

25.4 PARTYLESS DEMOCRACY

Modern states are characterised by party politics. Powerful parties are dominating the electorate reducing the ideals of democracy such as 'Sovereignty of the electorate 'and' consent of the people' to mere myths. There is total absence of continuous dynamic political initiative from the masses. This sovereign exercise of the general will envisaged by Rousseau is not seen in modern democracies. There is a belief that people are free only during elections. But modern techniques of propaganda and the influence of mass are preventing the electorate from exercising their genuinely free choice. Even physical assaults are playing a role. So it is only a half-truth to say that people are free even during elections. When a party wins the elections by a majority vote and forms the Government it tends to ignore the will of the minority. Hence Sarvodaya is hostile to the mechanism of representation and party oligarchy. It advocates **Partyless democracy**. For the realisation of a partyless democracy there are four ways which may be followed. There are nearly six lakhs of villages in India. The inhabitants of the villages should nominate the workers through consensus, who would constitute the Panchayat. These workers would enjoy the confidence of the village people by virtue of their Bhoodan and Gramdan services. The same pattern is to be repeated at higher levels also. This would create a community spirit among the people. Members of the village Panchayat shall choose the members of the Thana Panchayat and the members of the Thana-Panchayat those of the District Panchayat. On the same principle the hierarchy of Central administration and District administration are to be created. This Institutional pattern would lead to the establishment of a partyless democracy.

Thus party politics and electoral mechanisms are replaced by community consensus. But nominations are indirect. This is the defect of the partyless democracy as envisaged by Sarvodaya. The individual villager is deprived of his political right to directly elect his leader.

The second way is to insist on non-participation in any election. However, since the partyless democracy is the final political outcome of Sarvodaya movement, a person can cast his vote till that stage is reached.

The third way is to invite various parties to cooperate in carrying out Sarvodaya work. In Vinoba's words, "they should cease as different parties and be combined to form a United front made up of all good and honest people in the country, carrying out commonly agreed programmes".

The fourth way is the neutralisation of party affinity the legislatures and in the Parliament. After entering these bodies the members of various parties should cease to identify themselves with their party and start functioning as representatives of the nation. They should not be guided

by the party but the party but by their own conscience. The ministers also should not be chosen on the party basis. Every member should submit a list of names in order of preference. The candidates securing the highest preference will form the ministry. However worthy the proposal may be, the workability of the proposal is questionable.

Power politics, no doubt, gives rise to partisanship and growth of factionalism. These are inevitable drawbacks of Democracy. Abolition of parties is not a solution. Although political parties can be regarded as the product of the seventeenth century political thought, political functionalism has been existing since the commencement of the state. The party mechanism has only been regulating that activity. Hence it would be unrealistic to think that by abolishing parties factionalism can be eliminated. As long as this continues to be the aim of the Sarvodaya philosophy it will remain only as an ideal.

The competitive struggle for power by various parties reduces the democracy to a farce. Decisions are made by a few individuals and the vast masses are persuaded to accept them. Hence democracy needs reform and radical transformation. Communism spells authoritarian rule over the people which denies them their freedom. Communism envisages the establishing of a proletariat dictatorship. But instead, it has created a gigantic State machine with an army and a bureaucracy. Hence under both the systems people have ceased to function as political entities for different reasons. Sarvodaya seeks to provide a corrective to it.

Decentralisation of power

Sarvodaya pleads for decentralisation of power. Gandhi was opposed to the concentration of power in any form. He pleaded for decentralisation of economic and political power. Unless a free, positive citizenship is created there cannot be any decentralisation of power. People should be trained to control and manage their own affairs. Local leaders should not behave as bosses but as workers serving the cause of their fellow citizens. The creation of Panchayats will not bring about decentralisation of power.

25.5 GRAMA RAJYAM

Sarvodaya firmly believes that the political power in the villages should be as far as possible be exercised by the people themselves directly. The meaningful goal of Gramraj can be realised with the genuine participation of the people at all levels—at the village and provincial levels. The central authority should function as a link and coordinate the administration of the Gramraj. The aim of Gramraj is the decentralisation of economic and political power which would contribute to a truly cooperative democracy. Sarvodaya rightly recognised the dangers involved in the functioning of the modern state in which its excessive authority threatens the autonomy and basic virtue of man. Sarvodaya has rejected both the Marxian conception of class conflicts and Modern parliamentary institutions. Both these systems are based on the centralisation of power converting the state into a power machine. Therefore, in keeping with the Gandhian tradition Sarvodaya aims at eliminating the distance between the government and the people. It aims at achieving a society in which the individuals will be active and conscious participants in all the activities connected with their life. The ideological contribution of Sarvodaya lies in its seeking to remove the contradictions between the authority of the state and the liberty of the individual. It gives primacy to direct participation rather than the authority of the state acquired indirectly.

Sarvodaya aims at elevating people. The people should become the focus of political attention. This means the replacement of 'rajnithi' by 'lokanihi'. The Sarvodaya movement is keen on the immediate implementation of methods to establish a non-violent cooperative democracy. 'Gramdan' is one such method through which every state and village would become a state transformed into 'gramraj'. Then alone "every village would become a state in miniature with all the departments efficiently functioning in the village itself". Sarvodaya emphasises the cultivation of real 'Janashakthi', the power of the people. 'Janashanthi', according to the exponents

of Sarvodaya is an antidote to 'Dandashakthi' or the power of coercive violence. Sarvodaya's ultimate aim is elimination of the state.

Certain political implications can be drawn from the philosophy of Sarvodaya. Since Sarvodaya aims at elevating all human beings in the state, it implies the repudiation of the class-struggle of the Marxist doctrine. It aims at bringing about the good of the entire community. Sarvodaya condemns the lust for power and wealth on the part of the individual. Hence it stresses the need for disinterested service. Service dedication and the realisation of the goal of common good are its principles. It does not recognise the existence of class struggle in a society. The philosophy of Sarvodaya pleads for Mass Moral revolution. This revolution aims at bringing about a change in one's outlook and values. The desire to accumulate has to give place to desire to share. Sarvodaya advocates a regime of absolute social and economic equality. Thus Sarvodaya opposed to the means of communism and not to the ideals of communism. Sarvodaya is profoundly related to ethics and beliefs in the use of the techniques of non-violence.

According to Sarvodayism, the concept of majoritarianism has to be replaced by the concept of consensus. It does not believe in numbers. On the other hand, it adheres to the Gandhian concept that the superficial numerical criteria of money and oligarchs have to be replaced by a fundamental Principle of devotion to the good of the community. There has to be discussions and debates through which mutual goodwill may emerge. Thus Sarvodaya aims at replacing the concept of majoritarianism by the concept of fundamental consensus.

Satyagraha was one of the cardinal principles of Gandhian thought. But Vinoba believes that Bhoodan itself is a Satyagraha. His belief in compromise does not rule out the utility of peaceful struggle. Gandhi's main struggle was against imperialism. The Sarvodaya movement, on the other hand, is aimed at the constructive rehabilitation of village life.

Sarvodaya is based on metaphysical idealism. It is also based on Gandhi's preachings. Gandhi stood for village commonwealth. Sarvodaya is a means to develop Gandhian ideas of decentralisation. The concept of people's democracy is an original contribution of Sarvodaya to the political thought.

Sarvodaya is the embodiment of some of the noble themes of Indian Culture. Sarvodaya seeks to translate into reality the Gandhian dream of Swarajya - the government of the individual over himself.

The Sarvodaya philosophy has supported the scheme of Panchayat Raj with vital modification and reservations, as it provides an intermediate supporting structure of participatory democracy. The Panchayat Raj scheme is an attempt to work out the maximum decentralisation of political power through democratic processes.

Sarvodaya is universal in scope. It pervades all aspects of society, economic, social, ethical, moral and religious. Sarvodaya considers both economic pursuits and moral gain as the basic ideals of man. It preaches a golden mean between rigid economic determinism and social realism. Sarvodaya emphasises that the community economy should not only be co-operative but also co-sharing.

Gandhi and Vinoba laid the foundation for a new science of economics by emphasising the human element. Economics of materialism has caused the automisation of society. The new economics is not based on mere material progress but a new status of liberation, an authentic individuality and a high sense of self-hood. Automisation leads to not only division in social existence but also a sort of disintegration of the social personality of man. Gandhian economics rooted in Swadeshi and Khaddher may offer a possible solution for it.

The modern economics of materialism, has created many ramifications in the normal price structure. The selfish motive of man is turned into his profit motive. As a result, he desires profit

at any cost. When there is a scarcity of the commodity or when there is a rise in its demand, there is a corresponding rise in its price while the production remains constant. One of the cardinal truths of Sarvodaya is "Aparigraha or non-possession." If this principle is followed then economic and social exploitation will cease. Then the hoarder can be expected to stop hoarding and controlling of the essential commodities. If the businessman tries to minimise the graded prices of the common essential commodities as far as his trade permits and maximise the standard prices of the uncommon luxury goods, he will contribute to the general social happiness. Such a situation can be created if the economic considerations are subject to humanitarian considerations.

The Sarvodaya Society is based on Shasana-vihinasamaj which pleads for 'sarva-dharma-samanatva'. If human laws of social obligation temper the rigid and deterministic laws of economics, the society, according to Sarvodaya, is bound to evolve some new values in human relations even in the sphere of business. The Shasana-vihina-samaj resembles in some respects the ideal state of Plato. The theory of the ideal state as in Plato, Republic proposes the abolition of monogamous marriage, family life and private property for two classes of people - the philosopher kings, the guardians of the state or soldiers, so as to enable them to devote all their time to the duties of the state. The only difference between them is that the former pleads for a conscious subjugation of the ruler to his state while the latter demands a total devotion of the individual to the cause of state protection.

In the Sarvodaya way of life, equal emphasis is laid on man and society. The individual's realisation is as much important as social evolution. Both the human ideal and the social ideal are viewed together. The basic human sympathy and the radical social reform go hand-in-hand in 'Sarvodaya Samaj'. The selfgood and the social good never exclude one another. The individual self is nothing but a reflection of the social self. In short, the entire society is humanistic, altruistic and organismic. Thus humanistic communitarianism is a golden mean between individualism and common collectivism. According to Shankaracharya, a gift is an equitable distribution, i.e. Dhanam-sama-vibhaga. 'Dan' is a dynamic concept in Sarvodaya. Both the giver and the receiver will have equal advantages in sharing the virtue.

The philosophy of man reveals several aspects of the existence of man. The human aspect of man considers man a separate entity. It studies both miseries and the excellencies of the species of man as a whole. The social aspect of man treats man as a unit of the society, the political view of man examines the role of man in a state etc., and the universal aspect of man views him as a collective identity. The total man or the whole man is the blend of all the above mentioned aspects of man. The wholeness of man represents the godness of man. The perfection of man implies his devotion to moral self, reason and spiritual conscience. Holiness will be a lasting mode of perfection of his spirit. Altruistic ideal is the ideal of total man. Sarvodaya always views the man in his wholeness.

According to Vinoba Bhave a self-sufficient village republic is based much upon the handwork of the villager. A proper blend of the conscious physical labour and thoughtful intellectual work alone can establish Gramaraj. Whether one is Lord or a Sanitor a Scavenger, he must put in hard work. This is the Manava-Dharma or rule of life for all mankind. There can be no exception to hard work.

There are some principles laid down by Sarvodaya to be strictly followed by the rulers of the states. The rulers must also develop chaste social and moral habits, inculcate in their subjects some genuine human qualities of honesty and integrity and faith in ahimsa. Sarvodaya believes that a ruler should be a Kanchana Muktha, one who is free from the slavery of money. Samagra-seva, the all round service to humanity is the ideal of Sarvodaya.

25.6 SUMMING UP

Apart from being a well-integrated social and moral philosophy. Sarvodaya represents a new movement towards life. It is a synthetic ideology and universal concept. Its communication outlook takes it to social universalism. Some of the doctrines of Sarvodaya are, however, superior to those of some of the significant social theories like Totalitarianism, Communism, Democratic Socialism and Parliamentary Democracy as they failed to achieve the desired goal of social integration. Sarvodaya leader, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, aimed at total human integration. Sarvodaya explores all human resources and employ them towards the achievement of greater integration and harmonisation. It is an all sided total integration "Samagra Samanvaya".

The broad based and all-comprehensive Sarvodaya Samaj provides a constructive plan for the workers of our country not only on the basis of man-made, self-evaluated paper plans, but on the basis of God given and self impelled divine plans based on human endeavour, social reason and spiritual ideal. The ultimate aim is universal Good. Sarvodaya is an embodiment of the total and integral well being of man in modern times.

25.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

V.P. Varma : *Modern Indian Political Thought*

25.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.
1. Explain the salient features of Sarvodaya.
 2. Estimate the contribution of Vinoba Bhave to Sarvodaya.
 3. Explain Sarvodaya.
- II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.
1. The social philosophy of Sarvodaya.
 2. Note on the economic views of Sarvodaya.
 3. Briefly note on Bhoodan Movement.

– Dr. T.S. MOHANA

UNIT-26 : SOCIALIST TRADITION IN MODERN INDIA

Contents

- 26.0 Objectives
- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Origins of the Socialist Movement
- 26.3 Socialist Tradition prior to Independence
- 26.4 Socialist Tradition in the Post-Independence period
- 26.5 Main Stream of Socialist thought in India
 - 26.5.1 Acharya Narendra Dev
 - 26.5.2 Jayaprakash Narayan
 - 26.5.3 Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia
- 26.6 Summing up
- 26.7 Suggested Readings
- 26.8 Model Examination Questions

26.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to trace the historical origins of the Socialist Movement and Thought in Modern India and to examine the place of Socialist tradition in the history of Social and Political Thought in India.

26.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we study the origin and growth of socialist Movement in India.

26.2 THE ORIGINS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

The Bihar Socialist Party founded in 1931 and the Bombay Socialist group was organised in 1934 had eventually merged into one when the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed in 1934 on an all India basis. Nerendra Dev, Jaya Prakash Narain, Achyuth Patwardhan, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Masani, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Purushotham Tricumda, Ganga Prasad Sinha, Yusuf Meharally and Ashok Mehta were responsible for the organization of the C.S.P. The first All India Conference of the Socialists was held in Patna on May 17, 1934 Under the charimanship of Acharya Narendra Dev.

One of the reasons for organising the Socialist group inside the Congress by youngmen like J.P was their distrust of the Gandhian methods which lacked militancy and radicalism. Gandhi's faith in the creed of non-violence, his defence of Zamindari system, and his theory of trusteeship did not appeal to these men who were drawn to the programmes of the Soviet Union. The Congress ideology was, according to them, dominated by bourgeois ambitions. According to the Socialists, the need of the hour was to attract all classes of population in general and peasants and workers in particular into the organization. But these Socialists preferred to form a separate group within the Congress instead of starting a separate party.

From 1931 to 1948 when the Congress party forbade all inner party groupings within the organisation, the CSP was very much a part of the Indian National Congress. In 1948 the Socialists left the Congress and formed a separate party called the Socialist Party of India. The Krishak Mazdur Praja Party led by J.B.Kripalani and the Socialist Party merged into one in 1952.

Thus the origins of the Socialist Movement in India (as distinguished from the Communist Movement) could be traced back to the establishment of the CSP in 1934.

26.3 SOCIALIST TRADITION PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE

Though the Socialists had set as their goal the achieving of a Socialist society in the country, they were realistic enough to realise that the achieving of such a goal would be impossible so long as the country was under the foreign yoke. So they declared that the need of the hour was to "give a positively directed nationalism a social content". It is obvious that the ideology of the Socialists was different from that of the Communist Party of India whose ideology was anti-imperialist, and whose task was the liquidation of capitalism. The intentions of the Socialists in starting the Socialist Group within the Congress had been to broaden the social base of the Party by including the masses of the people-peasants and the workers. To defend the rights of the masses and to make them aware of important functions of their party, the CSP was formed. It declared the following as its objectives.

- 1) Transfer of the power to the masses (the Producers);
- 2) Planned economy controlled by the State;
- 3) Socialisation of key and principal industries;
- 4) Foreign trade under the monopoly of the State;
- 5) Organising cooperation in production, distribution and credit sectors;
- 6) Elimination of Princes, Zamindars without compensation and redistribution of land to the peasants and encouragement of cooperative and collective farming;
- 7) recognition of the right to work;
- 8) distribution of production on the basis of "each according to his needs and from every one according to his capacity";
- 9) Adult franchise on functional basis;
- 10) No discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, sex or community by the State.

The objectives no doubt smack of Marxism because of the fact that many of the founders of the movement were admirers of Marxism and the Russian Revolution. Narendra Deva and Jaya Prakash Narain were Marxists and believed in class-struggle and insurrectionary methods as against the Gandhian methods of the Congress. However, they stayed with the Congress party because of the importance of achieving national freedom. Being a heterogeneous body unlike the Communist party there was no ideological unity among the Socialists. There were among these staunch Marxists, Liberals and Gandhian Socialists. The movement was schisms in the party because of the presence of other streams of thought in it. Further even those Marxists in the movement developed a kind of distrust towards the Communist Party of India which they thought, owed allegiance to Moscow. Marxists like Jaya Prakash Narain were interested in developing Socialism along truly Indian lines in harmony with Indian's past culture and heritage. For this purpose, the Socialists instead of joining the Communist party decided to redefine the objectives of the Congress Party in the light of Marxian Socialism. But when they realised the incompatibility of their Marxism and the Congress's Gandhism, they decided to part company with the Congress and organise an independent party in 1948.

So long as they were within the Congress, they played the role of a very strong pressure group and were successful in pressurising the Congress in accepting its programmes of agrarian reform. As against the wishes of the Congress and Gandhiji the CSP adopted a militant anti-war policy at the time of World War II. Jayaprakash Narain had even organised a rebellion for which he was jailed in Hazaribagh.

However, he escaped from the jail and was at large free until October, 1943. The Socialists demonstrated their lack of faith in the Gandhian principle of non-violence by openly espousing violence. When the Cabinet Missions came to India, the Socialists openly expressed their resentment because they believed that it was in no way interested in conceding full independence to India. They opposed the Constituent Assembly and the Mountbatten Plan for the Partition of the country.

As against the policy and programme of the Congress with regard to the economy of the country, the Socialists favoured confiscation of the property of the princes and Zamindars, nationalization of all key industries and ultimately the establishment of a Socialist state after winning independence. The differences between the Congress and the CSP reached a breaking point when the CSP contested the Bombay Municipal elections independently of the congress. The attempts of the Socialists to gain some prominent position in the organisation of the Congress proved unsuccessful. Ultimately, in 1948 the Congress amended its Constitution debarring the Socialists from the organisation, resulting in the Socialist group forming its own party the Socialist party of India.

The original idea of Jaya Prakash Narain was to form a single united Socialist party consisting of the three main streams of socialist thought prevailing at that time, namely Roylist, the Communists and the Socialists. Royists began to criticise the Socialists no sooner than they joined the party and the Communists as the Socialist group later realised had joined them only to infiltrate the Congress to meet their own ends. All these futile efforts for achieving "socialist unity" frustrated the CSP and one of its members, Purushotham Trikambas, even said that "It was a bad dream; let us forget it and get on with the task".

Check Your Progress - I

Name a few prominent Socialists of India.

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26.4 SOCIALIST TRADITION IN POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

After the dissolution of the C.S.P, the socialists formed their own party. However, the parting with the Congress had considerably weakened the Socialists. Some of its members remained in the Congress and some others joined the Communist party. The Socialists changed their stance from socialism to democratic socialism and allowed whosoever agreed with to join their party. However, the Socialist party had decided to develop itself into an alternative to the Congress. Its attitude towards the Congress had not changed.

The party contested the elections in 1950, 51 and 52. In its election manifesto entitled **We Build Socialism**, the party criticised the Congress and proposed the improvement of land, abolition of Zamindari, the return of land to the tiller and nationalization of key industries. Further, it declared that;

The Socialist Party desires the people to understand that no piecemeal solution of the problem is possible; and even their essential needs cannot be fulfilled unless basic structural changes are made in the social and economic organisation. We wish further to warn the people against promises of plenty without the surgery of social revolution. Let any one understand that as long as the existing social order based on exploitation, inequality and privilege lasts, poverty cannot be banished nor that psychological climate created in which nations are made.

Ironically the party faced the worst electoral disasters in spite of their electoral alliances with nearly half a dozen political parties. The defeat, the socialists thought, was the result of the intention of separate identities of the political parties forming the alliances and decided to overcome this problem. Jaya Prakash Narain gave a call to all the democratic minded people to form a United Party. As a result, a new party was formed which came to be known as Praja Socialist Party. The idea behind the formation of the party was to attract progressive minds towards the party cutting across the political parties and thus leaving only conservatives to join the Congress. But the Socialists were not successful in carrying out their plans. Along with Progressive dissident Congressmen with Gandhian leanings joined the party which later led to dissensions in the party.

Further, even those Socialists with strong Marxist leanings such as Jaya Prakash, began to develop connections with the Gandhite Bhoodan Movement with a view to arriving at a synthesis of Marxism and Gandhism. Ram Manohar Lohia's socialists thought was leaned with Gandhian thought. On the question relating to cooperation with the Congress again there were sharp differences among the leaders of the P.S.P Jaya Prakash Narayan and Ashok Mehta favoured cooperation where as Narendra Dev, Kriplani and Lohia opposed it. The Congress accepted the peoples proposal for cooperation and was not prepared to commit itself to any socialist programme although it agreed with its goal of socialism. This attitude of the Congress was not liked by the P.S.P and the question of cooperation was dropped.

But when the Congress had adopted a socialistic pattern of society in 1955 at Avadi session, the P.S.P was divided on the question of leading support and opposition to the Avadi resolution whereas Lohia and Madhu Limaye opposed it by calling the former "collaborativists" and that socialism "Paralysed Socialism". The P.S.P's Executive expelled Limaye and Lohia for thier anti-party activities. Lohia and his followers met on the 28th of December, 1955 and announced the formation of a new party, known as the Socialist Party of India.

There was hardly any difference between the ideologies of the P.S.P and the Socialist Party of India except for the latter's 7 year expansion programme. When Ashok Mehta later accepted the position of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission offered by the Congress Government, the P.S.P removed him from the party. After the exist of Ashok Mehta, Lohia and his followers joined the P.S.P. The argument that the differences arose within the P.S.P purely on personal grounds is not, however, tenable because of the fact that the two groups had differences of opinions on the issue of cooperation with the Congress, if not on serious ideological grounds.

It may be noted that from 1956 to 1964 the two parties functioned separately and the attempts made to unite the two parties succeeded only when Ashok Mehta left the P.S.P to join the Planning Commission as its Deputy Chariman. The two parties came closer to each other and formed a United Samyukta Socialist Party. As many members did not join the newly formed party from either of the groups, the two parties, retained their separate identities. Thus between 1957 and 1962 the Socialists were a divided house which weakened the movement. Their condition was traced to the following causes:

The Socialists were not to be blamed for lack of ideas. The root of their policy problems lay much deeper. It was fundamentally that, between Congress turning Socialist and Communist turning respectable (with the visits of Bulganin and Kruschev.) they were left with scarcely any room to stand. As against Congress socialism and Communist Socialism, they had the task of propagating Socialist Socialism. It was hardly surprising that a largely illiterate electorate had some difficulty in grasping these nuances. The electorate for or against the Congress - If they wanted to register opposition from the Right, there were the Jansangh and kindred parties. If they wanted to register opposition from the left, they turned more readily to the Communist than to the socialists. (Saul Rose, *Socialism in Southern Asia*).

Both the Socialist parties faced electoral disasters between 1957 and 1964. And after 1964 the Socialist movement in India split into three groups. Jaya Prakash Narayan joined Vinoba Bhave and his Bhoodan Movement. Lohia started his own party. The former believed in socialism, democracy an decentralisation and the means for good ends. Lohia cosidered both Marxism and Gandhism to be curiously anaemic doctrines'. It had been the strong contention of Lohia and his group that the Indian socialists should maintain their identity as against both the Congress and the Communist party. The third group was a rump of the P.S.P which believed in synthetic view of both Gandhism and Marxism, whatever it might mean.

One of the important causes for the failure of the socialist movement in India appears to be that the population of India is highly religious in their outlook and that unless politics is merged with religion it would be a difficult task to win their support. Gandhi did it and the significance of Gandhi's nation- wide constructive programme swept all other ideologies. But the socialists were blind to this Indian reality and organised their movement along secular and scientific lines which lacked the spiritual touch. Jaya Prakash Narayan, it appears, realised this mistake later when he commented on their programme as "an immature and mistaken view" of Indian reality. The Socialist mistaken belief that supporting Congress policies is against their revolutionary ideology has also been another cause for their failure. Further there were dissensions in their movement, wich was detrimental to inner party solidarity. It became difficult for the party to combine three distinct ideologies, Marxism, Gandhism and Democratic Socialism into one. Increasing respectability of the Communist party and acceptance of socialist ideology by the Congress have taken away the wind out of their sails. Withdrawl of important members of the Socialist movement from active politics was another reason for their weak performance in the later period.

26.5 MAIN STREAMS OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT IN INDIA

Acharya Narendra Dev, Jaya Prakash Narayan and Dr. Ramamanohar Lohia are the three leaders who are considered to be the doyens of Socialist movement in India. The entire movement was more or less organised on the principles and political ideas developed by them. They occupied a place of prominence in the history of socialist thought in Modern India in the order mentioned above.

26.5.1 Acharya Narendra Dev

Acharya Narendra Dev was born in the year 1899. He was a lawyer and gave up his practice to take part in the Non-cooperation movement in response to the call given by Mahatma Gandhi. He served the Kashi Vidyapith in the capacity of a teacher and later rose to the position of its principal. He was one of the very popular Vice-Chancellors of Lucknow University. He was a great orator and a scholar who knew many languages. He was the First President of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 and was its Chairman for a number of years. He was one of the greatest Marxists Scholars in India. He died in the year 1956.

The ideal of a classless society in which poverty, ignorance and exploitation would be completely absent had been its political ideal and he lived for this ideal. However, he did not understand Marxism as a dogma. For him, true Marxism did not make a person dogmatic and sectarian. The Marxist would have the capacity to adopt the dialectical method in accordance with the changing circumstances of the times. It was on these grounds he had supported the idea of continued association of the Socialist with the Congress. To quote him, Capitalist democracy is any day preferable to serfdom and subjection to foreign rule. And he will be short-sighted and a very narrow socialist who will refuse to take part in the national struggle which is being principally conducted by petty bourgeois elements of society, although he will make ceaseless efforts to give it a socialist direction. In the peculiar conditions of India, the Socialists can very well work within the Congress and combine the national struggle with socialism.

He did not agree with the argument that their theory of class war was impairing national unity.

He believed that the Congress was not a broad-based organisation. Masses of peasantry and workers were excluded from it. Further, these sections, have not developed any class-consciousness like the landlords and capitalists who utilise every opportunity to enhance their position. By creating the class-consciousness among the peasantry and workers and thereby making them more powerful, their strength would be harnessed for the national cause. The abstract ideas of the Congress have no meaning for the masses.

It has been Narendra Dev's idea throughout his life to establish a linkage between the peasantry and the working classes of the country and the Congress. To the argument that the situation in India was not ripe for revolution because of its agrarian and backward characteristics, Narendra Dev's answer was that under the economic imperialism there was no country which was left free. All the countries were only serving as links. People were exploited everywhere and India was no exception and there was every chance of bringing about revolution in India, he argued, provided that they were politically educated by teaching them the value of scientific socialism. According to him, nothing short of "a revolutionary transformation of the existing social order can meet the needs of the situation. We should try to build up a disciplined party which knows what it wants and how it can get what it wants, which does not only know how to destroy but also to construct. Without a clear conception of the objective and methods - success is impossible".

Narendra Dev did not believe in the Gandhian principles and programme. Nor did he believe in the constitutionalism of the Congress type. In his presidential address to the C.S.P. in 1964 he declared :

Equipped with a socialist ideology and immersed in the work of making the masses economically conscious and politically organised, we can, with confidence look forward to the future and hope in the fulness of time to lead the organised masses of India to freedom and full manhood. The next revolutionary wave will be much bigger and mightier.

Narendra Dev had encouraged the formation of Kisan Sabhas. He conceived an agrarian programme for socialist reconstruction through the medium of cooperative societies, which include cooperative production, exchange and consumption. As regards the working class, he stressed the importance of economic demands and the efficacy of general strike which should form part of the national struggle.

26.5.2 Jayaprakash Narayan

Jayaprakash Naryan has a place of high esteem among the public men of India. When the Non-Cooperation Movement was started by Gandhi, J.P. gave up his studies and joined the movement. He went to the U.S.A. for higher studies where he experienced great hardship. There he saw grinding poverty in the midst of affluence. In order to earn enough money for his studies he worked as a hotel waiter, as a farm labourer, and as a worker in a factory. It was in the U.S.A., that he developed his socialist leanings. He gave up his studies in Physical sciences and took up Social Sciences. He read Marx and became an ardent Marxist. However, he did not join the Communist party after his return to India. Instead, he joined the Indian National Congress and served as a Secretary of the Labour Research Department of the AICC. He took an active part in Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement by organising underground activity. When he came to know that the Communist Party was functioning under instructions from Moscow he was shocked and emphasised the need for organising the Socialist movement in India excluding the Communist Party. But this did not in any way influence his belief in Marxism. In fact, he has asserted in his book, *Why Socialism*, categorically that there can be one and only one theory of socialism, which is Marxism. J.P. appears as a staunch Marxist in this book.

According to him, socialism is not a code of personal conduct but a system of social organisation; and the aim of such an organisation is to eliminate inequalities - inequality of rank, of culture, of opportunity; unequal distribution of the good things of the life. While poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance has been the lot of the majority, comfort, luxury, culture, position, power are enjoyed by the select few. The problem before the socialists, according to J.P., is to root out this glaring evil.

As a true Marxist he did not believe in natural inequalities of men which was one to the fact that a select few had been controlling the means of production to the exclusion of the majority. If the means of production are made available to all, there would be no poverty. This means the ending of the present system which is exploitative. He believed that the remedy for poverty and exploitation lay in the socialisation of means of production which had to be followed by the nationalisation of key industries including banking. For the purpose of achieving such a goal what is required is state power which may be possible either through revolution or presence of the majority to adopt their view point.

Since India was not independent what was required immediately was not socialism but independence. The CSP founded with the dual purpose of winning national freedom and reorganising the economic life of the society on a socialist basis. He criticised the economic programme of the Congress only on these grounds. According to him, "it (the economic programme of the congress) might ameliorate the conditions of the masses to a certain extent, but it will neither rid them of exploitation nor put them in power". He added:

Far from effecting revolutionary changes in it; it leaves the economic structure of the society intact. It leaves landlords, capitalists and prices on the one side and the workers, tenants and subjects on the other. It leaves the means of production in the private hands, except in the sphere of key industries. The entire economic organisation, based as it is on the exploitation of the poor and middle classes, is preserved.

If the aim is to make the masses economically free and to give them unfettered opportunity for development, the people must strive for the establishment of socialism in the country.

Another important aspect of J.P.'s socialism is the equation of means and ends. Means, to him are as important as ends. To quote him.

.... I for one have come to believe that for the achievement of socialism a strict regard for means is one of the highest importance. Socialism means different things for different persons, but if by socialism we mean a form of society in which the material needs of every individual are satisfied and also in which the individual is a cultural and civilised being, is free and brave, kind and generous, then I am absolutely clear that we will never reach this goal except by strict adherence to certain human value and standards of conduct.

Such an equation of ends means in the politics of M.K.Gandhi has appealed to him. Unless the moral and spiritual qualities of the people are appropriate, he argued, the best of constitutions and political systems will not make democracy work. The moral qualities and mental attitudes most needed for democracy, according to J.P., are; 1) concern for truth; 2) aversion to violence; 3) love of liberty and courage to resist oppression and tyranny; 4) spirit of cooperation; 5) preparedness to adjust self interest to the larger interest; 6) respect for other's opinions and tolerance; 7) readiness to take responsibility; 8) faith in the educability of human nature; 9) belief in the fundamental equality of man.

He felt that the values of socialism are not opposed to the values cherished in Indian culture.

In the last phase of his life J.P. joined Vinoba Bhave and his Bhoodan Movement and remained a staunch supporter of his Sarvodaya movement. In conclusion, we may say that J.P. is the most well known personality in the field of Indian Socialism. J.P. along with Narendra Dev

tried to orient the Socialist ideology to the emancipation of the masses from imperialist political domination and native feudal hold.

Check Your Progress - II

What is J.P.'s contribution to Indian Politics?

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26.5.3 Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia

Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia (1910-1967) made a significant contribution to the development of Socialist thought in India. He was a staunch supporter of the idea of socialists standing apart from both the Congress and the Communist party. He was for increased incorporation of Gandhian ideas in the socialist thought. When there were differences on the issue of firing in Travancore- Cochin, Lohia resigned from the P.S.P and in 1955 founded Socialist Party of India and became its first Chairman. Lohia had been a staunch critic of Nehru's politics and did not subscribe to the policy of Non-alignment.

In an essay written in 1956 Lohia envisaged an integrated equality comprising equanimity, kinship and material equality within the nation and among the nations. To quote him :

Equality is found to be inward and outward as well as spiritual and material. Equality must therefore, be grasped in all its four meanings. Material equality must mean the outward approximation among nations as well as the inward approximation within the nation. Spiritual equality must mean outward kinship as much as it means inward equanimity. Only an integrated concept of these four meanings of equanimity, kinship material equality within the nation and among the nations is worthy to become a supreme aim of life and its purpose.

Lohia in his Presidential Address to the Special Convention of the Socialist Party held in May 1952 made an attempt to give a doctrinal base to Socialism independent of those of Communism and Capitalist democracy, with special reference to the conditions in the economically under-developed areas of the world. He expressed doubts about the use of force in politics. "Some socialist", he said, "believe that ultimate overthrow of the existing order cannot be carried out except by force. This debate has proved harmful to the progress of the Socialist doctrine and movement. Whether force is ultimately used or not is a secondary question and the primary issue is whether to organise the people's will on basis of peaceful struggles or otherwise".

He criticised Capitalism for its vagaries. According to him "Capitalism imposed the peace of death on Asia and elsewhere, caused their population to grow and their economic apparatus to decay. While growth in population and in means of production proceeded alongside among white or pink peoples, the more coloured people suffered a loss in arts and crafts together with an increase in population.

He was equally critical of the theory of Communism. According to him, Communism, "in the process... brings into being a centralised party... and a centralised state... In order to release the forces of production and to develop them. To it the morality of stateless society is in no contradiction with the immorality of a dictatorial party and state". Further, he characterised Communist rationalism of this kind of immorality as a hot house nurturing the productive forces....except through mass murder unknown to history".

In his book *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*, he explains his position as a socialist. Though considerably influenced by both Marx and Gandhi, he never was an ardent Marxist as J.P. was at one stage, and also never became a Gandhite like him. He accepted Marx's criticism of the institution of private property but did not agree with his theory of class war; he characterised it as "inadequate and substantially wrong." He used to nurture a belief that Lenin and Russians distorted Marxism. To attempt to achieve Socialism through Communism, according to him, is like to try to achieve "victory of truth through falsehood, of health through murder, of one world through the sacrifice of national freedom, and of democracy through dictatorship".

The best method of achieving Socialism, according to him, is to adopt Gandhian technique of Satyagraha and complete decentralisation in economic and political spheres. Socialism can absorb the essence of Gandhism and thereby acquire integral character and become dynamic. Neither Communism nor Gandhism can achieve anything separately.

Check Your Progress - III

According to Lohia, what was the best method of achieving socialism in India.

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26.6 SUMMING UP

In conclusion, we may say that the Socialist movement in India is quite different from its counterparts in other parts of the world. This is so because of the fact that Gandhi became a towering personality at a time when socialism was sprouting in the Indian soil. The influence of Gandhi was so enormous that important socialist leaders like J.P., Lohia and others were almost under the spell of Gandhian ideas of non-violence and Satyagraha. It is this fact that had prevented the Socialist Movement from assuming a militant form. With Communism acquiring respectability and Congress adopting the idea of socialistic pattern of society, the Socialist parties and socialist movement were not able to make much head way politically. Further, all the leaders of the Movement being nationalists to the core gave priority to the struggle for national freedom. It is these factors which are responsible for the decline of the Movement.

26.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

V.P.Varma : *Modern Indian Political Thought*

26.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Discuss the origin and development of the Socialist Movement in India.
2. What features of socialism have been expounded by the Indian Socialist?
3. Explain the Socialist ideas of Acharya Narendra Dev.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. What are the ideals of the Congress Socialist party?
2. Examine the socialist ideas of Jayaprakash Narain.
3. What are the causes for the decline of the Socialist? movement?

- Dr. B. VENKATESHWARLU

UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMME

POLITICAL SCIENCE

SYLLABUS

BLOCK I : INTRODUCTION

Unit 1 : Introduction to Political Thought

BLOCK II : ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 2 : Characteristics of Ancient Greek Political Thought

Unit 3 : Plato

Unit 4 : Aristotle

Unit 5 : Features of Roman Political Thought

Unit 6 : Characteristics of Christian & Medieval Political Thought

BLOCK III : ORIENTAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 7 : Characteristics of Indian Political Thought

Unit 8 : Political Ideas of Manu & Kautilya

Unit 9 : Buddhist Political Traditions

BLOCK IV : MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 10 : Machiavelli

Unit 11 : Hobbes

Unit 12 : Locke

Unit 13 : Rousseau

Unit 14 : Utilitarian and Liberal Democratic Theory

Unit 15 : Idealist Theory - Hegel & Green

BLOCK V : SOCIALIST POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 16 : Early Socialists : Owen, St. Simon

Unit 17 : Marx & Engels

Unit 18 : Lenin

Unit 19 : Mao

Unit 20 : Democratic Socialism

Unit 21 : Anarchism, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism

BLOCK VI : MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Unit 22 : Gandhian Political Thought

Unit 23 : Political Ideas of Nehru

Unit 24 : Political Ideas of Ambedkar, M.N. Roy, Md. Iqbal

Unit 25 : Sarvodaya and Bhoodan Movement

Unit 26 : Socialist Tradition in Modern India

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences - Volume 11 & 12
2. Ernest Barker - Greek Political Theory : Plato and his predecessors
3. Earnest Barker - The Politics of Aristotle
4. R.C. Gettel - A History of Political Thought
5. G.H. Sabine - A History of Political Theory
6. D.J. Allan - The Philosophy of Aristotle
7. Jonathan Barnes - Aristotle
8. Donald Atwell Toli - Twentieth Century Political Philosophy
9. Mulford Sibley - Political Ideals and Ideologies - A History of Political Thought
10. U.N. Ghoshal - A History of Indian Political Ideas
11. J.G. Jennings - The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha
12. U.N. Ghoshal - History of Hindu Political Theories
13. T.W. Rhys Davis - Buddhist India
14. Andrew, Hacker - Political Theory
15. W.A. Dunning - A History of Political Theories
16. Great Political Thinkers - R.C. Gupta
17. A.S. Altekar - State & Government in Ancient India
18. C.L. Wayper - Political philosophies
19. C.C. Maxey - Political Philosophies
20. D.R. Bhandari - History of European Political Thought
21. Beni Prasad - Theory of Government in Ancient India
22. International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences
23. W.T. Jones - Masters of Political Thought
24. V. Venkata Rao - A History of Political Thought
25. J.P. Suda - A History of Political Thought
26. R.P. Sharma - Modern Western Political Thought
27. Tarachand - History of the Freedom Movement in India
28. RC Mazumdar - Struggle for Freedom
29. RC Mazumdar - History of Freedom Movement
30. Bipin Chandra - Modern India
31. Raghavan Iyer - The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi
32. Duncun - Writings of Gandhi
33. Donald E Smith - Nehru and Democracy
34. MN Roy - Beyond Communism
35. Tarkunde VM - Radical Humanism
36. Ambedkar BR - The Untouchables
37. Bhagavandas - Thus spoke Ambedkar
38. Appadorai A - Documents on Political Thought in Modern India
39. Varma VP - Modern Indian Political Thought
40. Suda JP - Main currents of Social and Political Thought in Modern India
41. Mohan Ram - Communism in India

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE III : POLITICAL THOUGHT

ASSIGNMENT - 1

Note

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference
 4. Use your own fullscape pages for writing the assignment
 5. Leave sufficient margine for the comments of the evaluators
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour's time.
-

Part - A

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Discuss the importance of the study of political thought.
2. Analyse the features of Greek political thought in detail.
3. Trace the origins and growth of papacy.

Part - B

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each.

1. "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains" comment.
2. What are Hegel's views on state?
3. Explain Kautilya's sapthanga theory.

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UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE III : POLITICAL THOUGHT

ASSIGNMENT - 2

Note

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference
 4. Use your own fullsize pages for writing the assignment
 5. Leave sufficient margine for the comments of the evaluators
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour's time.
-

Part - A

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.**
1. "Hobbes is an individualist" Discuss.
 2. What are the qualities of "Prince" suggested by Machiavelli.
 3. Discuss Iqbal's Pan-Islamism and its consequences.

Part - B

- II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each.**
1. The social philosophy of Sarvodaya.
 2. Examine Lacke's views on law Nature.
 3. Explain the Socialist Ideas of Saint Simon.

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UNDERGRADUATE COURSE - III YEAR

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE III : POLITICAL THOUGHT

ASSIGNMENT - 3

Note

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, give the correct reference
 4. Use your own fullsize pages for writing the assignment
 5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluators
 6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than 1 hour's time.
-

Part - A

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Explain the main features of Utopian socialism.
2. Explain the origin and development of the communist movement in India.
3. What are Bentham's views on utility?

Part - B

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each.

1. Write a note on Roy's Radical Humanism.
2. Cultural Revolution.
3. Explain briefly the concept of Danda.

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
THIRD YEAR (3 YEAR DEGREE COURSE) EXAMINATION
MODEL QUESTION PAPER
SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE
COURSE III : POLITICAL THOUGHT

Time : 3 Hours

Max Marks : 100

SECTION - A

I. Answer any four of the following eight questions in about 30 lines.

1. Examine Nehru's views on Democratic socialism.
2. Critically examine the philosophy of syndicalism.
3. Critically examine the philosophy of communism.
4. Critically examine the concept of Rousseau's General will.
5. Examine Hobbe's views on Sovereignty.
6. Explain Plato's concept of Justice as propounded in the Republic.
7. Examine Aristotle's theory of revolutions.
8. Explain the concept and role of Dharma.

SECTION - B

II. Answer any five of the following ten questions in about 15 lines each

1. Briefly mention the philosophic, scientific feature of political thought.
2. Explain the nature of Greek city state.
3. Mention about Aristotle's views on slavery.
4. Explain Roman theory of law.
5. Write a few lines about the concept of Danda.
6. Briefly discuss the features of Buddhist political thought.
7. Give an outline of the Anarchist theory of society.
8. What are the principles of peoples war.
9. Write a note on Lenin's theory of Imperialism.
10. Socialist Ideas about Ram Manohar Lohia.

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