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WESTERNPOLITICALTHOUGHT

SALIENT FEATURES OF PLATO'S IDEAL STATE

Plato's ideal state has following salient features:

Rule of Philosopher Kings: According to Plato, an ideal state must be administered by a philosopher king who should be a passionless person and seeker of truth and wisdom. He was above all types of preconceptions and symbol of human wisdom. By his actions, he commanded admiration from all. He should possess super or potentials of head and heart and could not be corrupted by concentration of Power in his hands. He combined in himself virtue and knowledge. He was bound by no laws. Such a king alone was in a position to look after the welfare of all.

Restriction of Art and Literature: Plato wanted to set some boundaries for the creation of art and literature. He did not mean to control the ideas and themes of the art and literature. Instead, he wished that no cheap, unpopular or immoral literature should come before the public. The art and literature of high moral standard should be given to the people of the state according to Plato.

Equal Treatment of Men and Women: In the ideal state of Plato, the personality of both genders, namely men and women should be well-designed by the philosopher King. Both men and women should be nurtured as valuable subjects of the ideal state by showing no difference or partiality, since they have been the determining factor of the state.

State Controlled Education: Another important feature discussed by Plato was Education. According to him, the education should be under the control of state only. In his opinion, education is the only medium which can produce the philosopher Kings and guide the minds and thoughts of people in the appropriate way of life. In the philosophy of Plato, education had two aspects such as social and individual. In society, education should promote social welfare while individually it should bring the soul closer to reality.

Specialised Soldiers: Safeguarding the country from the enemies and other invaders is also essential. This was well understood by Plato and he insisted the need to have the well-trained persons as an army to protect the state. He believed that the defense could be made by the ordinary people. Because of this, he suggested to have the specially trained personal for this cause.

Functional Specialisation: Another important thing affirmed by Plato was that a system of complete functional specialisation. Generally, the tasks allotted to various persons were mostly not suitable to their nature and taste. As the result, the outcome was not a perfect one. Hence, he wished to allot functions to the persons based on their specialised qualities and they should perform them properly by not going beyond what was assigned. Thus the king should rule and let soldiers fight alone on the battlefield. But he wished that everybody should be completely devoted to the task assigned to him and should try to attain perfection in that field.

Proper Administration of Justice: Here, Plato discussed about the field of Judiciary. As the department of justice is indispensable and inevitable part of any state, it was necessary to keep its various parts and individuals intact. Hence, it is a must to govern the justice. Plato's ideology of justice was entirely different from what it is today. He did not want to measure justice in terms of courts of law. Instead of thinking from a legal based conception, he saw that from a different perception. It was something in which there was functional specialization and everybody was required to remain within his limits. Under it, there was perfect harmony among various sections of society and none was to encroach

upon the rights of others. Therefore, the state would get a proper balance in justice.

Division of Classes: For various administrative purposes, Plato segregated his ideal state into three different sects. They were Rulers, Soldiers and Peasants and Artisans. Each division had its specific role to play. The function of the rulers was to administer the state properly. The duty of the soldiers was to safeguard the state and the task of the peasants and artisans was to struggle for the betterment of the economic conditions of the people living in it. Each division of the society was required to attain perfection in the particular job attached to it. According to him, it was only in class division that each class could give security, prosperity and proper administration to the people.

Qualified Absolutism: In the regular conditions, Plato had no idea to restrict the powers and authority of the philosopher King. According to him it was the virtue in action and could not be corrupted. In fact, a close study of the power and position of his philosopher king would reveal that he was Hobbes' Leviathan. But still he put certain checks on his authority. According to him, philosopher king should see that the fundamentals of the constitution were not violated and were always kept intact. It was required of him to preserve social order and honour natural laws to the extent possible.

Communism of Wives and Property: In the opinion of Plato, both the family and property are the corrupting forces of any person. If the ruler has a family, he would be in the need of earning for them and if he has willingness of possessing any property, that may also make him corrupt. Because of these responsibilities, the ruler could not deliver well his duties as the head of the state. So that, Plato suggested the Communism of wives and property. Without such a communism there was every possibility of their becoming corrupt and selfish.

Totalitarian Outlook: Plato's ideal state has totalitarian outlook. According to him, the public can only grow in the state and that was the only agency through which his personality could find fullest expression. The people can neither be above nor aside the state but an integral part of the state. Since the philosopher ruled the state and he was above individual or party considerations, there was no need to fear or think in terms of protecting one's interests. It should be left entirely to the state to look after the welfare of the individual.

Retention of Slavery: Plato believed that in the ideal state, it was essential, that the ruling class should have sufficient leisure, because without that the rulers shall not be in a position to devote their time for

the development of masses. It was, therefore, most essential that slavery should be retained and slaves should be given hard work so that the ruling classes could devote their time for leisure. In fact, for him slavery system was an integral part of his ideal state.

Bringing Up of Children: In the opinion of Plato, the children were the assets of the state and it was the duty and responsibility of the part of the nation to nurture them according to their skills and abilities. He added that, the children should be under the command of the government and the state should not only provide them proper education, nourishment and development but proper work as well.

PHILOSOPHER KING

Outcome of Proper Training: Rule of philosopher king was a noble idea. By this he meant that only those who had knowledge and proper training should rule and all others should be excluded from this category as they were incompetent to govern.

Necessity of Cultivated Mind: All do not have a cultivated mind to understand and follow the supreme and noble idea that 'virtue is knowledge'. Therefore those few who have this cultivated mind should only be trained as philosopher kings. In the words of Edward Zeller, "The Platonic state can only be an aristocracy of virtue and intellect exercised by one or few. A philosopher king is always seeker of truth. He knows everything by virtue of his knowledge. Because of that intellectual brilliance he has better capacity to judge the things than any other ordinary person. He can look after the interests of community better than those who are ignorant.

Identical Interest with the State: Since philosopher king is a perfect guardian and has rational character, he is selfless. He has no interests apart from the interests of the state. In other words, his interests and the interests of the state are always identical and cannot be separated from each other.

Product of Education: Plato's philosopher king is product of a regular system of education. This education lasts up to the age of 35. In fact the system is so, extensive and exhaustive that it continues for the whole life of the philosopher king.

An Absolute Rule: The rule of philosopher king is absolute. A philosopher king is not responsive to public opinion. He is more or less devoid of customary laws and conventions though it is expected of him that he should honour and respect them.

Flexibility in Rules: Rule of philosopher king is better than the 'rule of the law' because the latter is not very much flexible and cannot give the people what is due to them whereas rule of philosopher king is flexible and gives the people their due.

He has many Responsibilities: Philosopher king is supposed to check flow of property and wealth and maintain unity and self-sufficiency of state. He should also ensure that every citizen properly performs duties assigned to him and that they are responsible for maintaining and continuing the system of education.

PLATO'S THEORY OF COMMUNISM

There is a much greater difference between the communism of Plato and of the modern days. The communism of Plato only targets the higher class of the society. According to him, the Philosophers and the soldiers belong to that elite category. They people have the duty of administrating the state. They are the guardians of the country. The elements of reason and spirit are present in them. Their duty and role is to rule the state. So, they have the political power. Mean while, the economic power of the country is in the hands of the working class because, they only engage in the economic activities.

In the opinion of Plato, the political and economic powers should not be given to the same class and he opines that the aristocratic class should have no power over the economy of the state. Not only the economic power, they should not have private family life too. They should not have any personal belongings and properties also. Plato includes the lands and houses also in the list of properties. They should live in large halls or quarters offered to them. They should live like a community. Their foodstuff should be consumed from the commonmess. Their concentration should only be on the state's administration only. They have to get a fixed annual salary for the maintenance of their needs. To say simply, only the working class has the privilege of having family and property and not the upper class. He denies them to have a family and personal property only because they may pave way for the personal desires. This is Plato's idea of Communism.

CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

Plato's regarded Justice as the true principle of social life. The Republic therefore is called "a treatise concerning justice". It constitutes the most important part of his political philosophy. Incompetence and factionalism, unrighteousness and injustice and ignorance reigned supreme in his days.

So, Plato was keen to find out a solution to all these evils and in justice he found the remedy for curing these evils. Before reaching his conclusions and giving his own view of justice Plato reviews various theories of justice and rejects one by one.

VARIOUS THEORIES OF JUSTICE

There are three theories of Justice. They are

1. The Traditional Theory
2. The Radical Theory
3. The Pragmatic Theory.

This traditional theory of justice as propounded by Cephalus and Polemarchus was criticized by Plato. He rejects on the ground that there may be many cases in which to adhere to the letter of this formula may involve the violation of the spirit of right and this formula does not admit of being taken as a sound universal principle of life. It is not right to restore a deadly weapon to a man after he has gone mad.

The contention of Polemarchus was condemned by Plato on the ground that it was so easy to speak of giving good to a friend and evil to enemies. But what will happen in that case if the friend is only a friend in seeming and an enemy in reality? What should he do under these circumstances? Whether he should rigidly follow the definition and do him good, or may one use discretion, and do him evil? Moreover, to do evil to anybody, including one's enemies was inconsistent with the most elementary conception of morality.

To Plato Justice is a principle of social service by which each individual renders his service to the life of the society according to his own capacity.

THE RADICAL THEORY OF THRASYMACHUS

The Radical Theory of justice was propounded by Thrasymachus. He defines justice "as on the interest of the stronger". In other words might is right. The strongest is sure to get what he wants, and since the government is the strongest in a state it will try to get, whatever it wants for itself. As such justice is synonymous with what is expedient for the governors. But if justice consists in whatever is for the ruler's interest, it may further be defined as "another's good". To be just in this way is to be a means to the satisfaction of the ruler.

Plato rejects this theory also. According to him governing is an art. All art is for the sake of perfection of the material it handles and not for the sake of the artist. The ruler practices the art of government and should

rule not in their own interest but to bring about the improvement of the government in the interest of the governed. True justice is not for the interest of the stronger. According to Plato the just man is a wiser, stronger and happier man than the unjust.

THE PRAGMATIC THEORY OF GLAUCON

This theory regards justice as the 'interest of the weaker'. It is a child of fear. 'It is a mean or compromise among the best of all which is to suffer in justice without the power of retaliation'. Glaucon describes the historical evolution of society where justice as a necessity had become the shield of the weaker. In the primitive stage of society without law and government, man was free to do whatever he liked. Consequently the stronger few enjoyed life to do whatever he liked. Consequently the stronger few enjoyed life at the sufferance of the weaker many. The weaker, however realized that they suffered more injustice than they could inflict.

Faced with this situation they came to an agreement and instituted law and government through a sort of social contract whereas they preached the philosophy of just and legitimate action. It is through this artificial rule of justice and law that the natural selfishness of man is chained a dictate of the weaker many, for the interest of the weaker many, as against the natural and superior power of the stronger few. This theory is also rejected by Plato. According to Plato justice is not conventional or external. It is the right condition of the human soul and is something internal. It is found both in the state and the individual. It is natural and not artificial. It is not born of fear of the weak but of the longing of the human soul to do a duty according to its nature.

PLATO'S VIEW ON JUSTICE

After rejecting all previous theories of justice, Plato gives his own. Justice is the very foundation of Plato's political philosophy. Plato brings out his conception of justice by comparing the human organism with social organism.

According to Plato human organism contains three elements - Reason, Spirit and Appetite. Corresponding to these three elements in human nature, there are three classes in the social organism. They are the Philosopher kings - Soldiers or Auxiliaries and Working Class or producing class. Philosopher kings represent Reason; Soldiers represent spirit and the working class represents Appetite. Reason is situated in the head; Spirit is situated in the chest; and Appetite is situated in the stomach (Diagram).

The Platonic conception of justice is inseparable from that of the ideal state, the two blends in one. Justice is the order, that is, the true condition of the state and the ideal state is the visible embodiment of justice. One is the soul and the other is the body.

According to Plato justice is nothing but doing one's own work. One should not interface in the work of others. Justice depends upon the specialization of functions. Plato says that the state is nothing but a magnified individual or soul writ large. His justice is manifestly clear here. Plato says some are born Gold; some are Silver and some are Iron or Brass. Reason will dominate in people who are born gold; Spirit will dominate in people who are born Silver and Appetite will dominate in people who are born Iron or Brass.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PLATO'S JUSTICE

Platonic conception of justice is based on four basic principles:

- **Functional specification:** by functional specification is meant allotting specific functions to each according to merit and capacity.
- **Non-interference:** It implies doing one's own duties without interfering in other's domain.
- **Harmony:** According to Plato there should be a harmonious relationship between the three classes, namely, the ruling class, the military class and the producing class.
- **Righteousness:** Justice is another name for righteousness. It is more the performance of duties than the enjoyment of rights.

Thus, justice to Plato is doing what a person is called upon to do as per the duty of his station of life while not overstepping it by doing what is contrary to one's nature. At a societal level justice involves each class of people, namely, the ruling class, the military class and the producer class, discharging its specialized duties fully and effectively without interfering in the sphere of others.

PLATOON EDUCATION

According to Plato, education is the most important function of the state. Department of education is the most important department of the state. Education should be under the direct and strict control of the state. The objective of education is to achieve goodness. It is to promote justice. It helps individual to understand himself. It makes him harmonious with the society.

To achieve good life, education is important. Both men and women should have education. They should have the same kind of education also. Platonic system of education is systematic and progressive. It consists of two main parts: Basic Education and Higher Education. The Basic Education has three stages: First Sub Stage, Second Sub Stage and Third Sub Stage.

The First Sub Stage is from birth to the age of six. At this stage, the girls and boys are taught in the language which they can understand. They are taught the basic facts of life. They are taught with the help of stories and pictures. This is to develop the right kind of attitude.

The Second Sub Stage is from 6 to 18 years. At this stage, the children are taught music and gymnastics. Music is meant for the soul. Gymnastics is meant for the development of the body.

The Third Sub Stage is from 18 to 20 years. At this stage, men and women are given compulsory military training. This is good for national defense and protection.

Higher Education starts at the age of 20 and lasts till 35 years of age. Higher Education also has two sub stages: from 20 to 30 and from 30 to 35. At this stage, logic, mathematics, geometry, astronomy etc are taught. Only students with aptitude and interest of science and philosophy are admitted for higher studies. This kind of education makes people wise and intelligent. At the age of 30, a test is given. Those who pass the test are taught up to the age of 35. They are taught the art of dialectics. Those students who are very good are taught up to the age of 50. They will become philosopher kings. They will rule the state. For the Philosopher King, education is life-long.

THE STATES MAN

The states man, also known by its Latin title, *Politicus*, is a Socratic dialogue written by Plato in 360 B.C. Plato's statesman can be considered a treatise on politics. Plato was none logical and exact in this book. He pointed out that what a man ought to be and do, if he is to rule.

In statesman, Plato changed his attention towards law as reflected in his classification of states in this book. In His classification, he confined himself to actual states and preferred law abiding states than to lawless states. He also showed distinction between the theories of government and the theories of politician. He declared that an ideal ruler is not merely a politician or a mere administrator. He must be an ideal philosopher.

According to Plato the duty of such a ruler is not only to administer the state but to make men adopt the ideal standards of good and justice. The ruler and state is good or bad only if this is achieved or not achieved. If the ruler is learned and a philosopher, he should not be fettered by laws. But as such individuals are rare, law, which contains practical wisdom and experience of the past age, is essential. Thus Plato gave importance to laws in this book.

CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT

Plato mentioned six kinds of governments according to the number of rulers, i.e. Ruled by one, few or many and whether these are law abiding or lawless. Classification of government according to nature of the ruler is as follows:

Government Directed by Law Government Not Directed by Law

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1) Rule of One: Monarchy | 1) Rule of One: Tyranny |
| 2) Rule of Few: Aristocracy | 2) Rule of Few: Oligarchy |
| 3) Rule of Many: Moderate | 3) Rule of Many: Extreme Democracy |

In the above mentioned classification, Plato said that whenever the rule is of one, i.e. monarchy is the best form from the point of view of the good of the people in a law governed state. But monarchy may pervert into tyranny which is the worst form of government. The rule by a small number of ablest men who devote themselves to the service of the state is aristocracy while its perverted form is oligarchy in which the rulers rule for their own benefit.

The rule of many, i.e. democracy is the worst form of a state directed by law because it reflects the rule of an average man who is incapable of political speculation. But democracy is the best form of government in a state which is not governed by law. Thus Plato came to the conclusion that democracy is the worst of law abiding states but the best of lawless forms. As such democracy is higher than oligarchy. This reflects total abandonment of the attitude toward democracy adopted in the public.

THE LAWS

In his book "The Laws" Plato asserted the fundamental principle of sovereignty of laws. He expressed the view that in the second best state law is sovereign and supreme and the government with all its organs is subordinate to it. No body of magistrates, no council or senate, no assembly, however broad, is above the law.

Platonic state of Laws: In the platonic state of laws, the electoral authority is a popular assembly. It elects the Council and the various executive magistrates. This popular assembly is the whole body of 5,040 citizens, arranged in four classes on the basis of qualification, and the differences in the amount of the property possessed by them. It is compulsory for the first two classes to attend the meetings but for the 3rd and 4th class attendance is optional. No citizen of any class may attend these meetings he bears arms and has gone through military service.

Function of the Assembly: The function of the assembly is to elect the guardians of the law and council. It also elects a number of local officials and generals of the army. The 17 Guardians of the law are to be elected by at ripple ballot. In the first ballot 300 are elected, in the second ballot 200 are eliminated and only 100 are elected. In the third and final ballot 37 are elected from the hundred candidates who remain.

LET US SUM UP

Plato is one of history's most influential Philosophers. His contributions range across numerous Philosophical Subfields, including ethics, cosmology, and metaphysics. Though he was not a scientist in the modern sense, Plato also examined the natural world and the Philosophical implications it held.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Plato's Work "The Republic" was Published in _____
A) 380-370 B.C B) 360 B.C
C) 340 D) None of These
2. In Plato's State, the Government is run by _____
A) Workers B) Philosophers
C) Soldiers D) Constitution
3. Plato is the Author of _____
A) Republic B) History of Political Thought
C) Social Contract D) None of These
4. Plato was born in _____ in Athens
A) 427 B.C B) 347 B.C
C) 420 B.C D) 410 B.C

GLOSSARY

Virtue	:Quality
Justice	: MoralPrinciple
Appetite	:Food
Aristocracy	:Government bytheroyalpeople

ANSWERTOCHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. 380-370B.C
2. Philosophers
3. Republic
4. 427B.C

MODELQUESTIONS

1. ExplainPlato"sTheoryofState.
2. DescribePlato"sCommunism.
3. ExaminePlato"sideasinhisbook"Statesman".
4. WhydoesPlatoprefertheruleof philosophers?

SUGGESTEDREADINGS

1. Sharma,S.K.,andSharma,Urmila,2003*WesternPoliticalThought–Form Plato to Burke*, Atlantic Publishers.
2. Coleman,Janet,2000*AHistory ofPoliticalThought*,NewDelhi, Wiley-Black Well Publishers.
3. Wolff,Jonathan, 2006, *AnIntroductiontoPoliticalPhilosophy*, New Delhi, OUP Oxford Publishers.

UNIT- 2

ARISTOTLE–WORKS, THEORYOFSTATEANDSLAVERY

STRUCTURE

Overview

LearningObjectives

Aristotlelife

WorksofAristotle

Aristotle’sTheoryof State

Theoryof Slavery

Citizenship

LawandJustice

Let us sum up

CheckYourProgress

Glossary

AnswertocheckyourProgress Model

Questions

Suggestedreadings

OVERVIEW

Aristotle was a popular and celebrated philosopher and scientist of ancient Greek. He is regarded as one of the best thinkers of various fields like Politics, Psychology, and Ethics. He was the disciple of Plato who also a wide known philosopher and thinker. The Lyceum, the school established by Aristotle in the city Athens. In the Lyceum only he spent most of his life by studying, teaching and writing. In the previous unit we discussed about the Plato’s ideal State, philosophy king, theory of communism and his ideas given in his work Statesman and the laws etc. In this unit we are going to study about Aristotle’s life-theory of state, and theory of slavery etc.

LEARNINGOBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to

- Discuss about life and Works of Aristotle.
- Understand the Theory of State.
- Explain Aristotle’s views on Slavery, Citizenship, law and Justice.

ARISTOTLE`SLIFE

Aristotle was an ancient Greek philosopher and scientist born in the city of Stagira in the north of classical Greece. When he was seventeen years of age, he stepped into Plato's Academy in Athens and remained there until the age of thirty seven. He penned a wide range of subjects including physics, biology, metaphysics, logic, ethics, aesthetics, poetry, psychology, economics, politics and government and constituted the first comprehensive system of western philosophy. He left the city Athens after the death of his teacher in 347 BC. He availed this period in long travelling and studying different political institutions in different parts of the world.

In 342 BC, he was invited to Macedonia by its King Philip to become the teacher of his son young Alexander. It was in 335 BC Aristotle decided to set up a new school to preach his own ideas, thoughts and philosophies. An institution known as Lyceum sprang up with the patronage and support of Alexander. Here, he made an effort to systematize the whole body of human knowledge. Aristotle was a realist as well as a practical man. He followed inductive method for his study. He employed comparative and historical methods in his writings. The Politics was his masterpiece, in which he tried to portray the concept of an independent state.

WORKS OF ARISTOTLE

It is believed that as much as of around 400 books have been written by Aristotle. Each book, however, means a chapter of a book as we generally understand by the term "book today".

Aristotle's works have been classified into those of logic, metaphysics, ethics, politics, rhetoric, psychology and natural sciences. His significant works in the mentioned fields are as follows:

Logic: Aristotle's views concerning logic are available in his work Organon. This work includes categories, rules of interpretations, analytic and fallacies etc. This great work is divided into different books on these different topics.

Metaphysics: On Metaphysics includes as many as 14 books of Aristotle.

Ethics: Aristotle's famous work Nicomachean ethics consists of 10 books on different topics concerning ethics. Another important work on ethics is Eudemian ethics.

Politics: Aristotle's famous book Politics consists of 8 books. Besides this important work, he also wrote another book entitled On the Constitution of Athens.

Psychology: Aristotle's famous work on the soul consists of 8 books on different topics concerning human psychology. Besides, he also wrote small independent treatises on memory, dream etc.

Natural Sciences: Aristotle has a wide influence on almost all the natural sciences due to his pioneer work in different fields. Of these the most important are: Physics (eight books of which Book VII is an interpolation); Astronomy (four books); Origin and Decay (two books); Meteorology (four books); Cosmology (spurious); Botany(spurious); History of Animals (ten books, Book X spurious);

ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF STATE

Aristotle said, "Man is a political animal, destined by nature for political life." This implies that "The state is a creation of nature and man is by nature a political man. And he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above humanity, or below it." The solitary man is either a beast or a god; state is a natural institution and not a conventional institution as the sophists supposed or as enunciated by the social contract theory. Surprisingly enough, contractual lists like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, totally forgot Aristotle's natural origin of state while dealing with the controversy about its origin.

Origin in Gregariousness: Aristotle traced the origin of state to the gregarious instinct of man. Man cannot live alone. That is why when one is to be given punishment he is made to live all alone. Being a social animal, it is man's nature to associate himself with his fellow men and form associations. The state is one of such associations. It is as natural to man as the family or faculties can never come to their full compass.

For the Sake of Life: The naturalness of state is clear from the fact that it came into being for the bare needs of life and it continues for the sake of good life. According to Aristotle man cannot realise the destiny of his life without the state. The state to him is an association of unlike persons who, by nature, associate together to satisfy their common social and economic needs, desires and racialist intact by mutual exchange of goods and services.

Logical Development of Family: The association of male and female for the perpetuation of the race, and of master and slave for the production of subsistence give rise to family or household, which has its social or moral use.

This stands as long as men are not satisfied with a bare existence and the satisfaction of their elementary wants. Urged by their nature to seek a fuller life, households are compelled to combine together into a village for the better satisfaction of their wants and then into a city or polis or state, of such size and nature as to be self-sufficing. Thus, the state stands at the top of the pyramid which springs from families and villages. It is a logical development of family.

The institution of family is the first foundation of the state. It is not a deliberate human creation. It fosters human growth. It is here by that man begins to learn the virtues of civil life, thus the sources of social and political life are found in family. It is in the family that the three elements essential to the building of a state spring up, viz., fellowship, political organization and justice. As the state is the logical end or development of the family, it is equally natural. It should foster the development of the individual which starts in the family but is achieved partially in it. If this full development of man were possible in family or a village, the process of forming associations would not have proceeded further.

Perfect form of Association: According to Aristotle, self-sufficiency can be attained only in the state. It is the culmination of widening circles of human association based on human wants. It is not merely an economic association but also a moral community. It is the perfect form of association. Man is naturally a political animal. He can attain the true end for which he is made.

Moral Self-Sufficiency: According to Plato and Aristotle, self-sufficiency reached in city-state, does not mean economic self-sufficiency. It cannot be achieved even by a big state of the present day. The state provided all the conditions and the environment necessary for the moral development of the individual. To quote Foster, "The lower forms of society, the village, for example, prove inadequate not only because they do not supply the needs of man's animal nature, but also because they do not adequately supply the needs of his rational nature. These latter can be supplied only in a political, as distinct, for example, from a purely economic society."

Natural Destination: Thus, man is a political animal because his natural destination is the state. Man would be a brute without social life. Most animals are gregarious, but man alone is political. What makes him political or rational being, distinguished from the lower form of animal life, is his faculty of speech and organized association with his fellows. It enables him to distinguish between good and bad, between the just and the unjust and associate himself with his fellows in the pursuit of good.

life. This human faculty of speech also suggests the naturalness of the state.

Aristotle said, "The state is a natural association for it develops organically from them ostprimitive but natural associations, i.e. thehouse hold and the village. It is the end of them and is, therefore, a creation of nature. It is necessary for man who is by nature a social or political animal. Man fully develops his personality only in the state, of which he is a natural, integral and organic part. The individual is to the state as a part is to the whole." Membership of the state is the end or destiny of human life. Man finds true meaning and significance of his life only in and through relation to the state, without which he would decay and die.

Association of Associations: To Aristotle, the state is not an association of isolated individuals, but an association of individuals already united as members of smaller groups. It is an association of associations. Unlike Plato, Aristotle preserved the family and village in the state. He described the state as a union of families and villages for a happy and self- sufficing life. State is the supreme association as it is the highest of all and embraces all the other associations. State is the highest form of association, because it aims at the highest good which is the good life of the citizens.

Thus for Aristotle the state is the final, perfect and natural association originating in the bare needs of life. It continues to exist for the sake of complete life. Complete life does not mean fulfilling merely earthly purposes. It continues to exist for the sake of complete life. Complete life does not mean fulfilling merely earthly purposes. It also aims at ethical and intellectual objective. Therefore, the final goal of human life is the spiritual enrichment. For this the state provides much greater field than the family and the village.

Community of Good Life: An association, therefore the state implies not merely being together but living together for something higher than mere existence. It is not an insurance against mere insecurity of life and property. It is a community of good life. It is biologically a superior association embracing all other lower forms of associations. It is the whole, of which associations and individuals are parts. The whole is prior to the parts. It is the whole which lends significance to the parts. While in the order of time the state is preceded by the family or house hold and village, in the order of thought, it is prior to both. It thus precedes the individual. Only in the state can the human being rise above the brute and become a man.

When isolated man is not self-sufficient, independent or perfect. It is the state alone that man finds the perfection of life. This is so because the state alone can secure social peace and order and provide diversity of interests necessary for complete and good life. The state is natural in the sense that it is an institution for that moral perfection of man to which his whole nature of imminent pulse drives through various forms so society.

Abiding Place in Scheme of Things: The state is natural, not because it is independent of human volition but because it has its abiding place in the scheme of things. All the other associations attain their full perfection only in the state. They are incapable of separate and self-contained existence. To quote Aristotle, "Men live social and political life, not by choice but because of their inherent natures, their needs and desires and weakness and strength make them to do so. Unequal and non-uniform natural endowments, intellectual, moral and physical, compel associates, and therefore, a social and political life. Societies and state were necessary for the well being of men and were therefore, as much a product of Nature as man himself."

Organic Theory of State: The state is an organism, according to Aristotle. Like an organism it is composed of diverse parts interdependent on each other. They share in full the life of the organism and live because of the relation to the whole. Aristotle drew a close analogy between human organism and the state. It is not possible to understand the rights and duties of man apart from his relation to the state. However, Aristotle's organic conception of the state does not regard the state as a super-being, distinct from and above the citizens as enunciated by Hegel. Aristotle did not believe in absolutism, although state and society were the same thing for him. To him, the state was prior to man. He said, "The state has no end other than the promotion of the happy or virtuous life of the citizens. It is necessary for the development of human personality but has no independent purpose of its own."

Aims at Highest Good: Every association aims at some good. The state, the highest of all associations, however, aims at the highest good. The functions of the state are implied in Aristotle's definition of the state as the union of families and villages in a perfect and self-sufficing life, by which we mean a happy and honourable life." They can also be deduced from Aristotle's oft quoted statement that "the state came into being for the sake of life, but continued for the sake of good life." Aristotle did not limit the scope of state activity to mere exchange of services. The state is there to ensure complete and virtuous life.

Functions of the State: The purpose of the state is not only to extend its dominion or enrich its people, but to widen knowledge, promote virtue and to secure justice to all. It has a positive function of promoting good life and not merely restraining or curbing the vicious tendencies of its members. Thus Aristotle went beyond the modern writer Green, who described the function of state simply to remove hindrances to good life, but not to make men good.

Identity of Individual and State: Like Plato, Aristotle found a close identity between the individual and the state. Like an individual, the state must show the virtues of courage, self-control and justice. The virtues of the state and the individual are the same. Both try to attain positive good and happiness, internal and external, which can be done, among other things, by conforming to moral law.

Difference between the Family and the State: Since the state originated historically from the household, Aristotle examined the nature of difference between the two natural institutions. As against Plato, who said that a small state and a large household are identical, Aristotle opined that the two institutions do not differ in degree but in kind. He abolished private family and property in order to make the state a large family. According to Aristotle, "There is only one kind of relationship, that of the ruler and the ruled; but in the household there are three different relations, viz. those of husband and wife, parents and children, and master and slave. The relations of the ruler of a state to each of the citizens are the same. But the head of the family stands in the three different relations to the wife, the children and the slaves." While the household fulfils their physical needs, the state fulfils the intellectual and moral needs of citizens.

THEORY OF SLAVERY

Definition of Slavery According to Aristotle, a slave is living possession and property of his master. He possesses no reasoning power but has the power of understanding and following reason. He postulates that those who are not virtuous are slaves and it is possible to determine as to who is virtuous and who is not. He also starts with the presumption that men have different capacities and are unequal and should be slave of those possessing higher capacities and capabilities. The slave belongs to master but master does not belong to slave.

C.H. McIlwain has properly expressed the views Aristotle when he says that "If by nature man is a political animal so is the slave nothing more than a domestic animal, a mere cattle, rabbit of animate property, an instrument of action separable from the possessor." action and not of

production because as soon as he starts performing productive functions, he loses his character as a slave and becomes virtuous.

Justification for Slavery:

Aristotle has justified slavery on many grounds namely, It is a natural phenomenon that the inferior must be subordinated to the superior. As soul rules over the body or reason over appetite, similarly those who have more reasoning capacity should rule over those who have no superior reasoning capacity or less power of understanding. The former are naturally masters and latter slaves. The masters have superiority in wisdom and the slaves in physical strength. As a musician cannot live without musical instrument so a family cannot live without a slave.

- (i) Slavery is necessary because it will provide leisure for the virtuous which is most essential for the welfare of the state.
- (ii) Since a slave does not possess rational faculty and cannot regulate appetite by reason, it is good for him and is in his own interest to be a slave because then alone he will be in a position to share in the virtue so his master and will thus be elevated.
- (iii) Slavery is essential for the master because that will enable him to lead a good and happy life which is essential for productive and creative work.
- (iv) He justified slavery on the ground that in case the system was denounced whole Greek social system would collapse resulting in social disorder and chaos in the Greek life.
- (v) Slavery is manifestation of will of nature which is clearly indicated from birth and wisdom of people which is always of varying degrees. He said that, "for a being who is endowed by nature with a mind capable of reflection and fore-thought is by nature the superior and governor whereas he whose excellence is merely corporeal is formed a slave."
- (vi) According to him since family is social unit it has two natural instincts namely sex and appetite. The relationship on the one hand is between the master and slave and on the other between husband and wife.
- (vii) According to him it is with slavery that perfection can be attained. Slaves and the masters are just complementary and not contradictory to each other. The institution of slavery is thus a social necessity.

(viii) Nature has given every organ of body some function to perform. Accordingly that of the eye is to see and of the ear to hear. In society everybody has some duty to discharge. Similarly function of the slave is just to obey the command of the superior and intelligent. He has gone to the extent of saying that as man is natural for a woman for marriage similarly slave is natural for a master for the proper discharge of his duties.

Conditions Essential for Slavery:

Aristotle however did not give unqualified support to the institution of slavery. He justified it only under certain specific conditions namely:

- (i) Only those who are mentally deficient and virtuously so superior as others should be treated as slaves. He did not support the idea that all prisoners of war were slaves. He felt that it was not always essential that a nation capable of fighting a war was always and essentially superior in intelligence and wisdom. He therefore condemned the idea that all prisoners of war were slaves. He thus disapproved the idea of slavery by force.
- (ii) Slaves should not be harshly treated but be given human treatment. Those who violate this established principle should be legally punished.
- (iii) There should be provision for emancipation for those slaves who show good conduct and develop capacity for reasoning and virtue. According to Barker, "The slave can be treated as man in any respect, he ought to be treated as that he can be regarded as a man destroys that conception of his wholly slavish and non-rational character without justification of his being treated as slave." man in all and the admission.
- (iv) Slavery is essential for around development, thus an integral point of growth. Master has no right to misuse his power and authority. Slave is not his subordinate but only assistant. He was opposed to the idea of using force for slavery. Only those should be enslaved who were inferior in understanding and virtue.

CITIZENSHIP

Aristotle did not believe that mere residence or enjoyment of legal rights or birth should confer right of Citizenship on a person. He believed that it is the function which entitles a person to become citizen. It is the function of participation in judicial and deliberative powers. Thus a prerequisite condition for acquiring citizenship right was willingness to

serve as a juror and to have active participation in popular assembly. He excluded foreigners, slaves, manual and menial workers and women as well. His argument for exclusion of these categories was that duties as juror or member of popular assembly demanded high standard of moral and intellectual excellence which the people falling under these categories did not possess. According to Aristotle foremost qualification for possessing citizenship rights was to rule and to be ruled. He felt that leisure was most essential for developing this capacity which could be made possible by holding private property and possessing slaves.

LAW AND JUSTICE

Aristotle gave a very significant place and position to laws in his philosophy. Aristotle believed that law was a great restraining force for the whole community. The supremacy of law is accepted by Aristotle as a mark of a good state and not merely as an unfortunate necessity. According to him the wisest person cannot replace rule of law because whereas law is impersonal, even most passionless ruler cannot become impersonal. The state expresses its will through law and as such both must be identical. The law determines morality and spirituality of a community. There is no supreme power in the state over law. Sovereignty of the state should be vested in the laws alone. Good law was one which was not affected by desire and as such it was exclusively based on reason.

The rule of law as understood by him had three elements namely, governing the people in the public interest, carrying out the government not in an arbitrary manner and enforcement of regulations by willingness of the people. He felt that rule of law in which all the three elements were present was ideal and excellent. Justice for Aristotle was of two types namely complete justice as well as particular justice. Former was identifiable with moral virtue; it was responsible for regulating all public and social relations. Complete justice laid in law abidingness and was possible only in an ideal society.

Particular justice was concerned with the distribution of offices and observance of rules of proportionate equality. It also consisted in proper and desirable distribution of wealth, honour and good things. Distributive justice lay in proportionate allocation of offices according to one's own worth. In it rights are measured in terms of duties performed by one in the society. Corrective justice is concerned with restoring back what one had lost due to social injustice. It prevents people from encroaching upon the rights of his fellow men.

LETUSSUMUP

Aristotle is a towering figure in ancient Greek philosophy, which made important contributions to logic, Criticism, rhetoric, physics, biology, psychology, mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, and politics. He was a student of Plato for twenty years but is famous for rejecting Plato's theory of forms.

CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. Who among the following strongly said that "Man is a Political Animal"?
a) Socrates b) Plato c) Aristotle
d) None of the Above
2. The principle of distributive justice was first propounded by
a) Aristotle b) Plato c) Kant d) Bentham
3. The book "Politics" is written by
a) Plato b) Aristotle c) Hegel d) Engels
4. For whom, the state was prior to individual?
a) Socrates b) Plato c) Aristotle d) Bentham

GLOSSARY

Logic : Reasoning assessed according to strict principles of validity.

Metaphysics : The trench of philosophy that deals with nature of existence, truth and knowledge.

Gregariousness: Trending to associate with others of one's Kind.

Psychology : Scientific study of human mind and its functions.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Aristotle
2. Aristotle
3. Aristotle
4. Aristotle

MODELQUESTION

1. Explain the Aristotle's Theory of State.
2. Discuss Aristotle's Theory of Slavery.
3. Bring out Aristotle's view on citizenship.
4. Narrate the views of Aristotle on law and Justice.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Shields, Christopher, 2007 *Aristotle*, New York, Routledge Publishers.
2. Francis W. Coker: 1966 *Recent Political Thought*, Calcutta, The World Press.
3. Chester C. Maxey: 1961 *Political Philosophers*, New York, MacMillan.

UNIT- 3

ARISTOTLE - CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT AND THEORY OF JUSTICE, FAMILY, PROPERTY, AND THEORY OF REVOLUTION

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Classification of Government

Aristotle's type of Justice

Aristotle's views on Family

Aristotle's theory of Property

Aristotle's Theory of Revolution

Aristotle on Education

Let us sum up

Check Your Progress

Glossary

Answer to check your Progress Model

Questions

Suggested readings

OVERVIEW

Aristotle classified government on the basis of number to hold severing power on the basis of the ends or ideas in view, whether it is for general welfare and good or for selfish and corrupt motive of rulers. In the previous unit, we studied about Aristotle's views on state Slavery, citizenship, law and Justice. This unit tries to bring out the ideas of Aristotle on classification of government, justice, family, property theory of revolution etc.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to

- Learn the various classifications of Governments.
- Understand the theory of Justice.
- Know his views on family, Property and revolution.

CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT

The government in a state could be constituted on the basis of 1. Birth, 2. Wealth, 3. Number. A monarchic government based on birth suffers from the defect that one ruler may be most wise efficient and benevolent but his son or successor may not inherit these qualities. A government based on wealth may not be good as wealth is no criterion of a man's moral or intellectual talent and efficiency. The basis of number is better than the two because wisdom lies in multitude and it is easier for a single man to err than for numerous persons to make a mistake. However, Aristotle classified government on the basis of number to hold sovereign power on the basis of the ends or ideals in view, whether it is for general welfare and good or for selfish and corrupt motive of rulers.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Aristotle's monarchy, representing the rule of one man is based on hereditary succession for common good; and tyranny is its perverted form. An ideal person who may create rule of philosopher king is not easily available. Even if such a man may be available it may not be true for his successor. Aristotle recognised five kinds of monarchy, i.e. Spartan type, oriental, hereditary, disposition old heroic, guardian. Aristocracy is difficult to be realized as in man selfish motives gain supremacy over motives of common welfare and as such aristocracy degenerates into oligarchy. Polity is the government to fall, for the good of all, but as poor persons are always more numerous than the rich, so polity gets perverted into democracy.

Number	Efficient or moral form	Corrupt form
One	Monarchy - With supreme descent and selfishness.	Tyranny - Representing force, virtue as its guiding Principle.
Few	Aristocracy - representing mixture of virtue and wealth	Oligarchy - representing the greed of a wealth and selfish motives.
Many	Polity - representing martial and Power resting with the middle class people	Democracy - representing the virile virtues, principles of equality with power in hand soft the poor.

Aristotle considers polity having a mixed form of Government and supremacy of middle class as the best rule. By democracy Aristotle meant direct democracy, as such his ideas do not apply to modern representative democracy. Aristotle held wealth as the deciding factor if a rule is by more than one man. Aristocracy always degenerates into oligarchy, in which rich persons rule for their own benefit and polity degenerates into democracy in which poor persons rule. Aristotle believes that four elements always struggle for power in a state i.e., 1. Birth, 2. Virtue, 3. Wealth and 4. Liberty. It depends on efficiency of the group in which only determined and efficient persons succeed. Thus, Aristotle lays emphasis on economic factors and efficiency and capacity and will power of the ruling elite class.

Cycle of Change: Aristotle believes in famous cyclic order according to which government are not static but dynamic. Every form of Government changes but changes does not follow any set rule, any fixed manner as. History is a very complex phenomenon. The conception of Aristotle that change is inevitable law of nature is correct but his conception that monarchy changes into tyranny, tyranny into aristocracy and aristocracy into oligarchy, oligarchy into polity and polity into democracy is not correct. Complex changes take place in historical process. Various forms of Government such as Parliamentary, Presidential, Federal or Unitary or Imperialistic rule or Communist rule etc. were not known to Aristotle, so his idea about fixed change of circle cannot be accepted.

ARISTOTLE'S TYPE OF JUSTICE

Type of Justice: As regards Aristotle, justice for him was of two types namely "Complete justice" as well as "particular justice". Since the former was identifiable with moral virtue it was responsible for regulating all public and social relations. For him complete justice laid in law abidingness and was possible only in an ideal society. According to him, particular justice was concerned with the distribution of offices and observance of rules of proportionate equality. It also consisted in proper and desirable attribution of wealth, honour and good things.

Distributive and corrective justice: Distributive justice lay in proportionate allocation of offices according to one's own worth. It was primarily concerned with political privileges. Each type of political organization had its corresponding distributive justice, e.g. in democracy it was birth; in oligarchy it was riches while in aristocracy it was in virtue. It counters confusion and distributes offices according to one's social contribution. In it mutual strife's are minimized. In other words in it rights are measured in terms of duties performed by one in the society or

social services rendered by one. On the other hand corrective justice is mainly concerned with commercial transactions. It is negative in character. It aims at restoring back what one had lost due to social injustice. It prevents the encroachment of one on the rights of others. As part of the whole it restores what was forbidden to one reason or the other.

Corrective Justice: Aristotle also mentions about corrective justice. According to him it is a type of justice which prevents people from encroaching upon the rights of his fellowmen. He believed that "it relates to voluntary and commercial transactions like hire, land furnishing of security etc. and within voluntary actions involving aggression on life, property, honour and freedom."

Criticism: But there appears to be no universality in his conception of justice. At many places it is self-contradictory e.g. the definition of the term "contribution to society" is something which cannot have any universal application. In democracies, birth and freedom are measuring rods and hence all rewards and honours should be equally distributed. In oligarchies, it is presumed that only the wealthy contribute to the society and honours should be their monopoly. He has no doubt laid stress that the virtuous should rule and that they contribute most in the welfare of state but again virtue is something which is discrete and not concrete and hence cannot be accepted as a standard or measure in good.

Then again, in the one hand he has pleaded that the cultivation of virtue should be criteria for distributing offices, but on the other hand he has argued that the masses should not be ignored and offices and honours should not be made the monopoly of few. He pleaded sharing of honour by all because according to him collective wisdom was better than the wisdom of the few virtuous and that the masses could bring about a revolution at any time.

ARISTOTLE'S VIEW ON FAMILY

According to Aristotle family is a natural institution and in fact it existed prior to state. It is natural to the extent that every individual becomes its member from his very birth. It is the starting point of moral life and nucleus for the state. Without family, perhaps the state would have been artificial and not natural. It is first natural institution and association. The family is not merely a large household and that it is not at all justified that the king must head each family as well. He believed that family and the state differed not only in degree but in kind as well. It is not a superficial or artificial institution but something holy.

While demarcating between the state and the family, Aristotle said that while there was three-fold relationship in a family namely (i) that of husband and wife (ii) parents and children and (iii) that of master and slave, there was only single relationship between the ruler and the citizens. In other words while the head of family had three-fold relationship with the citizens, the ruler and the ruled. He further enunciated by saying that his relations with his wife were those of a constitutional adviser, with son as a king and with slave as those of a despotic ruler or absolute monarchy.

According to Dunning, "In this manifold relation of the head of the household to the subordinate elements lies the essential distinction between the household and the state; for in the latter according to Aristotle, the relation of the ruler to each of the citizens is precisely the same." Aristotle has made a very clear distinction between the family and the state. According to him though both are natural for men and essential for their development yet the both are different in many respects. The important distinction is that state includes family whereas family does not include the state. Then another distinction is that whereas family is primarily for meeting physical needs the state aims at meeting intellectual needs of the people. He has also said that state can control the family but family cannot control the state in any effective manner.

ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF PROPERTY

According to Aristotle, "In the sense of a bare livelihood seems Driven by nature herself to all, when they are grown up. Property is of two kinds: Inanimate or Animate, private or local. Private property must be protected by the state otherwise somebody else will take possession of it. It is necessary for the existence and proper functioning of the household. In the words of Maxey, "The things which are necessary for life such as food, clothing and shelter constitute property. The instinct of acquiring property in man is natural. But the amount of property required by the family is limited by its needs, to have in excess is bad as to have less than what is required. As Foster has said: "A hammer must be heavy in order to serve its purpose; but the object of the hammer maker will not be to make it as heavy as possible. The same function of the hammer maker will observe this limit. The essence of Aristotle's saying is that all true wealth must be limited."

JUSTIFICATION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

To justify private property, the following arguments have been advanced by Aristotle:

1. **Necessary Part of Social Economy:** Private property is a necessary part of social economy. In the words of Aristotle, "When everyone has a distinct interest, men will make more progress because everyone will be attending to his own business." Ebenstein is of the view that Aristotle links the idea of self-interest with that of social progress. Where self-interest is involved, the individual concerned will do his best and his best efforts will in turn benefit the society.
2. **Gift of Nature:** The instinct of acquiring property is the nature's gift to man.
3. **Necessary for Household:** Natural property is necessary for the existence and proper functioning of the household. In the words of Maxey, "It is nature's own way of assuring man the where withal to live."
4. **Essential for good life:** the instrument of private property is essential for leading good life.
5. **Development of personality:** Property is necessary for the development of individual personality.
6. **Source of pleasure:** the ownership of property is a source of pleasure. Aristotle said, "Almost all men love money." Thus on psychological ground a sense of civic responsibility in the owner.
7. **Sense of civic responsibility:** The ownership of private property creates a sense of civic responsibility in the owner.
8. **Training in state management:** Private property makes a man know the art of managing it. The experience thus gained will also be useful in the management of state affairs.

MODES OF HOLDING AND USING PROPERTY

According to Aristotle, the following are the three modes of holding and using property:

1. Private ownership but common use of property.
2. Common ownership but private use of property.
3. Common ownership and common use of property.

Of the above Aristotle preferred the first mode. He said, "It is clearly better that property should be private but the use of it common."

ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF REVOLUTION

MEANING OF REVOLUTION

Aristotle has given broader meaning and definition to the term revolution than what is understood from the term Revolution today. According to him revolution has two-fold meaning—firstly when there has occurred any change in the constitution irrespective of the condition whether the change was major or minor e.g. a change from monarchy to oligarchy and soon. Secondly, a revolution is supposed to have occurred when there is change in the ruling authority though there might not be any change in the constitution as such. Thus according to Aristotle a revolution had taken place when tyranny had been replaced by monarchy.

According to him revolutions can be of varying degrees. It might be due to change in the institutions of state or control of authority. A revolution could be direct as well as indirect thereby touching a particular institution directly or indirectly. Sometimes even a particular institution in the state might be touched and other institutions or the state as a whole might not even be touched or affected. In other words every change in law is a step towards revolution.

CAUSES OF REVOLUTION

Injustice and ill-will: According to Aristotle one of the major causes of revolution was injustice and ill-will by those in power in the state for their people. According to Sinclair "Since justice and friendship are the moral basis of the state, injustice and ill-will are the most potent causes of discontent and instability. The absence of proportionate quality, of a fair deal, leads to lack of justice and splits the city into factions. There can be no fellow feeling when one section of the community is convinced that its rights are being denied to it and justice is not being done." Thus when there is discontentment among a substantial section of the society against injustice or denial of justice, there can be the possibility of revolution.

Unequal Distribution of offices: Another cause for revolution can be unequal, irrational and partial distribution of offices in which a particular class of people is favored with honours at the cost of others, because such an attitude is bound to create dissatisfaction among those who are denied this privilege.

Misuse of Authority: Then another reason can be to take revenge from those who have been vested with power and have tried to misuse their authority, thereby trying to disgrace, under-estimate and defame their

opponents who are bound to prove revengeful. In other words it can be said that political corruption can lead to revolution.

Careless Officers and Unwanted Expenditure: Careless admission of "corrupt and disloyal officers in the army or civil offices by legal or illegal methods, especially when followed by unproportionate expenditure in a particular sector or in the interest of a particular section of society can lead to revolution.

Unscrupulous Election Methods: Unhealthy and unwanted election intrigues through which the people are returned to power can be another cause for this. It is imperative that all those who are to decide the fate and destiny of the state should be returned to power by fair and legal means. Any intrigues or underhand means are bound to leave an unhealthy impression upon the people who are bound to retaliate as and when they get an opportunity.

Desire for extending rights and privileges: According to Aristotle revolution can be due to an attempt on the part of citizens to demand equality but that is not fulfilled. This inequality can be absolute as well as proportionate. The masses can demand social, political and economic equality and demand such other privileges as are already enjoyed by the selected few in authority. It can be proportionate when those having some power and privilege proportionately wish to acquire more privileges so as to become at par with the higher people.

Desire By Few To Have Absolute Power: Insolence and desire to have absolute power by a few can be one other reason because such a step is bound to have its reaction by those who are deprived of power. Even vesting absolute power in the hands of only a few people is bound to degenerate the whole society. It is likely to result in tyranny of a few against the vast majority of the society.

Conquest: Conquest by a nation of another nation is also bound to result in fluctuations. The vanquished may also find a suitable opportunity to pay back the conqueror in his own coins. This becomes more potential reason when the victor nakedly exploits the vanquished nation and forgets national interests of the defected nations.

Neglecting Minor Affairs: Sometimes when minor affairs are neglected these can assume a proportionately high magnitude with the passage of time and can also lead to revolution.

Undue Prominence for Few: When some people in the state are given undue prominence and importance that is bound to have its repercussions. In due course of time this repulsion gets roots in the

society and thus mobilised public opinion can adversely affect the unity and solidarity of the state.

Irreconcilable Dissimilarities: If there is dissimilarity of elements in the state which either cannot be reconciled or has knowingly or unknowingly not been reconciled that is bound to have its repulsive effects. In this category can be included rivalry among the people of different races living in a state.

No Restrictions on Immigration: when there is any restriction on immigration from outside, that can lead to revolution. It is felt that immigrants bring the nation in contact with those who have a different system of justice and a varying code of law under which they are governed. A comparative study can create dissatisfaction.

Irrational Use of Force: Among other causes mention may be made of the use of unwanted and irrational use of force which the people might tolerate for quite some time but which they are ultimately bound to repulse.

Fraud by Those in Power: When fraud is played upon the people by those who are in power and authority particularly for meeting their selfish ends, and is exposed, that positively leads to overthrow of authority.

Dynastic Quarrels: Dynastic quarrels can also be one of the causes of revolution because some dissatisfied persons can easily get the support of either one faction or the other of the same family. In addition to this those in power cannot fully look after the interests of the subjects and devote time in talking intrigues.

Attempt at Concealing Misdeeds: A revolution can also be on the part of those guilty of wrong deeds in an attempt to put a smoke screen or conceal their own misdeeds or acts of omission and commission. These misdeeds when come before the public are bound to create dissatisfaction and resentment among the people, who can even think of staging revolution to remove the guilty from power

Dissimilarity of Elements: According to Aristotle- another cause of revolution was dissimilarity of interest of the people inhabiting a state. If different sections of society have no similar interests and work at cross purposes, revolutions are bound. As far as possible a strict watch should be kept to prevent these elements to check out break of revolutions.

Dynastic Intrigues: Revolutions do take place when there is palace or dynastic intrigues. In such intrigues one faction instigates the people and makes them rise in revolt against those in authority so that they are dislodged.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE PREVENTION OF REVOLUTION

1. By gaining confidence of the people
2. Proper selection of officials
3. Checks and exercise of authority
4. Outsiders should be avoided
5. No sudden promotion
6. Proper education of the people in the spirit of the constitution
7. Lawless habits should be checked
8. No drastic changes in the state
9. No neglect of minor events
10. Short term provision for offices
11. Proper care for all sections
12. Keep the spirit of patriotism alive
13. Careful reaction to changes
14. No deceiving of the people

ARISTOTLE ON EDUCATION

According to Aristotle an ideal state should have an elaborate and developed system of education which should be in keeping with the spirit of the constitution. The state itself is an educational institution and must have compulsory system of education. Education should develop good habits, virtues, reason, and make the citizens realise the importance of obedience to laws. There should be fuller development of the people including reason and appetite with a compulsory system of public education. His system of education was primarily intended for free citizens.

LET US SUM UP

Aristotle's Analysis of the causes of revolution and methods of their prevention as suggested by him, are more realistic and scientific. He also classified Government on quantitative as well as qualitative basis.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which of the following does Aristotle consider a just Government?
a) Democracy b) Oligarchy c) Tyranny d) Aristocracy
2. Which form of Government does Aristotle think is best?
a) Democracy b) Polity c) Aristocracy d) Monarchy
3. According to Aristotle, what is the best kind of population for a good democracy?
a) Shepherds b) Shopkeepers c) Farmers d) Manual laborers
4. Aristocracy always degenerates into _____
a) Monarchy b) Oligarchy c) Democracy d) Polity

GLOSSARY

- Slave : Living possession of a master.
- Revolution : Change in the institution
- Demagogue : A leader whomakes use of popular Prejudices and false claims and promises to gain power.
- Dynasty : A line of hereditary rulers of a country

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Aristocracy
2. Polity
3. Farmers
4. Oligarchy

MODEL QUESTION

1. Discuss Aristotle's Theory of Justice and Compare it with that of Plato.
2. Examine Aristotle's Theory of Revolution.
3. State and discuss Aristotle's theory of property.
4. Narrate Aristotle's view on Education.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Shields, Christopher, 2007, *Aristotle*, New York, Routledge Publishers.
2. Francis W. Coker: 1966, *Recent Political Thought*, Calcutta, The World Press.
3. Chester C. Maxey: 1961, *Political Philosophers*, New York, MacMillan.

BlockII

SocialContractTheory

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|---------------|---|
| Unit-4 | T.Hobbes-Stateofnature,SocialContract,
Sovereignty,DivineoriginandAbsolution |
| Unit-5 | J.Locke-Stateofnature,SocialContract,
Sovereignty,IndividualismandProperty |
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UNIT- 4

T.HOBBS - STATE OF NATURE, SOCIAL CONTRACT, SOVEREIGNTY, DIVINE ORIGIN AND ABSOLUTION

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Life Sketch

Writings of Hobbes

The Political Philosophy of Hobbes

Hobbes's conception of Human Nature

State of Nature

Social Contract Theory

Sovereignty

Hobbes View on Natural Rights and Natural Laws

Divine origin and Absolution

Forms of Government

Hobbes in the History of Political Thought

Let us sum up

Check Your Progress

Glossary

Answer to check your Progress Model

Questions

Suggested readings

OVERVIEW

Thomas Hobbes was an English philosopher, Scientist, and historian best known for his political philosophy, especially as articulated in his masterpiece Leviathan (1651). In Hobbes's social contract, the trade of liberty for safety was discussed. In the previous unit we analyzed Aristotle's views on classification of government, theory of justice, theory of revolution and his views on family and property. This unit tries to discuss about Hobbes views on state of nature, social contract theory and natural rights and natural laws.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to

- Learn the state of Nature in the views of Hobbes.
- Understand the theory of Social Contract.
- Discuss the Hobbes views on Sovereignty, natural rights and natural laws.

LIFE SKETCH

Thomas Hobbes, son of a clergyman, was born at West port in England in 1588 and was educated at Malmesbury. He also studied at Oxford, and was not satisfied with the university education. He condemned the university education for its "frequency of in significant speech." On leaving the university in 1608, Hobbes became the tutor to the heir of William of Cavendish who later became the Earl of Devonshire. This association helped him in his later life to come into contact with the prominent personalities of England like Ben Johnson, Bacon and Clarendon.

He left England when the Civil War broke out. As a supporter of royal absolutism, he found France a more congenial place. He joined the Royalists in Paris and stayed there for eleven years. When monarchy was restored in England, Hobbes came back to the court of Charles II who was his chief patron.

WRITINGS OF HOBBS

Hobbes wrote several treatises on history; law and politics. His most prominent works on politics are De Corpore (1654), De Cive (1642), and Leviathan (1651).

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF HOBBS

The Leviathan of Hobbes is the first comprehensive work in political philosophy from the hands of an Englishman, says professor F.W.Coker. He is one of those political thinkers of the English race, whose name will endure as long as men trouble their minds about matters political. In a scientific and rational manner he tried to weave his arguments into a web.

HOBBS' CONCEPTION OF HUMAN NATURE

The uniqueness of Hobbes as a political thinker lies in providing a psychological foundation to his political reasoning. This psychological approach to the study of political science is essentially an element of his modernity.

No study of Political science can be regarded as complete in itself unless it is to be carried in relation to human psychology. For Hobbes, that which controls human life is not an end but a cause, the psychological mechanism of the human animal. It is on this psychological mechanism of the human animal that Hobbes has developed his theory of the state. It is in this respect that he differs from all his predecessors.

Political theory, in his case is definitely formed upon scientific principles. Wisdom, according to Hobbes, is not acquired by reading of books, but of men. He therefore proceeds to make the study of men. He starts with Galileo's concept of the Universe as a machine, made up of particles which more according to a mechanical law. The movement or motion as he calls it is the very principle of the universe.

According to Hobbes, man is a part of the universe. He is also a machine, and is composed of the same moving particles. Hobbes shows a great interest to find the law according to which these particles move in man and especially in relation with his follows. Sense in man was itself but motion.

Everything in man is derived from his senses. His original fancy is caused by the pressure i.e., by the motion of external things upon our eyes, ears and other organs. From sense, man acquires memory and imagination and prudence. They are his receptive powers. They in their turn generate further movement in his brain which are called as his active powers these are emotions and passions.

Man, by the very principle of motion which is operative in the Universe, is compelled to desire and to will. What man desires, he calls Good and pleasure is the movement in his mind that accompanies it. What he dislikes, he calls Evil and pain is the movement. The standard of Good and Evil however cannot be constant as man is changing. Man incessantly strives to gain those things which attract him and avoid those things towards which attract him and avoid those things towards which he feels repulsion. Happiness or 'felicity' is continual success in getting those things to which he is attracted. There is nothing inherently good or bad about the motions of physical bodies. Morality and moral judgements to Hobbes are the products of civilization.

Since happiness for man consists in continued success in obtaining those things which a man from time to time desires, this ceaseless effort of man will not allow him to have any rest and respite. Life is thus "a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceases only in death".

Since man cannot assure the power and means to live well without the acquisition of more and more, it makes man essentially self-centered. Every single man is an absolutely solitary individual.

Since knowledge comes from the senses and different senses cannot see the same world, a man and his world must be one and different from the world of other man. Separate individuals have separate pleasures, truths, goods and they belong to no order, moral or politic.

Although solitary and self centered man has the power of speech. Circumstances place him among fellowmen whose very existence makes it difficult for him to satisfy his desire. "For many will want what he wants and will, therefore be his deadly enemies. Moreover, men seek to outdo one another. This urge to excel necessitates a perpetual contention for honour, riches and authority.

Contrasting men with bees and ants Hobbes says "Men are continually in competition for honour and dignity, which these creatures are not; consequently amongst men there arises, on that ground, envy and hatred and finally war".

In Hobbes's view most of man's native desires and inclinations tend to result in struggle with his fellows. Though "all men agree on this, that peace is good" man's basic and fundamental selfishness causes in him a desire for power which conflicts with his desire for peace and security.

STATE OF NATURE

The political theory of Hobbes is explained by his general theory of human nature. Hobbes regards mind as decaying matter or a kind of extremely refined matter, and starts with the mechanistic doctrine of sensation. Everything in man, including his thought, is derived from his senses. Thus the behavior of man is a product of external forces operating upon the organs of sense. This is based on the forms of desire or aversion.

The desire for security, the really fundamental need of human nature, is for all practical purposes inseparable from the desire for power. Thus, life is a "perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceases only in death." The individual whom Hobbes has thus described is completely self-centered. To him every single man is an absolutely solitary individual. Such a man and his world must be one and different from the world of other men. Thus, according to Sabine, "Hobbes was frequently portrayed as the great absolute, is perhaps the greatest individualist in the history of political thought."

In the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel competition, diffidence and glory. The acquisitive instinct as a result of which man uses viciousness to make himself master of other men, persons, cattle, properties and even wives and children. The possessive instinct is the corollary of the first. Because of these, man attempts to prevent his neighbours from securing those things which he himself possesses. As a result of love of glory men seek to praise and envy of his fellow beings. Upon the foundation of this philosophy, Hobbes proceeded to write the nature and functions of the state. At the root of all his political doctrines, is his idea of man and human relations in the state of nature.

In the state of nature man possesses both freedom and equality. By nature they are equal in the faculties of mind and body. If one is superior in physical strength another will be superior in intellectual matters. Therefore, difference is not considerable since individuals are roughly equal in strength and cunning, none can be secure. Thus, the state of nature is a "war of every man against every man."

In the state of nature man is not a social being at all, because he cannot be so by nature. There was no authority to check these natural instincts; there must be continual fear and the danger of violent death. The life of man is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." Such a condition is inconsistent with any kind of civilization. There is no industry, navigation, cultivation of the soil, art or letters. Equally there is neither right nor wrong, justice nor injustice. This is because, there is no common power. There is no law and where there is no law there can be no justice. Force and Fraud are in war the two cardinal virtues.

In the Hobbesian state of nature, there can be no private property, no dominion, no mine and thine distinct. The rule of life is "only that to be every man's that he can get; and for so long as he can keep it." When there is an authority to check and to hold these instincts in restraint, they continue to exist underneath the surface of human society. This continuance is evident from the conduct of even respectable citizens in a civilised state.

However, the Hobbesian concept of human nature suffers from the fact that it is based on the isolated individual. As Sabine points out, "the historical accuracy of the description was of no importance to him, (Hobbes) his purpose was not history but analysis. Thus the whole assumption of the state of nature is a trick or fancy". The fact is that the natural man as conceived by Hobbes is radically anti-social.

SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

The laws of nature are the postulates by which Hobbes rational constructions of society are to take place. Natural laws do not imply that there is such a thing as a common good. The desire of man for power and glory may tempt him to break moderation from fear of death. Here, Hobbes argues that, unless there is a restraining power strong enough to keep him to moderate, then "covenants" without the sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man a fall.

In fact, what Hobbes really means is an entire absence of right in any legal or moral sense. There is no such thing as common felicity. However, to make the counsel of prudence, born of the fear of death, issue in effective peace, a sovereign authority, one man or an assembly of men must be created to whom all the authority is handed over. In general, a mutually accepted agreement with or sometimes without terms and conditions to exchange or interchange of any item or material or rights on something between two persons is called a contract.

A mutually agreed transfer of right is normally called a contract. In this case it will be a contract between each man and every other man, in which each transfers his right to a beneficiary, who is not himself a party to the contract. But in a contract, there are two stages, there is first agreement and secondly performance. The form of the agreement here is one made by agreement of every man with every man, in such a manner, as if every man should say to every man; "authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that, thou give up the right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner." Thus, the social contract of Hobbes is made between the citizens and the sovereign.

The contract is supported by the fear of death and conclusions of reasoning. At these times, it is contrary to every other human passion, virtue and defect. Under the covenant, the recipient of the natural right of each man must be the representative of each man and the representative is an artificial person. He is one who impersonates a number of natural persons. In the operation of this authority the multitude of conflicting wills is replaced, not by a common will, but by a single representative will. This single representative will is the sovereign. This sovereign is the Leviathan, the mortal God to whom individuals owe their peace and preservation. This sovereign power may be created by institution, when men of their own impulse unite or by acquisition, when impulse to union comes from without. In the former case, the motive of force fears of one another; in the latter the fear of the sovereign.

Thus to Hobbes, political society is an institution founded upon social contract, in order to escape the reign of violence. Hobbesian contract was a contract of subjection to the sovereign and not of any limitations on the sovereign. Hobbes thus used the contract theory in favour of unlimited absolutism, which was the reverse of what the theory stood for during the 16th century. Hobbesian contract is a unilateral one in which the contracting individuals obligate themselves to the resultant sovereign. The sovereign himself is no party to the contract. Thus, Hobbesian contract is absolute and irrevocable.

Another feature of the Hobbesian contract is that it is social and not governmental. It is between the people themselves. The ruler is no party to it. Consequently, it is a contract that justifies all forms of government – monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. This is because at the time of contract the individuals could surrender their rights to one man or one assembly of men as they liked. Again, here, the state is not a growth or an organism but an artifice or manufacture calculated to serve the specific end of maintenance of peace and order. It is therefore a means to an end, which leads to the concept of individualism. But in so far as the people surrender all their rights, except that of life, to the sovereign and have no right of revolution, it leads to absolutism.

It may be added that the Hobbesian contract creates simultaneously the state, society and government. In fact, Hobbes does not distinguish between state and society and between state and government. He also does not distinguish between De-jure and De-Facto sovereignty. The state of Hobbes is not the outcome of man's sociability as held by Aristotle, but of his anti-social nature. In the Hobbesian state, since the power of ruler is unrestricted no visible or invisible conditions can be enforced upon him. Even by using the constitution also it is not possible to corner or arrest the actions of the Hobbesian state. Whatever is done by the sovereignty of the state, that is obvious and correct and there is no possibility to declare them as illegitimate. The reason is, he himself is the source of laws and the laws are subject to his interpretation.

The governing authority of state should safeguard its subjects internally and externally for peace and preservation were basis of the creation of the Leviathan. He has the right to appoint and dismissal of Officials. He holds the power engaging the country into a war and making judicial decisions. No one has any hereditary right to any office.

Sovereign is the fountain of honour. The Leviathan represents the zenith and the sole single power in and of the state. As he exercises absolute authority, there none has the right of confrontation against him. There is

an exception for this is the self-defense. If the subjects disobey to any action, it is considered as unfair since, it has been against the covenant. Hence, if resistance is successful and the sovereign loses his power, he ipso facto ceases to be sovereign and his subjects cease to be subjects.

The law of nature can never be pleaded against Leviathan for the purpose of the law of nature is the creation of the Leviathan, who alone can interpret it. The law of God can never be pleaded against Leviathan, for of that also Leviathan is the sole interpreter. If the sovereign ignores the pact, the subjects cannot do so, because the pact made all individuals joining it to give up the in natural rights. But the sovereign is no party to the contract and therefore retains his natural rights. Conscience can never be pleaded against Leviathan for "the law is the public conscience by which man hath already undertaken to be guided." In short the sovereign is the creator of morality. Thus, the Hobbes an sovereign and his creative law are the source of all distinction between good and bad, just and unjust, legal and illegal, moral and immoral. The attributes of the sovereign are indivisible and in alienable. Thus, very properly does Hobbes called his sovereign a "mortal god" and write in his hands the sword and the crozier. For him, there is no choice except between absolute power and complete anarchy.

SOVEREIGNTY

According to Hobbes the person to whom rights were surrendered was the sovereign: a great Leviathan before whom all were to bow. He was the preserver of peace, hope for prosperity, development and security. To quote Hobbes, "By this authority, given to him by every particular man in the commonwealth, he has the use of so much power and strength conferred on him, that by error thereof, he is enabled to form wills of them all, to peace at home and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consists these sense of commonwealth and he shall think expedient, for the peace and the common defense". The sovereign of Hobbes has the following salient characteristics:

1. Above Laws: Sovereign shall not be party to the contract and shall remain above all laws.
2. Custodian of Rights: He shall accordingly retain all the rights which he used to enjoy in the state of nature. Since all have surrendered their rights willingly to the sovereign, the sovereign was the custodian of their rights. None should challenge sovereign on grounds of infringing his rights.

3. Sole Interpreter of Law: He was the Sole interpreter of law. His actions could not be pre-judicial to social interests.
4. Beyond Breach of Trust: He could not be charged with breach of contract because he was not a party to the contract.
5. Symbol of National Unity: He was the symbol of national unity and as such any challenge to his authority was irrational. According to A. Hecker "All the citizens have agreed to regard sovereign an extension to their personalities and as the repository of their rights. This means that loyalty is to be rendered exclusively to the state.
6. There is no room left over for associations in society which might compete with the state for the allegiance of the citizens. The sovereign must demand complete obedience to his laws. There is no allowance for individuals who take a light hearted view of the political authority. Similarly, associations, which by their very existence divide the loyalties of citizens, are dangerous to commonwealth."
7. Final Authority to Contracts: No contract can be quoted against the sovereign. He was the final authority to approve all contracts. There could be no contract against him. Hobbes maintained that the obedience to authority was universal. The minority should not disobey the commands of a sovereign on the grounds that it was not party to the contract. To quote Saxo Commins, "And whether he be the congregation or not, he either must submit to their decrees, or be left to the conditions of war, he was in before; wherein he might without injustice be destroyed by man what so ever."
8. Sovereignty: Hobbes could not reconcile himself to the idea of limited sovereignty. Sovereignty must be indivisible and inalienable.
9. The right of choosing his own ministers and magistrates was valid in the hands of the absolute and inalienable sovereign. He was, however, in no way bound by the advice of his ministers of magistrates.
10. Ultimate Authority: The sovereign was the ultimate authority for "making war and peace with other nations and commonwealths, that is to say of judging when it is for the public good and how great forces are to be assembled: armed and paid for that end: and to levy money up on the subjects, to defray the expenses there of."
11. Absolute Dictator: Hobbes has thus created his absolute indivisible and inalienable sovereign. His sovereign was the dictator. He was one of the most undemocratic persons. After having been elected in

a most democratic way he tried to stress that his subjects, magistrates and ministers might shine in his absence but they cannot find a place in his presence.

HOBBE`SVIEWS ON NATURAL RIGHTS AND NATURAL LAWS

Hobbes like his contemporaries believed in natural rights and natural laws. To him, in the state of nature man enjoyed natural rights. Hobbes disagreed with Jean Bodin and Hugo Grotius regarding their view point that natural law is essentially moral law, which commands man to do well and avoid evil. To him there is nothing intrinsically good or bad and reason tells us which actions tend towards self-preservation and which toward self-destruction. In disobeying this laws man is not wicked but foolish.

Hobbes made a clear distinction between natural right and natural law. Natural right signifies simply the liberty possessed by every man of doing what seems best for the preservation of his existence. Liberty here means the absence of external impediments. Natural, laws on the other hand implies primarily restraint rather than liberty. This set of principles which reason desires for making life secure. While equal natural rights of all men make the state of nature a state of war.

Hobbes bases the observance of their laws of nature on utility and not on moral considerations. Utility or self interest is an internal restraint. it suits people to violate the laws of nature but make others respect them. Therefore, utility alone is not enough and he suggests a common coercive power to enforce these rules in the common interests of all. This is because Men's passions based on fear and self interest can be checked only on the basis of greater fear and greater self- interest.

DIVINE ORIGIN AND ABSOLUTION

God has nothing to do with the origin of the state. Hobbes did not believe that there was any mystery in the creation of the state. The state was a contrivance of man. Hobbes gave a serious setback to the theory of Divine Rights of kings and the theory of Divine Origin of the state.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

The views of Hobbes about the form of government can be explained by his conception of sovereignty. Like Aristotle, he explains the kinds of common wealth by the number of persons constituting the sovereign.

(a) When one man is vested with all the powers of the multitude that constituted the society the state is monarchic.

(b) When this power lies with an assembly to which everyone may belong, this is democratic.

(c) When this assembly is limited to certain men the state is aristocratic. The idea of limited government was an absurdity both to Bodin and Hobbes. Older writers from Aristotle onwards sought to distinguish between monarchy and tyranny, aristocracy and oligarchy, democracy and mob rule. Hobbes rejected this system of classification on the ground that sovereign in all of them possesses the same attributes, and that such distinctions were subjective rather than objective.

"They that are dissatisfied with monarchy call it tyranny, they that are displeased with aristocracy call it oligarchy so also they who find themselves grieved under a democracy call it anarchy. But the lack of government does not mean a new government" says Hobbes.

The same government may well be considered a monarchy by some and a tyranny by others. As to the best form of government is definitely better which can be adopted to direct the absolute power to the single end of maintaining peace and security. Viewed in the light of this, according to him, monarchy is ultimately declared to be the best.

He condemns the democratic rule on the basis of the weakness and vacillation of democratic assemblies how the common people are more likely to be swayed by passion than by reason.

Hobbes, no doubt, is willing to admit that a monarchy may be selfish in granting special favours to his friends and flatterers. But he believes that the member of a democratic assembly will pursue the same policy.

"And whereas the favorites of monarchs are few and they have none to advance save their own kindred, the favourites of an assembly are many and the kindred more numerous than of any monarch".

"In a monarchy, in other words, public money may be wasted on the king's mistresses, in other words, public money may be wasted on the king's mistresses, but the sums spent in this way are nothing compared with the 'Pork barrel' money and the soldiers' bonuses which will be voted by a democratic assembly in order to win favour with the mob" says Hobbes.

STATE-CHURCHRELATION

The predecessors of Hobbes were very much occupied with problem of state- church relationship. Hobbes too,, was not indifferent to this question. If we go through the pages of leviathan we will find that practically half of it is devoted to the discussion of theological and ecclesiastical principles which supplement the moral and political theory of the work.

Ecclesiastically examined, Thomas Hobbes was essentially an erastian and his exaltation of the political sovereign left no room for the independent existence of the church without the sovereign's will. It becomes quite obvious from his definition of the church. He defines the church as a company of men professing the Christian religion, united in the person of one sovereign at whose command they ought to assemble and without whole authority they ought not to assemble.

From this definition of the church, certain things follow: Firstly, that anybody of men meeting for worship without the command of the sovereign is no church but just a lawful assembly.

Secondly, that there are no such things as a universal church since there is no all-inclusive commonwealth. It was in this way that the ecclesiastical preventions of both catholic and dissenters were stripped off by Hobbes.

To quote Professor W.A Dunning, "The majestic claims of the church were insulted by the philosopher's downright repudiation of such concept as a spiritual government"

According to Hobbes," Temporal and spiritual governments are two swords brought into the world to make men see double and mistakes their lawful sovereign."

The lawful sovereign to Hobbes is neither the Pope nor the institution of the church but the temporal monarch.

Sovereign to him, is perhaps the supreme religion and the source of all authority connected with that name. The sovereign derives his powers and position immediately from god. The priests and the bishops derive their powers from the sovereign. Thus he ignored and condemned the claims of those Anglican priests and bishops who believed that such authority came only to them directly from god and not from the sovereign.

The corruption in the life of the church and its complete failure to strengthen civil life of the people was a great concern of Hobbes.

Hobbes rightly felt that one of the principal causes of the civil war was religious in origin. Hobbes regarded religious superstition so powerful a drug that it constituted an appalling menace to the very fabric of society unless its administration was carefully and scrupulously supervised. He was justified in thinking that religion in the hand of a prudent sovereign was a powerful instrument for social cohesion, but an equally powerful divisive force when it passed out of his control.

All throughout, Hobbes is sincere and conscious to secure the sovereign's control over, ecclesiastical affairs. The ecclesiastical authority had failed to pursue a policy of religious toleration. Hobbes is a strong champion of the policy of religious toleration on rationalistic grounds, and he thought that such toleration could be possible if the sovereign was also supreme in matters of religion.

In matters of religious worship, Hobbes is stiff in maintaining the power of the sovereign. It is in this way that Hobbes completely subordinates both church and religion to the interests of the state. His subordination, however, rests on logical foundation.

"So long as public disorders do not ensue" says Hobbes "the independence of the primitive Christians is perhaps the best" But such independence is neither possible nor desirable when the state is overtaken by struggle and strife, chaos and corruption.

"It is in this way" says professor W.A. Dunning, "that Hobbes comes to his original purpose of securing through absolute sovereignty the external and physical peace that he thought essential to the most effective intellectual activity".

INDIVIDUALISM OF HOBBS

To a casual and superficial reader, the monarchic absolutism appears to be the most important part of the political philosophy of Hobbes. The reality is something different. The importance of Hobbes as a political thinker does not lie in his absolute monarchic principles but individualism. To quote Professor G.H. Sabine, "The absolute power of the sovereign, theory with which Hobbes's name is more generally associated was really the necessary complement of his individualism". He also writes again that "The monarchic absolutism with which the name of Hobbes is generally associated constitutes the superficial part of his political philosophy. And although the civil war occasioned his thinking's and writings, but they account in a very less degree for the importance of what he has to say".

To Professor Sabine, individualism appeared to be the most characteristic part of Hobbesian political theory.

No doubt Hobbes exalts the power of the state, but his theory was wholly individualistic and rested on recognition of the natural equality of all men as was ever asserted by Milton. To mention Hobbes in this connection, "nature hath made men so equal in the faculties of body, and mind, as that though there be found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body, or of quicker mind than another; yet when all is reckoned together, the difference between man and man is not so considerable, as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit, to which another may not pretend, as well as he. For as to the strength of body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by secret machination, or by confederacy with others that are in the same danger with him. And as to the faculties of mind, I find yet a greater equality among men than that of strength. For prudence is but experience which equal time equally bestows on all men, in those things they equally themselves unto",

Again, there is a contract of individuals with individuals. The state also comes into existence through this contract and continues to exist because of this contract. Thus the state becomes the playwright of the individuals.

Except as there is a tangible superior to whom men render obedience, and who can in necessity enforce obedience, there are only individual human beings each actuated by his private interests. There is no middle ground between humanity as a sand heap of separate organisms and the state as an outside power holding them precariously together by the sanctions with which it supplements individual motives".

Though outwardly an enemy number one of individualism Hobbes is concerned above all with the individual and the rights and privileges of the individual.

"As it is necessary for all men that seek peace, to lay down certain rights of nature, that is to say not to have liberty to do all they list, so is it necessary for men's life to retain some; as right to govern their own bodies; enjoy air, water, motion, ways to go from place to place; and all things else, without which a man cannot live, or not live well".

The civil society, in Hobbes's view, was not instituted for its own, but for the subject's sake, and the duties of the sovereign concern the subject as a beneficiary. "The resulting estimate of government was wholly secular and quite coolly utilitarian. Its value consists solely in what it

does but since the alternative is anarchy, there can be no doubt which a utilitarian will choose.

The choice has little sentiment behind it. The advantages of government are tangible and they must accrue quite tangible to individuals in the form of peace and comfort and security of person and property. This is the only ground upon which government can be justified or even exists. A general or public good, like a public will is a figment of the imagination, there are merely individuals who desire to live and to enjoy protection for the means of life".

HOBBS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

According to Professor Dunning, "His work placed him at once in the front rank of political thinkers and his theory became from the moment of its appearance the center of Europe".

Dr. Murray tells us, "Hobbes's biographer could only find a solitary supporter, while his assailants were countless. Hobbesism, in fact, stood for atheism materialism, despotism or indeed for any other that the fancy of the age suggested".

According to Dr. Gettell, "The theory of Hobbes had little immediate following in English political thought although it probably influenced Cromwell to assume dictatorial power. His doctrines were not revived in England until the second half of the eighteenth century in the words of Bentham and Austin. His comparison of the state to a human organism was taken up later by Spencer and the sociologists. On the continent however his doctrines were developed immediately by Spinoza".

According to Professor Q.H. Sabine Hobbes is probably the greatest western political philosophy that the English speaking peoples have produced in the same manner Prof. Oakshot says "Leviathan is the greatest and perhaps the sole master piece of political philosophy in the English language"

Hobbes's doctrine of sovereignty is a positive contribution to political thought. He subordinated the church to the authority of the State. He became the forerunner of the Utilitarian's.

Different schools of thought have drawn inspiration from his secularism, naturalism individualism, utilitarianism and authoritarianism.

"The influence of Hobbes was quite perceptible in 19th century legal thought His doctrine of sovereign and his idea of positive law were fully embodied in the legal philosophy of the great Victorian Professor of Jurisprudence John Austin".

His principles were as much adapted to the purpose of an absolute parliament as those of an absolute king. To conclude with Prof. Maxey "This debonair and versatile tutor, who spent the major part of his life imparting rudimentary learning to succeeding generations of Cavendish heirs was one of the great political thinkers of the English race, one whose name will endure as long as men trouble their minds about matters political".

LET US SUM UP

Thomas Hobbes is best known for his 1651 book Leviathan, in which he expounds and influential formulation of social Contract Theory. His enduring contribution was highly significant as a political philosopher who justified wide-ranging government powers on the basis of the self-interested consent of citizens. In Hobbes's social contract, the many trade liberty of safety has been discussed.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who recognizes that even in the Primitive Natural State there are some Laws of Nature?
a) Hobbes b) Locke c) Rousseau d) Bentham
2. Leviathan is written by:
a) Thomas Hobbes b) Hegel c) Locke
d) None of These
3. Hobbesian Social Contract is based on:
a) Desire for Peace b) Selfishness c) Fear
d) None of These
4. Who said the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short?
a) Bentham b) Locke c) Hegel d) Hobbes

GLOSSARY

Cardinal : Fundamental
 Covenant : Pact
 Sovereign : Person having Supreme power
 Breach of trust : Going against the treaty or agreement

ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Hobbes
2. Hegel
3. Desire for Peace
4. Hobbes

MODELQUESTION

1. What are Hobbes' views of Social Contract?
2. Explain Hobbes' views on the Sovereignty.
3. Discuss the Concept of State of Nature.
4. Bring out the Hobbes' views on natural rights and natural laws.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT- 5

J.LOCKE-STATEOFNATURE, SOCIALCONTRACT,SOVEREIGNTY, INDIVIDUALISM AND PROPERTY

STRUCTURE

Overview

LearningObjectives

LifeSketch

Work

ThePoliticalPhilosophyofLocke

Stateof Nature

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OVERVIEW

John Locke was an English philosopher and political theorist. He is agreed and appreciated as the founder of British empiricism and the author of the first systematic exposition and defense of political liberalism. This unit tries to explain Locke's the state of nature, social contract sovereignty, individualism and private property etc. In the previous unit, we discussed about Hobbes ideas on state of nature, social contract, sovereignty and his views on natural rights and natural laws.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to

- Understand the life of John Locke and his works.
- Explain the Locke's Social Contract Theory.
- Know the reason for Individualism, Sovereignty and property.

LIFE SKETCH

John Locke was born at Wrington, Somersetshire in 1632. Locke received his early education at home. Later, he was given admission in Westminster School. At the age of 20, he entered Christ Church College, Oxford. In 1658, he became Master of Arts and after that he was appointed as a tutor in Greek, rhetoric and philosophy at Oxford. In 1688 the Bloodless Revolution took place in England and William of Orange was invited to occupy the throne.

WORK

The principal works of John Locke are:

1. A Letter on Toleration (1689)
2. Two Treatises of Government (1690)
3. A Second Letter on Toleration (1690)
4. A Third Letter on Toleration (1692)
5. A Fourth Letter on Toleration (Posthumous)
6. The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, (written in 1673, but published in 1706).
7. Essay on Human Understanding (1690)
8. Thoughts on Education (1693) and
9. Reasonable of Christianity

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF LOCKE

Locke's political philosophy can be rightly termed as the voice of freedom of the 17th century enlightenment. Rationalism is its very core and it may be epitomized as a superlative appeal to reason. Rationality was at once the key note of his life and the central purpose of all his mental questioning. He is a mirror in which Englishmen may find themselves faithfully reflected.

Liberalism in the real sense of the term began with John Locke. He preached to organize society in accordance with its own truth, and condemned the dogmatic and despotic tendencies of the age. In the Journal of May 16, 1681, He writes, "The three great things that govern mankind are Reason, Passion, and Superstition; the first govern a few,

the two last shares the bulk of mankind, and possess them in their turns; but superstition is most powerful and produces the greatest mischief's".

LOCKE'S CONCEPTION OF HUMAN NATURE

Locke's conception of human nature is summed up in his 'Essay on Human Understanding'. Like Hobbes, he does not adopt a cynical view of human nature. Hobbes, was convinced that man was irrational because in his action he is motivated by impulse and passion rather than by reason. Locke on the other hand, believed that man was rational as reason was the dominant factor in individual and social life. He held that men were basically decent, orderly, social-minded and quite capable of ruling themselves. Locke was also convinced that "naturally and innately men are more or less equal". As he writes in the pages of his "Civil Government":

"All men are naturally in a state of equality wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection.

The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of nature for his rule". Since Locke had the good fortune of enjoying the company of decent, lovable, amiable and sympathetic friends, it was natural and inevitable for him to take a very bright and optimistic view of human nature.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 also influenced his concept of human nature. During this year the people in effect dismissed one sovereign for incompetence and, with a minimum of disturbance, elected another who, as they believed, would perform his proper functions efficiently and whom they could trust to recognize the rights and privileges which they claimed for themselves.

The accession of William and Mary was thus a triumph for democracy and for the thesis that sovereigns rule by the consent and for the benefit of their subjects it completely disproved Hobbes's conception of man as blindly irrational and utterly and narrowly selfish. It showed men to be possessed of a social sense which naturally brings them together, so that the pleasure of force is not required to keep them from each other's throats. It was correct evidence of the fact that men are sufficiently reasonable to see that their best interest lies in mutual and peaceful co-

operation and of the fact that they have a sufficiently rational will to act in accordance with what they see to be good. Human beings to Locke, thus appear to be reasonable, co-operative, social and sympathetic. Human nature, to him, is marked with love, sympathy, kindness and goodwill. It is with these qualities that men, according to Locke, lived in the state of nature prior to their entrance into the civil society.

STATE OF NATURE

Locke's view of human nature is summed up in his "Essay on Human Understanding." To him, man is a rational and a social being and is capable of recognising and living in a moral order. He is not self-centered, competitive or destructive. He feels sympathy, love and tenderness towards his fellow beings and wants to live in peace and going hand in hand with others. Locke believed that men are morally equal and are orderly, society loving and capable of ruling themselves. Hence the state of nature is not a state of war. Men have equal natural rights and thus the state of nature is an ideal moral order. Locke did not see the negative side of human nature like Hobbes. The reason was that of period of those persons.

Comparatively, Locke lived in a very dovish and settled atmosphere than Hobbes had taken a dark picture of human nature as Hobbes did, because his times were more peaceful and settled than those of Hobbes. He wrote after the Glorious revolution where as the Leviathan of Hobbes came after the violent civil war. The Lockean state of nature is a state in which men are equal and free to act "as they think fit within the bounds of law of nature." In contrast to the Hobbesian state of nature, Locke's state of nature is pre-eminently social in character, because the instinct of sociability is inherent in man.

Further, Locke and state of nature was not a war all against all. Individual sociability prevents quarrels. Abundance of land and plenty of natural provisions in the world left little room for quarrels. It was a state of perfect freedom" and also of "peace, good will, mutual assistance and preservation." It was the state of equality, where in "all power and jurisdiction is reciprocal." Here, not all sorts of equality are meant by Locke as men are not equal in morality or mental ability. The equality is in the equal right that every man had to his natural freedom without being subjected to the will or authority of any other man. At the same time each individual must recognize and respect the equality of every other. From this, one can understand that, man has inborn natural right of equality.

According to Locke "the state of nature has a law of nature to govern it." It is a body of rules which governs, at all times and all places, the conduct of men. Its arbiter is reason, and reason shows as those men are equal. Thus, the state of nature was explained as a condition of right and reason; non-political, but not non-social. It is said that, Locke's state of nature is very like civil society without government. Unlike, Hobbes, Locke does not give a clear enunciation of the law of nature nor a systematic exposition of human psychology.

SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

Locke agreed with Hobbes that the state is neither a mechanical growth nor product of any super natural power. It is the result of social contract. This contract felt it necessary both for their well being, social security and prosperity. But beyond that they parted with each other. Unlike Hobbes Locke believed that men were capable, efficient and considerate beings. Locke's concept of social contract revolves round the idea that each individual is a dependable and rational being.

In the state of nature people enjoyed peace and prosperity and there was no fear of war, then why did they leave the state of nature. According to Locke, it was the internal desire to establish social contract which motivated the people in this direction. The uncertainty of a common decision and a common interpreter of acceptable social laws was another factor which made men think of leaving the state of nature.

Yet as a political theorist Locke has reservations about man's ability to act as an objective judge. Men are passionate and egoistic creatures, and the process of justice may be undone as personal consideration enters. Locke himself said "It is unreasonable for men to be judges in their own cases, self love will make men partial to themselves and their friends, and on the other hand ill will, passion and revenge will carry them too far in punishing others; and hence nothing but confusion and disorder will follow.

Inability to keep his natural right against injustice was another reason which forced Locke to think of leaving the state of nature. As everybody was competent to punish the other for breach of law, the confusion was bound to originate, which could be avoided only when there was a common law giver and law interpreter."

CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY

Lock's conception of sovereignty, if pressed to its logical conclusion, makes state a corporate body. He believed that the individual was ultimate and sovereign. Sovereignty was thus aggregate of individuals and not the supreme power which was the characteristics of sovereignty. Sovereignty became a limited liability company. It is very strange that Locke placed individual even before the state. The individuals have no doubt, a place in the state and play an important role in democracies, but to believe that they were above the state was something which was undesirable. According to Sabine, "The individualism of all social theory between Locke and J. S. Mill depended less on logic than on its agreement with interests of the class that mainly produced it."

INDIVIDUALISM

Locke was a thorough going individualist and placed his individual before his state and society. So to him the state is a means and the individuals the end. This is because, in the Locke an political theory, the concept of individual has certain innate and inviolable rights, i.e., the rights to life, liberty and property. The individual enters the state as a rational and a moral being and does not owe the state his rational or moral development. The state is created to safe guard his natural rights, especially property. Thus the state of Locke is an individualist state with a minimum of functions but plenty of restraints and limitations. Critics points out that, Locke has over stated his case in favour of a sovereignty of the individual. Locke holds that the consent of the individuals is necessary for the foundation of the state and dissolution of governments. But this is belied by history. He reduces the regulative functions of the state to the minimum. He does not realise that the individuals are unequal from the point of view of natural endowments. A policy of non-interference on the part of the state would put the weak individuals at the mercy of the strong.

CONCEPT OF PROPERTY

Private property is an age of old institution. It is the subject matter of many controversial theories both in political as well as economic fields. No serious political philosopher could afford to ignore discussion on this subject. About the growth of this age old institution it has been said "Plato said believed that property obscured men's reasoning powers and he therefore denied it to the Guardians. Aristotle approved of property, but he said that any class which became too wealthy would constitute a threat to political stability."

St. Thomas refused to assert that property is sanctioned by natural laws and claimed that it is an addition enacted by human legislators. And Hobbes allowed his citizens to own property but begave the sovereign the power to regulate the way in which it was employed. All the theorists have in short expressed reservation about property."

Locke believed that the institution of private property is essential for the development of mankind. Man is an entrepreneurial animal. He has right to own private property. Commonwealth came into being to protect his natural rights of life, liberty and property, of them all the right to property was most sacred and valuable one. Locke did not agree with Aristotle about the notion of private property. He did agree with Rousseau when he said, "that property ownership has become concentrated in too few hands and hence can no longer enter a claim to legitimacy." Locke believed that private property must be preserved if the citizens should live happily. Private property is always a source of joy.

LOCKE ON NATURAL RIGHTS AND NATURAL LAWS

According to C. Maxey, the doctrine of natural rights is Locke's "greatest contribution to political thought and one of the most explosive ideas that ever found lodgement in the human mind." Locke identifies natural rights with life, liberty and property. The right to private property is to him the most important and the other natural rights are analogous to it. Like Hobbes he regard that the instinct of self-preservation is deepest of human impulses and whatever is reasonably directed to this end is everyman's privilege by the law of nature.

As to liberty on the other hand Locke departs from his predecessor. By liberty he means the liberty of men to dispose as they please of their goods and persons. It also means order their actions by freely follow their own will and not be subjected to the arbitrary will of another. The end of law is not for restraining but to enlarge individual freedom.

In the Lockean political theory, Commonwealth was created for the protection of natural rights. Locke talks of rights as natural and inherent in the individual. Rights are born of human reason and human needs. In this sense Locke's insistence on rights bring natural to man has led to the conception of a system of fundamental rights of the individual which calls for a limited government.

Locke held strong views on the institution of property and on the sacredness of the right to property. To him there is a natural right of property because property is the extension of one's own personality. Locke argues that property right is prior to state.

Locke argued for a natural and inherent right of property, because labour is inherent in every individual. While to Hobbes right to property, like all other rights of the subject is the creation of government, the society and state, instead of being creators of property are creatures of it. Man created them to protect the prior right of property. The business of political society was to preserve, not invade, men's natural rights of life, liberty and property. The existence of state is justified because it protects the rights of property.

Locke was defending the Whig revolution and it according to Daniel Webster was a revolution in defense of property as well as natural rights. However, Locke's ideas regarding property are not applicable in the complex industrial society of today. His theory of property is that of the rising bourgeoisie. Locke emphasize the right of property above the other rights, and thus this theory of property is of the propertied and privileged class to which he himself belonged. Thus the natural man of Locke is a propertied gentleman insisting on his own rights and respecting the rights of others. In short, Locke's view that property is a natural and inviolable right is the key stone of modern individualism and used in defense of capitalism.

LOCKE IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

Although Locke was not an original thinker, he still occupies a very significant place in the history of Western Political Thought.

The salient features of the American Political system, such as the inviolability of property, limited governmental powers and inalienable right of the individual are traceable to the writings of John Locke. His Two Treatises of Government, in the words of Parrington "become the text book of American Revolution". He exercised a tremendous influence on American Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution.

It was from his writings that Diderot, Voltaire Rousseau and other leaders of the French Revolution derived much of their fundamental thought. But Locke is not only an exponent of the revolutionary, but also of the scientific attitude in political science. He is the forerunner not so much of Marx and certainly not of Rousseau as of Bertrand Russel.

The principal feature of Locke's theory is the conception of the state and its functions as limited and conditioned by certain moral restrictions, certain inherent human rights which ought to be implemented. It went rather to restrain the community from interfering with what were regarded as individual rights and interests than to give the state a new form, or to pour new life into the old one.

For this reason he is rightly regarded as the founder of philosophic liberalism in England. To quote Prof. Laski, "Hobbes worked with an impossible psychology and sought no more than the prescription against disorder. Burke wrote rather a text book for the cautious administrator than a guide for the liberal statesman. But Locke saw that main problem of the state is the conquest of freedom and it was for its definition in terms of individual good that he above all strove".

According to Prof. W.A. Dunning "The most distinctive Contribution of Locke to political theory is the doctrine of natural rights:. It was not only most distinctive but most dynamic also. "Every constitutional limitation on sovereign power, every security accorded to property, every barrier against arbitrary and unlimited authority, every declaration of rights in the written constitutions of the last two centuries is predicated upon his simple but stupendous postulate, which made individualism an invincible political fact and breathed vitality into the wishful creed of laissez-faire".

The germs of the theory of laissez-faire are to be traced to his writings. The state to him like Dr. Bosanquet did not appear as "guardian of the whole moral world", or like Hegel as the "March of God on earth". To Locke, the state is little more than a negative institution, a kind of gigantic limited liability company.

Locke is a true progenitor of Benthamism. In his ethical inquiries it was always the happiness of the individual that he sought. "That which is for the public welfare" he said, "is God's will and therein we have the root of that utilitarianism which as Maine pointed out is the real parent of all 19th century change.

He was the first to advocate the theory of separation of powers which Montesquieu took it for the root of every liberty and Blackstone repeated the pious words of Frenchman and they went in company to America to persuade Madison and the supreme court of the United States that only the separation of powers can prevent the approach of tyranny.

To Locke, the government in substance is a trustee and trustees abuse their powers. His philosophy of individualism, the doctrine of popular sovereignty and the conception of constitutional government based on the consent of the governed and implemented by majority rule are still the fundamental and realizable doctrines of rational political science.

Locke however is not free from defects. He regarded moral laws as finished and finite and their study as an exact science. Again, his psychological egoistic hedonism is incompatible with his utilitarianism. Locke's definition of property is not satisfactory.

LETUSSUMUP

John Locke is regarded as one of the most influential philosophers of modern times. He founded the modern theory of liberalism and made an exceptional contribution to modern philosophical empiricism. He was also influential in the areas of theology, religious tolerance and educational theory.

CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. "AnEssayconcerningHumanUnderstanding" iswrittenby
a) ThomasHobbes b)JohnLocke
c)J.J.Rousseau d)Noneof These
2. WhoattemptedtoJustifyEnglishrevolutionof1688?
a) Hegel b)Locke
c)Rousseau d)Bentham
3. AccordingtoJohnLocke,thebestformof Governmentis
a) Monarchy b)Aristocracy
c)Democracy d)None of These
4. _____stateofnaturewasnot awar allagainstall
a) Lockean b)Hobbsian
c)Hegel d)Bentham

GLOSSARY

StateofNature	:TheNaturalConditionofMankindbefore thecreationof state
Liberalism	:Liberalopinionandbeliefespeciallyin politics
Theology	:Relatingtoreligion
Rhetoric	:Speechorwritingthatisintendedto influence people end it is not honest.

ANSWERTO CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. JohnLocke
2. Locke
3. Democracy
4. Lockean

MODELQUESTION

1. What were Locke's views on Sovereignty?
2. Discuss Locke's Social Contract Theory.
3. Critically examine the limitations on the Ownership of Property as defined by Locke.
4. Describe Locke's Natural rights.

UNIT- 6

J.J.ROUSSEAU-STATEOF NATURE, SOCIAL CONTRACT, SOVEREIGNTY,GENERALWILL

STRUCTURE

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OVERVIEW

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was a French philosopher and writer of the age of Enlightenment. His political Philosophy, Particularly his formulation of social contract theory (or contractarianism), strongly influenced the French Revolution and the development of Liberal, Conservative and Socialist Theory. In the previews unit, we studiedaboutLocke"sviewsonstateofnature,socialcontracttheory,conceptof Sovereignty, individualism and his concept of property. This unit tries to discuss about Rousseau"s state of nature, social contract, Sovereignty and general will.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to

- Learn about Rousseau's life and his work.
- Explain the social contract of Rousseau.
- Discuss the Rousseau's theory of general will.
- Know about the Rousseau's concept of sovereignty.

LIFE SKETCH

Jean Jacques Rousseau was born in the democratic Canton of Geneva in Switzerland on June 28, 1712 in a middle class family. His father, Isaac, was a skilled watchmaker and later became a dancing master. Rousseau was deserted by his father at an early age. He did not get any regular education. At the age of sixteen, he was filled with a wanderlust, and he "embraced the career of a penniless vagabond as others might enter upon a profession". He changed his jobs easily, and he was "never completely at home in any profession, or any science or religion". He was a servant, engraver, tax-collector, musical performer and private tutor by turns. He, according to his own description, was the lonely wanderer.

In 1742, he made an attempt to lead a regular life. He went to Paris and tried the opera and the theatre. After meeting with failure, he secured a post at the French embassy in Venice. He was dismissed from this post. He returned to Paris in 1744, and became the proprietor of his own hotel. Commenting on his domestic life Prof. Hearnshaw says that Rousseau "struck up an acquaintance, which soon developed into cohabitation with an illiterate and sensual bar maid, Therese Levasseur, by whom he had five children who were sent anonymously to the asylum for foundlings." In 1762, he left Paris and lived for sometime in England with Hume and Burke. He suspected Hume for plotting against this life and secretly escaped to France. He died in 1778.

WORKS OF ROUSSEAU

The important works of Rousseau include:

- Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and Sciences (1751).
- Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality among Men (1755).
- Political Economy (article 1755)
- The Nouvelle Heloise (1760)
- Emile (1762)
- Social Contract (1762).

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ROUSSEAU

Edmund Burke regarded the social contract of Rousseau as of little or no merit', and he thought of Rousseau as an "insane Socrates'. Yet few men have more affected the mind of the modern world than Jean Jacques Rousseau

In this political thinking Rousseau was greatly indebted to Locke; in fact the greater part of his political ideas is directly traceable to the English theorist. But Locke's 'Essay on civil Government' was a rather dull defence of revolution which had already taken place, and all that Locke wished to do was to cause the populace to accept the status quo. Where Locke was read by hundred, Rousseau whose principal work, the social contract, appeared in 1762 was read by the thousand, and wherever Rousseau was read, there was engendered a vast discontent with existing conditions, and a feeling that something radical should be done to correct existing evils.

Locke was a mild defender of bloodless revolution in the past: Rousseau was the ardent apostle of a cause which was to lead a violent revolution shortly after his death, His contribution to the history of political thought can be studied under the following heads:

STATE OF NATURE

In the Discourse on the origin and basis of Inequality, Rousseau undertook to show what was the nature of man and State of Nature. He agrees with Plato in believing that human nature is essentially good. According to him nature has endowed man with two primal instincts as self interest and pity. The individual, therefore, in the State of Nature could not be "good or bad, virtuous or vicious". But he adjusts the possibility of a clash or conflict between these two instincts by developing a sentiment known as conscience. But conscience needs a guide which comes into man in the shape of reason. Reason guides conscience by determining what is right and what is wrong. Reason and conscience enable a man to establish harmony between his self- regarding and other regarding instincts.

It is man's destiny to perfect his nature through reason and society. So long as man follows his natural instincts he is good and when his primal instincts are distorted or suppressed, he becomes bad. Bad social environment makes a man let his self-love to degenerate into pride. Therefore, pride over powers a man's reason and perverts his true nature. To go back to nature, a man must renounce pride. Pride is generated by the degenerate art and culture of an artificial society.

Thus to Rousseau, "a thinking man is a depraved animal." Liberty or freedoms of choice is nature's gift and by a price choice man can transform his nature and realize his true nature or real will.

To Rousseau, the Natural State was always better than the civil state. He specifically rejects Hobbes views of the state of Nature in which man must be wicked. He asserts that man's sense of compassion is the original sentiment from which all later virtues follow. Against Hobbes, Rousseau brought the pertinent point that men fight not as detached individuals but as citizens and subjects. Rousseau's natural man, his noble savage, lived a solitary, happy and care free life. His life was one of idyllic felicity. To him the men in state of nature lived "free, healthy, honest and happy lives." All they needed to know, nature taught them; and all they needed to possess or use, nature provided. He felt free and equal, independent, contented and self-sufficient. He was a non-social being, unknown to good or evil or fear. He has no family and property, and is free from the corrupting influence of commerce and industry. Living in this state of happy savagery, man enjoyed substantial equality.

The noble savage was in a state of paradise before the entrance of the serpent-private property. The institution of private property attended the institutions of family. This created jealousy among human beings and gave rise to inequality. This further led to the rich persuading the weak to set up state to protect the weak. But really, this was to perpetuate and legitimize the domination of the rich over the poor. This is the origin of rights and slavery etc. and the enactment of laws and the setting up of government. The civil society thus brings inequality and slavery and this domination of one man over another. The only salvation from this state is not „back to nature“, but to find principles of political obligation which would reconcile authority and liberty. It also removes inequality and furnishes a basis for pure justice and natural right and bring the benefits of pre-political state of nature.

SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

In social contract Rousseau is pointing to the way to the transformation of contemporary society. So that men will be free and equal as they were in the state of nature. To Rousseau, perfection of man's nature by his reason and through society is man's destiny. Reason not only harmonises instinct but also develops them. However, by the time, Rousseau, came to write the "Social Contract", he recognised the impossibility of a return to nature in civil society. Thus, he sets himself a form of association in which each while uniting himself with all may still obey himself alone and remain as free as before.

According to Rousseau, reconciliation between man's liberty and the authority of the state could be accomplished. To him equality was preserved by each gave himself unreservedly to the whole community surrendered all his rights and liberties. But in giving himself to the community as a whole each gave himself to nobody in particular. Thus was liberty preserved. Coming to Political Society, therefore, each member "puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the "General Will". In their corporate capacity they receive each member as an individual part of the whole. Thus, C. C. Maxey observes, blending the social contract theories of Hobbes and Locke, following Hobbes in the doctrine of complete alienation and Locke in the doctrine of popular consent, Rousseau had "evolved a theory that logic could easily refute but could not demolish."

In Rousseau's idea of social contract, the people by mutual contract had alienated all their liberties, but not to any definite human superior. They had transferred their freedom from themselves as individuals to themselves as a collectivity. Each was an equal and indivisible part of the corporate entity and the sovereign was the General Will. In Rousseau's opinion, the individual though utterly absorbed in the state, remains free because of the very fact that the state and the individual are inseparable. To him, through the social contract man does not surrender completely to a sovereign ruler, but "each giving himself to all, gives himself to nobody."

According to Rousseau, each contracting individual enters into two relations, i.e., as a member of the sovereign he is bound to other individuals who are co-sovereign, and as a member of the state he is bound to the sovereign. In order that the social contract may not prove an empty formula, it includes the tacit understanding that, who so ever refuses to obey the General Will shall be compelled to obedience or in his words, "forced to be free" by the whole body of citizens.

Rousseau's conception of social contract leads to sovereignty of the people. It distinguishes between state and governments and locates sovereignty in the General Will. The social contract turns the individual into a citizen and substitutes justice for instinct and right for appetite. It changes possession into property and natural liberty into civil liberty. To him, the contract is not a single isolated occurrence, but a continuous process involving a continuous participation in the General Will. Therefore, it involves the continuous consent of the individual to acts of the state. It changes man from "a stupid and limited animal" into an

“intelligent being and aman” by constant participation in the formation of the General Will.

SOVEREIGNTY

Rousseau defined, a sovereign is the voice of the law and the absolute authority within a given state. In Rousseau’s time, the sovereign was usually an absolute monarchy. In the social contract, however, this word is given a new meaning. In a healthy republic, Rousseau defines the sovereign as all the citizens acting collectively. Together, they voice the general will and the laws of the state. The sovereign cannot be represented, divided, or broken up in any way: only all the people speaking collectively can be sovereign.

GENERALWILL

The concept of General Will is Rousseau’s most characteristic and most original contribution to Political Philosophy. In the words of Maxey, “It is the crux of Rousseau’s system and probably his most distinctive contribution to Political Thought.” According to Rousseau the General Will is the will, which “must both come from all and apply to all” what makes it general is less the number of voters than the common interest writing them.” The General Will must not be confused with the totality of individual wills because individual wills take account of private and particular matters, where as the General Will only takes account of common concerns. Here, we may distinguish between „actual will“ and „real will.“ The actual will of the individual is his impulsive and irrational will, transient and conceives of the present only. It is based on selfishness and is not related to the societal interest. The sum total of this individual wills is the will of all.

On the other hand, the real will of the individual is the rational will, which is based on the general welfare of the society. It is not transitory and it is purged of selfishness. The habit of self criticism of the average individual points to the reality of the real will. An average man has both an actual and a real will. The General Will, then would seem to be the will of the people functioning as a body politic, the will of society viewed as a living and rational political organism. In other words, it is the sum total or rather the organization and synthesis is of the real wills of the individuals in society. In some sense as Sabine points out “it lives its own life, fulfills its own destiny and suffers its own fate.

Rousseau is ambiguous in speaking of the General Will, he gave no clear definition of it and admits the General Will is difficult to realize and is more a „moral than an empirical fact“. To him it represents the common

consciousness of the common good. It is the voice of all for the good of all. It may be defined as a group mind, and is something other than and bigger than the sum of the individuals composing "a common me". To Rousseau, the General Will "is always the most just also." The General Will is the source of all law, and also to be an attribute of the state itself. The General Will alone is the judge to decide what is general and what private interest is. The General Will more over cannot allow anything to stand between it and the complete loyalty of its citizens. It is only "the voice of the people."

The General Will of Rousseau is a rational will and is not self-contradictory. It is therefore unitary and gives a unity to national character and institutions. It is indivisible, because if it were divided it would not remain general. It is not eternal but permanent and imparts stability to national institutions. It is always right and tends to the public good. It is indestructible and being a collective being cannot be presented and thus leads to direct democracy. The power may be transmitted but not the will. General Will and sovereignty are inalienable just as life of an individual is inalienable. The General Will and not force which is the basis of the state and which sustains the state. The omnipotence of the sovereign is quite compatible with the liberty of the people. Sovereign and liberty are in fact two aspects of the same.

With his fiction of the General Will, Rousseau provides an ethical basis for democracy. As a reality the General Will does not exist could not, any more than the corporate will or any other collective will." Rousseau supplies rational and moral sanction for the acts of democratic government because in his theory, obedience is due and can justly be exacted simply and solely because it speaks for society as a whole and decrees for the individual what is willed for him by supreme power emanating from all individuals. "By introducing the concept of General Will points out William Ebenstein, "Rousseau fundamentally alters the mechanistic concept of the state as an instrument (Hobbes & Locke) and revives the „organic“ theory of the state, which goes back to Plato and Aristotle."

While Rousseau recognises that in direct popular government, unanimity is, in practice impossible and that the vote of the majority binds the minority obeying the General Will is the expression of moral freedom of the individual and if he refuses to obey; he may be compelled to do so". This means nothing less than that he will be forced to be free." Here Rousseau revives his basic distinction between the apparent liberty of man in the State of Nature, which actually is enslavement to selfish

appetites and his moral liberty in civil society. "This extreme formulation of Rousseau-that man can be forced to be free" remarks Ebenstein, "could easily be used later by Hegel and the modern worshippers of the state."

Rousseau attributes the people inalienable sovereignty. To him the General Will must be sovereign. The General Will "is the only authority that can legitimately course me, for it is my own will coming back to me even though. I do not always recognise it as such. In following it I am fulfilling myself and am thus finding true freedom. Deviation from the acceptance of General Will once accepted should be offence punishable with death."

ROUSSEAU IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

Conflicting opinions have been expressed about Rousseau's personality and works. It is therefore difficult to assign him a proper place in the history of political thought. G.D.H. Cole described his social contract to be "still by far the best of all text - books of political philosophy".

Against this great admiration is expressed the opinion of Lord Morley who says, "Would it not have been better for the world if Rousseau had never been born?" Lord Morley with a conservative frame of mind, perhaps wants to tell that if Rousseau had not lived and performed his political incantations, the lawful insanities of the French Revolution might have been averted. Constant said of him that he was the most terrible ally of despotism, in all its forms. In a similar strain the French pluralist Duguit had written that J.J. Rousseau was the father of Jacobin despotism of caesarian dictatorship, and the inspirer of the absolutist doctrines of Kant and Hegel.

According to Prof. Vaughan Rousseau is "a sternasserter of the state on the one side and a fiery champion of the individual on the other, he could never bring himself wholly to sacrifice the one ideal to the other". C.C. Maxey says: "Whatever crime may be laid at his door, whatever glories may be claimed as his due it is beyond dispute that in the sphere of political thought Rousseau performed one service of incalculable importance. That was his formulation of a plausible and largely realizable theory of popular sovereignty.

Although Locke and Montesquieu had advocated a wide suffrage they had not hesitated to assert that the well - born, the rich, the cultured classes must take the leading part in political life. With Rousseau this belief in the superiority of the well-born was shattered.

The upper classes, according to him, were probably corrupted by their contact with luxuries and the artificial conventionalities of social life. The simple peasant and ignorant worker in the field might be, and probably was more imbued with civil pride and political sagacity than the much vaunted members of the aristocracy. The mere ignorance or illiteracy of the worker should not, according to Rousseau, be a barrier to his participation in political life.

His theory of the state as a moral entity filled with a new regenerating force capable of restoring the downtrodden vitiated subjects to the full vigour of upright citizenship expressed in coherent form the uprising force of popular nationalism just about to sweep Europe from the old political moorings. The works of Rousseau were the text-books of the French Revolution.

In the French Revolution, only a few years later the French nation discovered its communal solidarity in a new birth of individual freedom and popular government. Since then the message of Rousseau has been carried to all corners of the world, and its vitality and persistent timeliness continues to inspire free man everywhere.

His reconciliation between liberty and authority his providing a new theoretical basis to society in the idea of the general will and his declaration that the corporate life is the best of social life, are some of the unique features of his thinking. He makes a subtle distinction between state and government.

The state according to Rousseau denotes the community as a whole created by the social pact and manifesting itself in the supreme general will. Government, on the other hand, denotes merely the individuals or groups of individuals designed by the community to carry into effect the sovereign will.

LETUSSUMUP

Although a product of his time, Rousseau made many key contributions to the theory and practice of modern politics. Rousseau's thought played an important role in promoting the notion of human rights, which is central to UNHCR's work.

CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. JeanJacquesRousseauwastheGreatestThinkerthatthe _____Produced.
a) English b)Russian c)French d)None of These
2. Rousseau was born on June 28, 1712 in theCity of_____
a) Germany b)France c)Geneva d)None of These
3. IntheRousseaudistingueishadbetweentheStateofNature and Civil Society.
a) Emile b) Discoursesc) Politics d) NoneofThese
4. _____andnotforce which isthebasis ofthe state.
a) StateofNature b)Socialcontract
c)Sovereignty d)General will

GLOSSARY

GeneralWill	: CommonGood
Savage	:Brutal
Transform	:Tochange theform
Virtue	:Attitudethat showhighmoralStandards.

ANSWERTO CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. French
2. Geneva
3. Emile
4. Generalwill

MODELQUESTION

1. ExplaintheRousseau"sLifeandHisWork.
2. DiscussabouttheRousseau"sTheoryofGeneralWill.
3. ExplaintheviewsofRousseau"sonSocialContract.
4. Naturetheviewsof RousseauonSovereignty.

BlockIII

NiccoloMachiavelli

- Unit-7** Machiavelli-LifeHistory,theMethodof Machiavelli,
HumanNatureandthePrince.
- Unit-8** SeparationofPoliticsfromEthicsandReligion,
ClassificationofGovernment,EstimateofMachiavelli

UNIT- 7

MACHIAVELLI-LIFEHISTORY, THE METHOD OF MACHIAVELLI, HUMAN NATURE AND THE PRINCE

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Life Sketch

Work of Machiavelli

Machiavelli, the Child of the Renaissance

The Method of Machiavelli

Views on Human Nature

Views about the Prince

Views on the Discourses

Doctrine of Aggrandisement

Machiavelli's Nationalism

Let Us Sum Up

Check Your Progress Glossary

Answers to check your Progress Model

Questions

Suggested readings

OVERVIEW

Niccolo Machiavelli was an Italian renaissance political philosopher and statesman and secretary of the Florentine Republic. His most famous work, *The Prince* (1532), brought him a reputation as an atheist and an immoral Cynic. In the previous unit, we discussed about Rousseau's views on social contract, theory of general will and this concept of Sovereignty. In This unit, we are going to discuss about the Machiavelli's life, his method, the subject matter of prince, and Machiavelli's views on human nature etc.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After Reading this unit, you should be able to

- Know about the life of Niccolò Machiavelli.
- Understand his concept of the Prince and Discourses
- Discuss Machiavelli's View on Human Nature.

LIFE SKETCH

Machiavelli was born in Florence in 1469. His father was a lawyer. He joined the service of the Republican Government in 1494 and acted as a Secretary to Chancery till 1512. He also held diplomatic posts and for some time acted as an Ambassador to Rome, France and Germany. In 1512, a coup d'état took place and Medici returned to power. The immediate sequel was imprisonment of Machiavelli. He was let free on condition that he would confine himself to his farm house, without participating in public affairs. He died in the year 1527.

WORK OF MACHIAVELLI

Machiavelli produced the great works such as The Prince, The Discourses, The Art of War, History of Florence, etc.

MACHIAVELLI, THE CHILD OF THE RENAISSANCE

The councilor movement marked the end of an old the beginning of a new era in political theory. It brought into focus the passing away of the middle Ages and the birth of the modern world, and a new approach to political theory with humanistic and scientific outlook.

The humanistic and scientific approach known as the Renaissance was fostered by the revival of ancient learning. The renaissance is one of the two great movements which transformed Medieval Europe into modern Europe.

The men of the Renaissance rediscovered the old; the closing decades of the fifteenth and the first two or three decades of the sixteenth century constitute the period of the Renaissance. It was during this period that "The European mind once and for all shook itself free from the shackles of medievalism and sought inspiration in the great models for Greek and Roman antiquity". It also meant revival of interest in the study of man. Man in fact, became a more important subject of study than God himself. The interest in the world, or eternity as an important factor in one's life declined. The Renaissance was Non-Salvationist. It freed the human mind from the excess of theology and rigidity of scholasticism.

The authority of God was replaced by the authority of science and reason. It rejected the authority of the priest. Now all emphasis came to be laid on man's perfection. As a result of this state of mind new humanism developed. The monopoly of the clergy in all learning began to disappear. Knowledge became popular and transmission of thought became wider. The invention of the gun powder gave an impetus to national monarchies.

Machiavelli is rightly called as the child of the Renaissance since he was born during that period. The year 1512 brought Machiavelli's public career to an end. The Medici family which had been driven out of power in Florence, effected a coup d'état with the help of the Spanish army, and came back to power.

With it Machiavelli fell into disgrace and in 1513 was put into prison on suspicion of his part in a conspiracy against the Medici family. After remaining in the jail for a year he was finally released on the condition that he would retire from public life and abstain from all political activity. He returned to his farm at San Casciano and lived the life of an exile. It was here that he died in 1527.

THE METHOD OF MACHIAVELLI

Machiavelli claimed to have followed historical method though strictly his method was not historical because he did not take pains to draw conclusions from historical facts, but utilized carefully selected instances of history to support his presumptive arguments. He was primarily a student of practical and not of speculative politics. As a realist in politics, he cared little for political philosophy. His writings tell us about the art of government rather than the theory of the state. He was more concerned with the actual working of the government machinery than with the abstract principles of constitution. His main theme was preservation and continuation of the state. He believed that public morality was different from private morality. Man's virtue is measurable by his power and fame and lies in a combination of force and intellect. For such a "virtue there is little place for any restraints imposed by general principles which natural law implies."

VIEWSON HUMAN NATURE

Machiavelli discussed at some length about human nature. He gives a very dark picture of Human Nature. He equated it with animal nature. Human beings are ungrateful and selfish. As put forth in his books his views about human nature are as follows:

1. **Self-centered:** Man is self-centered, he thinks about his own interest rather than the interests of anybody else. He always cares for himself. He is a greedy and sensual creature.
2. **Aggressive:** Human beings are aggressive. Everyone is interested to acquire more and not interested in leaving what has been once acquired. They are always fighting with each other, thereby creating condition so far archy.
3. **Wicked:** Human beings are always prepared to work against collective interests provided their own interests clash with them. All men are wicked in nature.
4. **Timid:** Man is always timid. Being timid he follows the line of least resistance. He wants to follow only well-established customs so that he is not opposed by the society.
5. **Acquisitive:** Machiavelli was of the view that by nature men loves private property more than their kiths and kins. He can forget and forgive murder than patrimony.
6. **Discontented:** Every human being always remains unsatisfied and dissatisfied. No human being is content with his position. He is always after domination.
7. **Stupid:** Most of the people are stupid and irrational. They are always attracted by illusive good desires. Ultimately these result in their ruin.
8. **Love for Change:** Human beings have love for novelty and change.
9. **Ambitious:** By nature men are ambitious. They desire many things which they cannot get with the result that they remain dissatisfied and discontented. Enmities and wars are the outcome of this desire.
10. **Libertarian:** Human beings seek maximum liberty. They wish to be independent of others.

VIEWS ABOUT THE PRINCE

Purpose: The masterpiece of Machiavelli "The Prince" was penned down for some distinct purposes. The style and nature of this work was completely different from the other contemporary works of Machiavelli. In this book, he marked Italy of his time as the example for a corrupted society. He felt that, Italy lost all its good qualities which could be regained. A systematic and well organized government could not restore them and only possibility was a tyranny. Italy was divided by politics for a longer time. Machiavelli wanted to make it a unified and stronger power.

Being the learner of practical politics, he wanted to work on the actual and reality based politics and did not seek ideal politics. The Prince is concerned to discover, from history and from contemporary events, how principalities are won, how they are held, and how they are lost. Fifteenth century Italy afforded a multitude of examples, both great and small. Few rulers were legitimate even the Popes, in many cases, secured election by corrupt means. The rules for achieving success were not quite the same as they became when times grew more settled, for no one was shocked by cruelties and treacheries which would have disqualified a man in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Perhaps our age, again, can better appreciate Machiavelli, for some of the most notable successes of our time have achieved by methods as base as any employed in Renaissance Italy.

Subject Matter: The Prince is the masterpiece of Machiavelli. It is generally taken as the source of his political philosophy. The treatise consists of 26 chapters. It deals with the rules for the guidance of a prince who has come to power rather unconstitutionally. It has now become a treatise on the art of government rather than a book of political science. It is a hand book of a politician rather than of the political philosopher.

Basic Principle:

- i. **State as Supreme:** The basic philosophy of The Prince is that the state is the highest association. The subjects must completely merge themselves in the state. A successful state is one which is founded by a single man. The laws which he creates reflect national character of the state.
- ii. **Economic Success as Criterion:** The scale for measuring the success or failure of a state is the material prosperity which it has achieved or is enjoying. A successful Prince might not be very much moral but he must adopt all those means by which he could remain in power, He must combine in himself the law and bruteness. He should use both as the time required. He must know how to play fox and lion. He must keep himself on guard from his neighbouring states. These were his likely enemies. He should command the confidence of the people not by giving powers to his subjects, but by spreading network of his intelligence and deception when necessary. He must catch and severely punish conspirators. This should be through execution rather than by way of confiscation of their property. The people can forget the execution of their ancestors but not the loss of their ancestral property. He must promote economic prosperity of his subjects.

- iii. It is by this way alone that he can command respect of the people. A lay man will judge the worth of the prince only through economic prosperity.
- iv. Dead to Sentiments: A good prince should be dead to all sentiments except those of love for his state. His personal glory is the glory of state. His personal honours and dishonours are deeply associated with those of his state. He must be ready to sin boldly for maintaining the integrity of the state and for glorifying it. He must also be ready to oppose every evil both from inside as well as outside the state. The evil must be replied with evil and that too with equal and if possible with more vigour and strength.
- v. Above All Laws: Machiavelli believed that the Prince is above all laws. The state security knows no laws. There are always two codes of conduct in a state one for the individual and the other for the state. Both need not be combined at any stage. The individual has a different code than that of the state. It will be the end of the state if an attempt was made to combine the both. As the law giver the Prince is above all rules. The state knows no ethics. The ends justify the means. The prince must not bother to see the morality or immorality of the means; He could steer through both to achieve the ends. In the words of Maxey, "The Prince is advised, therefore, to be generous or niggardly according to state of public opinion as to lavishness or economy; to be cruel or kind as expediency dictates, to keep faithfully when disadvantage will result from so doing, to strive ceaselessly and by all manner of means, to win glory and renown; and above all to avoid being despised and hated."

VIEWS ON THE DISCOURSES

Machiavelli was undoubtedly a firm patriot. It is because of the reason that the unification of Italy dominated his mind, for which purpose he advocated all the hateful things like fraud, forgery, cruelty, Treachery and what not. The ultimate object aimed at was the extension of the kingdom, whether a monarchy or republic. In his first book called 'Prince', the central idea was the extension of the monarchy. In the second book called 'Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius', his central theme was the extension of republic. Hence we can safely call him to be an ardent patriot without any mental reservations.

About the second attribute that he was also a nationalist, one feels sceptical. It is for the reason that he was never a predetermined and a pre meditated nationalist. Sabine says, "While the hope of peace and unity of Italy was a real motive of Machiavelli's thought, it was with him

rather a sentiment than a definite plan." Incidentally, one may say that the idea that he was a patriot, first and foremost came into vogue only after Mussolini submitted his doctorate on this problem in the University of Bologna. Further, it must be stated as because of the fact, he was a full-fledged patriot; this characteristic sobered and softened the ugly character of his writings, thereby making it acceptable. If it were not for this thing, he would have been kept in the cold storage.

With regard to his nationalism, one can say that he was only vaguely conscious of this. What all happened with him was he fortunately stumbled on certain characteristics and, instruments of nationalism. The first important thing to be noted in this connection was his being an embodiment of the spirit of freedom which dominated his age. His trust in free thinking was one of the methods by which national states came into existence during the 17th and 18th centuries of European history. The second important fact was his advocacy for a national army.

During his life time, he was much impressed by the national character of the French army and the Swiss army which proved themselves to be more powerful. Quite clearly he perceived that the strength of the French army was due to its national character. Hence he demanded that the mercenary troops must be disbanded and all people between 17 to 40 years must be given military training. Neatly, the central theme of his book was the extension of the kingdom up to the limits of ethnic homogeneity. Here also, he vaguely foreshadowed the future national state. The national states that came into existence during the coming centuries resulted out of the absorption of the minor states by the big ones. So, in his demand for the extension of the kingdom,

he was an unconscious nationalist. Finally, his 'Prince' was no other than the idealised tyrant of the 16th century Italy. By putting forward certain methods, he should himself as a thinker who formulated the process for realisation of national state.

His strong nationalist feelings led him to think of the extension of dominion. For Machiavelli, The tendency toward extension of dominion is, inevitable in both republics and monarchies. A prince is resistlessly impelled to such a policy by the insatiable craving for power, which is natural to men and a republic if not impelled by choice, is sure to be driven to it by necessity. If the constitution of a Republic is not such as to be suited to a policy of expansion, the foundations of the state will be torn away when the necessity for such a policy arises; and the constitution will be destroyed."

It is indeed true that Machiavelli does not use the term nationality anywhere in the modern sense of the term, but he was aware of the forces which go to make a state united against other states-viz, common traditions, a common language, a common history and a common system of law. He had warned his contemporaries not to attack such states where such forces prevailed. Such forces make even a divided nation united against a foreign enemy. Thus it appears that he understood the factors that produce the sentiment of nationalism in the modern age. But sometime was to elapse before this notion could assume a definite shape and become a force to be reckoned with in politics. His advocacy of expansion of state up to the limits of ethnic homogeneity clearly pointed to the fact that Machiavelli was the forerunner of the theory of national state.

With regards to his other attribute, namely, patriotism there can be no doubt either in the present or in the past. Machiavelli himself stated thus: "By putting all other considerations aside, the only question should be what cause will save the life and liberty of the country." This statement bears ample testimony to the fact that the predominant thought in his mind was the plight of his country. "He passionately desired to find some means by which Italy could be united and made sufficiently strong to maintain internal peace and order resist aggression by foreign states and expel the foreigners from her soil." That is why he, in his books, tells the methods how a government can be made strong, the policies by which it can expand its power and the errors which it must avoid if it is to prosper and flourish.

After inquiring into the causes of the bad plight of his country he proceeds to consider the remedies for the deplorable state of affairs and there by conclude that Italy needed a strong and unscrupulous prince or tyrant. For this noble end of his country he regards all means to be satisfactory: the question of means is one of indifference so long as the end is noble. According to him, the main purpose of politics is to preserve and increase political power; this is the criterion by which he measures the success or failure of a government. For this end he brushed aside all ethical considerations.

Again, his writings also give us certain liberal and democratic principles apart from the cynical statements made by him. When he stated that property and women should not be confiscated and fraud must be used in war, he showed himself as a person interested in the welfare of his countrymen. He had also showed the greatest distrust and contempt for the mercenary troops who ravaged the country.

The terrible sufferings of the people by the part played by the mercenaries must have naturally made him hate this element in the politics of Italy.

While it is possible to commend Machiavelli for his patriotism, one cannot blind oneself about his short-sightedness in his estimate of the statesman. He not only claimed that a statesman can modify the social institutions and the moral code of a country, but also create them. This is too tall a claim for a statesman, it is almost a common dictum in the world's wisdom that no man can start afresh and create anew. Every great personality is a child of his time and also its dynamic figure. The second great blind alley of his thought was his misrepresentation of the trend of European thought. It is an accepted fact that he totally ignored the religion. He wrote on nothing, thought on nothing except politics, statecraft and the art of war. But as a matter of history in the coming two centuries of the death of Machiavelli it was religion that dominated the politics of Europe. In this sense, his thought is both narrowly local and narrowly dated.

In conclusion, in spite of the limitations of his thought, he must be given his due for having stumbled on those principles which swelled into mighty streams in the coming centuries. His particular emphasis on the part played by the state is of a great significance as it was through this instrument that the national states came into existence. Moreover, one cannot ignore the fact that he also stated that despotic violence is a powerful medicine but still a poison which must be used with the greatest caution. In short, the bleak side of his sayings was only due to the cruel necessities of the time.

DOCTRINE OF AGGRANDISEMENT

In the Prince and the Discourses Machiavelli insists on the necessity of extending the territory of the state. His theory and practice of extending monarchy is found in the prince while that of the republic is found in the discourses.

An irresistible tendency to expand is inherent in both monarchies and republics. His idea of extension did not mean 'the blending of two or more social or political organisms, but as consisting in the subjection of a number of states to the rule of a single prince of commonwealth'.

A state must expand or expire. Machiavelli writes "when states newly acquired as I said have been accustomed to living freely under their own laws, there are three ways to hold them securely; first by devastating them, next, by going and living there in person; thirdly, by letting them

keep their own laws, exacting tribute and setting up an oligarchy which will keep the state friendly to you. In the last case, the government will know that it cannot endure without the friendship and power of the prince who created it; and so it has to exert itself to maintain his authority".

In the republic there is more life, more hatred and a greater desire for revenge, the memory of their ancient liberty does not and cannot let them rest; in their case the surest way is to wipe them out or to live there in person".

According to Machiavelli extension of dominion was easier in one's own country where there was no difficulty of language or of institutions to overcome the assimilation of the conquered people.

Force of arms was necessary for political aggrandizement as well as preservation of a state but force must be judiciously combined with craft. Machiavelli thought the Roman state and its policy of expansion to be ideal. In one's own country where there are no barriers of language the Prince will have to do one thing only. He should extinguish the line of the former prince and allow the old institutions to remain.

Difficulty of acquisition arises in a country where the language and institutions are of a different type: the difficulty is more serious when a conquered state has been under a republican form of government prior to its conquest. Here Machiavelli suggests a policy of persuasion for the enforcement and maintenance of the new constitution. But, if persuasion fails, the use of force is recommended.

Machiavelli suggests the raising and maintenance of a strong and well-organized army to defend the new constitution. The army should consist of citizens. It must not have mercenaries or auxiliaries as they are useless and dangerous without discipline, and faithless bold among friends and cowards among enemies.

MACHIAVELLI'S NATIONALISM

With Machiavelli, the only aim of life was unification of Italy, winning back its past prosperity and glory. He held that preservation of the state depends upon the excellence of its law, which is the source of all the civic virtues of its citizens. Even in a monarchy the prime condition of a stable government is that it should be regulated by law. Thus, Machiavelli insisted upon providing legal remedies against official abuses. His support was for a gentleman's government wherever possible and the use of serenity in moderation wherever necessary.

He held the view that a government was stable where it was shared by the many; for choosing a ruler he advocated the process of election rather than appointment on the hereditary principle. His aim was to see his people strong and independent. There is no doubt that Machiavelli had great admiration for liberal and lawful governments.

Machiavelli had low opinion of aristocracy and the nobility. More than any other thinker of his time he perceived that the interests of the nobility are antagonistic both to those of the monarchy and of the middle class, and that orderly government required their suppression or extirpation.

In addition to his dislike of nobility he had contempt and hatred for mercenaries. So he stood for nationalizing the army - a kind of army of citizens only. Behind all these recommendations was the spirit of nationalism in him. Unification of Italy and her preservation from internal disorders and foreign invaders was his chief objectives in life.

LET US SUM UP

Machiavellianism is a political theory or view which supports the use of any means necessary to maintain political power. Machiavellianism displays a pessimistic view of human nature and promotes unethical and opportunistic ways of manipulating the population of a country.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Machiavelli's birth was
a) French b) German c) Spanish d) Italian
2. Modern Political Thought begins with
a) Machiavelli b) Montesquieu c) Mill
d) None of These
3. The Prince is written by
a) Maob) Machiavelli c) Lenin d) None of These
4. Machiavelli was died in the year
a) 1527 b) 1469 c) 1512 d) 1494

GLOSSARY

Treacheries	: Deceitful
Virtue	: Attitude that shows high moral Standard.
Renaissance	: Rebirth
Masterpiece	: Bestwork

ANSWERTO CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. Italian
2. Machiavelli
3. Machiavelli
4. 1527

MODELQUESTION

1. DiscussMachiavelli"sViewsaboutHumanNature.
2. InwhatwaydoesMachiavelli"sWorksreflecthisTime?
3. DiscusstheMainreasons forthestudyofMachiavelli"sPrinceby the Students of Political Science even today.

SUGGESTEDREADINGS

1. B.Parekh, 1982, *ContemporaryPoliticalThinkers*, Oxford, Martin Robertson.
2. M.J.Rendell, 1978, *AnIntroductiontoPoliticalThought*, London, Sidgwick & Jackson.
3. Mulford Q.Sibley, 1970, *Political Ideas and Ideologies: A History of Political Thought*, New York, Harper & Row.

UNIT- 8

SEPARATION OF POLITICS FROM ETHICS AND RELIGION, CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT, ESTIMATE OF MACHIAVELLI

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Separation of Politics from Ethics and Religion

Classification of Government

Monarchical form of government

Republicanism

Estimate of Machiavelli

Let Us Sum Up

Check Your Progress Glossary

Answers to Check Your Progress Model

Questions

Suggested Readings

OVERVIEW

Niccolò Machiavelli was an Italian Renaissance Historian, Politician, diplomat, philosopher, Humanist, and writer, often called the founder of modern political science. In the previous unit, we discussed about Machiavelli's view on human nature, and his views given in his book *Prince* and *Discourses*. This unit tries to explain Machiavelli's views on separation of politics from ethics and religion classification of government and republicanism.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to

- Discuss the Niccolò Machiavelli's ideas of Political Theory.
- Understand the concept of Separation of Ethics from Politics.
- Learn the various forms of government.

SEPARATION OF POLITICS FROM ETHICS AND RELIGION

Machiavelli is widely denounced because he erected a wall of separation between politics and ethics. In the classical tradition, particularly in the tradition of Greek political thought, ethics was viewed as the very foundation of politics. It is ironical that in the age of revival of classical models, that is the Renaissance, Machiavelli made a striking departure from this classical ideal.

Ethics refers to a branch of learning, concerned with the principles of good conduct. It inquires into the foundations of our moral beliefs and rules about right and wrong. This term is used as a synonym of moral philosophy as well as a set of principles of good conduct concerning a particular profession such as 'medical ethics' or 'business ethics'.

Classical political philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle who regarded politics as the pursuit of good life, treated ethics as the foundation of politics. But Machiavelli (1469-1527), early modern thinker, who believed that politics was governed by its own independent standards, pleaded for separation between politics and ethics.

Machiavelli firmly held that politics is governed by its own independent standards; hence it cannot be bound by the conventional ethical standards. So he insisted on separation between politics and ethics. In principle, he agreed that republican government which was informed by high moral standards was best for everyone. But it would function only when people were inherently virtuous. Since the Italians of his times were basically selfish, greedy and corrupt, they could be controlled only by a strong and prudent monarch.

Again, in principle the ruler should be honest, righteous and true to his word, but in practice nobody could have all these qualities, nor these qualities will enable him to rule over selfish, greedy and ungrateful people. So the Prince should focus on the preservation of the state without being bound by moral obligations. If he resorts to the use of ignoble means for achieving a noble end, he will be exonerated by the people for using these means after seeing the laudable results of his effort. Machiavelli does not contend that 'end justifies the means' (as sometimes alleged); rather he claims that a ruler's success will be judged by popular verdict, and that he will be excused for using dubious means if he is successful at the end, for in politics "where there is no court of appeal, one judges by the result". If political expediency requires the Prince to set aside traditional morality, he should go ahead in the interests of successful politics.

In the contemporary debates on the nature of politics, It is sometimes argued that Machiavelli approved the use of immoral means for achieving political ends, and he held that the use of these means would be treated as honourable after seeing its salutary results, so he was the first to encourage the use of 'dirty hands' in politics. It is further argued that Machiavelli not only allowed the use of 'dirty hands' for political purposes, but he also justified their use as if these hands are actually clean and praise worthy because they are able to accomplish great things like saving the community from an imminent disaster. Machiavelli sought to reduce politics to a business involving cost- benefit analysis instead of treating it an instrument of attaining human values. Critics of this attitude argue that once the use of dubious means for achieving a laudable goal is allowed, these means would soon be used for serving less important purposes, leading to general moral decline, wide spread corruption, and consequent disaster.

CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT

Machiavelli borrows the Aristotolian classification of government and classifies it in to monarchy, aristocracy, and Constitutional democracy, followed by their corrupt forms, i.e. tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. He regards the mixed form as the best and the most stable. Machiavelli deals with monarchy and republican forms of government only in details. Machiavelli explains Monarchy and its problems in 'The Prince' and the republican form has been explained in the Discourses on Livy.

MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT

In Italy, at the time of Machiavelli the conditions were not proper for a Republican government. The whole people of Italy were seen thoroughly corrupt by Machiavelli who had a big problem of unification of Italy. Since unification needed a strong and absolute hand and so Machiavelli asserted that there exists no consideration of morality or religion, justice or injustice, when an attempt to unification is to be successful.

In the Prince Machiavelli writes, "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 institutions of those kingdoms, which are as yet preserved pure.

Commenting upon Machiavelli's suggestion, W.T.Jones observes "Machiavelli's maxims for would be tyrants are always shrewd and often singularly opposite today. The following is the general character of Machiavelli's recommendations:

Use force ruthlessly. The prince should use this rule cautiously, particularly in new monarchies including the former republics overthrown by one aspiring to rule despotically. Machiavelli asserts "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 every day, 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, 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."

Use Persuasion Tactfully. There are many ways for keeping the people in peace and quiet, even without making any concession to them and the most important device is propaganda. Machiavelli observes "And, therefore, everything that tends to favour religion should be received and availed of to strengthen it; and this should be done the more the wiser the rulers are, and the better they understand the natural course of things."

Act Decisively. Machiavelli asserts that the situation leads to destruction and one is safe to commit mistakes when one moves firmly, promptly and decisively, and on the contrary the uncertainty causes loss of initiative. Maintain a Strong National Army. Machiavelli suggests that the prince must have a strong army to support his actions.

REPUBLICANISM

Machiavelli has been wrongly criticized by many as an advocate of despotism. His preference for republican and popular government is clear in „Discourses“. While it is true that in „Prince“ he suggests a monarchical form of government in order to consolidate and create a strong state, he discusses republican government in „Discourses“. A serious study of both these works shows that Machiavelli suggested monarchy only for those states where popular government would not be able to unite and form a strong state.

For example, a state which faces corruption, strife and division, like Italy, the only solution is a monarchy with a strong ruler. On the other hand, peaceful states can establish republican government. He appreciated Rome and other republics which uphold the value of general good over individual prosperity. He believed that in republics, individuals are not selfish and corrupt, and they work towards achieving the common good. This is the reason behind the greatness and success of republics.

Machiavelli repudiates the belief that democratic states degenerate with time. He rather argues that if people and their representatives in legislatures are regulated by law, then self-governing societies tend to be most stable. It is only when individuals act superior to law that anarchy follows. His preference for republican states over monarchy is evident when he argues that people in general are more prudent and a better judge of situations than a prince.

ESTIMATE OF MACHIAVELLI

It is rightly considered that modern political thought begins with Machiavelli. He made a departure from the medieval methods and introduced a new method. He gave a proper analysis of the power-politics and considered politics as an end in itself and not leading to any eternal salvation.

Unlike Aquinas, Machiavelli had separated ethics and religion from politics and gave a subordinate position to them. The political philosophy of Machiavelli represents his contemporary political and social thinking. He was more concerned with more of what is than what ought to be.

Machiavelli dreamt of a strong and powerful Italy. It was this desire which led Machiavelli to produce his great works which are more in the form of useful suggestions to the prince for establishing a strong empire and preserving it. He advocated two types of morals: one for the ordinary people and the other for the statesmen.

Machiavelli's political philosophy has been subjected to strong criticism by many political philosophers. His indiscriminate justification of any means for the benefit of the state was strongly criticised. C.J. Fox said, "What is morally wrong can never be politically right." He was criticised for justifying bad and evil means and often he was called acynic. In spite of the harsh criticism to which Machiavelli was subjected, his greatness has been appropriately articulated by Maxey: "Niccolo Machiavelli's perhaps the most universally reprobated figure in the history of political

literature; the man whose precepts are universally disavowed in principle, but regularly followed in practice."

Evidently Machiavelli is one philosopher who has been much misunderstood. He had been called by Leo-Straws as a preacher of evil. But a true understanding of Machiavelli would be more sympathetic to him. It has already been seen in the discussion on St. Thomas Aquinas, that the church subsumed the state and was clearly engaged in subverting its powers. This period saw the challenges thrown toward the authority of the church being met with stringent and cruel punishments.

The attitude of the church saw the decline or perhaps even the demise of a spirit of inquiry. It is for this reason that the middle Ages have been called "The dark ages". The situation took a turn for the better. Constantinople, which was the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, fell to the raids of the Ottoman Turks in 1450. The scholars of that particular city, fearing persecution, migrated to nearby city states of Italy. They carried with them the learning of the classical antiquity. This triggered a revolution in the sphere of knowledge and the base for this was Italy. With the Renaissance, many perceptions of the past were slowly being replaced by newer ones. Man once again became the center of the universe in the sense that man realized that he had in him the potential to denigrate the universe. This is now called the spirit of humanism.

Machiavelli belonged to that school of men who led the change from the front. He also paid the price for it. The reason why Machiavelli had been called preacher of evil is his call for the separation of politics from religion or from ethics. In order to comprehend this peep into history is called for. Even before the Renaissance there were those who favoured the removal of the control over state of the church. These people were called the partisans of the state. They believed that the state and the church dealt with spheres which were exclusive and therefore there was no question of one subsuming or dominating the other. Their perception did not really capture the imagination of the people.

The reason for this was very simple. They traced the legitimacy for the state also back to God. God, therefore, was made the legitimising source for both the spiritual and the temporal realms. This proved to be counter-productive. The church lost no time in pointing out that if the state also drew its legitimacy from God, where was the question of breaking the principle of unity. Hence the church could retain control over the state.

Machiavelli was shrewd enough to understand that this mistake could not be repeated again. If the state had to be freed from the strangle hold of the church then it was mandatory that a total or complete separation of the two be made. Machiavelli thought that this could be accomplished if a theory of state could be built by totally ignoring the church and the spiritual dimension. Very rarely does one find any references by Machiavelli to religion in either *The Discourses* or *The Prince*.

In *The Discourses* one does find references to religion and these are most illuminating. Here Machiavelli says that it is Christian religion which reduced man to a form of weakness and surrender. He clearly states his preference for the earlier Roman pagan religions which according to him inculcated an energetic spirit in man. *The Prince* does not really show any such insights. Therefore, it is quite obvious that Machiavelli did not really call for abolition of all forms of religion (as did Marx much later) but only expressed his displeasure with Christianity.

Some commentators are also of the opinion that Machiavelli is not a humanist for he tends to think that men are fickle. It must be pointed out that even though he did consider men to be fickle he did not suggest a remedy which went beyond man. *The Prince* is also a human and one who would bring about the desired results in society and state. Machiavelli authorised *The Prince* to use any possible means in order to bring in the desired results. Therefore ends justify means. This is yet another ground often cited to point out the evil streak in Machiavelli.

Unless this is also properly understood, injustice would be done to him. It was necessary to leave out the ethical part of theory for Machiavelli in order to liberate the state from the church and make it stand on its feet. Now if some form of ethic were to be introduced into "means" then once again Machiavelli would be leaving a way for the church to sabotage his project. He feels that this could best be avoided by leaving out any discussion of ethics. Not only had Machiavelli also changed some of the existing conceptions in religion. Virtue as a word has come to acquire a completely ethical meaning in the Christian period. For the Greeks it denoted excellence and for the Romans manliness.

Machiavelli's virtues are seen as a combination of the Greek and Roman conception. Fortune which is providence for the Christians becomes a 'lady' for Machiavelli. She could be conquered by those men who have virtue. Traditional categories of thinking were redefined by Machiavelli, so that they could suit this purpose that offering the state from the church and creating strong unified Italy. Therefore most of the time Machiavelli's tone of writing is exhortatory. This is also very evident from

his use of history. Machiavelli is well aware of history. It is obvious from the numerous examples that he cites in the course of his works. But rarely does he show any sensitivity to the context in which these arose. He is contented to pick up those examples which have a positive contribution to his propose. Machiavelli is undoubtedly modern in his outlook. He has been grossly misrepresented by Maxey, Sabine, Leo-Straws, etc. It is only very recently that a re- assessment of Machiavelli has begun on more realistic terms by scholar like Quentin Skinner. This is very necessary because It is the ideas of Machiavelli which paved the way for the emergence of later philosophers, like Hobbes, Decartes and Locke.

LETUSSUMUP

Modern Materialist philosophy developed in the 16th, 17th and 18thcenturies, starting in the generations after Machiavelli. This philosophy tended to be republican, more in the original spirit of Machiavellianism, but as with the catholic authors, Machiavelli’s realism and encouragement of using innovation to try to control one’s own fortune were more accepted than his emphasis upon war and politics. Not onlywereinnovative economicsandpoliticsresults, but alsomodern science, leading some commentators to say that the 18th century enlightenment involved “Humanitarian” Moderating of Machiavellianism.

CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. SeparationofEthicsandPoliticswasthePrincipleNotioninthe Philosophy of _____
 a) Lenin b)Plato c)Machiavelli d)Noneof these
2. WhatwasthemostessentialpartofHumanBehaviourthat Machiavelli considered to Understand Politics?
 a) EmpiricalTheory b)EmpiricalReality
 c)EmpiricalThinking d)EmpiricalReasoning
3. “The Discourses” by Machiavelli expresses his real Political Ideal and Calls for the Creation of a form of Government that is
 a) Authoritarian b)Democratic
 c)Participative d)Elitist
4. It is for this reason that the _____ages havebeencalled the dark ages
 a) ancietage b)middle
 c)modern d)noneofthese

GLOSSARY

Classical	: Widely accepted and used for a long time.
Secularism	: The belief that religions should not be involved in the organization of society, education etc.
Commentators	: A person who describes the events.
Sabotage	: Damage that is done on purpose secretly in order to prevent an enemy.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Machiavelli
2. Empirical Reality
3. Democratic
4. Middle

MODEL QUESTION

1. Bring out Machiavelli's views regarding the relationship between Ethics and Politics.
2. Describe the contribution of Machiavelli to the Political Philosophy.
3. Explain Machiavelli's Classification of Government.
4. What is republicanism by Machiavelli?

BlockIV

Montesquieu

Unit-9 Montesquieu-SpiritsoflawandAppropriate laws

Unit-10 Separationofpower

**MONTESQUIEU-SPIRITS OF LAW
AND APPROPRIATE LAWS**

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Life Sketch

Works of Montesquieu

Spirit of Laws

Appropriate Laws

Let Us Sum Up

Check Your Progress Glossary

Answers to Check Your Progress Model

Questions

Suggested Readings

OVERVIEW

Montesquieu was a French lawyer, man of letters, and one of the most influential political philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment. His political theory work, particularly the idea of separation of powers, shaped the modern democratic government. In the previous unit, we traced the political ideas of Machiavelli, his views on separation of ethics from politics and types of government. In This unit, we are going to discuss about the spirit of laws, and various types of laws etc.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After Reading this unit, you should be able to

- Understand the Montesquieu's most influential contributions to the enlightenment.
- Know the ideas of the spirit of laws.
- Explain the factors that contributed to the spirit of laws and longevity.

LIFE SKETCH

Montesquieu was born on 1st January 1689 in France at Bordex in an aristocratic and noble family. In the beginning, he studied at home, and, later on, at Juilly in a school for 11 years. He studied law. In 1714, he was admitted to the grade of counsellor.

Up to the age of 27, he was known as Baron De La Brade at De, but after the death of his uncle, he inherited his title and judicial office and worked as chief magistrate of Bordex for 13 years.

He was interested in Literature and History. He wrote his first book, the Persian Letters in 1721 in which he criticised political, social and religious institutions of France. In 1728, he started for extensive tour and visited Austria, Hungary, Venice, Rome, Switzerland, the Rhine, Holland and England. In England, he stayed for 18 months. The English conception of liberty and English system of Government had a deep impact upon him. He devoted rest of his life in literary pursuits and died in 1755.

WORKS OF MONTESQUIEU

Montesquieu's principal writings were as follows:

- The Persian Letters.
- Reflection on the Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans.
- The Spirit of Laws.

The Spirit of the Laws Montesquieu's master piece and place his among the immortals.

SPIRIT OF LAWS

Montesquieu criticized the social, religious and political institutions of France in order to reform them and not so much in a hostile spirit of destructive criticism. He was more concerned with the real spirit of liberty and harmonious working of political institutions than with the political dogmas of the age like the Rights of Man, Sovereignty of People and Natural Equality of Men etc. He wanted to reform political life in France by infusing in it the British sense of liberty and by introducing into the French constitution the principle of separation of powers, characteristic of the British constitution. His Spirit of Laws represented an effort in this direction. To him, climate and geography, as also economic conditions, had a great hand in moulding the character and national institutions of a country.

All the philosophers of the 18th century demanded a constitutional type of government. They wanted religious toleration, civil freedom and a rational system of jurisprudence. They did not condemn a limited monarchy. They feared the demons and stuck to their rights and privileges including the sacred rights of property.

The unity and diversity are harmoniously reconciled in the universe. In the human world, behavior patterns are fixed to some extent, because man is also a physical being. In the human world, there is both uniformity and diversity of behavior pattern. Uniformity is provided by the universal law of self-preservation and natural impulses and diversity by the variety in customs, conventions, moral codes and institutions arising out of differences in environment, climate, soil and genius of a people and so on.

IMPORTANCE OF LAWS

According to Montesquieu "Laws, in the widest possible connotation, are any necessary relations arising from a thing's nature. In this sense all beings have their laws: the Deity His laws, the material world its laws, the intelligences superior to men their laws, the beasts their laws, man his laws..." Though man has his laws, yet because of the exercise of free will and because of defective human intelligence, "the intellectual world is far from being so well governed as the physical." Man is a free agent, but is subject to ignorance, error and impetuous passions.

Montesquieu said, "Such a being might every instant forget his creator, God has, therefore, reminded him of his duty by the laws of religion. Such a being is liable every moment to forget himself; philosophy has provided against this by the laws of morality. Formed to live in society, he might forget his fellow-creatures; legislators have therefore by political and civil laws confined him to his duty." Before those laws were made, man was guided by the laws of Nature. The first law of Nature enjoined on him the necessity of self-preservation, peace and security. Other laws point out the advisability of satisfaction of human wants, the necessity of leading a life in association with his fellow-beings. Social contract develops human intelligence. It develops a rational desire to live in society. Life in society necessitates positive laws.

APPROPRIATE LAWS

In the opening sentence of the Spirit of the Laws, Montesquieu says that laws are, "The necessary relations arising from the nature of things...climate, soil, occupation, form of government, commerce. Religion customs are all relevant conditions in determining what in a particular case reason or (Law) will setup. This fitness or relation of condition, physical, mental and institutional forms the spirit of laws." Montesquieu does not believe in abstract justice. He, however believes that the basic principal of law and justice exist in nature.

But he is of the opinion that the teachings of nature are to be found "not in deduction from a supposition based on reason, but in the facts of history of the actual working of political life." He says, the laws should not be accepted merely as a command of the sovereign or as the dictates of reason. It should be found out as to how they came to be. The cause and effect as their origin and development should be traced.

MONTESQUIEU'S DEFINITION OF LAW

Montesquieu observes, "Laws, in the wider possible connotation are any necessary relations arising from a thing's nature. In this sense all beings have their laws: the Deity His laws, the material world its laws, the intelligent superior to man their laws. The beasts their laws, man his laws." Thus, Montesquieu holds that any relation between one thing and the other is a law.

Like the rest of the nature, men stand in order, necessary relations to one another. But law in human behaviour is much more complicated because men are self-conscious and possessed of will. In the words of Jones, it means, "(1) that they do not always automatically follow the pattern established for human behavior as plants for example, follow pattern established for plant behaviour. In other words, men are free to modify or altogether reject behaviour patterns. Which in the lower- creatures and in inanimate nature are fixed and necessary. Hence (2) men require to be ordered by another kind of pattern. They need another kind of restraint and thus, being self-conscious, they are able to give themselves. Putting it differently the behaviour of men is complicated by the presence of law in another but analogous sense. They are also subject to 'law' in the sense of rules given by some man or assembly or established by custom which they are to follow, subject to certain penalties in failing to do so."

About natural and positive law, Montesquieu holds, "Then intelligent world is far from being so well governed as the physical. For though, the

former has also its laws which of their own nature are invariable, it does not conform so exactly as does the physical world. This is because particular intelligent beings are limited by their nature requires them to be free agents. Hence they do not steadily conform to the laws of their nature. In deed they frequently infringe even those of their own institution."

HUMAN LAWS

Hegoes-further to say, "Animals have natural laws, because they are united by sensation, but they do not have positive laws, because they lack knowledge. However, they do not invariably conform to their natural laws. Man as a physical being is governed by invariable laws. As an intelligent being, he incessantly transgresses the law established by God, and being, and subject to... As a sensible creature, he is subject to a thousand impetuous passions. Such a being might every instant forget his creator. God has, therefore, reminded him on his duty by the laws of religion. Such a being is liable every moment to forget himself, philosophy has provided against this by the laws of morality. Further to live in society, he might forget his creatures. Legislators have, therefore, by political and civil laws confined him to his duty.

POSITIVE LAWS

From the above statement, it can be concluded that Montesquieu, holds that man is governed by two different sets of laws. These laws are:

- Laws established by God or natural laws.
- Laws made by man or positive laws.
- That the positive laws are the 'particular and precise institution of a legislature. They are not universal. These laws accepted in one community cannot necessarily be applied to the other. Laws are subject to change, growth and development in every community."

Division of the Positive Laws. Man's conduct cannot be governed by natural laws only hence they must be supplemented by man made laws. According to Montesquieu man-made laws are of the following classes:

International Law - International law arises out of the relation of one state with other state.

Political Law - According to Montesquieu, law governing the relation between the individuals and the government is called political.

Civil Law - The relation between the citizens of the same state are regulated by civil law.

LETUSSUMUP

Baronde Montesquieu was a French political analyst who lived during the Age of enlightenment. He is best known for his thoughts on the separation of powers. Montesquieu wrote that the main purpose of government is to maintain law and order, political liberty and the property of the individual. Montesquieu opposed the absolute monarchy of his home country and favoured the English system as the best model of government.

CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. Montesquieu by Birth belonged to
a) Germany b) England c) France d) America
2. The Famous book „the Spirit of Laws“ Written by Montesquieu was published in
a) 1734 b) 1754 c) 1773 d) 1784
3. The Concept of „Separation of Powers“ was given by
a) Montesquieu b) Machiavellic) Bentham d) Locke
4. Montesquieu stayed in England for _____ months.
a) 12 b) 16 c) 18 d) 20

GLOSSARY

Civil law	: Law that regulates the relation between the same state
Deity	: God
Demons	: An evil spirit
Jurisprudence	: The scientific study of law

ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. France
2. 1773
3. Montesquieu
4. 18

MODELQUESTION

1. What does Montesquieu mean by "Spirit of Laws"?
2. Discuss Montesquieu appropriate Laws.
3. Explain the two different set of law `s governed by man.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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STRUCTURE**Overview****Learning Objectives****Concept of Government****Theory of Separation of Power****Evolution of the Theory****Criticism of Theory****Appreciation of the Theory****Let Us Sum Up****Check Your Progress Glossary****Answers to Check Your Progress****Model Questions****Suggested Readings****OVERVIEW**

Montesquieu's contribution to the political science is commendable one who has given the theory of separation of power. According to this theory the three departments of the government should be vested with different persons otherwise, there will be a tyranny. Montesquieu was not only a lawyer but also a political philosopher. In the previous unit, we analysed, Montesquieu's views on spirit of laws, theory of separation of powers, and his views on laws. In this unit, we are going to discuss about the theory of separation of powers of Montesquieu.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to

- Know the concept of Separation of powers.
- Understand the three separate branches of government.
- Learn about the powers and functions of each branch.

CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT

In his Spirit of Laws Montesquieu analyses the different types of government and examines the characteristics of each different type. He does not overtly accept the traditional classification of governments into monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. He merely asserted that governments are of three types: monarchy, which represents the rule of one man with law; despotism, rule of one man without law; and republic, which would be further classified into aristocracy and democracy.

Despotism differs from monarchy in being arbitrary and capricious, while the latter is a constitutional government according to forms of law and require the continuance of 'intermediate powers', such as, the nobility or communes, between the monarch and the people. His republic represented an idealized type of government in a country where the moral and intellectual attainments and standards of the people were very high. The essence of republic lay not in whether the government was in the hands of a few or many, but whether the government was animated by 'virtue' or not. Thus, to each of these forms of government Montesquieu attached a 'principle', or motive force in the character of subjects from which its power is derived and which is necessary to its continuance and functioning. Popular government, whether republic or democracy, depends upon the civil virtue or public spirit of the people. Monarchy depends upon the sense of honour of a military class and despotism depends upon the fear or slavishness of its subjects.

THEORY OF SEPARATION OF POWER

As a champion of individual liberty Montesquieu was of the opinion that revolution in the world came only because of concentration of powers either in the hands of one person or a body of persons. He felt that oppression, tyranny and the struggle of man for demanding rights came because of the concentration of powers. If men are to enjoy liberty there must be division of powers. In his own words, "In every government there are three sorts of powers, the legislature, in respect of things dependent on the laws of nations, and the executive in regard to the matters that depend upon the civil laws and the judicial."

"By virtue of the first, the prince or magistrate acts temporary or perpetual laws and amends or abrogates those that have been enacted. By second, he makes peace or war, sends or receives embassies establishes public security, and provides against invasions. By the third powers he punishes criminals, or settles disputes that arise between individuals. The latter we shall call judicial power, and the other simply executive power of the state."

"The political liberty of the subject is tranquility of mind arising from the opinions each person has of his safety, in order to have his liberty, because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate enact tyrannical laws to execute them in a tyrannical manner."

"Again there is no liberty, if the judicial power be not separated from the legislative and the executive. Were it joined with the legislative, life and liberty of the subjects would be exposed to arbitrary control for the judges would be then the legislators. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression." "There would be an end to everything were the same man or the same body, whether of the nobles or of the people, exercise those three powers, that of enacting laws, that of executing the public resolutions, and of trying the cases of the individuals."

EVOLUTION OF THE THEORY

The idea about the theory of separation of powers which is generally associated with the name of Montesquieu is not original. Plato in his *The Laws* gave the idea of a mixed state, which was used by Polybius while discussing the stability of Roman Government. The idea held ground in medieval constitutionalists. Controversies about superiorities of position between the monarch and common law gave importance to this theory. Harrington pleaded this theory while discussing his individualism. Locke, of course, gave it a subsidiary position. According to Sabine, "So far as Montesquieu modified the ancient doctrine it was by making these separation of powers into a system of legal checks and balances between the parts of a constitution."

THEORIES OF DIFFERENT WRITERS

The theory of separation of powers found place in the writings of different writers. According to Sidgwick "Separation of fundamental powers of government, and balanced distribution of the same among different organs, differently appointed bodies or individuals, so that by natural play of the whole of organisation, any tendency to oppression on the part of any one organ of government may be checked by another."

According to Hearnshaw "If the legislative power is united with the executive power in the hands of one person or one body of officials there can be no liberty nor can there be any liberty if the power to judge is not separated from legislative and executive powers." Prof. Laski says, "Independence of judiciary from the executive is essential to the freedom."

In that sense, the doctrine of separation of powers enshrines a permanent truth for it is obvious that if executive could shape judicial decision in accordance with its own desire, it would be unlimited master of the state."

CRITICISMOFTHEORY

Unreasonable Source of Inspiration. Montesquieu derived his inspiration from England where he felt that there was complete separation of powers. But his source of inspiration was not based on reasonable grounds. In England before Glorious Revolution there was complete concentration of powers. Even after that the question of separation of powers did not arise at all because democracy there worked on the basis of concentration rather than separation of powers. In democracies the executive and legislature must go hand in hand and even. Least conflict among these organs is bound to result in dead locks.

Dead lock in Practice. If the theory of separation of powers, as enunciated by Montesquieu, is put into actual operation; that would result in dead lock in administration. In modern complex government all administrative departments are independent and their working cannot be separated without harming the society. If all the three departments of the same government function separately then this type of separation of powers would neither be conducive to office efficiency nor shall that be in the national interest.

Water Tight Division Impossible. In modern administrative set up complete water tight division approach is more or less impossible. Even in U. S. A. where an attempt has been made in this regard by introducing a system of checks and balances, it has not been found very much of administrative convenience. Many a time U. S. people have thought of even amending their constitution. In the words of Gettel.

"Government consists of a group of organs with differentiated functions but with a common task and purpose, and their harmonious cooperation is essential to success. A strict line of separation cannot be drawn between the several departments."

Closely Knitted Powers. In modern governments each department performs certain functions which are primarily not of its concern. e.g. Executive performs legislative functions where as the legislature is obliged to discharge such duties which are properly the responsibility of executive and judicial departments. Even if an attempt is made for separation of these departments that is bound to fail. In fact these functions are very closely knitted with each other.

All the Three are not Equally Important. The theory pre-supposed that all the three departments are equally important but judiciary comes in the picture after the legislature has laboured hard to give the nation requisite laws. If the legislature becomes inactive, the judiciary will not come into picture at all. Therefore the presumption that all the three departments are equally important does not arise.

Hasty and Superficial. According to Sabine, "His love of political liberty, the sole enthusiasm of another wise chilly temperament, was in the best tradition of the eighteenth century but he united his theory to hasty and superficial analysis of the constitutional principles of liberty."

10.5 APPRECIATION OF THE THEORY

In spite of the above mentioned criticisms there is no denial that the theory of separation of powers was accepted in principle by many thinkers. According to Sabine, "Perhaps its greatest use had been as a make shift against extreme centralisation and as a reminder that no political organization will work unless it can assume comity and fair dealing between its various parts." Maxey has said, "The authors of the American constitution were familiar with Montesquieu and adopted his doctrine as to the separation of powers with copy book of literalness, but did not equally value his concept of the governing principles underlying republican government.

LET US SUM UP

In this lesson we have discussed about the theory of separation of powers by Montesquieu given in his book Spirit of Laws. This theory says that the three government department should be given in a different persons. Apart from Montesquieu other writers like Sedgwick, Hearnshaw and Laski have given their views. Though there were criticism about this theory it has been accepted in principle by many thinkers.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Montesquieu propounded the theory of separation of power based on the model of
a) England b) USA c) France d) India
2. Dividing the government into three specific branches is called
a) Checks and Balances b) Tri-Government balance
c) Pyramid of power d) Separation of powers
3. Separation of powers is best illustrated by the
a) British Constitution b) Indian Constitution
c) Swiss Constitution d) American Constitution

4. The book *Spirit of Laws* was published in the year _____
a) 1748 b) 1758 c) 1768 d) 1738

GLOSSARY

Separation of powers : Giving powers to the three branches of the government.

Methodology : Way of studying a particular thing

Individualism : The belief that individual people in society should have the right to make their own decisions rather than be controlled by the government.

Despotism : Rule by a single individual in a cruel way.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. England
2. Separation of powers
3. American Constitution
4. 1748

MODEL QUESTION

1. How does Montesquieu classify Government?
2. Critically examine Montesquieu's Theory of Separation of powers.
3. Bring out the features of the theory of separation of powers given by Montesquieu.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Brinton, C., 1933 *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, London, Allen Lane.
2. Coleman J., 2000 *A History of Political Thought*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.
3. Cranston, M., 1964 *Western Political Philosophy*, London, Fontana.

BlockV

Law–Utilitarianism-Liberty

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|----------------|---|
| Unit-11 | St.Aquinos-LifeHistory, StateandGovernment, The natureofLaw, StateandChurch-PropertyandSlavery. |
| Unit-12 | JeremyBentham-Lifeandwritings, Utility-Thestate andGovernment, EstimateofBentham |
| Unit-13 | J.S.Mill-UtilitarianismandLiberty. |
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UNIT- 11

ST.AQUINOS:LIFEHISTORY,STATEAND GOVERNMENT,THENATUREOFLAW,STATE AND CHURCH – PROPERTY AND SLAVERY

STRUCTURE

Overview

LearningObjectives

AquinasLifeandWorks

Aquinasonthe State

TheNatureofLaw

ClassificationofLaw

Stateand Church

AquinasandAristotleState

Property

Slavery

LetUsSumUp

CheckYourProgress Glossary

AnswerstocheckyourProgress Model

Questions

Suggestedreadings

OVERVIEW

St.Thomas Aquinas was the greatest of the Scholastic philosophers. He produced a comprehensive synthesis of Christian theology and Aristotelian philosophy that influenced Roman Catholic doctrine for centuries and was adopted as the official philosophy of the church in 1917. In the previous unit, we have discussed about Rousseau`s views on social contract, theory of general will and his concept of Sovereignty. In this unit, we are going to discuss about the political ideas of Aquinas like his concept of the state classification oflaw, property slavery, and his views on state and church.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you will be able to

- Discuss about life and Works of Aquinas.
- Understand the Conception of State and Government.
- Explain Aquinas views on Property, Slavery and law.
- Describe his views on state and church.

AQUINAS LIFE AND WORKS

Thomas Aquinas was an Italian Dominican friar philosopher, Catholic priest and doctor of the church. An immensely influential philosopher, theologian and jurist in the tradition of scholasticism. Aquinas's ideas put forward by Aristotle whom he called the "philosopher" and attempted to synthesize Aristotle's philosophy with the principles of Christianity. He is distinguished for his Eucharistic hymns, which form a part of the church's liturgy. Thomas Aquinas is considered one of the Catholic Church's greater theologians and philosophers.

The following two are the important works of St. Thomas Aquinas.

- Summa Theologiae (1265-1274)
- Summa contra Gentiles (1259-1265) (1225-1274)

AQUINAS ON THE STATE

Aquinas was of the opinion that man was a social and political animal and that the state was essential not only because it checked human evil, as it was held by the early medieval Christian thinkers but also because an individual could not realize himself fully in its absence. Also, Aquinas attempted to support his earlier contention that the higher always rules over the lower by holding that as one man was superior to others in knowledge and justice, it was that he should rule over others for their benefit.

In Thomas's view ruler ships was trust for the whole community. He justified the authority of the ruler because he thought that whatever the ruler did, he (the ruler) did for the common good. The moral purpose of the Government, according to Thomas, is paramount. Broadly speaking, it is the duty of the ruler to direct the action of every class in the state that men may live a happy and virtuous life, which is the true end of man in society. Ultimately, of course, this must lead to a good beyond earthly society to a heavenly life, but this is beyond human power and is in the keeping of priests rather than of rulers. But it is characteristic of Thomas that he should regard an orderly political life as a contributing cause even to this ultimate end.

More specifically, "it is the function of the earthly ruler to lay the foundations of human happiness by maintaining peace and order, to preserve it by seeing that all the needful services of public administration, of judicature, and of defence, are performed, and to improve it by correcting abuses wherever they occur and by removing all possible hindrances to the good life."

The moral purpose for which political rule exists implies that authority ought to be limited and checked by the law. Thomas's dislike of tyranny was as great as that displayed by John of Salisbury though he explicitly disavowed the latter's defence of tyrannicide. Justifiable resistance is a public act of a whole people, and the right is safe guarded by the moral condition that those who resist are responsible for seeing that their action is less injurious to the general good than the abuse which they are trying to remove. Thomas's interest was essentially in them or all imitations laid up on rulers, and the legal or constitutional phases of the subject seem not to have concerned him. He was explicit on the point that a king's power should be 'limited' (temperate) though he never explained exactly what this meant.

As a moralist, he broadly held that the end of the state, as also of the individual, was the realization of good in a virtuous life. To him, the source of all political authority is God who is the Supreme Governor of all things. From God the legitimate authority to govern passes to the whole community. The people under God are sovereign and they may delegate their authority to a monarchical, aristocratic or republican form of government, Concept of Government St. Thomas was conscious of the purpose of the government. He held that all governments were good or bad according as they worked.

The main aim of a man was to lead a virtuous life and that of government was to promote virtue among men to enable them to achieve eternal salvation, The character of a government should be determined according to the fulfillment of this object Like Aristotle, Aquinas divided the governments into monarchy, aristocracy, polity, tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. He preferred monarchy to a democracy. His preference for monarchy was in line with his earlier argument that one God rules the universe, and one soul rules the body.

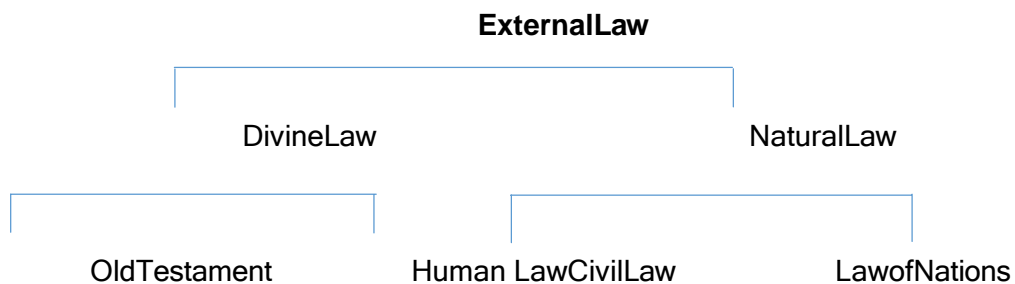
According to him, the monarchical form of government is the best, because it gives to the state important advantages of unity, regularity, experience and an analogy with Divine Rule. Tyranny he considered the worst type of government. The degeneration of a monarchy into tyranny, could be possibly prevented if the monarchy were a limited

one. The best form of government is an elective monarchy in which a monarch should be made to take an oath to observe the constitution of the state so that if he breaks the oath he can be justifiably deposed."The king must work for the sake of the kingdom and not viceversa".

THE NATURE OF LAW

Nature of law. According to Aquinas, the will of the sovereign has the force of law, otherwise the sovereign will be saviour of lawlessness rather than that of law. He said that "Law is in all those things that are inclined to something by reason of some law." He added, "Just as nothing stands firm with regard to the speculative reason except that which is traced back to the first in demonstrable principles to nothing stands firm with regard to practical reason, unless it be directed to the last end which is the common good and whatever stands to reason in this sense, has the nature of law." He said that law is not in person but each one is a law to himself. He was of the view that law sought to be changed; not in view of any improvement, but for the sake of a great benefit or in the case of a great urgency.

Structure of law. Aquinas built up a structure of law in which the most important position was given to eternal law. Briefly speaking, structure of law as defined and given by Aquinas is as follows:



CLASSIFICATION OF LAW

Aquinas has given four fold classification of Laws namely (i) Eternal (ii) Law Natural Law (iii) Divine Law and (iv) Human Law.

Eternal Law: It governs both animate and inanimate kingdoms. It governs the whole universe. It functions in different ways both in the rational and irrational worlds. It is identical with reason and is truth in itself. It is the type of law through which God governs the whole of universe. It is cosmic in character. According to Sabine, "It is the eternal plan of Divine wisdom by which the whole creation is ordered. In itself this law is above the physical nature of man and in its entity beyond

human comprehensions, thought it is not forth is reason foreign or contrary to human reasons.

Natural Law: It is the type of law which influences people to dictate the reason of eternal law. It is a type of law which is written in the heart of the people. It is a reflection of divine reason in human beings. It helps in distinguishing between good and evil and also in seeking good and avoiding evil. It helps the people in developing the idea that men should live in society. Salient features of this type of law thus are the following:

- It helps in seeking good and avoiding evil.
- It distinguishes between good and evil.
- It develops the idea that man is bound to live in society.
- It gives the idea of self-preservation.
- It helps in educating the people.
- It creates desire for seeking truth and developing intelligence.
- It is unchangeable.
- It is positive law both in nature and character.

According to Sabine, "It is manifest in the inclination which nature puts in all beings, to seek good and avoid evil, to preserve themselves; and to live as perfectly as possible the kind of life suitable to their natural endowments. Natural law enjoins all that is implied to give these human inclinations their widest scope."

Divine Law: It is the outcome of commands of God through revelation. It is not the result of natural reason but gift of God. It varies from community to community and changes from time to time. According to Sabine, "By Divine Law he meant substantially revelation. An example would be the special code of laws which God gave to the Jews as the chosen people or the special rules of Christian morals or legislation, given through scripture or the church."

Human Law: It is the outcome of human customs and conventions. It has its origin in human wisdom. It is positive in nature. It is promulgated by the princes. It is not supposed to be against human reason. It should aim at common rather than individual welfare. These laws should only touch temporal and not spiritual affairs. It is derived from natural law and is subordinate to it. According to Foster, "Human law is the system of rule for the regulation of man's conduct worked out for human reason from the principles of Natural laws."

Law and Justice: According to Aquinas justice is the basis of law. It is expressed only through law. It is something eternal and gives everyone its due. It is proportionate equality. Aquinas, however, distinguished between corrective and distributive justice. If the laws are unsound, justice naturally cannot be sound. There is close bearing if laws on justice. other inter linked and inter connected.

STATEANDCHURCH

Aquinas examined the relationship between the state and the church by taking the analogy of a ship-carpenter, whose job is to keep the ship in repair while on voyage. He compared the task of the church to the pilot, who has to steer the ship to the goal of its voyage. According to Aquinas, man has two goals, one temporal and the other spiritual. The state and the church are the two institutions which serve as the instruments for fulfilling these goals respectively. The independent and interdependent nature of the state and the church is clearly expounded in the works of Aquinas.

Moral virtue is a prerequisite for becoming a good Christian as well as a good citizen. Hence, the state and church have a common purpose of developing the moral virtues in the people. Independently the state's task is to ensure material prosperity to its people and the church shows the path for the salvation of the soul.

AQUINASANDARISTOTLE STATE

Aquinas is often referred to as Christianised Aristotle for basing his philosophy on the Aristotelian concept of the state. According to Aristotle, the state is a creation of nature of the well-being of the people. Aquinas also agrees with this view. He linked the theory of laws to Aristotle's concept of the state. Continued existence of the state was justified by Aquinas for turning a man into a good Christian through the instrument of the church.

Aristotle justified slavery on the basis of inherent inequalities in men. Aquinas justifies slavery on the basis of sin and morality. He views that all authority is derived from God. Men, because of the sins they have committed, are destined to be slaves. Aquinas appreciated the reasoning capacity of man as expounded by Aristotle and on his own, he emphasised on the qualities of man's faith. He agreed with Aristotle on the classification of government, and considers the mixed form of government as the best.

PROPERTY

Thomas Aquinas favoured the institution of private property. He was of the view that private property is needed for three following reasons:

- (i) **Incentive:** Every person is more careful to produce and procure that which belonged to himself alone. In the absence of sense of possession nobody will be willing to put labour and will make every effort to avoid that.
- (ii) **Responsibility:** Private property provides a sense of responsibility which is always more conducive for the conduct of human affairs.
- (iii) **Peace:** When each one is satisfied with what is his own a peaceful state is likely to be ensured.

SLAVERY

Slavery St. Thomas Aquinas favoured the institution of slavery. Slavery is divine remedy for the punish men to fall sins. It is also essential for stimulating bravery among the soldiers. It gives awarding to them that they should not get themselves vanquished. Aquinas agreed with Aristotle that some were born to rule while others to be ruled.

LETUSSUMUP

St. Thomas Aquinas, a medieval Roman Catholic scholar, reconciled the political philosophy of Aristotle with Christian faith. In doing so, he contended that a just ruler or Government must work for the „common good“ of all. Aquinas believes that a monarchy is the best form of government.

CHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. Where was St. Thomas Aquinas born?
a) Florence b) Paris c) Rocca Secca d) Berne
2. Aquinas has given _____ fold classification of law
a) two b) three c) four d) one
3. _____ is divine remedy to punishment of all sins.
a) property b) Seaverty c) citizenship d) law
4. Which is most famous book of St. Thomas Aquinas?
a) Summa contra gentiles b) Summa Theological
c) Disputed Questions d) Summa philosophical

GLOSSARY

- Divine Law : Outcome of commands of god through revelation.
- Human Law : Outcome of human customs and conventions.
- Tyranny : Cruel or oppressive government.
- Salvation : Deliverance from harm, ruin, or loss.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Rocca Secca
2. Three
3. Citizenship
4. Summa Theological

MODEL QUESTION

1. Analyse political ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas.
2. Critically examine Thomas Aquinas classification of Law.
3. Explain the views of Aquinas on property and slavery.
4. Bring out Aquinas views on state and church.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Brinton, C., 1933, *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, London, Allen Lane, .
2. Coleman J., 2000, *A History of Political Thought*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, .
3. Cranston, M., 1964, *Western Political philosopher*, London, Fontana, .

UNIT- 12

JEREMY BENTHAM: LIFE AND WRITINGS, UTILITY, THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT, ESTIMATE OF BENTHAM

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Life Sketch

Works of Bentham

Bentham on Utility

Sources of Pleasure and Pain

Political Philosopher

Reformer

Views on the State

Views on the Government

Bentham in the History of Political Thought

Estimate of Bentham

Let Us Sum Up

Check Your Progress Glossary

Answers to Check Your Progress Model

Questions

Suggested Readings

OVERVIEW

Jeremy Bentham was a philosopher, economist, jurist, and legal reformer and the founder of modern utilitarianism. His ethical theory holding that actions are morally right if they tend to promote happiness or pleasure and morally wrong if they tend to promote unhappiness or pain among all those affected by them. In this unit, we are going to discuss about the Bentham's ideas of utility, views on government and the sources of pain and pleasure etc. In the previous unit, we discussed about Aquina's views on state and government, property, slavery, on laws and his views on state and church.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After Reading this Chapter, you should be able to:

- Know about the life and works of Jeremy Bentham
- Understand the main philosophies of him.
- Learn the Bentham contribution to the political thought.

LIFE SKETCH

Jeremy Bentham was born on February 15, 1748 in London. His father Jeremia Bentham was a lawyer. Bentham was a precocious child. He started learning Latin at the age of three. He received his early education at Westminster School in 1755. In 1760 Bentham went to Queens College, Oxford where he, "found his teachers lacking and contemporaries stupid". However, it is not recorded as to what they thought of him. He entered Lincoln's Inn in 1763 and was called to the bar in 1769. He found the Oxford town more rewarding than Oxford University.

His career as a barrister was not successful. He left the legal profession and started studying jurisprudence and legal philosophy. He wanted to reconstruct the entire British legal system.

At the age of 23 he read Priestly's book Essay on Government which contained the phrase "the greatest happiness of the greatest number". Bentham was very much impressed by the statement made by Priestly, "the happiness of the majority of its members is the standard by which a state should be judged." Bentham visited Russia where his brother was employed as an engineer and was organising a model colony in the Ukraine. He was made a French citizen in 1792, for his ardent love of humanity. He became a radical democrat at the age of sixty. Bentham died at the age of eighty-four on June 6, 1832.

WORKS OF BENTHAM

Bentham was an affluent writer. He wrote many books, of which more significant ones are given below:

- A Fragment on Government (1776).
- A Defense of Usury, (1787).
- Discourse on Civil and Penal Legislation (1802).
- Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation (1789).
- A Treatise on Judicial Evidence (1813).
- A Theory of Punishments and Rewards (1811).

- Paper on the Codification and Public Instruction (1817).
- Essay on Political Tactics (1791).
- Essay on Inspection House (1791).
- Emanate your colonies (1783).
- Catechism of Parliamentary Reform, (1809).
- Radicalism not Dangerous (1819).
- The Book of Fallacies (1824).
- Constitutional Code (1841).

BENTHAM ON UTILITY

Hedonism: Bentham started with the presumption that the cherished desire of every individualist achieve pleasure and happiness. Man by nature is repulsive to miseries and pains. Everything in the society should be considered in terms of utility. Utility means maximum social pleasure and happiness. It is always in direct proportion on the pleasure. To that extent it avoids sorrow and dismay. According to Bentham, "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well to determine what we shall do. On the one hand, the standard of right and wrong, and on the other hand the chain of causes and effects are fastened to their throne. The principle of utility recognises this subjection and assume sit for the foundation of that system, the object of which is to rear the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and law-systems which attempt to question its deeds in sound in stead of senses, in caprice instead of reason, in darkness instead of light."

Utility: Thus for Bentham everything was to be valued, adjudged and measured only in terms of pleasure and pain. He said, "The principle of utility consists in taking as our starting point, in every process of reasoning the calculus of comparative estimates of pains and pleasures and in not allowing any other idea to intervene. An adherent to the principle of utility holds virtue to be a good thing by reason only of the pleasures which result from the practice fit, he esteems vice to be a bad thing by reason only of the pains which follow in its train." Man should not only aim at his own pleasure, but at collective happiness of the greatest number of people.

Utility as primary criteria: Bentham was of the opinion that Utilitarianism is a philosophy in which everything ought to be tested in terms of utility and usefulness. Utility of all laws and action so far legislators should be measured in terms of pains and pleasures which they give. Bentham said, "To seek pleasure and to shun pain is his sole aim, even at the moment when he is doing himself the greatest enjoyment or courting the most severe penalties. This maxim, unchangeable and irresistible, as it is, should become the chief study of the moralist and of the legislature. To these two motives the principle of utility subjects everything."

Calculus of utility: Bentham was of the view that intensity, duration, certainty, proximity, fecundity and purity were some of the measuring rods for testing the extent of utility which an action ultimately gave. By frequency he meant the 'quality of its being followed by the pleasure of the same sort. 'From purity he understood no fear to pleasure from any corner. For the purpose of utility, he felt that every body was equal to the other irrespective of his status and position in the society. Thus he was an individualist. He did not contribute to the idea that traditionally existing institutions so far as could not be challenged.

Four Sanctions: According to Bentham there are four sanctions regarding pains and pleasures:

- (i) Physical sanctions
- (ii) Moral sanctions: This implies the sanction which is prompted by good-will or contempt at the hands of fellow beings.
- (iii) Public sanction: This means legal sanction which is given to the individuals by the magistrates in exercise of their legal power.
- (iv) Religious sanctions: This follows from religious doctrines.

Simple and Complex Pleasures: According to Bentham pleasures are simple or complex. Simple pleasures are in sense, wealth, skill, beauty, reputation, power, piety, benevolence, malevolence, intellect, memory, imagination, hope, association and relief. Simple pains are 'inimity, ill name, privation, memory, expectation and awkwardness. Man is governed under the yoke of these two masters namely pleasures and pains. Complex pleasures and pains arise out of these simple pleasures and pains in one form or the other. Bentham was of the opinion that utility was something objective and not subjective in nature. For him such concepts as Natural Justice and Law of Nature had no meaning.

Hedonistic Calculus: Every action should be judged on the basis of pleasure and pain. There were physical, religious, moral and political sanctions for pleasure. Utility must be clear and precise. It must have a single and sufficient account for motivation. It must be adjustable by means of a moral calculus. Bentham wanted to apply this principle on legislation also. Utility means share of people in legislation. Thus democracy and not aristocracy is the ideal form of government.

SOURCES OF PLEASURE AND PAIN

According to Bentham there are four sources of pleasure and pain:

- I. **The Physical or Natural Sanction.** It "comprises the pains and pleasures which may be experienced, or expected, in the ordinary course of nature, not purposely modified by any human inter-position".
- II. **The Moral Sanction.** It "comprises such pains and pleasures as we experience, or expect, at the hands of our fellows prompted by feelings of hatred or goodwill or contempt or regard, in a word, according to the spontaneous disposition of each individual."
- III. **The Political Sanction.** It comprises such pains and pleasures as we may experience, or expect, at the hands of the magistracy, acting under Law".
- IV. **The Religious Sanction.** "It comprises such pains and pleasures as we may experience, or expect, in virtue of the forebodings and promises of religion."

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER

The political ideas of Bentham are to be found in his "Fragment on Government". As a student he had rebelled against the lectures of Blackstone, and when Blackstone's lectures were published he reproduced his "Fragment on Government" as an annihilating criticism of Blackstone. He bitterly attacked Blackstone's pompous generalization concerning the glories of the English Constitution and the English law and his sentimental optimism concerning conditions in England, and he completely demolished Blackstone's theory that the original source of law was found in a social contract.

Bentham rejected the social contract theory of government as "nonsense". According to him men obey the laws of government not because they have consented to do so, not because the laws embody principles of justice to which their reason inclines them to render obedience, but because, "The probable mischiefs of obedience are less than the probable mischief's of resistance".

It is a matter of calculated self-interest, of utility. The recognition of this simple and all pervading motive of human action, a calculated self-interest renders the historical guesses and the dialectical fictions by which philosophers of the contract school explain the difference between the natural and the civil state of man.

Discard all such rubbish, Bentham says, and look at the simple facts of the case. Consider any group of men living in more or less intercourse with one another. If in this group there is on the part of some of the members a habit of paying obedience to other members whether one or more in number, the group altogether constitutes a political society. If there is in the group no such habit of obedience the group is in a natural society. That is all there is of it.

Thus, according to Bentham, the essence of a state was merely a habit of obedience which people might have started rendering because it was found to be useful on experience. Such a dogma surely left no room for the history or the mystery which played so large a part in the political theory of the conservatives and the reactionaries. The theory of contract, therefore, in the case of Bentham, was replaced by the doctrine of utility.

Bentham had no respect for natural rights. In his "Anarchical Fallacies", Bentham critically examined the French Declaration of the rights of man of 1789. He started with the assumption that there were no natural rights and that the reasoning in the declaration is fallacious. For example, Article II of that declaration states that "the end in view of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression".

To Bentham all this was confusion. More confusion more nonsense. The words can scarcely be said to have a meaning. There are no such things as natural rights, no such things as rights anterior to the establishment of government - no such things as natural rights opposed to, in contradistinction to legal.....the expression is merely figurative. Natural rights are simple nonsense, rhetorical nonsense, nonsense upon stilts.

According to Bentham, therefore, there are no natural rights but legal rights; a man has no rights by virtue of his humanity but only by virtue of the law. Properly speaking rights are only concessions made by the state and which being concessions, the state may withdraw at will. A person may be said to have a right only "in proportion as it is... advantageous to the society in question" and "there is no right which when the abolition of it is advantageous to society should not be

abolished. As in the case of contract theory, so here the theory of natural rights was again replaced by the doctrine of utility.

Bentham was not satisfied with the existing political institutions of Great Britain. Bentham considered the English Constitution as far from perfect; he urged specially the need for universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, payment to members of parliament and vote by Ballot.

He advocated the abolition of the House of Lords and the monarchy. He was in favour of a single chambered legislature elected every year on the basis of an adult manhood suffrage. The question of women's suffrage was safely set aside by Bentham by saying that there was no demand for it from the women's side, only an insignificant number of women claim for it, and as such an insignificant minority has no business to suppress the interest of the majority.

As against monarchy, Bentham had advocated a republican form of government for "economy, efficiency, and supremacy of the people". According to Bentham the world was to become a better place to live in through the establishment of republican form of governments.

As he has stated at one place "I am trying to better this wicked world by covering it over with republics".

As regards the purpose of government, Bentham tells us very clearly "is to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number". It had no other jurisdictions for existence. The promotion of happiness was, therefore, the crucial test of a good government. In case a government employs ineffectual means of promoting the happiness of Society, it nullifies its very title to authority. Every just government, Bentham accordingly would have said, had he been writing the American Declaration of Independence, derives its authority not from the consent of the governed, but from the utility of its acts in promoting the happiness of its subjects.

The happiness of the body politic consists in promoting security, substance, abundance and equality and these are the objects which legislator should always keep in view while enacting a particular piece of legislation. He is required by Bentham to act upon a principle i.e. "everyone is to count for one and no one for more than one."

Speaking of the roles which government should play in relation to the economy Bentham wrote: "The general rule is that nothing ought to be done or attempted by government with few exceptions, and those not very considerable ones, the attainment of the maximum enjoyment will be most effectively secured by leaving each individual to pursue his own

maximum of enjoyment, in proportion as he is in possession of the means."

Each one knows best what serves his own interest and no one will serve the interest better than the individual himself Bentham was thus, a firm believer in laissez-faire and he conceived of government as having primarily negative functions.

Bentham regarded democracy as the best form of government to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, "It is only when democracy rules that the interest of the governors and governed become identical. As regards persons who should exercise political power, Bentham says that "in general, all mankind will agree that Government should be reposed in such persons in whom those qualities are most likely to be found, the perfection of which are among the attributes of him who is emphatically styled the supreme being; the three grand requisites, I mean of wisdom, goodness and of power; wisdom to discern the real interests of the community, goodness to endeavor always to pursue that real interest; and strength of power, to carry this knowledge and intention into action. These are the natural foundations of sovereignty and these are requisites that ought to be found in every well constituted frame of government."

REFORMER

The starting point of Bentham's political theory was his conviction, that there was need of extensive reforms in British society and particularly in English law and judicial procedure. He criticized the existing laws and the machinery and methods of executing them and proposed detailed scheme of his own. Most of the law reforms since Bentham's day can be traced to his influence. He attacked the chaotic system of the English law of his day and placed great emphasis on the need of simplification in phraseology and procedure and on the value of codification. The English system of allowing country gentlemen to be administrators of justice he specially condemned.

The corruption of the law in 18th century Britain was greater than the corruption of the church. A traditional and highly complicated procedure served to enrich the lawyers with fees. Justice in fact, in England, in Bentham's day was not done but it could be purchased and could be purchased by those who could pay the highest price for it. Bentham says: "Under English Law, not to speak of other systems, the sort of commodity called Justice is not only sold, but being like gun powder and spirits made of different degrees of strength, is sold at different prices, suited to the pockets of so many different classes of customers".

Bentham also condemned the delay and denial of justice on the part of the judges. He addressed them scornfully as "Judges & Co.". The injustice and severity of punishment provided in the criminal law and the system of prison administration, Bentham considered as intolerable. Punishment in Bentham's days was not awarded in proportion to the magnitude of the crime. In 1801, a boy of twelve was hanged for stealing a spoon; while in 1786 one Phoebe Harris was burned alive for coining. Between 1810 and 1830 the consumption of spirits doubled.

Bentham held that the end of punishment was the prevention of crime and should be given in proportion to the magnitude of the offence. He stood for the reformation of criminals also. He attacked vehemently conditions in the English prisons and aimed at their reforms. He urged a system of education and of useful labour for criminals and devoted many years to induce British Parliament to accept his scheme of housing criminals in a semi-circular building called "Panopticon". The building was to be so constructed that the governor of the prison located in the centre, could keep the lives and action of all the inhabitants under his observation. The British Government which was interested in the beginning later on withdrew its support. Partial efforts to apply Bentham's plans were made outside Great Britain, and the reform of prisons and the institution of reformatories and industrial schools derived their impulse largely from his principles.

In the field of education also Bentham suggested certain reforms. He had immense faith in the powers of education like Plato of ancient Greece and he was convinced that mankind could be made better with the help of education, He regarded it essential both for happiness and efficiency and hence he advocated a system of National Education. He suggested two schemes of education to run simultaneously. One scheme was meant for the poor and lower classes of society and the other was meant for middle or upper classes of society

In Bentham's view the poor or lower classes of society needed special attention. He was convinced that the two could be made as good and profitable subjects of the king. For the foundation of good habits in them he suggested a scheme of moral teachings. The poor class needed a training which was suitable to their circumstances. Hence he suggested instructions in a trade as a means of livelihood to be included in the scheme of education.

Bentham also wanted intellectual instructions to be given to the poor for the development of their mind as a permanent source of pleasure and power. What Bentham in fact, wanted was to raise the poor and lower classes to a status and equip them for playing an effective role as good citizens in national life. For the members of the middle and upper strata of society, Bentham suggested a scheme of education which would embody intellectual training and omit moral and religious instructions. He wanted to awaken in them the spirit of unity and the feeling of corporate action by introducing the monitorial system and utilizing the older or more advanced pupils for instructions.

He recommended for the abolition of corporal punishment in schools. For the training of teachers he recommended for the establishment of National schools and vast aided training centers. He laid down the following two principles for teaching purposes:

1. Begin with what is useful what is most likely to be useful to the pupil in his after career life
2. "Teach first the things that are easiest to learn let pay regard to the learner's capacity and do not force him contrary to his aptitude and his natural inclination"

He pleaded for the introduction of pupil teacher system and advocated for the establishment of the Central Board of Education and Provincial Committees for the control and supervision of educational life of the State.

It is a well-known fact that Bentham's ideas in the field of education have been accepted and every progressive Country in the world has adopted them as a matter of educational policy

A public health service, the collection of social and economic statistics, colonial self government, the proper correlation between Central and Local Governments, open competition for entry into the civil service, the organizations of government departments in relation to their functional tasks, these are again but a few of the major practical reforms of government and administration that Bentham and his group had initiated. In the field of working class activity, labour organizations ceased to be criminal conspiracies after the repeal of the Combination Act in 1824 and thereafter existed on a legal basis.

VIEWSONTHE STATE

To Bentham, the state is a group of persons organised for the promotion and maintenance of utility... that is, happiness or pleasure. Bentham did not believe in any social contract as the basis of political society. "What does it matter, utilitarian's asking, if our ancestors did not sign a bond? It is not their signatures but the principle of utility that bind us."

Governments exist only to promote human happiness Menrender obedience to laws because they understand the benefits of obedience and the dangers of disobedience. This common commitment to obedienceisthebasis of political society.Thebasis of political society or state is "habit born of utility", and not contract. Bentham introduces the revolutionary idea that every institution of the state should stand the test of utility. The interest of society is "the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it." Such a view insisting on the individual goes against the organic view of the state which subordinates the individual to the state.

VIEWSONTHE GOVERNMENT

Benthambelieved that Representative Democracy is the only Form of Government which could give greatest happiness to greatest number of people and the government should work in such a way that it promotesgoodand happiness ratherthan evil and pains. bentham stood for elected parliaments Based on adult suffrage and ballot system .The government Should follow the policy of Laissez faire.

BENTHAMINTHEHISTORYOFPOLITICALTHOUGHT

In spite of so many erudities in Bentham's philosophy, his services to political thought are enormous, Bentham's main contribution to political thought was not that he offered a novel principle of political philosophy as the principle of utility was well known to the sophista in fifth century Greece and even the conception of the greatest happinessof the greatest number is no invention of Bentham-but that he steadily applied an empirical and critical method of investigation to concrete problems of law and government.

Bentham exercised a great influence upon theories of sovereignty and law. Law he insisted was not a mystic Mandate of reason or nature, but simply the command of that authority to which the members of community render habitual obedience. Law therefore was simply an expression of the will of one accustomed to receive obedience, and sovereignty wasthefacultyorcapacityofsupremewill-supremeonly

because its commands were habitually obeyed above all others. Under this view the right to rule and the obligation to obey proceed not from absolute and eternal canons of reason or nature but from simple facts of human associations. There was no ethical element involved. Bentham thus divorced politics and ethics almost as completely as Machiavelli.

He recognised the moral right to command and no moral duty to obey. In determining how far either authority or opposition to authority should be pressed, Bentham suggested that the principle of utility would prevail.

Bentham's great service to political thought again lies in his devising a system and method of legislation that would surely conform to and serve the great end of human existence i.e. the greatest happiness of the greatest number,

His services to ethical and juristic science of connection with this work were of the utmost value. He brought to an end the era of legislative stagnation and ushered in that period of increasing legislative activity which has not yet ended and under the cumulative effects of which we are living our lives to day. Bentham exercised an enormous influence on law reform. To that influence can also be attributed the creation of adequate legal machinery for the protection of the equal rights of all citizens.

He was a reformer who was as bitterly critical of "The rights of Man" and the bloody effects of the victory of that watchword in France, as Pitt, Burke or even Eldon himself.

His political philosophy may be termed as scientific and practical as it is founded on the thorough and pragmatic study of human nature. He thus established an intimate relationship between psychology and politics. The germs of the theory of the welfare state are, thus traceable to the writings of Bentham. It is well said that "his theory of the greatest happiness of the greatest number was a hook that was placed into the nostrils of Leviathan so that it may be tamed and harnessed to the Chariot of Utility".

Criticism: Bentham's political philosophy is criticized as being merely mechanical, uninspiring and unimaginative. He cannot be said to be an outstanding philosopher though paradoxically he occupies an important place in the history of political thought. He took his pleasure and pain principles from Helvetius, notion of sympathy and antipathy from Hume, the idea of utility from J.B. Priestley's Essay on Government. He lacked originality and was full of prejudice in his speculation.

He is very much confused and contradictory in his own theoretical adventures. How can men have two different things as the absolute good their own pleasure and the happiness of mankind? On many points of discussion, Bentham goes on reducing confusion to chaos. There are certain questions which he leaves unanswered. How can the principle "Every one is to count for one and nobody as more than one" be derived from hedonism or even made consistent with it? How can it really be believed that even the closely watched legislator, if as selfish as Bentham portrays him, will forward his own interest only by forwarding the interest of all? How pleasures can be measured at all? How much intensity for example is to be counted against how much duration? Can any meaning be attached to a quantitative estimate of things which are by their nature not quantities but qualities which differ in kind not in amount?

Carlyle has branded Benthamism as the "Pig philosophy" just to remind us that hedonism of this kind is not very satisfactory; the happiness is much more than pleasure. Hegel has called Bentham's theory as essentially materialistic. He said that it was a philosophy which was essentially meant for a nation of shopkeepers. When Hegel was writing this he was in fact making aspersion on the entire British nation which is better known as nation of traders. He means to say that nothing better could be expected of an Englishman.

In Bentham's philosophy happiness is deliberately sought which is not obtained in that way. If one wants his happiness the worst way of going about it is to seek it expressly.

Aiming at other things, men may attain happiness and other things, men achieve other things but they will not achieve happiness.

The greatest defect of his theory is that Bentham, without knowing what he is doing, is trying to reconcile two couples of irreconcilable doctrines; egoistic hedonism with utilitarianism on the one hand, and a psychology with an objective theory of morals on the other.

ESTIMATE OF BENTHAM

Bentham occupies an important place in the history of political philosophy. To Boyle, "Jeremy Bentham stood out as the dominating philosopher of the radical group. He did not seek like Rousseau, to escape from the grim actualities into mysticism." Bentham was a legal reformer and a jurist rather than a political philosopher. His critics observed that he did not work out any systematic, political theory.

It was also suggested that he lacked originality, and that he borrowed his ideas from different sources. According to Wayper, "He took his theory of knowledge from Locke and Hume, the pleasure and pain principle from Helvetius, the notion of sympathy and antipathy from Hume, the idea of utility from any of half-a-score of writers. Lacking originality and full of prejudice in his speculations, he is as confused and contradictory in his own theoretical adventures as he is complacent." In spite of this criticism, we cannot forget the contributions made by Bentham. He founded the utilitarian school and this was his great contribution.

Bentham's writings became very popular in many countries, especially in France, where his "political and legal proposals were put forward in the speeches of Mirabeau." His doctrine spread to Spain, Russia, and Portugal and to several parts of South America. Politicians like Robert Peel or Macaulay did not call themselves Benthamites, but introduced legislation based on the idea of Bentham. His ideas reaffirmed the British faith in reform and they did not turn to revolution for the solution of their problems. Bentham also emphasised on empirical investigation and thus anticipated Marx. He freed political theory from medieval political vocabulary. To Dunning, Bentham, "became the symbol of a powerful current in the general Movement of political philosophy".

LET US SUM UP

Jeremy Bentham was an English philosopher and political radical. He is primarily known today for his moral philosophy, especially his principle of utilitarianism, which evaluates actions based upon their consequences. Happiness, according to Bentham, is thus a matter of experiencing pleasure and lack of pain.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. who is known as the founding Father of Utilitarianism
 a) J.S. Mill b) Jeremy Bentham c) Locke d) Plato
2. "Traité de Législation" is a book written by
 a) J.S. Mill b) Bentham c) Kant d) Green
3. Human beings are Governor or masters, Pleasure and pain.
 a) Hegel b) Marx c) Bentham d) Mill
4. According to Bentham there are _____ sanctions regarding pains and pleasure
 a) one b) two c) three d) four

GLOSSARY

- Malevolence :Theconditionof being hostility
- Utilitarianism :Theprincipleofthegreatestgoodforthe
GreatestNumber
- Privation :Lackingofessentialthingslikefoodetc.
- Laissezfaire :Thepolicyofleavingthingstotaketheircourse,
withoutinterferes.

ANSWERTOCHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. JeremyBentham
2. Bentham
3. Bentham
4. Four

MODELQUESTION

1. DescribeBentham"sTheoryofState.
2. ExaminetheJeremyBentham"sUtilitarianPrinciple.
3. DescribetheBenthamPoliticalPhilosophy.
4. Explainthefoursanctionsregardingtopleasuresandpain by
Bertham.

SUGGESTEDREADINGS

1. Hampsher-Monk,I.W., 1992, *Modern Political Thought from
Hobbes to Marx*, Oxford, Basil Black well,.
2. Lessnoff,M.H.1999,*PoliticalPhilosophersofthe Twentieth Century*,
Oxford, Basil Blackwell,.
3. Mcllwain,C.H.,theGrowthofPoliticalThoughtintheWest,New York,
Macmillan,

J.S.MILL-UTILITARIANISMANDLIBERTY

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Life Sketch of John Stuart Mill

Works of J.S Mill

J.S Mill on Utilitarianism

J.S Mill, the Prophet of Liberty

Let Us Sum Up

Check Your Progress

Glossary

Answers to check your Progress Model

Questions

Suggested readings

OVERVIEW

John Stuart Mill was an English philosopher, economist, and exponent of Utilitarianism. He was prominent as a publicist in the reforming age of the 19th century and remains of lasting interest as a logician and an ethical theorist. In the previous unit, we have discussed about the Bentham`s views on government. In this unit, we are going to discuss about J.S. Mill`s views on utilitarianism and his views on liberty.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading his unit, you should be able to

- Know about the Life and Work of Mill.
- Discuss the Concept of Utilitarianism.
- Analyse the Mill`s view on Liberty.

LIFE SKETCH OF JOHN STUART MILL

J.S. Mill was born in 1806. His father James Mill, was the most prominent disciple of Bentham. J.S. Mill was a precocious child and he was subjected to a rigorous intellectual discipline right from his childhood. It is said that J.S. Mill was learning Greek at the age of three.

When he was eight years old, he had finished reading all Plato and Herodotus and most of the works of Xenophon and Lucian. He continued his Greek studies mastering Homer, Thucydides, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Lysias. He was also introduced to the exacting disciplines of logic, psychology and political economy. James Mill, "the most impatient of man", personally supervised the studies of his son.

Mill spent a year in France, and later started reading the works of Bentham. He characterised his study of Bentham as an epoch in his life, one of the turning points in his mental history. When he was sixteen years of age, he founded the utilitarian society, an association dedicated to the discussion of Bentham's ideas. He also became a member of the „The Speculative Debating Society' and The Political Economy Club'. He joined the East India Company at the age of seventeen and remained there till it was wound up. He became prominent through the articles he contributed to the West minister's Review. He also edited Bentham's Rationale of Evidence when he was only twenty years of age.

During his time, he realised what he calls, "the paradox of hedonism". He also realised the folly of emotional starvation, and took to a study of poetry of Wordsworth and the philosophy of Coleridge. This new experience transformed him completely, and was responsible for his later deviation from Bentham's philosophy. He underwent a conversion which made him assert, "And I am Peter, who denied his master." This change was, "no doubt strengthened and confirmed by his association with Mrs. Taylor who became his wife in 1851 on the death of her husband".

Mill entered parliament at the age of 59 and played an important role in problems relating to the Irish question, condition of the peasantry, suffrage of women etc. He was the leading philosophical radical in the House of Commons. However he was not a great success as a parliamentarian. Gladstone observed that, "Mill has failed as a politician...not so much from advanced views, as from errors of judgement and tact". He lost his seat in 1868 and preferred to retire from public life. He died at Avignon in 1873.

WORKS OF J. MILL

Mill published his System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive in 1843. This was one of his greatest works. This became a great success. In 1848, he published his Principles of Political Economy. His Essay on Liberty published in 1859, remains a classic even today. These were the books published before his retirement. After retirement

he published the Considerations of Representative Government (1860) and Utilitarianism in 1861. To these were added two more books posthumously, the Autobiography published in 1873 and the Three Essays on Religion published in 1874.

J. SMILLON UTILITARIANISM

John Stuart Mill founded the utilitarian society at the age of sixteen. This was as equal to his reading of Bentham's utilitarian doctrine, which he considered as one of the turning points of his mental history. In the beginning of his intellectual career, we see Mill treading the footsteps of his father James Mill and his master Bentham. This enthusiasm did not last long. He wanted to reform Benthamism which was losing its respectability in the strong hedonist movement of the day personified by Carlyle. utilitarian philosophy of Bentham which was so dear to the followers of Bentham. Mill challenged the basic ideas of Bentham, which constituted the very flesh and blood of utilitarianism.

J.S. Mill wanted to prove that utilitarian theory, "although hedonistic, is elevating and not degrading". Mill introduced certain non-hedonistic elements which resulted in his departure from the original doctrine of Bentham. The changes introduced by Mill may be summarized as follows.

Analysing pleasures and the differences between pleasure and pain, Bentham believed that there is only one quantitative difference between one pleasure and another. Bentham observed, "quantity of pleasure being equal, pushpin is as good as poetry" Bentham held a contrary position by saying that this is not so. Mill strongly asserted that there is also a qualitative difference between pleasures. There are two types of pleasures: higher and lower. Those who have experienced both pleasures always chose the higher pleasures. In a famous statement, Mill observed, "It is better to be a 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 the question.

The other party to the comparison knows both sides." Mill was giving expression to the reality of human experience when he asserted the qualitative difference between pleasures. This stand was non-utilitarian and hence constituted a departure from Bentham's ideas. According to Mill, one should try to seek higher pleasures and not utility. On the contrary, utilitarianism because it is hedonism, must recognise no distinction between pleasures except a quantitative one.

It may be remembered that Bentham viewed the doctrine of the greatest happiness as a political principle. He wanted the legislators to bear this in mind while making laws. Mill used this principle of utility as a theory of morality. As Sabine observes, "The distinctive characteristic of Mill's utilitarianism... was that he tried to express a conception of moral character consonant with his own personal idealism".

Bentham introduced his famous 'felicific calculus' to measure one was of the opinion that no pains and pleasure. Mill measurement of pain and pleasure is possible. He condemned the 'felicific calculus' as absurd. It may be possible to measure quantity, but not quality. Mill expressed his doubt even on the possibility of measurement on the quantitative plane by observing that men have to depend on the testimony of "those competent to judge". He observed, "There is no other tribunal to be referred to even on the question of quantity. What means are there of determining which is the acutest of two pains or the in tensest of two pleasurable sensations except the general suffrage of those who are familiar with both?" This stand of Mill although correct, is not in accordance with Bentham's theory.

Mill maintains then on-utilitarian position by saying that the dignity of man is the final end of life. He thus gives a secondary position to the doctrine of utility. Mill also supported the doctrine of self-realisation preached by Humboldt. He says, "It really is of importance not only what men do, but also what manner of man they are that do it". Bentham and Mill did not believe in self-realisation. They wanted simply the avoidance of pain and achievement of pleasure irrespective of ethical considerations. Introduces the conception of good life as a desirable and instead of utility, Mill gives more importance to moral ends, rather than to happiness. As observed often, Bentham was not concerned with the 'ought' but with the 'is' in human behaviour and motives ". Consequently, the " principle of utility as expounded by Bentham would exalt wolfishness in a society of wolves and saintliness in a society of saints. However Mill was determined that saintliness alone should be the criterion of utility in every society."

In other words Mill's state was a moral institution with a moral end. He felt that promotion of virtue was the supreme end of the state.

Mill also gave a new orientation to the theory of Bentham by introducing conscience and moral obligation in his ethics. This is another non-utilitarian streak in the philosophy of Mill. He thought that the concept of moral obligation cannot be explained in the light of Bentham's utilitarianism.

Mill gives an important place to love, sympathy, and religiosity in the life of man. He was interested in promoting what is best and noble in a human being. This led him to champion the cause of liberty. To him liberty was more important than utility. This was another important deviation from traditional utilitarianism of which Bentham and James Mill were ardent advocates.

Mill was influenced by the writings of August Comte. The impact of the sociological school can be seen in his writings. Mill introduced an historical approach in his analysis of the study of man and his institutions. Bentham however stuck to "static view of human institutions". Mill did not agree with Bentham when he lays stress on the element of selfishness in human nature. Mill is more concerned with the social and moral nature of man which is responsible for all that is good in society and for the solidarity of social organisation.

Mill is against the atomistic view of society in which Bentham believed. The differences between Bentham and Mill is also reflected in their views on democracy. Bentham justified democracy because of the "nature" of man and Mill justified democracy because of the "condition" of man.

Mill and Bentham shared the belief that all human institutions were created by man. Bentham thought that every human institution is based on interest and utility. Mill differed from Bentham and asserted that will is the basis of all human institutions including the state. He also stressed on the qualitative aspect of this will. In the oft quoted words of Mill, one person with a belief is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests.

Bentham and Mill also differed in their ideas relating to the political field. For example, Bentham believed in the principle of one vote. Mill advocated weighted suffrage for the more educated. Bentham did not support second chambers, while Mill was in favour of bicameralism. Bentham did not want the state to undertake welfare activities. His state was more a negative state. Mill was in favour of socialism, because he believed that the environment of man "represented the accumulated inequality of the past", and "all do not start equal in the race of competition." Mill stood for compulsory education, voted for factory legislation, and wanted the state to control monopolies. He also asserted the right of the state to interfere in the economic field in the interests of the common good. He advocated state interference to promote the general happiness and thus projected himself as a greater utilitarian than Bentham.

Thus Mill introduced a number of changes in the philosophy of Benthamite utilitarianism. In this task, he was also influenced by the collectivist ideas of the idealist school. Mill succeeded in softening away the crudities of Benthamite ethics and in doing hemadeutilitarianism at once more human, less consistent."

J. SMILL, THE PROPHET OF LIBERTY

Contemporary Circumstances: J.S. Mill was the champion of individualism and liberty. His greatest contribution to Benthamite school of thought was the changed concept of liberty to suit his times. Bentham had pleaded for reforms and with the passage of time the state had to yield to his opinion. This however, gave rise to the increased scope of state activity. The individuals were conscious and politically active. The individuals were conscious and politically growing. The parliament was concentrating all powers in its own hands. In the words of Doyle "Soon the one side the growth of the central Government of the country and the increase of the social legislation emphasized the importance of communal action over the welfare of the masses; and on the other side the extension of franchise of education and the revival of local Government emphasized importance of individual effort."

In his approach to the problem J.S. Mill was close to Socrates. He felt that liberty is most valuable to society. Mill thought a-fresh on the relation between the individual and the society. Doyle has compared Bentham and Mill when he says that "Liberty of action and thought, the corollary of egoism and a necessity for development into self-consciousness was at stake." Mill thought that the society and the legislatures were organs which tried to impose their opinion on the individuals and hence required checking. It was under these circumstances that Mill came out as champion of individual liberty to save man from the tyranny of both the legislature and the so-called public opinion.

Differences between Bentham and Mill: Bentham and James Mill both believed that liberty was essential for utility and thus was simply means to an end and not an end in itself. On the other hand, J.S. Mill believed that liberty was an essential ingredient for moral development of mankind and thus an end in itself. To quote Mill himself: "The principle is that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection. That the only purpose for which the power can be rightfully exercised over any number of civilized community, against this will is to prevent harm to others."

He cannot be right fully compelled to do or for bear because it will be better for him to do so: because it will make him happier: because in the opinion of others, to do so would be wise or even right. The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is a man able to society, is that which concerns others. In part which merely concerns himself, his independence of right is absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind the individual is sovereign."

Limitations on Liberty: According to Mill man is free in so far as individual actions concerning his own self were concerned, and which did not prejudice his actions about others. But when his actions influence others man is bound by certain limitations. As Mill puts it "He must not make himself a nuisance to other people. But it refrains from molesting others in what concerns them and merely acts according to his own inclination and judgement in things which concern himself, the same reasons which show that opinion should be free to prove also that he should be allowed without molestation to carry his opinion into practice at his own cost."

Mill put certain restrictions on enjoyment of liberty. Only those who were mature could enjoy liberty. Mill did not care for social customs and conventions. He had nothing to say about age-old institutions. He, however, believed that in the interest of individual liberty it is essential that the state should deny liberty and freedom in cases where it felt that the individual is not acting in his self interest.

Champion of Individual Liberty: According to Mill democracy, public opinion and collectivism were dangerous to individual liberty and must be kept within their sphere of activity. It is a bad tendency on the part of society to impose its will on the individuals. According to him "The tendency of the society is usually to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas, and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them, to fetter the development and, if possible, prevent the formation of any individuality not in harmony with its ways and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own.

Right of Expression: According to Mill it is wrong to think in any way that any authority on earth has a right to suppress the opinion of others. Even a single dissent opinion should not be suppressed because it is disgracing to human race. Its denial could possibly result in exchanging error for truth. It is, therefore, very essential that everyone should be given essential basic liberties for expression of self.

According to Mill "The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is that it is robbing the human race, posterity as well as the existing generation, those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clear perception and liberation, impression of truth, produced by its collision with error." It is always a mistake of those in power to forbid expression. Those in authority should be exonerated for such slips. Mill stressed the need and necessity of variety of opinions. He believed that liberty and self-government should go hand in hand.

Need of Liberty: Mill stressed the conception of individual liberty on the grounds that such liberty is essential for the development of human personality. Without it one could neither develop nor progress but become stagnant. It is also essential for spiritual originality. Barker explains, "From the conception of liberty he meant an external freedom of action necessary for the discovery and pursuit of his material by each individual. Mill rose to the conception of liberty as free play for the spiritual originality with all its results in individual vigour and manifold diversity which alone can constitute a rich, balanced and developed society."

Intentionally Mill did not discuss the problem of social evil doers who had scant regard for democratic institutions and the method by which they should be treated. The individual should be left alone in so far as actions concerning himself were concerned. Individual's activities are divided into self-regarding and other regarding. Since the latter are concerned with the community as a whole, the state had a right to interfere in them. Due recognition should be given to impulse while judging the actions and activities of the people.

Liberty of Representatives: Mill also stood for the liberty of the representatives of the people in the elected bodies. They should not be mere echo of the people. They should also have independence of views and expression.

Doctrine of Individual Liberty: Davidson has beautifully summed up Mill's doctrine of individual liberty when he says that "Mill's doctrine of individual liberty of conduct may be summed up under three heads (1) the advocacy of the recognition of the place and importance of impulse and desire in man, as distinguished from intellect, though in close connection with it the supreme need of amply acknowledging the active and energetic side of the individual's nature, (2) insistence on the view

that's spontaneity or individuality is a necessary ingredient in happiness or human welfare, (3) Revolt against the conventionalists of society that hinder or seem to hinder, the development and expression of individuality against the despotism of social customs."

LET US SUM UP

Mill recognized that individual liberty needed limits or else harm to others may result. Mill argued that "an atmosphere of freedom" was necessary to assure all people the opportunity to develop their individuality. He condemned British society of his day for its suffocation conformity.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The Book _____ is written by J.S. Mill.
 - a) On Liberty
 - b) Two Cities
 - c) City of Joy
 - d) City Lights
2. _____ is the champion of individualism and liberty.
 - a) J.S. Mill
 - b) Plato
 - c) Aristotle
 - d) Locke
3. Favoured the idea of plurality of votes.
 - a) Green
 - b) Marx
 - c) J.S. Mill
 - d) Bentham
4. Mill entered the parliament at the age of _____.
 - a) 59
 - b) 49
 - c) 69
 - d) 79

GLOSSARY

Utilitarianism	: The doctrine that an action is right insofar as it promotes happiness, and that the greatest happiness of the greatest number should be the guiding principle.
Individuality	: The quality or character of a person or thing that distinguishes them from others of the same kind.
Doctrine	: A belief or set of beliefs taught or held by a church, political party or other group.
Hedonism	: The ethical theory that pleasure is the highest good and proper aim of human life.

ANSWERTOCHECKYOURPROGRESS

1. OnLiberty
2. J.S.Mill
3. J.S.Mill
4. 59

MODELQUESTION

1. ExamineJ.S.Mill"sConceptionofTheoryofIndividualism.
2. DiscussJ.S.Mill"sviewonDemocracy.
3. DiscussJ.S.Mill"sContributiontothetraditiontoLiberalTheory.
4. Bringouttheideaof Millonrightsofexpression.

SUGGESTEDREADINGS

1. Marrow,j,1998,*Historyofpoliticalthought:AThematicIntroduction*,London, Macmillan,.
2. Sinclar,T.A., 1951, *A History of Greek Political Thought*, London, Rutledge,.
3. Skinner,Q., 1990, *TheFoundationofModernPoliticalThought*, 2Vols,Cambridge,Cambridge University,.

UNIT- 14

MILL ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT – PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION – ESTIMATE OF MILL

STRUCTURE

Overview

Learning Objectives

Mill on Representative Government

Mill on Proportional Representation

Problems of Representative Government

Minority Representation

Women Suffrage

Parliament and Position of Representatives

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OVERVIEW

John Stuart Mill was one of the most important intellectual figures of the nineteenth century. He contributed to economics, epistemology, logic, and psychology, among other fields. However, his most lasting influence has been through his utilitarian ethics and liberal political philosophy. In the previous unit, we discussed about J.S Mill's views on utilitarianism and liberty. In This unit, the views of mill on representative government, proportional representation, minority representation have been discussed.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After Studying this unit, you will be able to

- Understand the concept of Representative Government.
- Discuss about proportional Representation and minority representation.
- Know the Mill's views on education and women suffrage.

MILLON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Mill states that the best state should promote virtue and intelligence of its citizens. His state is ethically oriented. To him efficiency is not one of the important criteria for judging the government. He also says that, "the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty or supreme controlling powers in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community." Mill also realized fully well that only in a numerically small community, every citizen can directly and personally participate in public affairs. Modern territorial states with vast territories and huge populations have no alternative except to choose representative democracy ruled by chosen representatives.

MILLON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

In a representative democracy, a party, which secures a large number of seats in the legislature assumes power. Many a time the minorities suffer due to under representation or no representation at all. Mill advocated proportional representation which in his opinion would eliminate injustice to both majorities and minorities, by assuring their due share of representation in the legislature. In his book, Representative Government, Mill championed the cause of constitutional reforms as the most essential for the establishment of good government. The following characteristics are insisted upon by J.S. Mill for any good representative government.

No representative government should be complete without proportional representation. Mill thought that the problem of minorities will be solved with the introduction of proportional representation. Under this system, "the distribution of parliamentary seats might correspond more closely to the votes cast by the party or groups."

Mill did not believe in conferring the right to vote on all adult citizens. He insisted on some intellectual qualification for the voters. He also thought that the legislators should be wise, educated and enlightened. They should be in a position to effectively participate in the process of law-making. Mill observed, "I regard it as wholly inadmissible that any person should participate in the suffrage without being able to read, write, and I will add perform, the common operations of Arithmetic."

Mill recommended plurality of votes or weighted voting for those citizens with superior intellect and qualifications. He even prepared a list of those classes whose superior intelligence entitled them to more than one vote. He wanted to present class legislation of the few rich with the help of plural voting, which was anybody's privilege provided they qualified

themselves for it. Mill was not in favour of political equality, but was in favour of intellectual aristocracy. He advocated the system of plural voting as a "counterpoise to the numerical weight of the least educated".

Mill opposed the system of payment to the legislators. Here commended that the expenditure incurred on the eve of elections should not be charged to the candidate himself.

Mill was against secret ballot. Mill thought that under the coverage of secrecy, the voter may exercise his right to vote in an irresponsible manner. Mill believed that voting was not a right but a trust. It demanded a due sense of responsibility on the part of the voter. The voter was expected to think of the general interest or general good instead of personal advantage. Defending public voting Mill observed that, "the duty of voting, like any other public duty should be performed under the eye and criticism of the public."

Mill thought that all political authority should be vested in the House of Commons. He also suggested that the House of Lords should be entrusted with power to draft bills as it represented the legal wisdom of the country. Mill opposed the legislature performing any sort of administrative function. He allotted certain specific functions to the legislature. He was of the opinion that the legislature could be entrusted with giving publicity to its own acts, besides justifying them. Mill asserted that the representative assembly can play the role of "a committee of grievances" or, "a Congress of opinion". Its proper function was discussion, deliberation, supervision, and control of the executive. The executive should have the monopoly over administration.

Mill also rejected the idea of annual elections to parliament and the idea of delegation as championed by Bentham.

Mill started his intellectual career as an uncompromising individualist. However in his later days, we find a mellowed Mill reconciling to state interference. He contemplates over a state with a positive role. He felt that the state may interfere in certain matters like education, industry and the working class. Mill was of the opinion that children should be given education irrespective of the parents' willingness or unwillingness. He wanted the state to regulate monopolistic public enterprises. Mill also championed the cause of the working class which was being exploited by capitalists. He wanted the state to enact laws relating to working hours, wages etc. In other words, he was in favour of factory legislation to promote the well-being of the working class."

PROBLEMS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

To Mill, there are, essentially two problems facing representative government. Ministers must be effectively representative and secondly democratic power ought to be exercised by men of ability. These two problems are discussed in proper detail in his book 'Representative Government' but it also reveals his disappointment, doubts and difficulties about self-government. Dr. Toquevelli's study of American democracy has deeply influenced him. He had become wise to buy the experience of democratic government—a vital element which had been denied to early utilitarians.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

The working of democratic system in England convinced Mill that a lot of injustice was involved in the majority vote system. There was a danger of social tyranny being strongly exercised against minority. There was felt danger of class legislation on the part of majority. His sense of fairness made him feel that in real democracy, based on equality, every and any sections could be represented not disproportionately, but proportionately. This problem was attempted by Mill in different ways to secure a proper solution.

Firstly, he considers the plan of limited vote system which had been introduced in England under Second Reform Act. Secondly, he discussed the cumulative vote system which had been proposed by one Mr. Marshal. But the most important method of representation discovered by him was the system of Proportional representation worked out by Mr. Hare. Mill said that Hare's plan was among the very greatest improvement yet made in the theory and practice of government. Mill contributed a great deal towards popularising Hare's system of proportional representation.

Another proposal to prevent class legislation was to give number of votes to persons with higher intellectual qualifications. This had additional advantage of making parliament a body containing the very breath of the country. Minorities would be compelled to look out for members of a much higher caliber. He recommended a system of public examination which could facilitate selection of men of higher intelligence who could claim higher voting rights.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

Though Mill favoured expansion of franchise, he insisted that the voters should have certain qualification. He laid a lot of stress on educational qualifications of voters. He believed that the person whom the responsibility is placed should be educated. A voter should be at least able to read, write and perform the common operation of arithmetic. Giving suffrage to a man who cannot read is just like giving it to a child who cannot speak. Mill realized that it is the duty of the society to render instruction accessible to all and when the society has failed to perform its duty, there is some hardship in the case, but it is a hardship that ought to be borne. If society has neglected to discharge its solemn obligations, the more important and more fundamental of the two must be fulfilled first, universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement.

PROPERTY QUALIFICATION

Besides the educational qualification, Mill insisted that the voters should have property qualifications. Mill's argument was that those who pay no taxes and have to tax the people as members of the legislature have every motive to be lavish and never economic as far as the money matters are concerned. Of course, he favoured the largest number of people to be taxed so that the largest number of people could enjoy the blessings of the extended franchise.

PUBLIC VOTING

Mill favoured direct to indirect elections though circumstances may at times make indirect election more congenial. He was opposed to secret ballot although it is, universally recognised today as the best system of voting. His contention was that the secret ballot tended to make people irresponsible and dishonest. Voting is a public duty and like another public duty it should be performed under the eye and criticism of public.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Mill was a great advocate in treating men and women on equal terms. Sex, alone, should not be a base for any disqualification. He believed that the existing subjection of a woman was unjust. Their inferiority was due to existing institutions which deny equal opportunity of self-development to them. Otherwise, women are as mentally alert and intelligent as men are. He advocated the right of vote being given them. He does not see any justification in denying the political rights to women because there is no difference between man and woman.

other than sex. "If there be any difference, women require it more than men, since being physically weaker, and they are dependent on law and society for protection.

PARLIAMENT AND POSITION OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mill suggested certain changes in Parliament. Dealing with functions of legislature, Mill argued that legislatures were mainly meant to control and supervise and not to administer and legislate. This must be left to the experts. Parliament should not itself even nominate the membership of a cabinet. It is enough that it virtually decides who shall be two or three individuals from whom the Prime Minister will be chosen. Proper sphere of the Parliament was to watch and control the government and demand from it full explanation and justification of its acts.

Mill did not favor annual Parliament, Parliament's term ought not to be less than five years, for a shorter term would make it weak and vacillation in its work, and a longer term would make it irresponsible. He also opposed payment of Member of Parliament in the interest of purity and efficiency of government.

ESTIMATE OF MILL

J.S. Mill who wanted to dedicate himself to the defence of utilitarianism was successful in exposing its contradictions, inadequacies and fallacies. He ostensibly wanted to refine his master's theory but in reality, consistently undermined the very edifice of utilitarianism built by Bentham. After making the greatest changes in Benthamism, Mill justifiably called himself, "the Peter who denied his master."

Commenting on the achievements of Mill, Prof Wayer says, "Yet when all the criticisms that can be brought against him, he remains far away and the most satisfactory of the utilitarian's. He touches depths that Bentham and his father never knew existed. He has his own un reality, but he is much closer to life than they are. Indeed not the though unintentionally, he so completely demonstrates the in a dequacy of utilitarianism, its ethical aridity, its blindness to the emotions". He was successful in humanising the philosophy of Bentham. Besides being a leading utilitarian of the times, he was also a great feminist, who for the first time effectively pleaded the cause of women in the British House of Commons. His defence of thought and expression glows through the pages of his memorable classic Liberty. He emerged as the greatest champion of individual liberty.

Although a believer in democracy, he was too conscious of the "tyranny of the majority" which he so severely condemned. He suggested a catalogue of remedies to improve the representative system of government as it prevailed in England. He was a great defender of minorities.

Mill advocated a positive state combining political liberalism with economic socialism. He insisted upon, "the common ownership in the raw materials of the globe and an equal participation of all the benefits of the combined labour".

LET US SUM UP

Mill favoured the idea of representative government. He was a democrat in true sense. He felt that all government should be constituted in such a fashion that only representatives of the people are included in that. At the same time Mill knew the dangers of democracy and the way in which it could become a tyranny.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The Thinker who has been characterized as a "reluctant democrat" is
a) J. Bentham b) Burke c) J.S. Mill d) Green
2. Single transferable votes system was suggested for proportional representation by
a) Barker b) Mill c) Plato d) Green
3. Who among the following favoured qualification as the basis for right to vote?
a) Bentham b) J.S. Mill c) Green d) Barker
4. According to Mill parliament's term ought not to be less than _____ years.
a) 14 b) 5 c) 6 d) 13

GLOSSARY

- Suffrage : Right to vote in political elections.
- Representative government: Government run by the elected representatives of the people in an election
- Legislation : The process of making or enacting laws.

Proportional representation : A elected system in which parties gain seats in proportion to the number of votes cast for them.

ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. J.S. Mill
2. Mill
3. J.S. Mill
4. 5

MODEL QUESTION

1. What is Representative Government by J.S. Mill?
2. Analyse Mill's Proportional Representation.
3. Explain the view of Mill on women's suffrage.
4. Bring out Mill's views on Minority Representation.