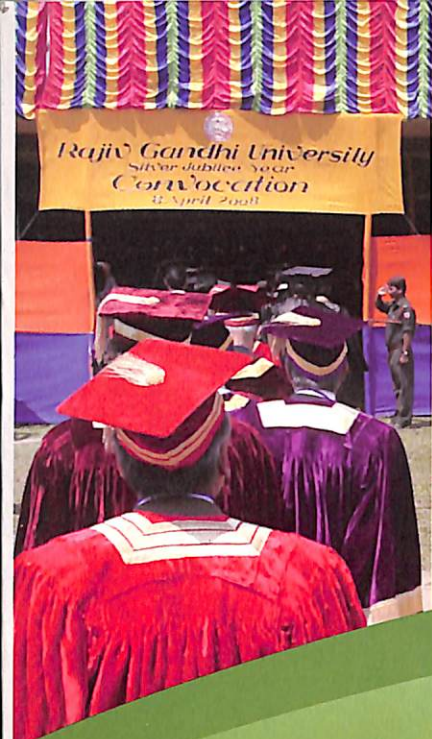




M.A. (Political Science)
FIRST YEAR
MAPOLS-401



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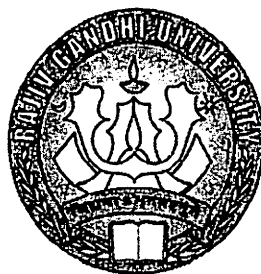
POLITICAL THOUGHT

POLITICAL THOUGHT

MA [Political Science]

First Year

MAPOLS - 401



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

Authors

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About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education. Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14.

The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

(i) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

(ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

(iii) Contact and Counselling Programme (CCP)

The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

(iv) Field Training and Project

For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.

(v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

(vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counselling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University. The Counselling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counselling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in their respective subjects.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

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Unit 3: J. Bentham	Unit 3: Jeremy Bentham (Pages 45–60)
Unit 4: J.S. Mill	Unit 4: John Stuart Mill (Pages 61–78)
Unit 5: F. Hegel T.H. Green	Unit 5: F. Hegel and T.H. Green (Pages 79–103)
Unit 6: Karl Marx	Unit 6: Karl Marx (Pages 105–120)
Unit 7: Herbert Marcuse • Positivism • Capitalism • Society	Unit 7: Herbert Marcuse (Pages 121–143)
Unit 8: F.A. von Hayek • Democracy • Liberty • Social Justice	Unit 8: Friedrich August von Hayek (Pages 145–171)
Unit 9: John Rawls • Theory of Justice • Democracy • Liberty	Unit 9: John Rawls (Pages 173–192)
Unit 10: Antonio Gramsci • Hegemony • Civil Society • Revolution	Unit 10: Antonio Gramsci (Pages 193–216)

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

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Every single individual, at one point or another, in his or her life, has thought about the kind of society they would like to live in. Those who become seriously interested in the field have looked towards the theories of political philosophers through the ages to give coherence to their own ideas on society. Thus, it would not be an exaggeration to state that from Aristotle to Marx, the thoughts of great political thinkers on subjects as varied as liberty, justice, state, law and property have provided the foundation for the shaping and the development of human society.

The political environment around the world has been moulded by the thinking and visions of famous thinkers like, Plato, Aristotle and Karl Marx. All their theories were based on philosophies, which covered subjects like, freedom, law, justice, rights, authority and property. These theories have set a base for triggering revolutions and global changes. The majority of political ideologies of the world owe their guidance to these thinkers. Every person, who is studying political science, has to have a clear understanding of the political theories of thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and J.S. Mill. This understanding is critical for analysing any situation in the current scenario of global politics.

The book *Political Thought* has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with *Introduction* followed by *Unit Objectives* to the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with *Check Your Progress* questions to test the student's understanding of the topic. A list of *Questions and Exercises* is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. *Key Terms*, *Activity* and *Did You Know* are useful tools for effectual recapitulation of the text by the students. The *Summary* section is a useful tool for students and is meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

The book is divided into ten units:

Unit 1: Niccolo Machiavelli

Unit 2: Hobbes, Locke and J.J. Rousseau

Unit 3: J. Bentham

Unit 4: J.S. Mill

Unit 5: F. Hegel and T.H. Green

Unit 6: Karl Marx

Unit 7: Herbert Marcuse

Unit 8: F.A. von Hayek

Unit 9: John Rawls

Unit 10: Antonio Gramsci

UNIT 1 NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Niccolò Machiavelli
 - 1.2.1 Machiavelli's Methods: Child of Renaissance
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Niccolò Machiavelli was a philosopher, author and Italian politician whose ideas serve as the foundation of modern political science. He was a Renaissance man in every sense of the term. Niccolò Machiavelli was a diplomat, a political philosopher, a musician, a poet and a playwright, but the most important role that he played was that of a civil servant of the Florentine Republic. Machiavelli, along with Leonardo da Vinci, is often cited as a prime example of the Renaissance Man. Machiavelli's *Prince* lays down realistic political discourse. However, both, *The Prince* and the *Republican Discourses* that dealt with more serious issues, were not published until after Machiavelli's death. Irrespective of his personal beliefs (still considered as controversial in some aspects), Machiavelli is read widely and is considered to have a clever and astute intelligence. Machiavellianism represented the cold-blooded politics and treachery that was used to obtain and retain political power.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the chief political theories of Niccolò Machiavelli
- Discuss Machiavelli's separation of politics from ethics
- Describe Machiavelli's Erastianism
- Discuss the doctrine of aggrandizement

1.2 NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI

Life Sketch

Niccolò Machiavelli was born on 3 May 1469 in Florence (Italy). He has authored the well-known book, *The Prince*. He worked as the Secretary to the Second Chancery, the Government of Florence. During this job, he got the opportunity to gain first-hand knowledge of national and international politics. It was while working as an envoy that he went to Paris, Rome and to the court of Cesare Borgia. Machiavelli's long experience gave him enough expertise of statecraft. In this capacity, he was at the centre of the political life of Florence. Machiavelli was the first exponent of power-politics. His concern was not only the internal life of the city but since its very existence depended on maintaining a balance in the ever-shifting relationships between the city states of Italy and the great powers beyond the Alps. He also contributed greatly in the direction of foreign affairs. In 1512, the republic came to an end and with it ended Machiavelli's political career.

Effect of the Political Environment on Machiavelli

Machiavelli had a keen observation and a sensitive disposition. The political and intellectual tendencies of the medieval age greatly influenced him. He exhibited these influences through his political philosophy. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Councilor Movement was stopped by the monarchist reaction. This movement propagated and supported democratic beliefs and a government that was based on an established set of principles of governance, both in the church and in the state. The Pope re-established his supreme position over Church Councils. On the secular front, absolute monarchies reasserted themselves in all the important states and deterred the feudal assemblies and feudal aristocracy for the time being. However, this monarchic reconsolidation did not have much influence in Italy at the time. No ruler of the Italian states, namely, Venice, Naples, Milan, Florence and Papal State, could affect a consolidation of the whole Italian empire. The Italian politics during this period was influenced by constant intriguing by ambitious potentates, local as well as foreign. In this way, political turmoil became common in Italy, and so did internecine wars. The political leaders of Italy seemed to be more inclined to achieve their motives rather than care for public interests. Statecraft and the law of public morality became the main source of defence. Machiavelli was not able to keep himself aloof from the political situation in Italy, which had become alarmingly complicated and depressing. His main wish was to secure independence for Italy and restore prosperity to its cities. It was Machiavelli's firm belief that the basis of contemporary politics was selfish political seizure and violence and not good Christian ethics. Though Papacy was successful in maintaining some law and order, the Holy Roman Empire continued to disintegrate, and international relations continued to become chaotic.

Spirit of Renaissance

In addition to feeling deeply pained about the chaotic politics of Italy, the growing spirit of the Renaissance in Italy and the wave of unrestrained intellectual freedom from the hold of scholastic dogmas and ancient beliefs strongly influenced Machiavelli. This comprised of a pre-Christian attitude towards religion and morality. During the Middle Ages, the functions of the church and the state were closely linked, and the

church dominated the state and influenced its political philosophy to a great extent. With the advent of the Renaissance, people began to challenge the point of view of the clerics, and to formulate political theories of a secular bent. Machiavelli became the chief exponent of this new thinking.

School of thought

Machiavelli's period was the transition stage between the middle and the modern ages. Spirituality, salvation and God dominated the dogmatic Christian theology, and the idea of social morality being governed by free thoughts was incomprehensible to most. The Renaissance influenced man, and sharpened his dignity and individualism. There was less focus on God and religion which were the chief entities and subjects of study earlier. The Renaissance guided the era of the rationalists who viewed God, man and nature from the standpoint of reason and not faith. International conflicts propelled the development of nationalism and nation-state which stood in opposition to medieval universalism of church and state. Self-assertion, individualism and disregard of conventional morality were promoted by these new conditions. Machiavelli genuinely represented his times. A strong reflection of his representation was seen in his mental processes, in the core of his research, in his aims and ideals, in his realistic viewpoint, in his hedonistic morality, in his empiricism and in his nationalism. Machiavelli, like the medieval scholars and thinkers, his imagination was influenced by the great Greek philosopher, Aristotle. He criticized the rigid version of the Christian scriptures, the church's version of these scriptures, the rampant corruption in the church and the way the church and the state wrestled for power and dominion with each other. According to Machiavelli, human problems were deeply linked to the basics of human nature. Human nature was essentially the same everywhere every time, and Machiavelli manifested this phenomenon by understanding the present with the help of the past.

1.2.1 Machiavelli's Methods: Child of Renaissance

As a child of Renaissance, Machiavelli was not concerned with medieval problems and had no use for medieval postulates, Christian principles of justice and morality and deductive methods of study employed by medieval thinkers. Medieval appeal to authority and scriptures and a priori reasoning did not suit him. He got his inspiration from Aristotle. Like Aristotle, he preferred to generalize from particulars. He followed the empirical method of observation that was reinforced by historical method. He conducted a deep study and analysis of contemporary politics, came upon conclusions and made his conclusions more effective with the support of historical evidence. Ancient Roman history offered him the most convenient parallels and political truths. He relied on history because he believed that one, who desires to foresee what is going to take place, should consider what has already taken place. Machiavelli provides modern examples in *The Prince* and cites several examples from ancient history in *The Discourses*.

Machiavelli specifically believed in the historical method, because he preferred practical rather than speculative politics. As a realist in politics, he did not care much for the philosophy of politics. Machiavelli's works set forth a theory of the government and the actual working of its machinery rather than the state and the abstract principles of constitution. Machiavelli looked at things from the viewpoint of a ruler rather than from that of the ruled. For Machiavelli, a deed which may be immoral for an individual

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could be moral for a ruler if it is in the interest of the state. It was his belief that public morality and private morality were different and based on circumstances. In his writings, Machiavelli rejected the doctrine of natural law. His view was that a man's virtue is a collective measure of his power, fame and intellect. Hence, for 'virtue' it is inappropriate to impose any restraints by general principles which natural law implies. He revolted against medievalism and the doctrine of natural law by refusing to accept the coexistence of the clerics and the secularists.

1.2.2 Machiavelli's Conception of Human Nature

Machiavelli was similar to John Calvin and Thomas Hobbes as he did not subscribe to the school of thought that believed in the essential goodness of human beings and human nature. He held that man was an uncomfortable blend of bravery, folly and weakness and was easy to hoodwink and lord over.

It is not difficult to understand why some thinkers choose to give so less credit to human nature. Men are not generally rational and their emotions often dictate their actions. His belief that men were wicked and essentially selfish was similar to that of Hobbes. Human conduct is governed by motives such as selfishness and egoism. Men are 'ungrateful, fickle, deceitful, cowardly and avaricious'. Being good is more of a necessity than a choice. Men have no general inclination towards goodness and are more easily corrupted than reformed. They are good by necessity and are compelled to form societies in order to live in security provided by the laws of society. The element of fear dominates life more than love. Fear should therefore be personified by a prince. A prince who is feared knows his true position among his subjects. He should be able to create fear in their minds, without the presence of hatred or contempt.

'Love of wealth and ambition and enemy are powerful motives of human action. Men always commit the error of not knowing when to limit their hopes. Man is acquisitive and wants to add to what he already enjoys. He wants secularity. He also desires liberty that is independence of others and feels that the best way of ensuring liberty for him is by establishing dominion over others. Men are constantly ambitious and discontented with their lot. This leads to strife between men and societies. Machiavelli does not give a systematic exposition of human psychology as was done by Hobbes who drew largely on Machiavelli for his conception of human nature.'

Machiavelli's concept of human nature has, inevitably, coloured his theory of the state, the ends of the state and his views regarding the methods of achieving those ends. It leads to divorce between Ethics and Politics. His concept goes against the Aristotelian view of the essential sociability of man and leads to the conclusion that the state is not a natural organism, but a contrivance against the evil nature of man. It must be pointed out that his concept of human nature is empiric. It is not based on any scientific or rational analysis.

There are similarities between Machiavelli's theory of human nature and John Calvin's doctrine of Original Sin. Machiavelli does not subscribe to the idea of man's moral evolution. According to him, man's moral and ethical conduct is not mutable. In a similar vein as Hobbes, Machiavelli did not present human nature in a very positive light. His political ideas are based on his analysis of human nature.

Before Machiavelli, political thought centred around one problem, i.e., the end of the state. Political power of the state was only a means in the service of a higher end, i.e., securing of good life. Machiavelli's thought is based on the concept that power is an end in itself. Machiavelli, therefore, addresses himself to the discovery of

means to 'acquire, retain and expand power'. Machiavelli was the first thinker to use the word 'state' in its modern connotation.

The Prince

The Prince by Machiavelli has twenty-six chapters. These chapters are divided into three divisions. The first division comprises of a general introduction that dwells upon the different types of absolute governance. The second division criticizes the prevailing system of mercenary troops and furthers the cause of the establishment of a national army. The third division of the book is the most essential part as it carries the substance of Machiavelli's philosophy. This part elaborates on the ways through which a prince can learn statecraft and the rules of state governance. Machiavelli is specifically addressing the 'new prince', i.e., one who was a usurper of power or a leader of men who had seized a state with force or craft.

The Prince is based on two important premises that have been chiefly derived from Aristotle. The most essential of these premises is that affiliation to the state is the highest form of social human condition, and the state should work towards the promotion of human welfare. Machiavelli maintains that all individuals who constitute a state should merge themselves in the state so that an individual is able to attain his best self. Therefore, it is essential that state welfare should take precedence over individual or group welfare. Another premise is that individual and public actions are governed by material forces. Thus, when it comes to governing a state, the ruler or the prince must pursue self-interests. There is essentially no need to consider the ethical dimension of these interests. Machiavelli ends up identifying the state with the ruler.

For Machiavelli, similar to ancient Greeks, virtue lay in functional excellence. These characteristics (cunning, deceit, and ruthlessness, energy, boldness, shrewdness and unflinching will) were virtuous for a prince who was adept in yielding success and power.

In *The Prince*, a handbook on government, Machiavelli lays down certain guiding principles for the ruler. The ruler must not only be strong, but must exhibit his strength when necessity arises. 'A Prince must not mind incurring the charge of cruelty for the purposes of keeping his subjects united and faithful.' He ought to try to be both feared and loved. He must, however, see to it that neither cruelty nor fear is used for its own sake. A ruler must keep a watchful eye on the dissidents and the disaffected. He must not be weighed down by conventional moral standards. 'It is necessary for a Prince who wishes to maintain himself to learn how not to be good'. A prince must always retain the initiative and power of decision with himself and in everything.

One of the most effective means through which a prince maintains his power is by clearly using the sentiments of the people, particularly the religious sentiments. Men are generally tradition bound. A prince, while introducing reforms, must keep the people's love of tradition in mind. He must keep up appearances of old institutions while changing them.

Chapter XVIII of *The Prince* expresses Machiavelli's notion of the qualities that were to be inherent in a successful prince. 'Virtue' in the 16th century did not have the moral import, which is attached to it nowadays; it only meant 'qualities' of a man. In theory, integrity may be preferred and valued over deceit and connivance, but in the practical world, craftiness and ingenuity prove to be more helpful. Law and

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force are two essentials that the state can depend on for its success. A prince should be both rational and brutal, the latter in turn representing a judicious combination of the lion and the fox. A ruler needs the qualities of a lion in organizing and undertaking military expeditions and stirring men to action. He needs fox-like qualities in diplomatic and administrative affairs. By fox-like qualities, he can create and maintain a lion-like image of himself. A prince who is prudent is not required to keep his words and promises when they conflict with his own interests and 'when the reasons which make him bind himself no longer exist'. Hypocrisy is a positive quality for a prince, and he must be as clever as a fox. He should have the dexterity to hide his real motives and inclinations from his subjects. To Machiavelli, it was *raison d'être* to preserve the state of monarchy. For a prince all his neighbours are potentially his enemies, and so, he should always be cautious. A clever prince will attack his enemy without being prepared. He will consolidate and be aware of the internal unity of his state, not by surrendering his powers to the people but by establishing thorough despotism. Since the human conduct is fundamentally associated with economic motives, a prince should be focussed on all that is required to keep his subjects from experiencing economic problems. A prince might execute a conspirator, but he should never confiscate his property. Confiscation would be considered more of a serious issue by the affected family rather than execution.

A prince must avoid being condemned or hated. He will be condemned if he builds a reputation of being variable, inconsistent, effeminate, cowardly or irresolute. He should show in his actions grandeur, courage, gravity and determination. A prince should be a good dissembler and should seem to be merciful, faithful, human, religious and upright. Machiavelli believed that a prince should not be emotionally disturbed, and should have the capability of using other people's emotions. A prince must be a cool and calculating opportunist. He should have the ability of opposing evil with evil. If the interest of the state demands, he should be prepared to commit any sin without hesitation. His purpose should not be deterred by any other trace of emotion except love for his state, for which he should be prepared to sacrifice his soul too. As far as state is concerned, a prince need not feel burdened by any childish consideration of justice or injustice, good or bad, right or wrong, mercy or cruelty and honour or dishonour. He advises the prince to use subtlety to deal with the affairs of the public. He believed that dishonesty is the best of polity. It is a fact that Machiavelli considered himself a physician of the state. The ethics of his patient's public actions were not his concern. He was only concerned with offering ways in which the state could be maintained at all costs, but he did not consider why it was necessary.

1.2.3 Separation of Politics from Ethics and Religion

Machiavelli broke away from the tradition upheld by Plato, Aristotle and medieval thinkers which looked at the state in terms of its ethical purpose of making men happy and good. Machiavelli did not pay much attention to ethics in his political theory about the state. The state is manifested as an entity that has its own interests. State-welfare. Machiavelli justified the actions of the state by focusing on its interests. According to him, laws were to be created by the state and individual ethics did not apply to the actions of the state. Machiavelli prescribed double standards of conduct for the ruler and for individual citizens. These double standards were based on the theory that it is the duty of the ruler to form laws as well as determine the moral obligations of the subjects. The law must sustain these moral obligations in the best

possible ways. As such a rule is above both. The state will be ruined if the prince allows his individual morals to interfere in public affairs upon which the external and internal security of the state depends. There was a difference in the public and private standards of conduct. In the case of an individual, it was always wrong to lie. However, it was often important and favourable for a ruler to do so in the interest of the state. The state is a non-ethical entity. Machiavelli's belief was the same as that of Thrasymachus, who stated that the sovereign would do well in establishing justice in the state. After all, the safety of the state held supreme importance.

It was Machiavelli's belief that the state was the highest form of human association, and that man was primarily obligated to the state. His belief also stated that the state should be considered more important than any ethical considerations. Public interests held the highest degree of potential than any other motive for political action. The standards of action for the public were not the same as private standards. It was not right for a subject of the state to kill another, but the state is justified in killing an individual in the form of punishment for his crime. A murderer is hanged by the state to ensure public safety as public interests should be protected first and foremost over private interests which are more important than the private interests of the criminal. Private interests of ethics are not related in any way to public conduct and neither to that of the criminal. Private interests of ethics are not related to public action. Public conduct cannot be called inherently good and neither can it be termed as bad. It is good if its results are good. It is possible for a good citizen to be a bad man in the form of one who values nationalism and patriotism. A citizen acts only for his own self, whereas the state acts for everyone and hence the same principles of conduct are not applicable to both. The state is neither moral nor immoral. It is not a moral entity like the individual and, therefore, individual ethics do not apply to it.

This scheme of thought suggests that Machiavelli did not give much importance to ethics, or for that matter religion in his system of political philosophy. This was the main factor which differentiated him from the medieval writers. Though Aristotle was one of the early scholars to distinguish ethics from politics, still he had not separated the two concepts, whereas Machiavelli completely separated the two entities. He valued moral virtues, but these found no resonance in his political philosophy. Machiavelli agrees that qualities like liberalism, mercy, fidelity, courage, chastity and sincerity make a good man and adds, 'I know that everyone will confess that it would be most praiseworthy for a prince to possess all the above mentioned qualities which are held to be good.' Again, 'one cannot call it a virtue to murder one's fellow citizens, to betray one's friends, to be without faith, without mercy, without religion.' Here the word virtue is used by Machiavelli in the conventional sense. Morality was not denied but was treated as secondary to politics, and hence, Machiavelli 'was not immoral but unmoral in his politics'. To Machiavelli, there is no absolute good or evil. That which serves the interest of the individuals and of the community and which brings security is good. Machiavelli, like the Jesuits, has the same definition for means as those that justify the end. Machiavelli may be called the 'founder of utilitarian ethics'.

1.2.4 Machiavelli's Erastianism

Erastianism is a doctrine that states that the state should have supremacy over the church in all ecclesiastical matters. Machiavelli did not believe in a supernatural end. Men value things like material prosperity, power and fame and disbelieves in a supernatural end. Machiavelli has no use for the divine law. He not only separated

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Check Your Progress

1. Political and intellectual tendencies of which age influenced Machiavelli?
2. Name Machiavelli's famous work.
3. From whom did Machiavelli get his inspiration?
4. With what did Machiavelli's theory of human nature resemble closely?

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morality from politics but also relegated religion to a very subordinate position in his political system and it is because of this that we think that the modern study of politics begins with Machiavelli. For centuries, politics and religion had been intertwined. Politics was, in fact, the handmaid of religion. Some of the best medieval thinkers subordinated the state to the church. As a political realist, Machiavelli realized that passive Christian virtues, like gentleness and meekness, had little bearing on the sordid Italian politics of the day where success followed only the pagan virtues of courage, audacity, cunning and duplicity. Italy had no place for Christianity for, as represented by papacy, it was deliberately impeding the realization of Italian unity. Once again, Machiavelli was not irreligious, but non-religious. He was more attracted to the propagandist utility than to the doctrinal virtue of Christianity. Machiavelli knew the public utility of the binding force of religion without which the state could not exist. He looked upon devotion to religion as a useful weapon in the hands of statesman to be skillfully used in furtherance of the ends of the state. He took a pagan rather than the medieval ecclesiastical view of religion. To Machiavelli, the church was a department of the state and not independent of it. The church had a place within the state but not above or beside it. Properly used, it could reinforce a citizen's sense of duty to the state. Machiavelli must be reckoned as the last of the great line of medieval secularists who urged the subordination of the church to the state.

A good deal of criticism attaches to Machiavelli for his cynical disregard of morality and religion. Machiavellianism has become a byword for unscrupulousness. Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* and *The Discourses* primarily from the point of view of the preservation of the state, every other consideration being secondary. The growing success of men like Caesar Borgia and the active contact of Machiavelli with him reacted strongly on the mind of the philosopher in favour of the 'strong man', capable of other's emulation. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli tries to idealize Borgia. On the other hand, Machiavelli had been very unfavourably impressed by the collapse in Florence of Savonarola's regime which was based on the shaky principle of moral excellence, unsuited as it was to the Italy of his day. Morality and religion had very little touch with the actual Italian politics in the days of Machiavelli, who in this respect was a mere creature of his time. Machiavelli, when he discarded morality and religion from his political philosophy, acted like a realistic painter, for he had more of the Aristotelian than the Platonist about him. The onrushing wave of Pagan Renaissance had greatly weakened the hold of Christianity and Christian morality on the minds of the people. It appeared then that Christianity had ceased to function and that new standards of conduct based on self-interest were necessary, and therefore, justifiable. It was not surprising then that morality or religion has no place in Machiavelli's political theory. Ethics and religion were social forces, working within the state, not above it.

1.2.5 Classification of Government

For a thinker of his capability, Machiavelli classified the forms of government in a rather disorganized way. He accepted the way Aristotle classified the government as monarchy, aristocracy and constitutional democracy, with tyranny, oligarchy and democracy being their perversions respectively. He also endorsed the ideas of Polybius and Cicero who called for a mixed type of constitution with proper checks and balances as the best and the most suitable constitution for a state. But his definition of the balance was economic or social but not political. Machiavelli held his belief in economic determinism, and he connected wealth with political power. An economic interest existed behind this struggle for political liberty. Machiavelli was inclined to be a

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republican more than a monarchist. According to him, a republican form of governance was most suitable for a political community where there was a general economic equality. A republic is capable of maintaining its traditions and reconcile to new changes in a better way than a sentimental prince. In order to ensure more streamlined and universal material prosperity, a republican system of government is preferred, as a republic government can provide equal opportunities to all the subjects. A republican system has a higher level of endurance and is more liberal than most monarchies. In a group, people exhibit more prudence and judgment qualities and are able to choose officers of a better type, than a prince who is influenced by the court.

An aristocracy, specifically a landed aristocracy, could often lead to unnecessary feuds and chaos, and would oppose the formation of a state. Machiavelli neither endorsed a republic nor a monarchy. He had no preconceived preference for majority or minority rule. His prime concern was an efficient state. To achieve this motive, he suggested the need for an extra-legal sovereign. He knew that a state needed to have different kinds of governments at different points of time. Machiavelli was of the opinion that in the Italy of his day, an elective monarchy would be more suitable than a republican form of state. The most important requirement of Italy then, was deliverance from the foreigners (German, French and Spanish) and a wise and strong elective prince suited this requirement better than a republic. Machiavelli held his belief in the cyclical character of the forms of government.

In *The Prince*, Machiavelli makes a strong plea for monarchical absolutism whereas in *The Discourses*, he pleads for democracy or popular share in government. The fact is that he admired both monarchical despotism and popular government as suiting different conditions and situations. Despotism was more suited than democracy in his founding of a new state by revolution or in the reforming of a corrupt state. But once the state has been founded, it can become stable only if there is popular support to it arising from popular participation in the government. A monarchical state becomes stable only if the ruler rules in accordance with law and respects the property and other rights of the people. Thus, despotism is good when there is the need to find a new state by force or cleanse a corrupt one by revolution, while democracy is good in settled states.

Machiavelli's administration for despotism and democracy were not consistent and can only be explained on the basis that he had 'one theory for revolutions and another for government'. Despotism is suitable for revolutionary times and popular government is suited to peaceful and well-settled states.

Law-giver and law

Machiavelli assigns an important position to law-giver and law in his scheme of things. Force, fraud and fear are no solid foundations for the society and the state, and their use by the ruler needs to be reinforced by some force which has a greater appeal to man and which is law. Law is indispensable for the society and the state. It moulds the national character of the people. It inculcates moral and civic virtues in individuals. These virtues are good for all states but are indispensable for republics.

'In view of the selfish nature of man, law is the most effective means of holding the society and the state together because it compels the egoistic individual to honour his moral obligations. For this reason a wise law-giver is of supreme importance. He is the architect not only of the state but of society as well, with all its moral, religious and economic institutions.'

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A realist in politics

Machiavelli, with his sensitive mind and clear insight, saw clearly the direction of political evolution in Europe towards an absolute monarchy, supreme within the state and independent of control by any external universal authority. He realized that medieval institutions had become defective and that nationalism was becoming a vital force. He saw clearly the moral and political corruption all around him. He wrote on the basis of the realities of his own day.

Machiavelli mainly studied practical and not speculative politics. Being a realist in politics, he did not care much for political philosophy. He concentrated on the preservation and strengthening of the state and was not bothered about the excellence of its constitution. He writes about almost nothing except about practical politics, statecraft and the art of war. He divorces them almost wholly from religious, social and ethical considerations. He writes about the means by which the state could become strong, about politics by which they could expand their territories and power and about factors which cause political decay and destruction. He judges state and ruler, not by the ethics of their public action but by the degree of success or failure attending these actions.

The political realism of Machiavelli is apparent from his classic, *The Prince*. It is not an academic treatise or a book on political science or political philosophy as such. It is one on practical politics. It is a treatise on the art of government suggesting the means that might enable a ruler to achieve political success and stabilize power for him. As a realist in politics, Machiavelli recommends to the ruler those virtues which bring success such as cunning, deceit and ruthlessness. Like a practical realist, he points out that 'Men always commit the error of not knowing where to limit their hopes'. The political realism of Machiavelli is apparent from the fact that the means, which he suggests for the preservation and strength of monarchical states, are not the same as those for republican state.

Machiavelli writes as a realist painter, mirroring the conditions and trends of his own day when there was almost a constant struggle for power between Italian rulers. His realism is well brought out by his doctrine of aggrandizement, which he advocates both in *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. Machiavelli insists that everything can be justified by interests of the state. The safety of the state was supreme law. By his political realism, Machiavelli brought political theory in line with political practice.

1.2.6 Doctrine of Aggrandizement

In *The Prince* and *The Discourses*, Machiavelli insisted on the necessity of expanding the realms of the state. Both monarchies and republics exhibit an overwhelming inclination to expand. His theory of extending the dominion of a state 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 or commonwealth'. According to Machiavelli, a state must either grow or eliminate and it was easier to extend the dominion in one's own country because common language will only help the subjects of the conquered state to assimilate with the subjects of the prince's land. Machiavelli held his belief on the Roman state and its policy of expansion in the form of an idea. The use of force was essential for political aggrandizement and for the perpetuation of state. However, force should have a judicious combination of statecraft. The doctrine of aggrandizement is a highlight of Machiavelli's political philosophies and emphasizes the hints of moral apathy that most of his theories can be said to

contain. It must be realized that a rational thinker like Montesquieu supports Machiavelli when he writes, 'The right of natural defence sometimes involves the necessity to attack, if one nation notices that a longer lasting peace would put another one in the position to destroy her.'

Both *The Prince* and *The Discourses* are expressions of Machiavelli's theories pertaining to the perpetuation of the state. When a prince wants to perpetuate monarchy, he must try to uphold the traditions and customs of the people because these are dearer to his subjects than even liberty and life. When the use of force and fear has been made for the establishment of the government, a prince should have a well-trained army of his own subjects. He should draw on the spoils of war more than on the regular public treasury. He must be enterprising and promise his subjects that he will build a grand empire. The imposition of heavy taxes is strictly prohibited. It is also important for the prince to be a patron of art and literature. For Machiavelli, an ideal prince is an enlightened despot who is without morals. In a republic, it is very important for the constitution to be flexible. The law of the land should change in keeping with other changing aspects of the republic. Machiavelli justified occasional dictatorship and party strife in a republic.

1.2.7 Machiavelli's Modernism

Machiavelli was hardly a political theorist. His writings are directed more towards how to govern a state rather than offering a philosophy of the state. Niccolò Machiavelli is often termed as the father of modern political theory. There are several modern theorists whose theories are based upon Machiavelli's theories. He had used the term 'state' in a different context as compared to the context in which it is used now. Its use now is something that has a defined territory, population, government and sovereignty of its own. Bodin and Grotius' theory of legal sovereignty was built on Machiavelli's concept of a sovereign and territorial secular state. This was formulated properly by John Austin and Thomas Hobbes, who borrowed the concept of human nature from Machiavelli. Hobbes believed that man is a brute with a huge ego and his actions are motivated by fear. Machiavelli can rightly be placed among the first modern, totalitarian thinkers.

Machiavelli reinforced the precedence of material interests over spiritual ones. He defied the state and supported the theory that individuals should be completely absorbed by the state. Machiavelli's ideas were similar to the ideas of Hegel, who established a parallel between the state and God on earth. Machiavelli's theory of aggrandizement resembles the modern theory of power-politics on which thinkers like Nietzsche, Treitschke, Bernhardt and others have written a lot. Modern thought is based on the inapplicability of medieval concepts to modern society, transformed by the Renaissance and the Reformation. Due to the Universalism of the Papacy and the Empire, there was no concept of territorial sovereignty in the Middle Ages. Sovereignty is the authority of a state to govern itself. The first need of the modern period after the papacy and the Empire had been discredited was to evolve a concept of sovereignty which could withstand the tendencies of feudalism to divide the state into smaller units and the weak pretensions of papacy and empire. This was done by Machiavelli and after him by Bodin, Grotius and others. Machiavelli is responsible to a great extent for the way we perceive state in the modern times. Machiavelli rejects the notion of universal authority. For him, the 'state is the nation'. He has freed the state from the medieval bondage of religion.

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The problems of Machiavelli's Prince are of everlasting interest because they are the problems of efficient government. Even the ethics of Machiavelli is not out of debate in the modern world which relies on material forces rather than moral ones. Machiavelli is the father of real politik. He refuses to idealize anything. He writes about men and affairs as they are and not as they should be.

It has been said that Machiavelli's theories are aimed at preserving states, rather than being mere theories that only theorize. So, his theories have a specific purpose, i.e., the preservation of states and state power. Machiavelli was a political realist rather than a political philosopher. His thoughts are related to the conditions and needs of the Italy of his day. Machiavelli was not interested in political philosophy or political ideals as such. Italy, of his day, was torn among petty states, almost constantly at war with each other and with constantly changing frontiers. Machiavelli called upon to suggest ways and means of preserving the state from internal revolutions and foreign attacks which were the order of the day.

Neither in *The Prince*, nor in *The Discourses*, does Machiavelli expound his views about the state as such and its various attributes. He does not directly deal with concepts such as sovereignty, separation of powers, etc. He is interested in political maxims rather than political ideals. Often, he takes his principles or maxims for granted instead of giving a systematic exposition of them. He was a pragmatist, and the theory of the state as such did not interest him.

The influence of Machiavelli on modern political science and practice has been tremendous. Princes like Frederick the Great were essentially Machiavellian though Frederick had the boldness to repudiate Machiavellianism in his *Refutation Prince de Machiavelli*. Machiavelli contributed in bringing political theory on the same plane as political practice. It must be noted that in the Middle Ages, the two were, on the whole, out of harmony with each other. Machiavelli can rightly be termed as a political scientist who gave more importance to the ends, and not the means. At the same time, his theories were inherently non-idealistic. Machiavelli employed an empirical approach to most issues. He combined political theory and political practice in his approach. Pragmatism was inherent in all his political philosophies. This realism of Machiavelli is well illustrated by the doctrine of aggrandizement. Aggrandizement was the order of the day in Machiavelli's Italy. Absorption of other states or by other states was the order of the day. This doctrine of aggrandizement must have carried weight later on with government and with princes like Frederic the Great and Henry VIII of England, etc. Jesuits in the century stood for Machiavellianism in the realms of Ethics and Politics.

Sabine characterizes the political thought of Machiavelli as narrowly local and narrowly dated. There is a certain measure of truth in this observation, which, however, reflects and was provoked by the conditions and needs of Italy of his day. Machiavelli wrote as an impassioned Italian patriot, practically ignoring the world outside Italy. His thought was local also in the sense that it was not in consonance with contemporary European thought outside Italy. It was, however, not narrowly local in the sense that it reflected only conditions and needs of Italy. The conditions in other European countries, particularly Germany, were not very different from those obtaining in Italy. The same observation may be made regarding Machiavelli's thought being 'narrowly dated'. Writing before the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements, Machiavelli wrote on the basis of separation of politics and religion. He could treat

religion with contempt in Italy of his own times when papacy had reached its lowest depth of degradation. His thought, based on divorce between politics and religion, became inapplicable during the next two centuries. It must be pointed out, however, that his thought was not 'narrowly' dated because from the middle of the 17th century, political thought readopted Machiavelli and became secular. A good deal of Hobbe's thoughts is based on Machiavelli's thinking. Modern thought, based on a secular, sovereign, national and territorial state, borrows from Machiavelli. In this sense, Machiavelli is a modern thinker, and it will not do to characterize his thought as 'narrowly' dated.

ACTIVITY

Find out about Thrasymachus and how he influenced Machiavelli.

DID YOU KNOW?

Machiavelli was continually blasted for his 'support' of corrupt ruling. In fact, Machiavellian now means corrupt government.

1.3 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Niccolò Machiavelli was known as the father of modern political theory.
- Machiavelli was a Florentine, and therefore, he was geographically at the core of the the larger Renaissance movement.
- In addition to *The Prince*, all that Niccolò Machiavelli wrote was fairly orthodox and fitted into the conventional mould of the Renaissance.
- In *The Prince*, Machiavelli presents a view about how drastically different is the governance of a state from that of humanists of his time.
- To Machiavelli, a successful ruler was one who could make people happy, irrespective of what he really was inside. He said that 'it is sometimes better to seem good than to be good'.
- In *The Prince* and *The Discourses*, Machiavelli insisted on the necessity of expanding the realms of the state. *The Prince* reflects Machiavelli's concept of real monarchy and *The Discourses*, that of a republic.
- Machiavelli's writings were directed more towards the art of governance rather than on the philosophy of state.

1.4 KEY TERMS

- **Polymath:** A person of great or varied learning
- **Envoy:** A representative of a government who is sent on a special diplomatic mission
- **Statecraft:** The art of conducting public affairs; statesmanship

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Check Your Progress

5. Why is it thought that modern study began with Machiavelli?
6. What was Machiavelli's primary point of view in writing 'The Prince' and 'The Discourses'?
7. What was the cause of factious quarrels and civil disorder?
8. What kind of politics did Machiavelli mainly study?

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- **Hierarchy:** Categorization of a group of people according to ability or status
- **Potentate:** One who has the power and position to rule over others; a monarch
- **Internecine war:** A war between factions or regions of the same country
- **Seizure:** The act of forcibly dispossessing an owner of property
- **Ethics:** The study of the general nature of morals and of the specific moral choices to be made by a person; moral philosophy
- **Papacy:** The system of church government headed by the pope
- **Renaissance:** The humanistic revival of classical art, architecture, literature, and learning that originated in Italy in the 14th century and later spread throughout Europe
- **Dogma:** An authoritative principle, belief, or statement of ideas or opinion, especially one considered to be absolutely true
- **Salvation:** Preservation or deliverance from destruction, difficulty, or evil
- **Theology:** The study of the nature of God and religious truth; rational inquiry into religious questions
- **Individualism:** Belief in the primary importance of the individual and in the virtues of self-reliance and personal independence
- **Rationalist:** Someone who emphasizes observable facts and excludes metaphysical speculation about origins or ultimate causes
- **Universalism:** The theological doctrine that all men will finally be saved or brought back to holiness and God
- **Postulate:** Something assumed without proof as being self-evident or generally accepted, especially when used as a basis for an argument
- **Scripture:** A sacred writing or book
- **A priori:** Proceeding from a known or assumed cause to a necessarily related effect; deductive
- **Doctrine:** A principle or body of principles presented for acceptance or belief, as by a religious, political, scientific, or philosophic group; dogma
- **Medievalism:** The spirit or the body of beliefs, customs, or practices of the Middle Ages
- **Clerics:** A member of the clergy
- **Egoism:** The ethical doctrine that morality has its foundations in self-interest
- **Contempt:** The feeling or attitude of regarding someone or something as inferior, base, or worthless; scorn
- **Contrivance:** The act or faculty of devising or adapting; inventive skill or ability
- **Usurper:** One who wrongfully or illegally seizes and holds the place of another
- **Virtue:** Moral excellence and righteousness; goodness
- **Dissident:** One who disagrees; a dissenter
- **Despotism:** Rule by or as if by a despot; absolute power or authority
- **Conspirator:** One that engages in a conspiracy
- **Confiscation:** Seizure by the government

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- **Dissembler:** A person who professes beliefs and opinions that he or she does not hold in order to conceal his or her real feelings or motives
- **Opportunist:** One who takes advantage of any opportunity to achieve an end, often with no regard for principles or consequences
- **Subtlety:** The quality of being difficult to detect or analyze
- **Polity:** The form of government of a nation, state, church, or organization
- **Liberalism:** A political theory founded on the natural goodness of humans and the autonomy of the individual and favoring civil and political liberties, government by law with the consent of the governed, and protection from arbitrary authority
- **Fidelity:** Faithfulness to obligations, duties, or observances
- **Political realist:** Those who share a belief that states are primarily motivated by the desire for military and economic power or security, rather than ideals or ethics
- **Pagan:** An adherent of a polytheistic religion in antiquity, especially when viewed in contrast to an adherent of a monotheistic religion
- **Propagandist:** A person who disseminates messages calculated to assist some cause or some government
- **Secularist:** The view that religious considerations should be excluded from civil affairs or public educations
- **Aristocracy:** A hereditary ruling class; nobility
- **Tyranny:** A government in which a single ruler is vested with absolute power
- **Oligarchy:** Government by a few, especially by a small faction of persons or families
- **Democracy:** Government by the people, exercised either directly or through elected representatives
- **Economic determinism:** A doctrine that states that all cultural, social, political, and intellectual activities are a product of the economic organization of society
- **Prudence:** Careful management; economy
- **Republic:** A political order whose head of state is not a monarch and in modern times is usually a president
- **Nationalism:** Devotion to the interests or culture of one's nation
- **Aggrandizement:** The act of increasing the wealth or prestige or power or scope of something
- **Commonwealth:** A nation or state governed by the people; a republic
- **Montesquieu:** French philosopher and jurist. An outstanding figure of the early French Enlightenment, he wrote the influential *Persian Letters* (1721), a veiled attack on the monarchy and the ancien régime, and *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), a discourse on government.
- **Reformation:** A 16th-century movement in Western Europe that aimed at reforming some doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church and resulted in the establishment of the Protestant churches
- **Feudalism:** A political and economic system of Europe from the 9th to about the 15th century, based on the holding of all land in fief or fee and the resulting

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relation of lord to vassal and characterized by homage, legal and military service of tenants, and forfeiture

- **Realpolitik:** A usually expansionist national policy having as its sole principle advancement of the national interest
- **Maxim:** A succinct formulation of a fundamental principle, general truth, or rule of conduct
- **Pragmatist:** Person who takes a practical approach to problems and is concerned primarily with the success or failure of her actions
- **Machiavellianism:** The political doctrine of Machiavelli, which denies the relevance of morality in political affairs and holds that craft and deceit are justified in pursuing and maintaining political power

1.5 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The political and intellectual tendencies of the medieval age greatly influenced Machiavelli.
2. In the period of turmoil, Machiavelli wrote his voluminous book *The Prince*.
3. Machiavelli got his inspiration from Aristotle.
4. Machiavelli's theory of human nature has a close resemblance with the Calvinistic doctrine of Original Sin.
5. Machiavelli not only separated morality from politics, but also relegated religion to a very subordinate position in his political system and it is because of this that it is thought that the modern study of politics begins with Machiavelli.
6. Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* and *The Discourses* primarily from the point of view of the preservation of the state.
7. An aristocracy, specifically a landed aristocracy, was the cause of factious quarrels and civil disorder.
8. Machiavelli mainly studied practical and non-speculative politics.

1.6 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. When did Machiavelli write *The Prince*?
2. Why did Machiavelli believe in the historical method of politics?
3. How did Machiavelli break away from the tradition upheld by Plato, Aristotle and other medieval thinkers?
4. Define Machiavelli's Erastianism.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss Machiavelli's background and his reaction to medieval thought.
2. Write a note on the spirit of the Renaissance.
3. Explain Machiavelli's concept of the human nature.
4. How did Machiavelli separate politics from ethics and religion?
5. How did Machiavelli differentiate between the law and the law-giver?

1.7 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 HOBBS, LOCKE AND J.J. ROUSSEAU

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
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- 2.3 John Locke
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- 2.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
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- 2.9 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Thomas Hobbes is usually classified as the most prominent direct forerunner of modern individualist philosophy. It was his belief that it was logical for the practice of such natural liberty to give rise to unstoppable conflict and constant fear until not a single sovereign ruler remains to maintain peace.

John Locke started his mature political theory in the *Second Treatise of Government* (1689), in which he postulated the divinely granted liberty of all individuals. This was recognized in the form of an absolute right to preserve one's life and to claim the goods that are required to survive.

Unlike Hobbes, Locke propagated the theory that it is possible to maintain the natural condition of individual proprietorship peacefully. This is because human beings are believed to be very rational and are liable to generally restrain their free action according to the laws of nature.

The political philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau was strongly influenced by the French Revolution and the American Revolution along with the overall development of modern political, sociological and educational thought.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the political thinking of Thomas Hobbes
- Explain the viewpoint of John Locke
- Discuss the opinions and theories of Jean Jacques Rousseau

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2.2 THOMAS HOBBS

Life Sketch

Thomas Hobbes, one of the greatest political thinkers in the history of political thought, was born on 5 April 1588, near Malmesbury in Wiltshire, England. He was born in a poor family. He was the son of a clergyman. It was his uncle, who brought him up. Since the beginning, he was a talented student. Hobbes intelligence can be measured by the fact that when he was still in school he could master a number of languages, which included Greek, Latin, French, English and Italian. He began to translate many original works into Greek, Latin and English. He translated Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* into English in 1629. He also translated Euripides' *Medea* from Greek to Latin.

The intellectual career of Hobbes was significant because he disagreed so roundly and radically with the prevailing orthodoxy of his time. In the later days, he was inspired by the new scientific method being applied in fields such as medicine and cosmology. He thus set out to rewrite political theory and to create a true science of man. The scientific approach dominated his thought and can be regarded as the foundation of his political theory.

The social and historical context of the period when he was born was significant too. It was a tumultuous time when England was witnessing the civil war. Hobbes started writing since late 1630s and in 1651 he published *Leviathan*, his masterpiece. It was published in the midst of constitutional upheavals of the civil war and the commonwealth. His aim throughout was to warn against the consequences of political conflict, the only cure for which, he thought was an absolute and undivided sovereignty.

Thomas Hobbes also contributed to a diverse array of fields, including history, geometry, physics of gases, theology, ethics, general philosophy, and political science. His account of human nature as self-interested cooperation has proved to be an enduring theory in the field of philosophical anthropology. He was one of the key founders of materialism in philosophy.

Thomas Hobbes wrote one great philosophical work, which he divided into sections and published at three different times: *De cive* (*On the Social and Political Organism*), a work that was further developed and later published under the title *The Leviathan*; *De corpore* (*On the Body*); and *De homine* (*On Man*). The vigorous thought of Hobbes made a deep impression in his native country and abroad.

The Leviathan is generally considered his masterpiece.

2.2.1 State of Nature

The idea of state of nature is one of the fundamental aspects of Hobbes' political philosophy. The state of nature means a situation where men live or would have lived without the authority of civil law, state or political control. In the state of nature, there is no industry and no systematic production. Man is totally dependent on nature for their survival. The behaviour of man is largely governed by their inner impulses. According to Hobbes, some sort of natural law exists. Man has no recognized rights, although he said that they have some natural rights. He draws out a very gloomy and sordid state of nature. In the state of nature, human relationship was based on mutual suspicion and hostility. There was no law, no justice, right and wrong. The force and

fraud was the principle virtue of man. According to Hobbes, the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. There is a constant conflict among men. The main reasons behind this conflict is competition, diffidence and glory. The first man invade for gain; the second for safety; and the third for reputation. The first uses violence to make themselves master of other man's person, wives, children and cattle; the second to defend them and the third for trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, and any other sign of under value, either directing their persons or by reflection in their kindred, their friends, their nation, their profession, or their name. The state of nature degenerated into a state of war, 'a war of every man against every man'. Thus, the state of nature was a condition when political authority failed. For him, it was the option of 'faith' or 'trust' or not the presence of an evil quality of man that cause human misery in the natural state.

The state of nature is a natural corollary of Hobbes' concept of human nature. When he was describing the state of nature, he was not obviously referring to an actual historical process of development of human society. The conditions in which man lived were of their own making. His concept of the state of nature is thus based on man's basic psycho-physical character, his sensations, emotions, appetites and behaviour. He said that man is primarily a body governed by law of motion. He pointed out that there are two kinds of motions in animals: *vital motions* and *voluntary motions*. He defines vital motion as the automatic movement of the physiological mechanism, which goes within our organism from birth to death without our knowledge, examples of these kinds of motions are circulation of blood, breathing, digestion and excretion. On the other hand, voluntary motion is first born in our mind and is caused by the impact of external stimuli on our sense organs. The two original motions or emotions are generated such as desire and aversion. From these motions, Hobbes says that emotions like hope, diffidence, glory, courage, anger and benevolence are formed. According to Hobbes, desire and aversion, which are two principal motions or emotions as stated above, are the two causes of conflict in the state of nature. Everybody in the state of nature is guided by their natural impulse of self-preservation to desire and possess the objects or goods that are conducive for their survival. As everybody is roughly equal in strength, and the goods or objects of desertion are limited, it leads to competition and conflict of interest. As a result, the state of nature become the ground of struggle for power among all.

The individual in the state of nature, according to Hobbes are essentially emotional creatures driven by their desires and physical appetites. All human emotions or passions spring from two basic kinds of motives—*desires* or *aversions*. Desires are potential and motions are movement towards an object whereas, aversions are potential motions or movements away from an object. However, while human actions are primarily determined by emotions springing from these motives, human beings are also combinations of passion and reason. The role of reason is to offer guidance about how best to satisfy one's desires. Moreover, in his view of human nature, he emphasized to overriding emotions. The first of these is fear of death, especially of violent death, which he considered to be a basic psychological and biological disposition inherent in human condition.

'Might is right' was the order of the day. Every man was enemy to every man. It was a state of total insecurity. Men were free to take what they could, and to rob whenever they could. There was no law to prevent or contained the 'law of the jungle'. Thus, the state of nature was a state of perfect anarchy. According to him, there can be no morality and consciousness of duty or obligation in the state of nature.

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2.2.2 Natural Rights

Hobbes takes as his starting point 'the right of nature', that is, the right to all things that every individual has in the state of nature. Before any form of political order, 'every man has a right to everything; even to one another body. This is an aggregate right; a right to every and any action that I deem necessary to my preservation.' Hobbes describes the state of nature in the following way: 'condition of war of every one against every one; in which case everyone is governed by his own reason; and there is nothing he can make use of that may not be a help unto him, in preserving his life against his enemies.' In other words, 'any action that may help preserve myself is justified in the state of nature and each man is at liberty to perform whatever action he sees fit. Each individual is free to act or not act and that freedom imposes no restrictions on others or on the individual right holder, in the form of duties or obligations. As long as this natural right of every man to everything endureth, there can be no security to any man, (how strong or wise so ever he be) of living out the time, which nature ordinarily allow the men to live.'

Hobbes was of the opinion that rights are not always beneficial to the right holders. If this right is actually a liberty right then people should not stand in the way of people who want to exercise or uphold their rights. All people have the right to everything and there is competition among people to exercise their rights to the same things. In such a case, as Hobbes said, 'there is little use and benefit' of having the right. If the rights are not protected then it is no use of a person to have any rights as it will then be useless for them as if he had no right at all.

To summarize, the right of nature is an aggregate right which includes any action that people living in the state of nature might see it useful for his preservation. By Hobbes's own definition, 'it is a liberty to do or to forbear that is unlimited.' Therefore it gives complete freedom to act. Yet there is a contradictory element, to the right of nature that he pointed out. According to Hobbes that individuals will not be able to enjoy freedom as they will constantly be competing with others who might be stronger and have the same right of nature. There will be unrestricted competition among individuals to exercise rights that are same and no one will be obliged to refrain from action.

Hobbes started from premise about the nature of humans which show how, in a state of nature, we will be led inevitably into a war against each other. According to him certain conditions have to be met if humans want to escape from the state of war and enter a state of peace. These conditions include the protection of certain liberties which he called rights. The untrammelled freedom of the state of nature needs to be replaced with the protected freedom that exists when individuals agree to give up some of their liberty rights and accept obligations towards others.

The notion of natural necessity was employed by Hobbes to address his concern with the interplay between natural right and obligation. He argued that on one hand under hypothetical conditions, where obligations do not exist, people would be miserable and therefore willing to enter into covenants whereby obligations are created, while on the other hand, the whole point of his asserting that an individual has a natural right to do what is necessary to preserve herself was to restrict the applicability of the notion of obligation.

Hobbes used the expression 'right of nature,' or 'natural right,' in a variety of ways, but there are two general categories under which his different usages might be

classified. His best known remarks occur at the beginning of Chapter XIV of *Leviathan* where he defines liberty as 'the absence of external impediments'. He maintained that a right consists of the liberty to do, or to forbear, and contrasts this with obligation, suggesting that he meant to speak of liberty in the sense of there being an absence of obligation. This category of natural right is concerned with morality. In other equally well-known remarks he claimed that in the state of nature everyone has a right to everything. In this instance, the notion of a right of nature is rendered in terms of propriety, i.e., the absence of ownership. Thus, his right of nature is a liberty in a twofold sense: 'in the state of nature, to have all, and do all is lawful for all'.

Although the right of nature, in either sense, is stated as an absolute, he draws the ironic conclusion that in the state of nature neither obligation nor propriety exists. The argument he employs to arrive at this skeptical conclusion regarding obligation and propriety trades on his two fold concept of natural right. When the notion is explicated in terms of a freedom from obligation, he seemed to have been primarily concerned with the agent's self-preservation; hence, the right of nature is equivalent to the right of self-defense.

When Hobbes claimed that the right of nature entitles the agent to take whatever steps she deems necessary to avoid death, pain or injury, he is mainly concerned with the agent's right of self-defense. Although he frequently refers to preserving the body in his discussion of the right of self-defense, he sometimes goes a lot further and makes assertions which suggest that by self-defense he meant to include much more than merely protecting the body. In *Leviathan*, for instance, he claimed that 'no man can transfer, or lay down his right to save himself from death, wounds, and imprisonment.'

There is a sense in which the right of nature entitles an agent, under conditions of war, to seek not only profit, but also dominion over others. This natural right to unlimited propriety is permitted because, in the state of nature, anything may prove useful to deal with future threats to the agent's life. With this supposition in mind, Hobbes argued that unlimited propriety includes a right to someone else's body, i.e., dominion over others is to be understood in terms of the proprietary sense of the right of nature. Hobbes makes this clear when he argues that an agent in the state of nature has a right of self-defense in relation to an invader who will use violence to obtain dominion over 'other men's wives, children, and cattle.'

Hobbes builds a conception of 'the right of nature' out of his psychological theory by first assuming that all living creatures are physiologically constructed so as to be motivated by their appetites and aversions, and, with minor qualifications, he further assumes that death-avoidance is the strongest possible motive. On the basis of this assumption, he then argues that, when frightened, a living creature cannot but react so as to protect itself. Indeed, since it is impossible for her to do otherwise, she has a right to protect herself. But this is clearly not a moral right since its exercise always presupposes a pre-civic context of blameless liberty.

The two-fold sense of Hobbes's right of nature rests on an assumption which underlies all of his political theory, viz., that it is necessary for agents in the state of nature to promote their general self-interest to ensure their continued self-preservation. Acquiring goods and dominion over others are self-interested actions that enhance an agent's power to overcome future threats to her life. Hobbes tends to conflate the concept of self-defense and the concept of self-interest because he not only saw acts of self-defense as necessary for promoting the agent's general self-interest, but he

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also saw self-interested acts as necessary for maintaining the agent's ability to defend herself in the long run. This conflation is understandable given his belief that humans have a physiologically-based disposition to avoid death, pain, or injury, and, to ensure their future safety, they are also inclined to seek more and more power.

According to Hobbes, the right of nature is defined as the right of self-preservation. This 'right' is in contrast with the 'law of nature', where individuals are forbidden to do anything that is destructive for their lives or to omit the means of self-preservation. These two categories—the right and law of nature—are the twin pillars of Hobbes' jurisprudence. Thereafter they are deployed, always together, at two levels in his theory: the state of nature and civil society.

In the state of nature, the right of nature implies that each person has a right to all things while the law of nature obliges each to lay aside this right if possible. This authority is absolute in two senses: it is unlimited and it is unconditional.

These natural rights are closely tied like the right of nature and are important for self-preservation. This is true of most of the 'true liberties' of the subject, and of the 'certain rights of nature'. Hobbes in his initial statement describes these rights not just as the means of preserving life, but 'of so preserving life, as not to be weary of it'.

It is clear that the right of nature is not restricted to self-preservation in a bare physical sense. The right of preserving one's 'own nature' or 'life' as Hobbes puts it would surely include more than biological survival. Individuals may want to live well with a degree of honour and self-respect to protect their life and nature. The right of nature might include the means of physical survival and other conditions essential for individuals without which life would not be worth living.

The range of natural rights according to Hobbes is implicitly limited by the law of nature. Nothing can be claimed as a natural right if it were destructive of one's life. Hobbes derives two more specific limits from this. First, he treats natural rights as so important that they cannot be renounced. According to him if an individual tries to renounce such rights 'he is not to be understood as if he meant it' because no individual would gain out of it. Hence, only demonstrable items can be claimed as natural rights in society. Hobbes notes that one may retain only the same rights that one allows others. By this criterion, a right of nature could be claimed in society only if it could be held equally by all. These natural law restrictions rule out rights like the right to drive recklessly or to steal expensive cars. Thus natural law must impose intelligible limits on the range of natural right in civil society.

Two implications are worth noting.

- First, the extent of natural right in society is to live well with honour. In fact, Hobbes' account is two-tiered. On one hand individuals are the sole 'authoritative' judges of their nature and needs. Some may be content with subsistence and others may judge that the preservation of their life and nature entails the right to live well or honourably. Hobbes said that each individual has the right to decide this on their own.
- Second, a subject's exercise of this right does not obligate the sovereign. The duty of the sovereign to protect its subjects arises independently from the law of nature. It is not entailed by the rights of the subjects nor is it linked to the exercise of these rights as subject understands. While the 'proper exercise' of rights is limited by natural law, subjects are entitled to interpret this standard for themselves.

Hobbes can be termed as the discoverer of the natural rights of the individuals. These rights come before all duties. Individuals have perfect rights, he has no perfect duties. These rights are a priority for a government. A government exists to guarantee rights or legitimate claims of the people are made actual by society. This political doctrine has gained recognition and has been influential decade by decade all over the globe. It has been denied and refuted by philosophers, not only by Marx and his followers but also, very recently by Alasdair MacIntyre. Universal claim to human rights has become a fact of political life. The doctrine of rights has been an instrument used in the independence of nations and a defense against tyranny within nations.

2.2.3 Laws of Nature and the Covenants

In Hobbes' opinion, it is natural law which prompts men to abandon the state of nature and to establish law and government. Natural law consists of the following rules of self-preservation: (a) everybody should aim at securing peace; (b) man should be willing, in concert with others, to give up their natural rights; (c) man should keep their contracts; (d) man should show gratitude or return beneficence for beneficence. Thus, the requirements of self-preservation itself created a sense of duty in the mind of men which prompted them to form the state. Hobbes says there is one thing that all men fear and that is death since avoiding death is an absolute condition of satisfying their other, more various desires, peace, which renders premature deaths less likely, must be sought by all rational man: 'all men agree on this, that peace is good, and therefore also the way, or means of peace'. This is what the laws of nature as to Hobbes' ways to peace.

According to Hobbes, in a state of nature, individuals enjoy complete liberty, including a natural right to everything, even to one another's body. The natural law dictates of reason. It is not synonymous with 'laws' or 'commands'. However, subsequently he argued that the law of nature was also proper laws as they were 'delivered in the word of God'. He called it counsel of prudence. He differs with *Stoics* on the meaning of natural law. Unlike *Stoics*, natural laws to Hobbes do not mean internal justice, perfect morality or standard to judge existing laws. It also does not imply the existence of common good, for they merely created the common conditions which were necessary to fulfill each individual good. These laws were immutable. To him, there were nineteen natural laws which he called *Article of Peace*. There were three important natural laws among them such as: (a) seek peace and follow it; (b) abandon the natural rights to things; and (c) that individuals must honour their contracts. The other laws of nature demonstrate how peace and justice are to be achieved in society. The laws of nature may be summarized by the precept: 'Act towards others in a manner in which you would want them to act towards you.' However, this precept is presented in a negative form by Hobbes, who argues that, the precept: 'Do not act towards others in a manner in which you would not want them to act towards you' is the most intelligible method of evaluating moral conduct. He argued that the laws of nature are rules of reason which are contrary to the natural instincts of human beings. The laws of nature to him is the theorems of peace. In his opinion 'a law of nature is a percept of general rule, found out by reason, by which a man is forbidden to do, that, which is destructive of his life or take away the means of preserving the same; and to omit that by which he think it may be preserved. Law, and rights, differs as much, as obligation, and liberty, which in one and the same matter are inconsistent.

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Hobbes said that natural law may be revealed by civil law and civil law may be revealed by natural law. Both these laws may be changed at the discretion of the sovereign. Natural law unlike civil law is immutable and is the eternal law of God. Natural law may be known by reasoning. Judgments however concerns civil law and may depend on both the ability to reason and the ability to interpret natural law. Civil law, according to Hobbes is written and natural law is unwritten. According to him ignorance of the laws of nature is not an excuse for disobeying them and anyone who is capable of clear reasoning will know them as the laws of nature may be summarized by the precept: 'Do not act towards others in a manner in which you would not want them to act towards you.' He also argued that ignorance of civil law may be an excuse for breaking a law only if the law is unclear or equivocal. If a law is clear and unequivocal then ignorance of the law is again no reason for breaking it. He declared that natural laws are also moral laws which include equity, justice, mercy, humility, and the other moral virtues. These moral laws are also known as 'divine laws'. Divine laws are the laws of the kingdom of God which may be known by reason, revelation and by faith. According to Hobbes, the kingdom of God is a commonwealth where reign of God is Sovereign. Obedience to divine law and faith in God are all that is necessary to be saved from pain and sorrow and from sin and death.

The law of nature for Hobbes meant a set of rules according to which a ideally reasonable person would pursue his own advantage, if he was perfectly conscious of all the circumstances in which he was acting and was quite unswayed by momentary impulse and prejudice. Since he assumes that in the large, men really do act in this way, the law of nature states hypothetical conditions upon which the fundamental values but they determine casually and rationally what can be a given value in legal and moral systems.

According to Hobbes absolute authority is followed by a set of limits for the subjects to obey and proper use of law and punishment. These limits are new in Leviathan as they do not appear in the earlier works of Hobbes. Although certain natural rights are understood as non-renounceable the idea is not developed or corresponds to 'true liberty' of Leviathan. The discussion of law in Leviathan, especially with regards to the limits of obligation and the exercise of authority, is a significant revision in Hobbes' political theory.

Hobbes says that it is wrong to punish the innocent as it violates the laws of nature that requires equity and forbids ingratitude and revenge. Hobbes does not specify natural laws for any of the other limits he mentions. Such acts are committed 'without injustice,' with no violation of the obligation owed to the law and by subjects who are fully law-abiding. To outlaw or punish such acts would be iniquitous, ungrateful and vengeful. Thus it is the duty of the sovereign to respect natural rights of each subject.

Hobbes talks of covenant which individuals opted for to emerge out of state of nature. Now, you might want to ask why and how individual of the state of nature wanted to enter into a covenant. Since the first law of nature requires individuals to seek peace, the only way to attain it was through a covenant leading to an establishment of a state. Individuals thus agree to enter into a covenant and surrender all their powers through a contract to a third party who was not a party to the contract. This third party which became the sovereign, received all the powers surrendered by the individuals. Thus, 'the commonwealth' was constituted when the multitude of individuals were

united in one person, when every person set to the other, 'I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner'.

2.2.4 Covenants and the Sovereign

As discussed earlier, individuals renounce the state of nature and enter into a covenant out of which an independent sovereign power emerged. The sovereign power was not a party to the contract but he was a beneficiary of that. The third party, the sovereign which was a consequence of the contract was an artificial person distinct from the natural individual. Individuals gave up all their natural rights to all the things through a common consent to a person or body of persons. Thus, they confer all rights on the sovereign for enforcing the contract by using force. They authorize the sovereign all their action as their own. The sovereign had no obligation. The sovereign was not the common will of all but it was only a substitute for conflicting individual will, as that would guarantee unity among multitude within a common wealth. Hobbes said that the contract created an artifact in the sovereign authority whereby each individual gave up his right of governing himself on the condition that others did likewise. All the individuals were guaranteed basic equality with every other member by consenting to a set of rules. This implies no one possessed more rights than other. The sovereign must treat all the individuals equally in matter of justice and laying taxes. According to Hobbes, justice means equality in treatment and equality in rights. He also equated justice with fairness which means treating others as one would expect to be treated. The Sovereign was bestowed with all the powers. The contract was made by each with the other. The contact made by the individuals was a social and political contract. This contract created a civil society and political authority. According to Hobbes, a commonwealth or sovereign can be established by two methods: *acquisition*, and *institution*. When individuals get threatened into some mission the method of acquisition is adopted where as when individuals, of their own impulse, united, agreeing to transferred all their natural powers through a contract to a third party of one, few or many, the method of institution is adopted. Both the methods are contractual.

Thus, the social contract brings a sovereign into existence who enjoys supreme and absolute authority. Hobbes visualized sovereign power as undivided, unlimited, inalienable and permanent. He created unlimited political obligation. Both the state and government was created simultaneously by the contract. Everywhere, individual in the society, except the sovereign himself became his subjects. As earlier stated, all natural rights of man are surrendered to the sovereign ones for all. The individual cannot withdraw the power conferred on the sovereign, because if they chose to revive their natural rights, they will have to go back into the state of nature which is characterized by anarchy and insecurity. This is the reason why Hobbes did not grant the people right to revolt and condemned the Civil War of 1642. The contract made by the individuals was perpetual and irrevocable. It means individuals cannot change the sovereign. By creating a civil society, the individuals limited their sovereignty voluntarily. Hobbes preferred a monarch to be sovereign. He preferred monarchy against aristocracy or democracy for the following reasons: (i) Thus self-indulgence of one compared to that of many would be cheaper; (ii) The existence of an identity of interest between the king and his subjects; and (iii) less intrigues and plots, which were normally due to personal ambitions and envy of members of the ruling elite. Since the state and society came into existence together through a single contract, repudiation of the contract would result not only in an overthrow of the government

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but also a disintegration of society itself. This is the reason why Hobbes made the power of the sovereign beyond any question. In a way, thus, he justifies an absolute government or monarchy. However, absolute power enjoyed by sovereign was not derived from the notion of kings. It was essentially derived through a contract based on individual consent.

He made the sovereign (*Leviathan*) the sole source and interpreter of laws. He alone is the interpreter of divine and natural laws. Sovereign of Hobbes was not bound by divine and natural laws. Even the sovereign is not subject to civil laws. Like *Jeremy Bentham* and *John Austin*, Hobbes defined the laws as a command of the sovereign. Since a law was command of the sovereign it could be wrong, unjust or immoral. The sovereign administer as well as enforce the law. His theory of sovereignty was a forerunner of *Austin's* monistic theory of sovereignty. As individual surrendered all their powers, sovereign gained absolute power. He talked about absolute sovereign power only because of his through-going individualism. The absolute sovereign represented the individuals, and was constituted by them for providing order an security, and averting the worst of all evils, civil war. He didn't recognize any pre-political order of society based on kinship, religion and other associations, which normally contributed to sociability in the individual. He was quite unsympathetic towards customs, tradition and other moralities that existed outside the purview of the sovereign law.

On this basis, he proclaimed that law was not derived from the social institutions of people but was the command of the sovereign. He ruled out private beliefs and divisions and multiplicity of authority which is antithetical to a stable political order. In his opinion, authority has to be unitary. He placed sovereign above the law. The *Leviathan*, sovereign of Hobbes has some rights and duties. These include: to govern and conduct policy, protect civil society from dissolution, limit or restrict freedom of expression, opinions and doctrines, control subject's property, reserve all conflicts through the right of judicature, make war and peace with other nation, confer owners and privileges, determine artificial religion and the form of its worship and prevent excess to subversive literature, etc. The will of the sovereign is absolute and the individual has no appeal against it. Hobbes visualized a unified sovereign authority. He didn't give the subjects of the right to change the form of the government. The contact was not between the individual and the sovereign. It was among the individuals themselves. Thus, as stated earlier elsewhere sovereign was not party to the contract. Hence, the individuals cannot be freed from the sovereign's authority rather the individuals have a duty and obligation to obey the sovereign. Hobbes' sovereign was characterized by the position rather than the person who commanded it. He provided a comprehensive theory of political absolutism and reconciled legitimate political authority with conflicting yet justified human demands. He also stipulated that for ensuring civil peace lesser association could exist only with the permission of the sovereign. He gave a subordinated status of the church against the sovereign. The sovereign annunciated by Hobbes stood outside the society. It was only fear and interest that supplied the reason for the existence of sovereign but the authorized sovereign had some limits. It is bound by the law of nature to ensure peace and safety. There were some duties to be performed by the sovereign towards the subject. One of the foremost duties was to protect the subject from rebellion. To achieve this Hobbes has seven injunction:

- (a) Patriarchic commitment to the status quo
- (b) To resist demagogues

- (c) To respect the established government
- (d) Specific need for civil education
- (e) Importance of decline that was inculcated in the home
- (f) Law and order to abstain from violence, private revenge, honour to person and violation of property
- (g) Right attitudes would bring about the right behaviour

Hobbes' account of authority in *Leviathan* in contrast to his earlier works, has a two-tiered structure, one in which absolute authority is inscribed with recognizable limits upon its proper use. As a consequence of this absolute authority, the sovereign could declare any exercise of 'true liberty' illegal and punishable. But sovereigns might by the same authority cede certain essential rights of sovereignty or declare that the moon is made out of green cheese. These would all have the same legal force; they are all equally authoritative but equally improper. As a result, a command which forbids the exercise of 'true liberty' could be known to be authoritative only in terms which implied that it could not be a proper law. Any 'punishment' on this basis would instead be an act of hostility: a recognizable misuse or abuse of the sovereign's proper authority.

Hobbes placed great emphasis on the fact that the sovereign is never obligated to subjects because, as a non-party to the social contract, the sovereign is understood to have remained in the state of nature, i.e., the sovereign's authority is derived from being a third party beneficiary of the social contract. We may perhaps understand Hobbes to mean that the sovereign's authority to use coercive power to frame the will of subjects arises in the amoral context of the state of nature, a context which persists even under the social contract and becomes manifest in the various instances where he specifies that the subject's inalienable right of defence limits the sovereign's authority.

In the case of the sovereign's right to punish, he is quite clear that this right derives from the right of nature which only the sovereign retains as a non-party to the social contract. Political authority is justified by the social contract because subjects create civil society by lying down, or transferring, the right of nature in the proprietary sense. But, since subjects can never be understood to transfer, or lay down, their right of self-defence, in cases of capital punishment any obligations arising from the social contract which would require subjects to forbear acts of resistance are suspended, i.e., the condemned subject and sovereign are understood to be in a pre-civic amoral relationship.

2.3 JOHN LOCKE

John Locke, the father of liberalism, was born on 29 August 1632 in England. His parents came from Puritan trading and landowning families and were sympathetic to the parliamentarians and the *Whigs* during the Civil War. He was sent to the prestigious Westminster School in London with the help of Alexander Popham who was a member of Parliament and also former commander of his father in 1647. His studies at Westminster were mainly centered upon the classical languages of Latin and Greek and he also began to study the language Hebrew. He was very hard working student and in 1650 he was chosen for King's scholarship. He also got major scholarships at both Oxford and Cambridge University.

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Check Your Progress

1. Who was Thomas Hobbes?
2. Why was the intellectual career of Hobbes very significant?
3. Which expressions did Hobbes use in a variety of ways?

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In the 17th century, England experienced two revolutions. In 1649, after years of civil war, the first culminated in the execution of King Charles I of the Stuart family and the establishment of a Commonwealth, replaced in 1653 by a Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell. In 1660 the monarchy was restored under Charles II and, on his death in 1685, the throne passed peaceably enough to his younger brother, James. Once again, however, the country's parliamentary traditions and Protestant Church were perceived to be in danger. Further resistance to the Stuart monarchy arose and in 1688 a second revolution occurred, though on this occasion James II fled to France, thus avoiding the fate of his father.

In 1671, Locke served as Secretary of the Board of Trade and Plantations and also Secretary to the Lords and Proprietors of the Carolinas for helping in international trade and economics. In 1672, he was involved in politics when Shaftesbury became Lord Chancellor. He played an influential role in the repeal of the Act for the regulation of printing in 1695 and in the re-coinage of the debased English currency in the 1690s. He also spent some period in travelling across France as tutor and as a medical attendant to Caleb Banks. He returned to England in 1679 and at that period, he composed *The Two Treatises of Government*. Although he was associated with the influential *Whigs*, his ideas about natural rights and government was considered as revolutionary for the period of English history. He shifted to Netherland in 1683 and spent his time in writing. Three of his books *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, *Two Treaties of Civil Government* and *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, were published after he returned to England in 1688. Some of his minor works like, *Raising the Value of Money* and *Some Consideration on the Lowering of Interests* published in 1691. This was followed by *The Second Letter on Toleration* (1691), *Third Letter on Toleration* (1692), *Some Thoughts on Education* (1693) and *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). Locke died on 28 October 1704 and was buried in the churchyard of the village of High Laver in Essex. His work had a great impact upon the development of epistemology and political philosophy. Voltaire, Rousseau, Scottish thinkers and American revolutionaries were influenced by the writings of Locke. His contributions are well seen in American Declaration of Independence. He attained fame both within and outside England during his lifetime.

2.3.1 State of Nature and Natural Rights

As we turn to the state of nature argument of John Locke, we find a very different story indeed. His conception of natural liberty is a moral conception of 'perfect freedom' and equality. His view of the law of nature is a normative rather than a descriptive one—a discussion of what people living up to their duty to God, ought to do. State of nature to him was not gloomy and pessimistic like that of Hobbes. In his view, it was not a state of constant warfare. Locke points out that it was a state of 'peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation'. He further said that it is a state of liberty, not a state of license. The state of nature is a state of equality amongst men. It is a created equality which is based on common ownership of a single species. He maintained

'The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges everyone, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that all being equal and independent, no one or two harm another in his life, health, liberty or possession; for all man being the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise maker; all servants of one sovereign master sent into the world by his order and about His business; they are His property, whose workmanship their made to last during His and not one another's pleasure'.

Unlike Hobbes, Locke said that the majority of the people of this stage obey the law of nature. The law of nature, to him was the law of inward morality. Individuals according to him were rational beings. However, he advocated there are few persons who do not follow the rules of morality and gives priority to their self-interest. It becomes very difficult to deal with such offenders as in the state of nature, there is no established authority. If everybody thinks that he is the judge over his own cases, justice will not be done to anybody. Thus, the state of nature becomes inconvenient to stay with. To overcome this problem, individuals decided to renounce the state of nature and enter into a civil and political society by making a contract. Though individuals are not controlled by any superior power but are subjected to the law of nature.

Individuals derived their natural rights from the law of nature. For Locke, natural rights include life, liberty and estate which are collectively known as property. The individual has an idea about the law of nature through his power of reason. It is this power of reason, which directs them towards their 'proper interest'. At the same time, individuals have some natural rights to perform. According to Locke, liberty was not the freedom to do what one chooses but to act within the bounds of law of nature. He pointed out that personal independence and freedom is fundamental human right. No one has a right to coerce and dominate others in a state of nature. Everyone has an equal right to one's natural freedom, without being subjected to the will or authority of any other man. He clarified that the law of nature were those that reason dictated. Since rights and duties were derived from the laws of nature, the most important of these was the right to hold others responsible for a breach of the law and to punish them accordingly. Though he categorically rejected the right of a person to kill oneself, he granted the right to inflict penalties, including death penalty, on others who violated the law in general or if another person's life was threatened. He explicitly rejected the right of the individual to commit suicide and murder.

The conception of natural rights and theory of property is one of the important themes in Locke's political philosophy. According to him, natural right consists in the root of morality implanted in the human conscience. He pointed out that natural right consists in the perfect freedom and equality of every man. Not only to preserve his property (life, liberty and estate) against the injuries and attempts of other man, but to be judge of and punish the breaches of natural law committed by others. However, when individuals decided to enter into a contract and thereby establish a political society, they had to surrender their natural rights to be judges. Now that power rests with the community but the natural rights to life, liberty and property still belong to them. Locke pointed out that by human reason and by revelation, it was apparent that the earth and its fruits belong to God and that God had given them to the human inhabitants in common to enjoy. He also argued that it was human labour which distinguished what was privately owned from what was commonly owned. Labour was the unquestioned property of the labourer and by mixing his labour with a place of land and individual acquired the right to whatever he had made of that material. The stress was on what human beings made of the earth, how and what they left for posterity. He insisted that God has given human beings the earth to make it a better place, full of conveniences of life by entrepreneurship, hard work and reason. In other words, Locke emphasized that human beings could be industrious and creative without wasting, squandering, spoiling or destroying.

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Locke in his depiction of state of nature stated that individuals had initially a right to appropriation which was limited to three things. First, an individual could appropriate only that much that one required or needed. Secondly, an individual had a right only to that much for which he had mixed the labour of his body and the work of his hand. Thirdly, labour not only created property but also determined its value. He argued that it was labour that made the world different by creating conveniences and increasing productivity. In the state of nature, the individual had perfect freedom to dispose their possessions, and persons, as they thought fit. According to him, property was a natural right derived from natural law. It was there before the formation of government. He concedes that individuals have the right to do as they please within the bounds of the law of nature. Thus, rights were not absolute and hence was limited to the extent that they did not harm themselves or others. However, with the introduction of money, the unlimited right of appropriation and equality was gone. As a result of the introduction of money, one could possess more regardless of the use of the product and hoard without injuring anyone. It also separated right from convenience. Locke stated that property represented human entitlement and in fact men uniting into commonwealth and putting themselves under a government was to preserve and protect their property. It was the social character of property that enabled him to defend a minimal state with limited government and individual rights and reject outright the hereditary principle of government. It was the protection of liberties and property that they entered into an agreement instructing the government to recognize these rights and embody them in a statutory form. He also justified and defended class differentials in right and rationality and wage contracts, in the process becoming a spokesman for a market society providing the moral basis for capitalist society. Like Hobbes, Locke made use of the idea of a state of nature as an explanatory conceit upon which to build his political theory. Despite some ambiguity of language, the argument is not really a historical one. It is an attempt to inform the proper structure of government and above all to develop a theory of political obligation from a consideration of what rational people would invent if they were living without a government and wanted to devise one.

2.3.2 Social Contract and Civil Society

Having described the state of nature as a condition of peace and mutual head and having defined natural rights, Locke next proceeded to derive civil society from the consent of its member. The consent, by which each person agrees with other to form a body politic, obligates him to submit to the majority. The compulsion to constitute a civil society was to protect and preserve freedom and to enlarge it. The state of nature was one of liberty and equality but it was also one where peace was not secured and being constantly upset by the 'corruption and viciousness of degenerate men'. It led to three important wants: the want of an established, settled, known law; the want of a known and indifferent judge; and the want of an executive power to enforce just decisions. Through a contract, individuals consented to submit to majority rule and organized themselves as a community or civil society. Locke says men being by nature all free, equal and independent, none can be put out of this estate (state of nature) and subjected to political power of another without his own consent. This is the reason why the problem was to form a civil society by common consent of all men and transfer their right of punishing the violators of natural law to an independent and impartial authority. After the formation of civil society, this common consent becomes the consent of the majority. As a result of the contract, all men unanimously agreed to

incorporate themselves in one body and conduct their affairs by opinion of the majority. They surrendered their powers partially, namely the three specific rights that constituted the natural right to enforce the laws of nature. At first, individuals establish a civil society, and then they established a government to act as a judge in the nature of a 'fiduciary power' for promoting certain ends. Thus, Locke envisioned two contracts, one by which the civil society is established and the other which creates the government. According to Jeremy Waldron, contract and consent have three stages in Locke's description: first, man must agree unanimously to come together as a community and pull their natural powers so that they can act together to uphold one another's right; second, the members of this community must agree by a majority vote to set up legislative and other institutions; third, the owners of property in a society must agree, either personally or through their representatives to whatever taxes are imposed on the people. Locke's depiction of several stages of contract was a clear departure from Hobbes depiction. In Hobbes theory, state and society were formed together but in Locke's theory, they were created in different steps. In the first stage, civil society was formed and in the second stage, only government was established. This is the reason why, when a government is dissolved society remains intact. By drawing a distinction between the process of formation of society and the state, Locke places government under the control of society, so there is no scope for absolutism unlike Hobbes. The relationship between society and the government is expressed by the idea of trust because it obviates making the government a party to the contract and giving it an independent status and authority. Within the government, the legislative power was supreme, since it was the representative of the people, having the power to make laws. There was also an executive which concedes of usually one person who has the power to enforce the law. According to Locke, the executive which included the judicial power had to be always in session. It enjoyed prerogatives, watched subordinates and was accountable to the legislature. He also advocated for the separation of power between executive and legislature. Besides the legislature and executive, there was a third wing of the government, called the federative power. It means the power to make treaties and conduct external relation. Unlike Hobbes, he created a limited sovereign and rules out political absolutism. Locke advocated that a good state is the one which existed for the people who formed it and not vice versa. The government has to be based on the consent of the people subject to the constitution and the rule of law. Government will act as a trustee of the people's right. Powers of the government are derived from the people. Natural laws and individual rights act as a limitation on the government's power. He also advocated that supreme power resided in the people, and the people as a community had the inalienable right to institute and dismiss a government. He justified resistance to unjust political power. After overthrowing a government people can establish a new one.

2.3.3 Consent, Domination, Resistance and Toleration

Unlike Hobbes, Locke created a limited sovereign which was not absolute. He envisioned a constitutional government and called for a conditional and partial surrender of natural rights, as some natural rights are fundamental and they cannot be given up because they are the cornerstone of human freedom. People gave up only their natural right to judge and punish the offenders of natural law in their own case or in the case of other people. This right was vested in the hands of the community and the government assumed the role of an empire. This right can be surrendered on the conditions that their rights to 'life, liberty and property' will be protected and kept

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intact. Every man, by consenting with others to make one Body Politic under one government, puts himself under obligation to everyone in that society and submits to the determination of the majority. For Locke, men were by nature free, politically equal, creature of god, subject to the law of nature and possessor of the power of the laws of nature; they became subjects of political authority only by their consent. Without consent there was no political community. He discussed about two kinds of consent: (i) express or direct (ii) tacit consent. The former was an explicit commitment given at the time when the commonwealth was instituted. In case there was no provision for explicit consent, people's obligation could be gauged by their tacit consent. There were two problems with regard to tacit consent. One was to define tacit consent and the other was to determine how far it was binding. According to Locke, all true states were established by consent. He pointed out that a minority would consent to all things to be ruled by the majority. He believed that a government could not be arbitrary as it was bound by the general laws which were for the public at large and not subject to individual decrees. All individuals would be governed by the same rule as everyone else; otherwise it would violate the natural moral equality of individuals. He clarified that people could use force only against unjust and unlawful authority. The right of disobedience could be exercised by the majority and not by one person or a small group.

It is the responsibility of the society to watch whether the government is exercising its powers within the limits of the terms of the contract. This implies, in the first place, that the government must govern with the consent of the people. He said that it is the people who are endowed with the faculty of reason—conscience, sense of morality, knowledge of right and wrong. Government is created by the will of the people, but as an artificial device, it cannot embody superior reason. Secondly, if in any case the government cannot perform its duty, the individuals have the right to overthrow the government and set up another government in its place. In this way, he gave the individuals the right to resistance. It is on the basis of 'right to resistance', he sought to justify the 'bloodless' or 'glorious revolution of 1668'. Richard Ashcraft summarizes Locke's views in his book *Locke's Two Treaties of Government* and says that resistance to tyranny is everyone's business.

Locke asserted that governments could be altered, amended, changed or dissolved legitimately. He has enumerated five occasions when it is possible:

Whenever such a prince or single person established his own arbitrary will in the place of laws.

When the prince hindered the legislature from assembling in its due time or from acting freely, pursuant to those ends for which it was constituted.

When by the arbitrary power of the prince, the election and the ways of elections were altered without the consent and contrary to the common interests of the people.

The delivery of the people into the subjection of foreign power, either by the prince or by the legislature.

The person who had the supreme executive power neglected laws already enacted and could not be executed.

However, people would use the right of resistance and revolution wisely as their bitter medicine, and not as a daily bread. They would resort to revolution only when they would realize that revolution would result in a better social order. The right to revolution should not be misused for every little mismanagement in public affairs or

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for trivial causes. He highlighted that government is based on consent, coupled with the right of people to rebel, which was the 'best fence against rebellion'. People had the right to judge and access authority, which was no longer sacred or supernatural. He visualized that with more free communication and greater transparency, there would be less need for revolution. He was against the anarchy and insisted on the need for a just civil authority for folding a decent and civilized life. Lockeian individuals were not committed to unconditional obligation. There was a rational and limited agreement which assured obedience for the preservation and advancement of life, liberty and property. The validity of the contract would depend on the conditions of these benefits. Consent is a necessary condition for the legitimacy of the political society but the consent which creates such legitimacy is not a sufficient condition for the obligatory force of any particular act of authority in such a society.

It is extreme political anxieties focused upon wars over religion that dominate Locke's early writings. He was ten years when the civil war broke out, sixteen when the King was executed next to his school, and twenty-six when *Oliver Cromwell's* death in 1658 plunged England back into political turmoil for two years until the restoration of Charles II. He had grown up and come to maturity when most leaders of Protestant acts claimed the duty to institute a 'through' reformation and the right of conscience to resist, and had either been oppose to religious 'toleration' in principle, or attempted to limit religious 'toleration' by arguing that liberty of conscience up to extent no further than liberty of conscience as they defined this. Religious sectarianism had then created what he described as a 'Great Bedlam' England, with individuals claiming to be the second Christ or claiming personal inspiration in ways that he described to his moderate Presbyterian father as 'hot-headed' and 'mad'. In this way, he gradually developed his views on religious toleration. He rejected Filmer's interpretation of the biblical account of the origin of political power, but he didn't, by any means, abandoned religious foundations. Far from it, he based his politics firmly and explicitly on the moral relation between man and god. He has given emphasis on the issue of religious toleration and defended the religious toleration and pluralism.

According to him, man can pursue any religion of his choice. He rules out religious persecution. He also said that there was no practical merit in persecuting someone who would confess under stress. The government should not enforce any religious practices on individuals. In the Letter concerning, he assigned the civil magistrate the duty to protect the life, liberty and indolence of body of the members of the commonwealth. He held that civil magistrate responsible for regulating religious practice for the peace, safety and security of his people. Though the magistrate was the ultimate judge of how to promote these ends, his judgment could not be more trustworthy, in practice, than that of any other believer. The idea was that truth could look after itself. The magistrate would ensure that other than the necessity of the state and the warfare of the people, no law was made nor was any restraints established. Any attempt to interfere with religious beliefs would be unjust, for each person was responsible for his own salvation. He was categorical that no one could give to another person a power that he did not have. He excluded atheists and those religious groups that debarred others from professing and practicing their beliefs from the privileges of toleration. The civil magistrate could legally interfere when religious assemblies endangered civil peace, but rule out interference with a view to questioning their beliefs. Though he did not directly justified resistance on ground of religion, he made it clear that oppression of any kind was intolerable and a sufficient reason for sedition.

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He defended Christian revelation on the ground of uncertainties of human perceptions and knowledge. Therefore, any kind of faith, even run from scriptural revelation and complemented by human reason was justified. He repeatedly stressed that each individual was fully responsible for his beliefs and would have to answer god on the Day of Judgment. He emphasized that civil magistrates had to be concerned with peace and preservation of society.

2.4 JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Jean Jacques Rousseau is considered as the greatest thinker that France has ever produced. Not only in France but also in the entire history of political theory, he was the most exciting and most provocative. By the very magic of his style no other political thinker could come anywhere near him. He was a genius and a keen moralist who was ruthless in his criticism of 18th century French society. He was one of the most controversial thinkers, as evident from the conflicting, contradictory and often diametrically opposite interpretations that existed of the nature and importance of his ideas. He was a philosopher, writer and composer of 18th century Romanticism. He was born in Geneva, Switzerland on 28th June 1712. During that period, Geneva was a city-state and a protestant associate of the Swiss Confederacy. He rose to fame with his prize winning essay *Discourse on the Science and Arts*. In this essay, he rejected progress based on the Arts and Sciences, as did not elevate the moral standards of human beings. He traced the rise of inequality and the consequent fall of the human individual. He wrote a novel namely *La Nouvelle Heloise* in 1761. In this novel, the themes of his early essays reappeared, and his preference for nature and the simple pleasures of country life became evident. It is only after his death that his *Confessions* was published. He accomplished many things during his lifetime which included writing on music, politics and education. His fame primarily rested on his writings. He also composed some operas. He remained mainstay of the Paris opera for years to come. He also wrote a dictionary of music and devised a new system of music notation. He wrote *The Social Contract*, his most famous book in Paris. He died in 1778.

2.4.1 Revolt against Reason

More than most men, *Rousseau* projected the contradiction and maladjustments of his own nature upon the society and sought an anodyne offer his own painful sensitivity. For this purpose, he adopted the familiar contrast between natural and the actual current in all the appeals to reason. But he did not appeal to reason. On the contrary, he termed the contrast into an attack upon reason. Against intelligence, the growth of knowledge and the progress of science which the enlightened believes to be the only hope of civilization, said amiable and benevolent sentiments to be good. He criticized the idea of enlightenment since his early period. In his prize winning essay *Discourses on the Science and Art*, he depicted the drawbacks of science and arts including its impact on morality. According to him, science had brought moral degradation among man. He criticized the idea that science has brought progress. He termed it as an illusion. It was not progress and in fact was regression. The advancement of science and modern civilization has made individual life unhappy. It had made him less virtuous. He advocated for a simple society. He said virtue can be prevalent only in a simple society. In his criticism of modern advancement society, he alleged that man has been growing corrupt day by day. With the advancement of the civilizations man has become corrupt. He advocated that the abundance in the world has brought more evil than

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4. Which languages did Locke study at Westminster?
5. What kind of consents did Locke discuss in the case of a political community?

good. According to him, luxury is the fertile source of corruption. It not only negatively impact man but also undermines the nations. He cited the example of *Athens*. It is because of its luxury, wealth, science and elegance that brought vices which led to its downfall in the long run. He also cited the example of Rome. As long as Rome was simple and devoid of luxury it had respect all over the empire but the time it embraced luxury and wealth it began to decline. He severely criticized the advancement of art and science. He argued that the minds of the human beings have been corrupted in proportion as the arts and science have advanced through the ages. To him, the much-vaunted politeness, the glory of civilized refinement was a 'uniform perfidious veil' under which he saw jealousy, suspicion, fear, wildness, reverse, fraud and hate. Science brought intelligence and knowledge revolution. The supporter of enlightenment eulogized it. But he against this notion gave preference to amiable and benevolent sentiments, the reverence and goodwill. He preferred sentiments and conscience to reason. He argued intelligence was dangerous because it undermined reverence. He termed science as destructive because it undermined faith. Reason was bad to him because it undermined morality. For Rousseau, morality is nothing other than the ability to see oneself through the eyes of others and act appropriately. This is a fascinating description of morality. Learning to live with others is the essence of morality. Humans have the capacity to act morally but it is not natural in the sense of being fully fixed in all humans from birth. It is capacity that has to be developed, educated and nurtured.

2.4.2 Critique of Civil Society

Rousseau maintained that liberty in the state of nature was a great boon. However, with the increasing population and the depletion of the treasures of nature it was no longer possible for man to enjoy natural liberty as before. Thus, in the changed circumstances, the natural liberty was threatened when the forces of nature no longer sustains them, they have to consolidate their own force to save themselves. They, therefore, create a civil society to maintain their freedom. According to him, vanity among human beings and difference in property and possessions led to inequality. The rich became richer and poor became poorer. Laws were enacted to protect property rights. Civil society degenerated into a state of war, extreme inequality, ostentation, cunning, ambition and enslavement. Through laws and other political devices, the rich were able to corner power and dominate, while the poor descended into slavery. Civilized man was born a slave and died as one.

In the state of nature, man was a 'noble savage'. He lived in isolation and had limited desires. According to him, it was neither a condition of plenty nor scarcity. There was no conflict for cooperative living. Individual had no language or knowledge. They had no idea of any art or science. He argued in this type of situation man was neither happy nor unhappy. He had no conception of just and unjust, vice and virtue. He was not guided by reason, but guided by self love or the instinct of self preservation. This state of nature was not perennial. Gradually individuals discovered the utility and usefulness of labour. Man began to collaborate and created a provisional order. It led to a patriarchal stage when man began to build shelter for themselves and families stayed together. He began to use language and reason. The division of labour came into being. It led him from the subsistence economy to an economy of productive development. Individuals learned metallurgy and agriculture. It gave him iron and corn and made him civilized. However, it ruined humanity and morality. The growth of agriculture and division of labour created the idea of property. *Rousseau* famously

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stated that 'the first man who after fencing of a piece of land, took it upon himself to say 'this belongs to me' and found people simple minded enough to believe was the true founder of civil society'. The man's talents and skills created inequality among the people. The longing for possession and wealth led to enslavement of some people and led to conflict and competition. It is this conflict, which led a demand for a system of law to ensure order and peace. Especially the rich people demanded it to save their possession and wealth. Thus, the social contract envisioned by the rich was to maintain their status and position. As a result of this demand and social contract, the civil society and law was originated. It brought ban to the poor and boon to the rich. It destroyed natural liberty.

According to *Rousseau*, the emergence of civil society degenerated human society. He argued that the natural man lost his ferocity once he began to live in society. As a result, he became weak. He lost natural independence as his desires were expanded and comforts became a necessity. He became dependent which created problems in human relationship as they became vain and contemptuous. Their vanity brought various social ills. Vanity overpowered man and guided his actions which degenerates the minds of people and the society at large. He also severely criticized enlightenment which believes in human progress of reason through science and technology. It brought down moral improvement thereby led to human unhappiness in his book *Emile*. He stated that though God has made all things good it was man who meddled with them and made them evil.

It is in his *The Second Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* he developed his views expressed earlier in his prize-winning essay *Discourses on the Science and Arts*. In this work, he narrated the fall of man. He highlighted how nature got twisted, warped and corrupted with the emergence of civil society. The civil society was necessitated by the rise of the institution of private property and the need to defend it by institutionalizing social inequality through law. Thus, he underlined the difference of 'natural man' and 'civilized man'. He appreciated the natural man and criticized severely the civilized man who was created as a result of the emergence of civil society.

2.4.3 General Will

The creation of popular sovereignty by vesting it in the *General Will* was a unique contribution of Rousseau which led the foundation of modern democracy. The concept of *General Will* is the central theme of Rousseau's doctrine. It is distinguished from other types of human will. According to him, the General Will is always right, that is the will that one has as a citizen when one thinks of the common good and not of one's own particular will as a private person. Many later thinkers have used the distinction between actual will and real will in order to explicate Rousseau's distinction between particular will and General Will. The existence of these two types of will is a source of conflict within the minds of man. Actual will is motivated by his immediate, selfish interest whereas real will is motivated by his ultimate collective interest. Actual will of his desire is the aim of his actual will but real will induces him to acts of reason. The characteristic of actual will can be termed as transient, unstable and inconsistent whereas real will is stable, constant, consistent and determinant. The actual will is detrimental to human freedom. Thus, to attain freedom the individuals should follow the direction of the real will. His real freedom is reflected by the real will. The real

will is concerned with the interest of the community and subordinates his self interest. The problem is that individual at times may not be able to discriminate between his actual will and real will. This problem can be eliminated by the transition from the 'particular' to 'general' will. The general will is the harmonization of the interest of each with those of all. However, it is not a 'compromise' or the lowest common factor. It is an expression of the highest in every man. It reflects the true spirit of citizenship. Unlike particular will the General Will always guides individual through a proper way.

Rousseau believed a unified collective view would emerge for two reasons. First of all, he envisaged a relatively simple society of farmers and artisans with no rich or poor (though he railed against property, he never advocated its abolition), a situation that it is the duty of the sovereign to maintain. All are equal and consequently there would be few conflicts and what is good for society would be relatively simple, a situation in which it would be easy inculcate love of the community. According to him, the General Will would be the source of all laws. The human being would be truly free if he followed the dictates of the law. Civil liberty meant freedom from the assault of others, from following the arbitrary will of another person, and obedience to one's notion of liberty.

Of course, if one had to be free then one had to obey one's own will which mean that one's will, and the laws of a state would have to be in harmony. The free state would be a consensual and participatory democracy. He categorically said that the General Will could emerge only in an assembly of equal law makers. It could not be alienated. The 'executive will' could not be the 'general will'. Only the legislative will, which was sovereign, could be the General Will. For Rousseau it was the direct democracy that embodied the legislative will. The individual participated in the articulation of the General Will, for citizenship was the highest that one could aspire for. The General Will could not be the will of the majority. In fact, it didn't represent the will of all; it was the difference between the sum of judgments about the common good and the more aggregate of personal fancies and individual desires. It would always aim and promote the general interest and will of its members.

According to Rousseau, submission to the General Will creates freedom. He spoke of a total surrender but not to a third party. Unlike Hobbes, he vested sovereign power in the political community. He created a sovereign which was inalienable and indivisible. But it was not vested in a man or a group of men rather it was vested in a body politic. The people cannot give away, or transfer, to any person or body their ultimate right of self government, of deciding their own destiny. Thus, he expounded the concept of popular sovereignty. His concept of inalienable and indivisible sovereignty does not permit the people to transfer their legislative function, the supreme authority of the state to the organs of government unlike Locke. So far as the judicial and executive functions are concerned, they have to be exercised by special organs of the government, however, they are completely subordinate to the sovereign people. Sovereign power cannot be represented. He maintained that representative assemblies ignore the interest of the community and are often concerned with their particular interest. This is the reason why he advocated direct democracy. Sovereignty originated with the people and stayed with them. For him, government and sovereign were different. According to him government was the agent of the General Will which is vested in the community. Sovereign to him was the people constituted as a political community through social contract.

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It would be pertinent to mention here that Rousseau, in his book *The Discourse on Political Economy*, first coined the term General Will. He points out in the book that General Will tends always to the preservation and welfare of the whole end of every part, and is the source of the laws, constitute for all the members of the state in relation to one another and to it, the rule of what is just and unjust. It is an outcome of the moral attitude in the heart of citizens to act justly. Here an individual sacrifices his private interest and embraces the public interest. The General Will is emerged from all and applied to all. It comprises rational will of all the members of the community. He pointed out that if someone refuses to obey the General Will he can be compelled to do so. He famously advocated that man can be forced to be free. When a man is being compelled to obey the General Will it essentially means that he is being asked to follow his own best interest because it is by obeying the General Will that he can express his moral freedom. Obedience to the General Will is not the corrosion of their liberty because obedience to the General Will essentially implies obedience to part of their own selves.

In a nutshell, Rousseau advocated a policy that would aim for the general rather than the particular interest of its members. The freedom that the noble savage enjoyed in the state of nature would be possible under the right kind of society governed by the 'General Will'. Society and the individual, in his theory were complementary.

ACTIVITY

Analyse Jean Jacques Rousseau's beliefs on government and human nature vis-à-vis others like Locke and Hobbes.

DID YOU KNOW?

Rousseau argued against too much bookish knowledge and for natural experiences to inform young minds. Today, something called the "tool" model carries on this tradition. It is argued that knowledge is increasing so rapidly that spending time to stockpile it or to study it in books results in information that is soon outdated. We need to give our students the "tools" of learning, and then they can find the requisite facts, as they become necessary to their experience.

2.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The main concern of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) was related to the problem of social and political order: He discusses the topic of human beings living together in peace and avoiding the danger and fear of civil conflict.
- John Locke was an Oxford scholar, medical researcher and physician. He was also a political operative, economist and ideologist for movement that was directed towards revolution. In addition, he belonged to the league of great philosophers of the latter part of the seventeenth century and the initial part of the eighteenth century.

- Locke's writings were based on numerous topics, the most important of them was toleration.
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau was one of the most influential thinkers during the Enlightenment in the Europe of the 18th century. His first and foremost work of philosophy was, *A Discourse on the Sciences and Arts*, was the winning response to an essay contest conducted by the Academy of Dijon in 1750.

2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Theology:** The study of religious faith.
- **Diffident:** Lacking or marked by a lack of self-confidence.
- **Forbear:** Refrain from doing or using something.
- **Lobotomization:** To perform a lobotomy.
- **Stoic:** One who is seemingly indifferent to or unaffected by joy, grief, pleasure, or pain.
- **Enlightenment:** A state of self-realization.

2.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Thomas Hobbes was, one of the greatest political thinkers in the history of political thought.
2. The intellectual career of Hobbes was very significant because he disagreed so roundly and radically with the prevailing orthodoxy of his time.
3. Hobbes used the expression 'right of nature,' or 'natural right,' in a variety of ways.
4. Locke's studies at Westminster were centred upon the classical languages of Latin and Greek and he also studied Hebrew.
5. He discussed about two kinds of consent: (i) express or direct, and (ii) tacit consent.
6. In his book '*Confession*' he said that it is only after many years that he began to educate himself.
7. The creation of popular sovereignty by vesting it in the *General Will* was a unique contribution of Rousseau which led to the foundation of modern democracy.

2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Why is man called 'a noble savage' in the state of nature by Rousseau?
2. List the array of fields that received contribution from Thomas Hobbes.
3. How was Rousseau critical of the civil society?
4. What are the two laws of motion that govern human beings according to Hobbes?
5. Write a short note on the idea of state of nature according to Hobbes.

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Check Your Progress

6. What did Jean Jacques Rousseau say in his book, *Confession*?
7. Which work of Rousseau led to the foundation of modern democracy?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. What were the reasons for Rousseau to believe that unified collective view would emerge?
2. Write a note on the argument pertaining to the state of nature and natural rights as propounded by John Locke.
3. Describe Rousseau's projection of the revolt against reason.
4. Write a short note on the following:
 - J.J. Rousseau
 - Locke
 - Hobbes

2.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 JEREMY BENTHAM

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Jeremy Bentham
- 3.3 Political Philosophy
 - 3.3.1 Utilitarian Principle
 - 3.3.2 Views on Political Society
 - 3.3.3 Views on State, Law and Liberty
 - 3.3.4 Views on Jurisprudence and Punishment
- 3.4 The Panopticon
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Jeremy Bentham was an English philosopher and a social reformer. He is primarily known for his moral philosophy, especially his principle of utilitarianism, which evaluates actions based upon their consequences. Influenced by many enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke and David Hume, Bentham developed an ethical theory grounded in a largely empiricist account of human nature. Happiness for him was a matter of experiencing pleasure and lack of pain.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Describe the life and times of Jeremy Bentham
- Define the utilitarian principle and its implication towards legislation
- List the basic tenets of Bentham's ideas of political philosophy
- State Bentham's views on prison reforms and his idea of the Panopticon
- Assess the conception of the state in line with utilitarian principles and the theory of pain and pleasure

3.2 JEREMY BENTHAM

Life Sketch

Jeremy Bentham, widely known as the founder of utilitarianism, also played the multiple roles of a philosopher, a jurist, a social reformer and an activist. A leading theorist in Anglo-American philosophy of law, Bentham is seen as a political radical whose ideas paved the way for the development of welfarism. He is popularly associated with the concept of utilitarianism, and the panopticon. His position entailed

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arguments in favour of individual and economic freedom, usury, the separation of church and state, freedom of expression, equal rights for women, the right to divorce, and the decriminalizing of homosexual acts. He also fought for the abolition of slavery and the death penalty and for the elimination of physical punishment, including that of children. Even though he was on the side of extension of individual legal rights, he was against the idea of natural law and natural rights, referring to them as 'nonsense upon stilts.' He can be seen as one of the most influential utilitarian and his ideas were brought to the fore through his works and that of his students. Here we have his secretary and collaborator on the utilitarian school of philosophy, James Mill; James Mill's son J. S. Mill; John Austin, legal philosopher; and several political leaders, including Robert Owen, a founder of modern socialism. He is considered the godfather of University College London (UCL).

Bentham is often seen in relation with the foundation of the University of London specifically University College of London (UCL), even though when UCL opened in 1826, he was 78 years old and played no active part in its foundation. The probable explanation is that UCL may not have been possible without his inspiration. Among Bentham's strong beliefs was that education should be more widely available, specifically to those who were not wealthy or who did not belong to the established church – two requirements that had to be fulfilled by both the students by Oxford and Cambridge. UCL, being the first English university to open its doors to all irrespective of race, creed or political belief, can be seen, thus, to be largely in consonance with Bentham's vision. He is credited with overseeing the appointment of one of his pupils, John Austin, as the first professor of Jurisprudence in 1829.

Born on 15 February 1748, in London in a prosperous middle class family, Bentham's mother died when he was ten. His father was very strict and demanding and arranged a thorough education for Bentham. Such an upbringing rendered Bentham's childhood monotonous and gloomy. Even as a child, Bentham could be seen as deriving his primary source of enjoyment from reading books with no inclination to play, reflecting his serious outlook.

An incident from his childhood suggests that he was nothing short of a child prodigy: Once, as a toddler, he was found sitting at his father's desk perusing a multi-volume book on history of England. He began studying Latin at the age of three. Bentham had close relations with Samuel Bentham, his one surviving sibling. He had training as a lawyer and, was called to the bar in 1769 despite the fact that he never even practiced. When the American colonies published their Declaration of Independence in July 1776, the British government instead of issuing an official response covertly commissioned London lawyer and pamphleteer John Lind to publish a rebuttal. His 130-page tract was sent for distribution in the colonies and included an essay titled 'Short Review of the Declaration', penned by Bentham, a friend of Lind's, which condemned and satirized America's political philosophy.

Bentham began learning Latin at the age of three and proceeded to Queens College, Oxford, at the young age of twelve. It is on being stationed there, that he began developing his critical stance towards ancient or traditional ideas and institutions. He espoused the view that the entire system of law needs an overhauling. He had a keen interest in science, particularly in Chemistry and Botany. He was inspired and influenced by the French Philosopher *Claude Adrien Helvetius* and *Cesare Bonesana*, Marquis of Beccaria. He also drew inspiration from *Fenelon's Telemaque*. From Helvetius, he took the lesson which proclaimed legislation as the most significant of

all worldly pursuits. It is from the early 1770s, that we may trace the study of legislations becoming an important concern with Bentham. Though, he refrained from practicing law, he nonetheless concentrated on charting out what the law should be, rather than delving in what it was. The period from the early 1770s to the mid 1780s can be seen as marking an important phase of development of Bentham's ideas. During this time, he concentrated on trying to comprehend the rational basis of law, in England as well as in other countries. During the mid-1770s, at the age of 28, he wrote a lengthy piece criticizing William Blackstones - *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. A portion of this piece appeared in 1776 as *A Fragment on Government*. This work had a profound influence on the Earl of Shelbourne, a Whig aristocrat, who henceforth became his close friend. During his close association with Earl of Shelbourne, Bentham got attracted to lady Shelbourne's niece *Caroline Fox*. This was his second love, the first being *Marry Dunkley*. However, neither of the relationships led anywhere, and he remained a bachelor.

Bentham began to give his time and commitment to practical areas like public administration, economic, social policy, in addition to working on developing a theory on law and legislation. He laid down details for the construction of a prison or factory or work house which is referred to as the Panopticon or the inspection house. The panopticon was viewed as the pivotal hinge of utilitarianism, for it would aid in scientifically meting out philosophic calculus by measuring pain justly. Though he welcomed the French Revolution and sent forth his reform proposals, none were accepted. Yet, he was made an honorary citizen of France in 1792 for his *Draught of a New Plan for the Organisation of the Judicial Establishment of France* (1790). The early 1800s were witness to an increase in his popularity and reputation, which began to garner attention even in far off places like Russia and countries in Latin America. In 1809, a close relationship between Bentham and James Mill (1773–1836) started taking root, with Mill being convinced of the urgent need for reforms. It is under Mill's influence, that Bentham can be seen as having become more radical. In 1817, he published *Plan of Parliamentary Reform* in the form of catechism, and 1819 saw the completion of the draft proposals of the *Radical Reform Bill*. An attack on the establishment church can be witnessed in the Church of England in 1818. The codification of law occupied a high priority for Bentham from the 1780s to the 1830s. He continued with his lifelong devotion to legal reform, looking upon it as a game. Other developments ascribed to Bentham include inventing devices like primitive telephones, suggesting reforms for the London police, the London sewage and drainage systems, devising a central heating system, running a law school from his home, labouring on a scheme for lowering the national debt, securing low interest loans for the poor, planning a national public education system, a national health service, and a national census, etc.

Even though leading an ascetic life himself, given that saints were idlers, he is to be seen as having regarded ascetism with contempt. He looked down upon spiritualism and claimed that spiritualism glorified unhappiness and distrusted pleasure. Spiritualism is, then, to be seen as being in opposition to Bentham's unwavering belief in happiness as the goal of all individuals. He helped in providing funds to the University of London. He also composed humorous songs and was fond of rituals. It is with progression in age that he is seen to have become light-hearted and causal. He began, and financed, the *Westminster Review* in 1824 with the aim of furthering his utilitarian principles.

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The list of books penned by him include - *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789), *Anarchical Fallacies* (1791), *Discourse on Civils and Penal Legislation* (1802), *The Limits of Jurisprudence* (1802), *Indirect Legislation* (1802), *A Theory of punishments and Rewards* (1811), *A treatise on Judicial Evidence* (1813), *Papers Upon Codification and Public Instruction* (1817), *The Book of Fallacies* (1824). He also wrote *Rational of Evidence* (1827), which was edited by J. S. Mill. He also had several correspondences with the Indian thinker Ram Mohan Roy, who was his friend. Ram Mohan supported Bentham's negation of the natural right theory and the distinction between law and morals. He was also appreciative of the principle of utilitarianism. Bentham lived till the age of 84 and died on 6 June, 1832. Bentham left manuscripts which account for some 5,000,000 words. Since 1968, University College London has been working on an edition of his collected works. The Project is now attempting to bring about a digitization of the Bentham papers and outsource their transcription. So far, 25 volumes have come up; and there may be many more waiting in the wings to come out before the project is completed. While most of his work was never published in his lifetime; much of that which was published was readied for publication by others. Several of his works first came in French translation, prepared for the press by Etienne Dumont, while some made their first appearance in English in the 1820s drawing from back-translation from Dumont's 1802 collection of Bentham's writing on civil and penal legislation. The works which were published in Bentham's lifetime include:

(i) 'Short Review of the Declaration' (1776) was an attack on America's Declaration of Independence; and (ii) 'A Fragment on Government' (1776) which served as a scathing critique of some introductory passages relating to political theory in William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. The book, published anonymously, got a good acceptance, and was ascribed to some of the greatest minds of the time. Bentham disagreed with several of the ideas propounded by Blackstone, such as his defense of judge-made law and legal fictions, his theological formulation of the doctrine of mixed government, his appeal to a social contract and his use of the vocabulary of natural law. Bentham's 'Fragment' was only a small part of a 'Commentary on the Commentaries', which remained unpublished until the twentieth century. (iii) *Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation* (printed for publication 1780, published 1789). (iv) *Defence of Usury* (1787). Jeremy Bentham wrote a series of thirteen 'Letters' addressed to Adam Smith, published in 1787 as *Defence of Usury*. Bentham's main argument against the restriction was premised on the view that 'projectors' generate positive externalities. Gilbert K. Chesterton identified Bentham's essay on usury as marking the very advent of the 'modern world.' Bentham's arguments had a far reaching influence. Many eminent writers tried to put an end to the restriction, and a repeal was strived for in stages and fully achieved in England in 1854. There is little evidence corroborating Smith's reaction. He did not substantial revisions after the third edition of 1784. (v) *Panopticon* (1787, 1791) (vi) edited by Étienne Dumont. 3 vols) (vii) *Traité de Législation Civile et Penale* (1802, Table of the Springs of Action (1815) (x) *Parliamentary Reform Catechism* (1817) (xi) *Church-of-Englandism* (printed 1817, published 1818) (xii) *Elements of the Art of Packing* (1821) (xiii) *The Influence of Natural Religion upon the Temporal Happiness of Mankind* (1822, written with George Grote and published under the pseudonym Philip Beauchamp) (xiv) *Not Paul But Jesus* (1823, published under the

pseudonym Gamaliel Smith) (xv) *Book of Fallacies* (1824) (xvi) *A Treatise on Judicial Evidence* (1825).

John Bowring, a British politician who had been Bentham's trusted friend, was appointed his literary executor and given the task of bringing forth a collected edition of his works. This appeared in 11 volumes in 1838–1843. Instead of basing his edition on Bentham's own manuscripts, Bowring based his edition on previously published editions (including those of Dumont), and he did not bring out any reprint of Bentham's works on religion. Even though Bowring's work includes significant writings, such as the one on international relations as Bentham's *A Plan for the Universal and Perpetual Peace*, written 1786–89, which forms part IV of the Principal of International Law, it has received criticism.

In 1952–54, Werner Stark published a three-volume set, *Jeremy Bentham's Economic Writings*, in which he tried collating all of Bentham's writings on economic matters, including both published and unpublished material. Not trusting Bowring's edition, he undertook great labour in reviewing thousands of Bentham's original manuscripts and notes; a task rendered much more difficult because of the way in which they had been left by Bentham and organized by Bowring.

The Utilitarian Principles

The school of thought called Utilitarianism dominated English political thinking from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. Some of the early utilitarians were Francis Hutcheson, Hume, Helvetius, Priestly, William Paley and Beccaria. However, it was Bentham who established the theory of Utilitarianism and rendered it popular on the basis of his endless proposals for reform. As Russell has rightly pointed out, Bentham's significant contribution is to be located not so much in the doctrine but to various practical problems. It was through his friendship with James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill, that Bentham get acquainted with the two greatest economists of his time — Malthus and David Ricardo - and was able to learn classical economics from them. This group of thinkers referred to themselves as philosophic radicals and aimed to bring about a revolutionary transformation of England into a modern, liberal, democratic, constitutional, secular state based on market economics. Utilitarianism was used interchangeably with philosophic radicalism, individualism, laissez faire, and administrative nihilism.

The seminal assumptions of utilitarianism postulated that human beings, naturally so, sought happiness, that pleasure alone was good, and that the only right action was that which produced the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In espousing such assumptions, the utilitarian thinkers can be seen reiterating the ideas of the Greek thinker - Epicures. Bentham lent a scientific colour to this pleasure – pain theory and brought it in application in the context of the policies of the state, welfare measures, and the administrative, penal and legislative reforms. He brought to the fore a psychological perspective on human nature. He conceived human beings as creatures of pleasure. In his analytical inquiry, he used the benchmark of utility. His book, *Introduction to the principles of Moral and Legislation*, provides an explanation of his theory of utility. The central principle undergirding his theory states that the state is useful only so long as it caters to the 'Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number'. The 'Greatest Happiness Theory', in turn, is based on a psychological and hedonistic theory of pleasure and pain.

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Bentham's ambition in life was to create a 'Pannomion' - a complete utilitarian code of law. Bentham not only brought to the fore many legal and social reforms, but also elaborated on an underlying moral principle on which they should be based. The argument being put forward here stated that the right act or policy was one which would lead to 'the greatest good for the greatest number of people, also known as 'the greatest happiness principle' or the 'principle of utility'.

Bentham also brought to the fore a procedure which would aid in gauging the moral status of any action, which he referred to as the Hedonistic or felicific calculus. Utilitarianism was revised and expanded by Bentham's student John Stuart Mill, and it is due to Mill's that, 'Benthamism' became a primary component which was deployed in the liberal conception of state policy objectives.

Bentham proposed a classification of 12 pains and 14 pleasures and 'felicific calculus' by which we might test the 'happiness factor' of any action. Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that Bentham's 'hedonistic' theory unlike Mill's, is often said to be devoid of the principle of fairness, which is entrenched in a conception of Justice. In 'Bentham and the Common Law Tradition', Gerald J. Postema states: 'No moral concept suffers more at Bentham's hand than the concept of justice. There is no sustained, mature analysis of the notion . . .'. In the light of this, we have some critics objecting to Bentham's proposition in that it seems to suggest that it would be acceptable to torture one person if this would produce an amount of happiness in other people outweighing the unhappiness of the tortured individual. However, as argued forcefully by P. J. Kelly in his book, *Utilitarianism and Distributive Justice: Jeremy Bentham and the Civil Law*, Bentham had a theory of justice that aimed at prevention and circumvention of such consequences. According to Kelly, for Bentham the law 'provides the basic framework of social interaction by delimiting spheres of personal inviolability within which individuals can form and pursue their own conceptions of well-being.' It gives security, which serves as a necessary precondition for the formation of expectations. As is witnessed in the hedonic calculus, which shows 'expectation utility' to be much higher than natural ones, we can see that Bentham does not favour the sacrifice of a few for the benefit of many.

Bentham's *Principles of Legislation* highlights the principle of utility and explains the way this view of morality feeds into legislative practices. His principle of utility hails 'good' as that which aids the production of the greatest amount of pleasure and the minimum amount of pain, while 'evil' is conceived as that which produces the most pain without the pleasure. This concept of pleasure and pain is defined by Bentham as being of both a physical as well as spiritual nature. Bentham delineates this principle as it manifests itself within the legislation of a society. He lays bare a set of criteria for gauging the extent of pain or pleasure that a certain decision will create.

Deploying these measurements, Bentham takes a review of the concept of punishment and tries to fathom when it should be used, and whether a punishment will end up creating more pleasure or more pain for a society. He tells legislators to determine whether punishment can lead to an even more evil offense. Instead of bringing down evil acts, Bentham is arguing that certain unnecessary laws and punishments could ultimately lead to new and more dangerous vices than those being punished to begin with. These statements are followed by propositions explaining how antiquity, religion, reproach of innovation, metaphor, fiction, fancy, antipathy and sympathy, and imaginary law are not a sufficient justification for the creation of legislature. Rather, Bentham is calling upon legislators to measure the pleasures and

pains associated with any legislation and to bring forth laws in order to enable the greatest good for the greatest number. He argues that the conception whereby the individual pursues his or her own happiness cannot be necessarily declared 'right', since often these individual pursuits can lead to greater pain and less pleasure for the society as a whole. Hence, the legislation of a society is integral to maintaining a society with optimum pleasure and the minimum degree of pain for the greatest amount of people.

Pleasure and pain theory, which is quite abstruse, is brought to the fore by Bentham in a simple and accessible manner. He points out that human beings are creatures of feeling and sensibility, while reason is only a feeling or passion. All experiences are either to be seen as pleasurable or painful. That action is deemed good which increases pleasure and decreases pain, whereas, that action is deemed bad which decreases pleasure and increases pain. The benchmark for judging the goodness or badness of every individual's actions is the pleasure-pain theory. Bentham advocated that 'nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters - pain and pleasure. It is incumbent on them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. So, we have on one hand, the standard of right and wrong, and on the other, the chain of causes and effects. Achievement of pleasure and avoidance of pain are, however, not to be seen as the sole motivating forces of human behavior; they also set the standards of values in life'. According to him, what applies to the individual's morals, applies with equal force statecraft. He further pointed out that the action of the state is to be adjudged good, if it increases pleasure and decreases pain. All actions must then be judged by significant yardstick. Sabine in his book *History of Political Theory* points out that this principle was held by the utilitarians to be the only rational factor, guiding both private morals and public policy. The seminal function of jurisprudence is sensorial, while criticism of the legal system is carried out keeping in mind its improvement. For such criticism to function, a standard of value is required, and that can be gathered only from the principle of utility. He pointed out that it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number on the basis of which we may ascertain the issue of right and wrong. All actions of the state should be geared towards providing the greatest good of the greatest number. Hence, utilitarianism is to be seen as implying both individualism and democracy.

In Bentham's framework, pleasure and pain can be quantitatively and arithmetically calculated and measured, and a comparison can be drawn between the two qualities. In order to gauge pleasure and pain, he advocated the doctrine of felicific calculus. The sum of the interests of the several members composing it is the interest of the community. The calculation here would entail that the happiness of each person is to count for one and none is to account for more than one. He delineated a list of some factors which would be used to measure pleasure and pain:

- Intensity
- Duration
- Certainty or uncertainty
- Nearness or remoteness
- Purity
- Extent
- Fecundity

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While the first four factors are clear, the fifth factor *purity* means that pleasure is one which is not likely to be followed by pain. The sixth factor *extent* refers to the number of persons who might be affected by this particular pleasure or pain. The seventh factor *fecundity* refers to productivity. Bentham's formula of calculation entails that we should make an addition of the values of all the pleasures on one side, and those of all the pains on the other. The balance or surplus of any of the sides will be an indication if it is to be deemed good or bad. Based on his felicific calculus, he has tried to render ethics and politics as exact sciences like physics and mathematics. In the words of Wayper, 'The doctrine of utility is a doctrine of quantitatively conceived hedonism - it can recognize no distinction between pleasures except a quantitative one. He contended that human beings by nature were marked by hedonism. Each of their actions drew from a desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain. Every human action could be traced to embody a cause and a motive. He saw hedonism not only as a principle of motivation, but also as a principle of action. He listed 14 simple pleasures and 12 simple pains, which were then classified into self-regarding and other regarding groups. Only two, benevolence and malevolence, were put under other-regarding action. Under self-regarding motives, he listed physical desire, pecuniary interest, love of power and self-preservation. Self-preservation would include fear of pain, love of life, and love of ease. He described four sanctions which would serve as sources of pain or pleasure, such as physical sanction, political and legal sanction, moral or popular sanction and religious sanction. He postulated that an adult individual is to be hailed as the best judge of his own happiness, and to be seen worthy of pursuing it without harming the happiness of others. He traced an essential connection between the happiness of an individual and that of the community, and offered the principle of utility as a standard which would aid in framing laws to obtain overall happiness and welfare of the community. 'I' was constantly emphasized by him, that a person's actions and policies had to be judged against his intention geared towards furthering the happiness of the community. The end and the goal of legislation were to follow the rule: 'each is to count for one and no one for more than one'. His defense of the principles of utility led him to plead a case for democracy, manhood, and, later on, universal suffrage, including female enfranchisement. As Bentham postulated, suffrage and democracy were to be seen as integral for the realization of the greatest happiness principle.

His views regarding monetary economics are to be seen as being at great variance from those of David Ricardo; however, they both exhibited certain affinities with Thornton. He focused on monetary expansion as a means of helping to create full employment. Bentham also underlined the relevance of forced saving, propensity to consume, the saving-investment relationship, and other matters that underlie the content of modern income and employment analysis. His monetary view can be seen as having a close affinity with the fundamental concepts deployed in his model of utilitarian decision-making. His work is to be seen as occupying the centre stage of modern welfare economics.

Bentham stated that pleasures and pains can be graded according to their value or 'dimension' such as intensity, duration, certainty of a pleasure or a pain. He was engaged with thinking out the maxima and minima of pleasures and pains; and this maximization principle in the economics of the consumer, the firm, and the search for an optimum in welfare economics.

3.3 POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

More popular of Bentham's works are *Fragments on Government* and *Introduction to the Principles of Moral and Legislation*, in which he has laid out his political philosophies which can be discussed under following heads.

3.3.1 Utilitarian Principle

Though, the principle of utility has been discussed in detail, we can retrace here a brief outline since it is one of the most significant political ideas propounded by Bentham. As said earlier, he was not the originator of this idea. He borrowed it from Priestley and Hutcheson. However, Bentham reworked the idea, and owing to his attributing to it great significance, this idea became an integral part of his philosophical system and also a watch-word of the political movement of the later 18th and early 19th century. The keynote of this principle postulates that the state is useful only so long as it caters to the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number'. The 'greatest happiness' theory in turn is based on a psychological and hedonistic theory of 'pleasure and pain'. Bentham highlighted that, action is good which increases pleasure and decreases pain. The yardstick of judging the goodness or badness of every individual's action is the pleasure-pain theory. According to him, what applies to the individual morals, applies with equal force to statecraft. The seminal idea which needs to be grasped here is that pleasure and pain can be quantitatively and arithmetically calculated and measured.

3.3.2 Views on Political Society

With respect to the origin of the political society, Bentham blatantly rejected the contract theory as absorbed. He rejected the view which saw children as being bound by the oral or written words of their forefathers. He brought to the fore a harsh criticism of the theory of natural rights. According to him, the state is founded on the selfish interest of the individuals. People obey the demands of the state as it furthers their selfish interest, their life, and property. In his view, the political society has existed and will continue to exist because it is believed to promote the happiness of the individual who compose it. Hence, succinctly put, the origin of the state is in the interest, welfare, and happiness of individuals which comprise it. It is the principle of utility which is to be credited with binding individuals together. The utilitarian concept conceives the state as a group of persons organized for the promotion and maintenance of the greatest happiness of the greatest number of individuals comprising it. Bentham's view of the state entails that 'any corporate body, such as state all society is evidently fictitious. Whatever is done in its name is done by someone, and it's good, as he said, is the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it.'

3.3.3 Views on State, Law and Liberty

According to Bentham, the modern state is to be viewed as an ideal, and an aspiration which examines the technique of state building and the method that would promote modernization. He regarded diversity and fragility within political order as inevitable. He saw the state as a legal entity with individualism as its ethical basis. He saw modernization as entailing two things: on the one hand, it required a broad based and diversified legal system which would take stock of desires of individuals and on the other hand, it comprised of institutions that would extend support to the legal system,

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aiding in namely the Bureaucratization of public service and legislation as a continual process, accommodating both change and diversity. He kept secure the individualist notion of moral autonomy with due priority given to individual interest. According to Hume, 'Bentham's theory brought together in a particular way the two great themes of modern political thought: individualism and the modern sovereign state.'

Bentham came up with ideas and devices geared to guarantee governmental protection of individual interest, ensuring that public happiness should be seen as the object of public policy. Government is to be seen as a trust with legislation as the primary function and uniformity, clarity, order and consistency were to be seen as crucial for both law and order. He was equally conscious of the need for institutional safeguards which would see to it that the government pursued public interest. He championed universal adult franchise and recommended it to all those who could read the list of voters. Further, he conceived of the state as comprising a number of persons who are supposed to be in the habit of paying obedience to a person, or an assemblage of persons, of a known and certain description. Such a group of persons taken together is to be seen comprising a political society. In his *Constitutional Code*, Bentham reserved for the people the power to select and dismiss their leader, and to ensure that the interest of the rulers were closely linked with those of the people. For furthering this, he recommended the abolition of monarchy and the House of Lords, checks on legislative authority, unicameralism, secret ballot annual elections, equal electoral districts, annual parliaments and election of the prime minister by the parliament. He saw representative government as providing a solution to the problem. He considered constitutional representative democracy as an overall political arrangement which was seen secured by measures like widespread suffrage, an elected assembly, frequent elections, freedom of the press, and of associations providing a guarantee against misrule. He regarded constitutional democracy as being of great significance to all nations and all governments who were in possession of liberal opinions.

Bentham postulated that the state was the only source of law. The main purpose of the state is to frame laws which attend to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. According to him, law is to be seen as comprising the command of the sovereign, and binding on the subjects. But the individuals obey the law of the state only because it furthers their interest. In the words of Wayper, 'because law is a command, it must be the command of a supreme authority.' Indeed it is only in the case where such an authority is regularly obeyed, that Bentham is prepared to admit the existence of civil society. His state, thus, is to be seen as a sovereign state. It is the sign of a sovereign state that nothing it does can be illegal. Law is the sole source of all rights of the individuals. There is no such thing as natural rights, and all rights are civil rights. The individuals can never plead natural law against the state. According to Bentham, natural rights are not to be ascribed any significance. The basis of the political obligation comprises partly habitual obedience of the laws of the state by the individuals and partly the calculated self-interest of the individuals. Even though Bentham strongly believed that rights cannot be maintained against the state, yet he justified opposition to the state if that opposition will end up producing less pain than continued obedience. According to him, liberty is not to be perceived as an end in itself. Happiness is the only final criterion and liberty must bow to that criterion. The end of the state is maximum happiness and not maximum liberty. This concept of the state can only be a democracy and that too a representative democracy. In such a state all men should have equal rights. However, the concept of equality of rights is not

premised on any abstract notion of natural law, but rather rests on the concrete idea that every individual seeks to pursue his interest to the best of his mind. All individuals are invested with equal rights including right of property in the eyes of law, despite the fact that by nature they may not be equal. Protection of property is one of the ways to ensure a furtherance of one's happiness. However, Bentham also believed that law should strive for facilitating an equal distribution of property and removal of gross inequalities. In opposition to natural rights and natural law, Bentham recognized legal laws and rights that were enacted and enforced by a duly constituted political authority or the state. He defined law as comprising the command of the sovereign, and postulated that the power of sovereign be seen as indivisible, unlimited, inalienable, and permanent.

Bentham defined liberty as signifying an absence of restraints and coercion. Crucial to his concept of liberty was the idea of security, which brought together his idea of civil and political liberty. For him, the principle of utility provided the objective moral standard, which was seen as being considerably at variance from other theories that supplied purely subjective criteria.

Even though Bentham downplayed the sanctity of natural rights formulations, he acknowledged the importance of right as being essential for the security of the individual. He rejected not just the idea of natural and inviolable right to property, but also the idea of absolute right to property since the government had the right to interfere with property to usher in security. He backed the need for adequate compensation in case of a violation of the individual's right to property. Property, for Bentham, was neither natural, nor absolute, and nor inviolable.

3.3.4 Views on Jurisprudence and Punishment

One of the most significant aspects of Bentham's political philosophy is located in the sphere of jurisprudence and reforms in criminal law and prison. There was no limitation imposed on the legislative power of the state, not even in the customs and conventions. While the state may take help from customs and established institutions, there were no checks on the legislative competence of the state. Bentham brought to the fore his popular distinction between 'descriptive' and 'sensorial' jurisprudence; namely what the law ought to be or whether a particular law was bad or good, to establish the validity of moral propositions about legal rights. Bentham's greatest achievement comprises his attempt to apply the principle of greatest happiness of the greatest number to all the branches of law - civil and criminal, procedural law as well as to the organization of the judicial system. For furthering this end, he suggested several reforms in civil and criminal laws and procedures. He was entirely for simplification of English law and international law. As a jurist and legal reformer, he brought to the fore liberal reforms in antiquated British law and procedure. The whole of the 19th Century legislation of England can be seen as resulting from his laborious endeavours. Bentham suggested diverse ways and means by which justice could be administered cheaply and expeditiously. He postulated that justice delayed is justice denied. He suggested that acts of the parliament should be framed in simple and easily accessible language to ensure that the lawyers do not cheat the public at large. The highly technical, rigid, obscure, capricious and dilatory legal procedures existing during his time were nothing short of a conspiracy on the part of the legal profession to misguide the public. Bentham suggested that there should be single-judge courts, since the multi-judge courts led to a shirking of responsibility. He also furthered the suggestion that judges and other

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officers of the court should be paid regular salaries instead of ad hoc fees. Further, he also attacked the jury system.

In the context of punishment, he maintained that penalty is an evil but a necessary one. It is an evil since it engenders pain, but it can be justified if it is seen as either preventing a greater future evil or repairing an evil already committed. Bentham strongly believed that punishment should be in consonance with the crime committed, and that under no circumstance should it exceed the damage done. He was not for death penalty, except in very rare cases. He was also in favour of doing away with other savage penalties from the British legal system, and suggested diverse reforms in the treatment being doled out to the prisoners. Here, the state was required to tailor the punishment with regard to the offence in such a manner which would restrain the offender from committing a crime, or at least from repeating it. To aid in the furtherance of these reforms, Bentham has given a detailed account of various punishments to be given in particular circumstances.

3.4 THE PANOPTICON

The starting point of Bentham's political theory was his strong belief that there was need for extensive reforms in British society and particularly in English law and judicial procedure. He critiqued the existing laws and the machinery, as well as the methods of executing them and proposed detail scheme of his own. Most of the law reforms since Bentham's day can be traced to his influence. Sir Henry Maine once said 'I do not know a single law reform affected since Bentham's day which cannot be traced to his influence'. As earlier stated, Bentham postulated a theory of punishment. In this context, he envisaged the construction of a prison which came to be known as the Panopticon. This model prison was designed by him for the British Government in the 1790s. While he envisaged that the British Government would buy a piece of land to construct the prison, to his disappointment the project could not be concretized.

Bentham conceived of the Panopticon to be the hallmark of utilitarianism. His concept of the felicific calculus was to be deployed in this institution. However, it would be significant to keep in mind that the Panopticon envisioned by Bentham was more than a mere prison. It was to serve as a model for any disciplinary institution. Besides being a jail house, it could as easily be a school, hospital, factory, military barracks, etc. According to Michel Foucault, the Panopticon represents a pivotal moment in the history of repression — the transition from the inflicting of penalties to the imposition of surveillance. In his book *Power/Knowledge*, Foucault has extensively dealt with the details which went in the building of prisons: 'the prison was a perimeter building in the form of a ring. At the centre of this, there is a tower pierced by large windows opening on to the inner face of the ring. The outer building is divided into cells, each of which traverses the whole thickness of the building. These cells have two windows, one opening on to the inside, facing the windows of the central tower, the other, the outer one, allowing day light to pass through the whole cell. All that is then needed is to put an overseer in the lower end place and in each of the cells a lunatic, a patient, a convict, a worker or a school boy. The back lighting enables one to pick out from the central tower the little captive silhouettes in the ring of cells. In short, the principle of the dungeon is reversed; day light and the overseer's gaze capture the inmate more effectively. The prisoners, who have no contact with each

Check Your Progress

1. To what is Bentham most popularly associated with?
2. Which university was inspired by Bentham's ideas?
3. Name some of the early utilitarians.
4. What does the principle of utility involve?

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other, feel as if they are under the constant watch of the guards. There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints, but just a gaze. An inspecting gaze which each individual will end up interiorizing to the point that he becomes his own overseer; each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself.' Bentham suggested an incorporation of 'Big Brother' supervision, coupled with fourteen hours a day, long hours on the tread wheel accompanied by Martial music, while completely rejecting solitary confinement as abhorrent and irrelevant. In his utilitarian mission to prevent crime, he advocated punishments like castration for rape. Subsequently he applied the principle of the Panopticon to poultry, devising the first battery farm.

Among his diverse proposals for legal and social reform was a design for a prison building he called the Panopticon. Although it was never built, the idea had an important influence upon several subsequent generations of thinkers. Twentieth-century French philosopher Michel Foucault argued that the Panopticon was paradigmatic of a whole range of 19th century 'disciplinary' institutions. It is said that the Mexican prison 'Lecumberri' was designed on the basis of this idea.

Having written a dissertation on punishment, in which he developed and systematized Baccaria's ideas, Benjamin was convinced that pain could be scientifically administered by experts. He devoted most of his time in dividing the scheme, and making meticulous plans which went so far as the governor's urinal. He hoped to be appointed the first governor of the Panopticon and was confident that it would give him £37,000. Like his brother, he had an unwavering belief in contraptions of all kinds. In 1791, Bentham send his plans to the English Prime Minister: Pitt, but the panopticon, as earlier stated, never really materialized, forcing him to admit defeat 20 years later. A jail was built, but not on the design recommended by him. He was awarded compensation for his sincerity and effort.

The Benthamite idea of the panopticon has been severely criticized by Michel Foucault. Foucault saw the panopticon as the quintessential disciplinary apparatus of the bourgeois state, epitomizing a repressive nationality.

ACTIVITY

Read the *Ten Critical Essays* of Jeremy Bentham. Discuss his school of thought by analysing the book.

DID YOU KNOW?

The concept of the design of Panopticon is to allow a watchman to observe (-opticon) all (pan-) inmates of an institution without their being able to tell whether they are being watched or not.

Check Your Progress

5. When was the model prison designed by Bentham?
6. Who has severely criticized the Benthamite idea of the panopticon?
7. What, according to Michel Foucault, was the panopticon paradigmatic of?

3.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- *Jeremy Bentham*, widely known as the founder of utilitarianism, can be seen as having played the multiple roles of a philosopher, a jurist, a social reformer and an activist.
- He is most popularly associated with the concept of utilitarianism, and the panopticon.
- He can be seen as one of the most influential utilitarians, and his ideas were brought to the fore through his works and that of his students. Here we have his secretary and collaborator on the utilitarian school of philosophy, James Mill; James Mill's son J. S. Mill; John Austin, legal philosopher; and several political leaders, including Robert Owen, a founder of modern socialism.
- Bentham is often seen in relation with the foundation of the University of London specifically University College of London (UCL)
- The period from the early 1770s to the mid 1780s can be seen as marking an important phase of development of Bentham's ideas. During this time, he concentrated on trying to comprehend the rational basis of law, in England as well as in and other countries.
- Even though leading an ascetic life himself, given that saints were idlers, he is to be seen as having regarded ascetism with contempt. He looked down upon spiritualism and claimed that spiritualism glorified unhappiness and distrusted pleasure.
- Utilitarianism, conceived as a school of thought dominated English political thinking from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. Francis Hutcheson, Hume, Helvetius, Priestly, William Paley and Beccaria were some of the early utilitarians. However, it was Bentham who is credited with systematically working to establish the theory and render it popular on the basis of his endless proposals for reform.
- James Mill was his closest friend. It is through Mill that Bentham met two of the greatest economists of the time - Malthus and David Ricardo- and learnt classical economics from them.
- Bentham lent a scientific colour to the pleasure – pain theory, and brought it in application in the context of the policies of the state, welfare measures, and the administrative, penal and legislative reforms.
- Bentham's *Principles of Legislation* highlights the principle of utility and explains the way this view of morality feeds into legislative practices. His principle of utility hails 'good' as that which aids the production of the greatest amount of pleasure and the minimum amount of pain, while 'evil' is conceived as that which produces the most pain without the pleasure.
- In Bentham's framework, pleasure and pain can be quantitatively and arithmetically calculated and measured, and a comparison can be drawn between the two qualities. In order to gauge pleasure and pain, he advocated the doctrine of felicific calculus.

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- According to Bentham, the modern state is to be viewed as an ideal, and an aspiration which examines the technique of state building and the method that would promote modernization.
- He came up with ideas and devices geared to guarantee governmental protection of individual interest, ensuring that public happiness should be seen as the object of public policy.
- One of the most significant aspects of Bentham's political philosophy is located in the sphere of jurisprudence and reforms in criminal law and prison.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Utilitarianism:** An ethical theory which states that the right course of action is the one that maximizes the overall 'good' consequences of the action; it thus promotes that the moral worth of an action is determined by its resulting outcome.
- **Principle of utility:** This regards 'good' as that which produces the greatest amount of pleasure and the minimum amount of pain, and 'evil' as that which produces the most pain without the pleasure.
- **Pleasure and pain theory:** Bentham pointed out that human beings are creatures of feeling and sensibility; since reason is only a handmaid of feeling or passion, all experiences are either pleasurable or painful and that action is good which increases pleasure and decreases pain, whereas, that action is bad which decreases pleasure and increases pain.

3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Bentham is most popularly associated with utilitarianism and the panopticon.
2. The University College of London (UCL) was inspired by Benthamite ideas.
3. Among some of the early utilitarians were Francis Hutcheson, Helvetius, and Priestley.
4. Bentham's principle of utility hails 'good' as that which aids the production of the greatest amount of pleasure and the minimum amount of pain, while 'evil' is conceived as that which produces the most pain without the pleasure.
5. The model prison was designed by Bentham in the 1790s.
6. Michel Foucault is credited with having severely criticized the Benthamite idea of the panopticon.
7. The panopticon, as Foucault tells us, was paradigmatic of a whole range of 'disciplinary' institutions.

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3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short-Answer Questions

1. What is Jeremy Bentham best known for?
2. Write a short note on Bentham.
3. During which period did utilitarianism dominate English political thinking?
4. List some of Bentham's better known works?
5. Why is Jeremy Bentham considered the godfather of University College of London?
6. What was Bentham's view on liberty?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Pleasure and pain is the fundamental tenets of utilitarianism. Discuss.
2. Explain in your own words Bentham's contribution to political philosophy.
3. Critically evaluate Bentham's idea of the Panopticon.
4. Bentham was a great liberal thinker. Justify.
5. The starting point of Bentham's political theory was his strong belief that there was need for extensive reforms in British society and particularly in English law and judicial procedure. Discuss.

3.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 JOHN STUART MILL

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 John Stuart Mill
 - 4.2.1 Equal Rights for Women
 - 4.2.2 Individual Liberty
 - 4.2.3 Representative Government
- 4.3 Summary
- 4.4 Key Terms
- 4.5 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.6 Questions and Exercises
- 4.7 Further Reading

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

John Stuart Mill was a British philosopher, political economist and a civil servant who actively contributed to social theory, political economy and political theory. He is considered the most influential English philosopher of the nineteenth century. 'Liberty', as conceived by Mill, justified the freedom of the individual as opposed to boundless state control. He advocated utilitarianism, and wished to offer a solution to issues related to probabilistic or inductive reasoning, such as the tendency of people to support information that conforms to their beliefs (also called confirmation bias). Therefore, he was of the opinion that falsification is a key component in science. He was a philosopher who contributed to liberalism and also a Member of Parliament. His work *On Liberty* is till date considered one of the classic texts on liberal philosophy.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the life and times of John Stuart Mill
- Describe J.S. Mill's views on the rights for women
- Explain Mill's idea of individual liberty
- Describe Mill's view on representative government

4.2 JOHN STUART MILL

John Stuart Mill, a great essayist, economist, reformer and one of the greatest political thinkers of modern times was born in London on 20th May, 1806. His father James Mill was also a political philosopher and contemporary of Jeremy Bentham. Mill had eight younger siblings. James Mill had come from Scotland to London with the desire to become a writer. He tried journalism and then concentrated on writing *History of British India* (1818) which had a great influence on young John Mill. India influenced the life of John Mill which subsequently determined his career. After the publication of *History of British India*, James Mill was appointed

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as an assistant examiner at the East India House. It was an important event in his life, as this solved his financial problem, enabling him to devote his time and attention to areas of his prime interest: philosophical and political problems. He could also conceive of a liberal profession for his eldest son, John Stuart Mill. In the beginning, he thought of a career in law for him but when another vacancy arose for another assistant examiner in 1823, John Stuart got the post and served the British government till his retirement. J. S. Mill was a British philosopher and civil servant. An influential contributor to social theory, political theory, and political economy, his conception of liberty justified the freedom of the individual in opposition to unlimited state control. He was a proponent of utilitarianism, an ethical theory developed by Jeremy Bentham, although his conception of it was very different from Bentham's. Hoping to remedy the problems found in an inductive approach to science, such as confirmation bias, he clearly set forth the premises of falsification as the key component in the scientific method. Mill was also a member of the Parliament and an important figure in liberal political philosophy.

Mill became a strong advocate of women's rights and for social reforms such as labour unions and farm cooperatives. In *Considerations on Representative Government*, J.S. Mill called for various reforms of Parliament and voting, especially proportional representation, the Single Transferable Vote, and the extension of suffrage. He was godfather to Bertrand Russell. He died in 1873 at the age of 67.

By the end of his life, he was the acknowledged philosopher-leader of English liberalism and in Lord Morley's words, one of the greatest teachers of his age. In his thinking, he was greatly influenced by the dialogues and dialectics of Plato and the cross questioning of Socrates. He had imbibed Bentham's principle from his father and from Bentham himself, and he found the principle of utility the key stone of his beliefs. He outlined in his own words 'I now had a creed, a doctrine, a philosophy, a religion, the inculcation and diffusion of which would be made the principal outward purpose of my life.'

Harriet Taylor, a wife of a pharmacist and mother of three, supported social reforms and equal rights for women. Her husband did not support her in her endeavours and provided little intellectual stimulation for her. In 1830, Harriet Taylor met John Stuart Mill for the first time at a dinner party in her home. They quickly recognized their mutual interests and developed affection for each other. She started helping Mill in editing and writing his articles and books.

After he met Harriet, Mill was able to create an impression on the intellectual people of England. In 1831, he wrote 'The Spirit of the Age,' an essay that used history to show how Britain was going through a transition from feudalism to a new age. To get rid of Britain's old feudal aristocracy, Mill wanted to foster an alliance of the middle and working classes. After his father died in 1836, Mill experienced a personal liberation as his father was a dominating man. At 30, he took over his father's job at India House. Mill published books on logic and economics that made him a more important philosopher than his father. In his economics book, Mill criticized the relentless pursuit of money. He argued that people should give importance to wealth to achieve higher goal of individual self-development which he called 'individuality'. Mill wanted more participation of people as business owners in a free-market economy. For this, Mill suggested that people should pool in their money to buy out private businesses and operate them as cooperative enterprises and wages should be paid wages from the profits of the enterprises. Mill was also against Government central

planning, which supported by most European socialists. His vision was every man and woman can be a business owner. Mill saw this as a way to help them achieve self-development and happiness. Today, historians often classify Mill as a Utopian Socialist. Mill could finally marry Harriet Taylor in 1851 after the death of her husband. Both of them, however, soon suffered from tuberculosis. Believing he would die, Mill spent more time writing his autobiography. But Harriet died in 1858 when they were in France, as her tuberculosis was more severe was more severe. Mill buried her there and erected a monument with a long inscription, praising her.

Her influence on his work appeared to have been smaller than his thought. She humanized his political economy, and suggested the chapter on *The Probable Futurity of the Laboring Classes*. She helped him in writing *On Liberty*, published in 1859, the year after her death, and she certainly inspired the book on *The Subjection of Women*. The other great influence on the mind of Mill proceeded from the discussions and deliberations of the Utilitarian Society and Speculative Debating Society founded by him. The Political Economy Club was also equally important which functioned under his fostering care. It was here that he began his public speaking. It was in these societies and clubs that topics pertaining to utility, logic, political economy, and psychology were discussed with a view to have clear knowledge about these subjects. He was a prolific writer and he wrote on different branches of knowledge with equal mastery. His famous works are:

- *System of Logic* (1843)
- *Principles of Political Economy* (1848)
- *Essay on Some Unsettled Questions in Political Economy*
- *On Liberty* (1859)
- *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861)
- *Utilitarianism* (1865)
- *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy* (1863)
- *Subjection of Women* (1869).

An intellectual prodigy, John Stuart who started his education at the tender age of three enriched the philosophical treasures by his clear understanding and deep insight into things. He had a reverence for his intellectual age but with a difference projecting his own personality and ideas in the prevailing theories reduced into writings by different pains. He died in 1873 in Evignon, France.

4.2.1 Equal Rights for Women

J.S. Mill applied the principles of liberalism to issues of political and sexual equality for women. He was as much interested in social reforms as in political speculations. His sense of justice was stirred early in his life by the social discrimination meted out to women. In the mid-Victorian period, the condition of the women in the British society was appalling. Mill argued that women's submissive nature was the result of centuries of subjugation and lack of opportunities. This inequality he regarded as highly unjust. He regarded birth as no basis of excluding women from the rights that they deserve. According to Mill, no person is deliberately created by nature for a particular profession. If women, however, differ from men on the grounds of sex, this distinction should not be made a basis of distinction everywhere. He was eager to emancipate women and was the first to plead their cause in the parliament. He believed

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Check Your Progress

1. Who was James Stuart Mill and where was he born?
2. When did J.S. Mill start his educational career?
3. What was so exceptional about J.S. Mill's childhood?

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that if women were given equal opportunities to men, the result would be beneficial for women, since freedom alone gives happiness and is valuable to the community in general. He believed that the society would benefit from the contributions made by the mental capacities and characteristics of women. Higher education for women, would increased opportunities for them and will help open their talents, and would exteable to them the franchise and eligibility to public office.

For Mill, improving the position of women in society by providing them with suffrage, education and employment opportunities was a stepping stone to progress and civility. Mill considered the improvement in the position of women as an issue which concerned the whole of society. In this regard, his work *The Subjection of Women* made a strong claim for women's right to vote and women's right to equal opportunities in education and employment. The two themes that is prevalent throughout the writings of Mill is Liberty and self-determination. Mill believed that freedom was the most spacious and crucial issue for a human's well being. In this context, Mill asserted that women were the subjugated sex who were not given access to their own potential and were subjected to their unquestioned prejudices and biases in society. Mill's main concern was equality as a legal right between the sexes. He referred to women as both the subject and the enslaved class for he believed that their position was worse than that of slaves. According to Mill, unlike slaves, women were in a 'chronic state of bribery and intimidation combined.' He pointed out that the capacity of women was spent in seeking happiness not in their own lives, but exclusively in winning the favour and affection of the other sex, which they gained at the cost of their independence. A woman was not free within her marriage, nor was she free to remain unmarried. He explained how unmarried women in the 19th century were deprived of avenues for living a good and independent life. He deplored the lack of freedom of choice for women and contended that equality should be the ordering principle of societal and personal relationships. He pointed out that opposition to sexual equality was not based on any reason. Mill asserted that to dismiss equality of sexes as a mere theoretical opposition did not lend credibility to the argument that women were weaker and hence subordinate. He agreed that the majority of the opinions favoured inequality but this he contended went against reason.

According to Mill, the way men dominate women was entirely inappropriate and altogether based on force. Women also accepted it voluntarily without any complaint and became consenting parties to their subordination. Men, on their part, expected not only obedience but also affection from women. This was ensured through education, training and the socialization process. Women from childhood were taught to be submissive, yielding and accommodating, rather than being independent with self-will and self-control. They were taught to live for others, their husband and children. Selfless devotion was considered to be the best feminine trait, the glory of womanhood. In the case of a pre-contractual social arrangement, birth determines ones position and privileges, while the modern society was characterized by the principle of equality. Individuals enjoyed greater freedom of choice to pursue their own life and improve their faculties. However, women continued to be denied of this opportunity, for they were not free to do what they chose to. It seemed paradoxical that the modern world accepted the general social practice of women's equality, but not gender equality. Mill emphatically said that denying women an equal position only demeaned a man. Like Mary Wollstonecraft, he believed that women could earn their liberation with the support of men. Both Mill and Wollstonecraft presented a reasonable critic of male domination within marriage. However, Mill extended it by pleading for a

relationship based on mutual friendship and respect. He subscribed to the view that by and large the human nature and character were decided by the circumstances in which individuals were found, and unless and until women were granted freedom, they could not express themselves. The process itself could take longer, but that could not be the basis for denying women the freedom and opportunities for their complete development. He believed that women were as bright and gifted as men, and once granted the same 'eagerness for fame', women would achieve the same success. A judgment regarding the capacities and talent in women could be made only after generations of women benefited from equal opportunities through education and employment. He rejected the idea that it was natural for a women to be a mother and wife, and felt that it was the women who should be able to decide whether to marry and manage a house or to pursue a career. He lamented that it was society, however, that decided marriage to be the ultimate aim of women. He articulated and defended the right of women to be considered as a free rational being capable of choosing the life they would like for themselves, rather than being dictated by what the society thought they should be or do. He was of the opinion that women, even if granted freedom and opportunities, would not fail to perform their traditional functions. When he was a member of the British Parliament, he supported a married women's property bill.

According to Mill, the position of the wife under the common law of Britain was worse than that of slaves in the laws of many countries; by the Roman law, for example, a slave might have his peculiar status, which, to a certain extent, the law guaranteed him his exclusive use. He further pointed out that marriage did not give women the dignity and equal status that she ought to get. Once married, she was totally under the control of her husband. She was denied by the law the right to her children and property. Hence, they must have the rights to property, inheritance and custody. He pleaded for the equality of both sexes before the law, for that was crucial to ensuring a just arrangement. This he felt would be beneficial for all. He was of the opinion that a marriage contract based on the equality of married persons before the law was not only a sufficient but also a necessary condition for full and just equality between the sexes. For Mill, equality was a genuine moral sentiment that ought to govern all relationships including the marital one. He also acknowledged the family as the real school of learning the virtues of freedom and liberation, yet it was there that sentiments of injustice, inequality and despotism were taught. He desired a transformation of the family to suit the temperament and spirit of the modern age, namely the spirit of equality and justice, and in the process to bring about a moral regeneration of humankind. The relationship between a man and a woman should be based on mutual respect and mutual love, and giving due regard to one another's rights. This would make women self-reliant and self-sufficient. Mill said, unless the equal and just worth of human beings was recognized, they could not enjoy equal rights and could not realize their full potential as well. A life of rational freedom devoted to the release of their full creative potential was as much a requirement for a man as for a woman. In spite of his insistence on the need to restructure family relationships based on equity and fairness, he continued to pursue the family as one where a man earns for the family and a woman takes care of domestic affairs. He was convinced that if suitable domestic help was made possible, then a women, and in particular the talented and exceptional ones, could take up a profession or a vocation. Like Wollstonecraft and Fuller, he argued that 'the dignity of a woman was guaranteed if she had the power of earning her own living'. A married woman would have full

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right in her property and earning. She would have the right to enter a profession or take up a career. According to him, women were fully capable of becoming business partners, philosophers, politicians and scientists.

Mill said both the law and the custom prohibited women from seeking any means of livelihood, other than being a mother and a wife. Besides equal opportunity for women in education and property, he also pleaded for political rights to vote and to participate in the government as administrators and rulers. In his book, *The Representative Government*, he commented that the difference of sex could not be the basis of political rights. He desired that the subjection of women be ended not only by the law, but also by education, opinion, habits and finally a change in the family life itself. In his book, *Principles*, he observed the need to open industrial occupations for both sexes.

Mill saw women's issues as important and began to write in favour of greater rights for women. In his work, *The Subjection of Women*, which was published in 1869, he talks about the role of women in marriage and how he felt that it needed to be changed. In that work, Mill comments on three major facets of women's lives that he felt are hindering them: society and gender construction, education and marriage. Mill is also famous for being one of the earliest and strongest supporters of greater rights for women. He felt that the 'oppression' of women was one of the few remaining relics from ancient times, a set of prejudices that severely impeded the progress of humanity. Mill's ideas were opposed by Ernest Belfort Bax in his treatise, *The Legal Subjugation of Men*.

After *On Liberty* was published in 1859 Mill turned his attention towards reforms in the political sphere. It could be stated that many of his political opinions were contradictory in nature. Although Mill was a strong supporter of giving voting rights to all, especially women, he advocated a contentious voting system. Rather than universal adult franchise, Mill wanted a voting system where people with an education had more voting power than those who did not. Moreover, Mill was not a supporter of the public schooling system believing that such a system would enforce social conformity. At the same time he supported government subsidies to parents who could not afford schooling for their children. Mill was also an opponent of slavery, something that Britain had abolished in 1833, and was sympathetic to the American North in the American Civil War. When the American Civil War was raging, Mill wrote that if the American South won then this 'would be a victory of the powers of evil, which would give courage to the enemies of progress'.

Mill contested and won a seat in the British Parliament in 1865 on a Liberal Party ticket. He used his Parliamentary position as a platform to give voice to his opinions on social and political reform, especially on issues relating to women. As a parliamentarian Mill helped found the first women's suffrage society in Britain in 1867. Many of Mill's speeches in parliament on issues were many years ahead of his time. He had become a parliamentarian on the condition that he would vote according to his conscience, unfortunately, he was defeated for re-election in 1868 after serving only one term.

The same year that Mill left the British parliament, he published perhaps his most famous work - *The Subjection of Women*. The pamphlet in detail delineates Mill's argument for equality for men and women in society. In it Mill stressed that both women and men should have the same rights to develop their individuality. This entailed both men and women having equal rights to their own property, earn a college

education, choose any occupation, and participate fully in politics. Mill's position on the rights of women Mill was sharply different from his father. Mill Sr. believed that women should not have a right to vote since their husbands represented them when they voted. J.S. Mill on the other hand stated that a wife's interests are often different from those of her husband, and thus she should have an equal right to vote.

The Subjection of Women and many other works that preceded it galvanized society and played a huge part in breaking patriarchal mindsets and forcing the male dominated society to finally give in to the demand of women's suffrage. This finally occurred in 1918, long after Mill had died.

4.2.2 Individual Liberty

Mill's *Essay on Liberty* is one of the finest discourses on the definition of freedom in general and freedom of thought and expression in particular. He was an ardent champion of liberty. According to him, free discussion alone can nourish fruitful ideas. He pointed out that not even the whole of humankind can coerce even a single dissident into accepting the majority's view point as nobody knows that majority views may be incorrect. He said the truth will certainly come out of free discussions, but if somebody's views are suppressed, then not only the truth will never come out, but also that particular individual's development will be retarded. There cannot be any self-realization or self-development of individuals without liberty. He passionately advocated the right of the individual to freedom. In its negative sense, it meant that the society has no right to coerce an unwilling individual, except for self-defence. In his words, 'It is being left to one self: all restraints qua restraints are an evil.' In its positive sense, it meant the grant of freedom for the pursuit of the individual's creative impulses and energies and for self-development. If there is a clash between the opinion of the individual and that of the community, it is the individual who is the ultimate judge, unless the community could convince without resorting to threat and coercion. Mill's ideas on liberty had a direct relationship with his theories of utility or happiness. He regarded liberty as a necessary means for the development of individuality which will become the ultimate source of happiness. There was only one road for him to take and that was the road of higher utility. He has done a distinction between higher and lower utility which may better be understood, respectively, as conducting to the good of the society and the good of individuals. He was keen to do good for the society and for individuals as well. Happiness, for Mill, is the ability of individuals to discover their innate powers and develop these while exercising their human abilities of autonomous thought and action. For Mill, happiness means liberty and individuality. Liberty is regarded as a fundamental prerequisite for leading a good, worthy and dignified life. J. Gray says, 'The contention of the *Essay on Liberty* is that happiness so conceived is best achieved in a free society governed by the principle of liberty.'

Mill insisted on the liberty of thought and expression as well as the liberty of conduct. He defended the liberty of thought and expression on two important grounds. In the first place, he argued that it is useful to the society. He asserted that rational knowledge is the basis of social welfare, and the only way of confirming the correctness of the knowledge is to submit all ideas, old and new, to the test of free discussion and debate. In the second place, he advocated the liberty of thought and expression on the grounds of human dignity. On the liberty of conduct, he took another line of argument. He drew a distinction between two types of actions of a man: 'self-regarding actions' and 'other-regarding actions'. He advocated complete freedom of conduct for the individual in all matters not affecting the community, i.e. in the case of 'self-regarding

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actions'. However, in the case of 'other-regarding actions', i.e. in matters that do affect the community, Mill conceded the right of the community to coerce the individual if his conduct is prejudicial to its welfare. In this way, he defended complete freedom of conduct for the individual unless it adversely affects the community. But the state could also interfere in the self-regarding action if it is thought to be very injurious for an individual. He wrote in his *Essay on Liberty*, 'the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others.'

Mill defended the right of individuality, which means the right of choice. He explained that as far as self-regarding actions are concerned, coercion would be detrimental to self-development. First, the evils of coercion far outweighed the good achieved. Second, individuals are so diverse in the needs and capacities for happiness that coercion would be futile. Since individuals are the best judge of their own interest, they possess the information and the incentives to achieve them. Third, since diversity is in itself good, other things being equal, it should be encouraged. Finally, freedom is the most important requirement in the life of a rational person. He contended that positive liberty, i.e. autonomy and self-mastery, is inherently desirable and it is possible if individuals are allowed to develop their own talents and invent their own lifestyles, i.e. a great deal of negative liberty. Hence, he made a strong case for negative liberty, and the liberal state and liberal society are essential prerequisites.

Mill had no doubt of the utility of absolute liberty of thought and expression. He does not recognize any limitation of any kind whatsoever on the right of free discussion of individuals. According to him, no society in which these liberties are not on the whole respected is free, whatever be its form of government. He was not only concerned with the advocacy of thought and discussion, but also with the development of the individuality of men and women in the community. The freedom of thought and discussion is not the only theme of his liberty. He wanted to promote the development of individual men and women because he was convinced that all wise and noble things come and must come from individuals. In his opinion, there can be no self-development without liberty. It is this connection between liberty and self-development which interested him even though he went on to argue that liberty is also necessary for the happiness of society.

Mill justified restricted interference because of his inherent distrust of authority, and especially of democratically controlled authority. His contention was that individuals in democracy are swamped in general. Democracy prevents them from developing their individuality. From the arguments of Mill and his definitions of liberty, it became very clear that he was a reluctant democrat and all the more a prophet of empty liberty. Mill stated that 'liberty consists in what one desires. You would be justified in preventing a man crossing a bridge that you know to be unsafe. Liberty consists in doing what one desires, and he does not desire to fall into the river.' He had gone far in admitting the extreme idealist contention that one can be forced to be free. C.L. Wayper in his book *Political Thought* elaborates that Bentham must have gyrated in his grave much faster than ever he did from room to room at the thought that his favourite follower could ever contemplate such a non-utilitarian position. Another writer Davidson commenting on Mill's freedom of action writes that his freedom of action or conduct is admirable and his working-out of the theme is skillfully done. But there are certain points that lead themselves to criticism. First, in his argument he identified individual energy with 'genius' or originality. However, he forgot that this energy may be mere eccentricity rather than encouragement. Second, he did not

sufficiently recognize that whereas men's desires and impulses are indispensable to the development of their nature, they are not a sure guide to the proper outlet for their activities.

Mill regarded the liberty of conscience, liberty to express and publish one's opinion, liberty to live as one pleases and the freedom of association essential for a meaningful life and for the pursuit of one's own good. His defence of the freedom of thought and expression was one of the most powerful and eloquent expositions in the western intellectual tradition. In his words, 'If all humankind minus one were of one opinion, humankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, then he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing humankind.'

The early liberals defended liberty for the sake of an efficient government, whereas for Mill, liberty is good in itself, for it helps in the development of a humane, civilized, and a moral person. It is beneficial both to the society that permits them and to the individual who enjoys that. He accepted the observation of Tocqueville that the modern industrial societies were becoming more egalitarian and socially conformist, thereby threatening individuality and creativity. He was fearful, 'Lest the inevitable growth of social equality and of the government of public opinion should impose on humankind an oppressive yoke of uniformity in opinion and practice.'

According to Mill, the singular threat to an individual's liberty was from the tyranny of the majority in their quest for extreme egalitarianism and social conformity. This made him realize the inadequacy of early liberalism. He pointed out that in the area of thought and discussion the active and inquiring mind had become morally timid, for it concealed the true opinion when discussed in public. He further said, 'Our merely social intolerance kills no one, roots out no public, but induces men to disguise them, or to an extent from any active effort for their diffusion.'

For Mill, individuality means the power or capacity for critical inquiry and responsible thought. It meant self-development and the expression of free will. He stressed absolute liberty of conscience, belief and expression for they were crucial to human progress. He offered two arguments for the liberty of expression in the liberty of truth: (i) the dissenting opinion could be true and its suppression would rob humankind of useful knowledge; (ii) even if the opinion was false, it would strengthen the correct view by challenging it.

Mill applied the principle of liberty to mature individuals and excluded children, invalids, the mentally handicapped and barbarian societies in which the race itself was considered 'nonage'. Liberty could be withheld where individuals were not educated. He considered liberty as belonging to higher and advanced civilizations, and prescribed despotism or paternalism with severe restrictions in the case of lower ones. He also cautioned against sacrifice or infringement of liberty for the sake of making a state strong.

Isaiah Berlin is of the opinion that it is generally believed that Mill's *Essay on Liberty* was essentially written with the purpose of defending the idea of negative liberty. It is true that Mill advanced a notion of positive liberty but he valued choice and individuality as ends in themselves, and not because they promoted general happiness. He did not propose a single overarching principle or values which normally accompanied theories of positive liberty. The theme on liberty was not the absence of restraints but the denial of individual autonomy by the coercion exercised by moral majority and/or an intrusive public opinion. It is criticized that Mill's linkage between individuality and liberty made him conclude that only a minority were in a position to

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enjoy freedom. The majority of the people remained enslaved in customs, and hence unfree. However, in spite of his elitism, he remained an uncompromising liberal for he ruled out paternalism, the idea that the law and society could intervene in order to do good to the individual. He explicitly ruled out interference in self-regarding actions. Mill stated that the right to liberty could be sacrificed only for some 'other right', a point that has been reiterated by Rawls. However, he tried to analyse and establish a relationship between freedom and responsibility. It is also argued that Mill failed to specify the proper limits of legislation, and was unclear when it came to actual cases. For instance, he supported compulsory education, regulations of business and industry in the interest of public welfare and good, but regarded prohibition as an intrusion on liberty. Barker has criticized Mill as the 'prophet of an empty liberty and an abstract individual.' This observation flowed from the interpretation that the absolutist statements on liberty like the rights of one individual against the rest were not substantiated when one accessed Mill's writings in their totality.

For Mill, the sole end for which humankind is allowed, individually or collectively, to interfere with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear 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 anyone, for which they are amenable to the society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns them, their independence is absolute. Over himself, and over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

Controversially by today's standards, in *On Liberty*, Mill also argued that in 'backward' societies a despotic government is tolerable as long as the despot has the best interests of the people at heart because of the barriers to spontaneous progress. Mill's principles in *On Liberty* seem to be clear. However, there are certain complications. For example, Mill's definition of 'harm' includes both acts of omission as well as acts of commission. Thus, for Mill, not saving a drowning child or not paying taxes are harmful acts of omission that need to be regulated. On the other hand, it does not count as harming someone if—without force or fraud—the affected individual consents to assume the risk. Therefore, it is acceptable according to Mill's standards to offer unsafe employment to others provided that this is done without fraud and deceit. While reading Mill's arguments in *On Liberty* it is important to keep in mind that Mill was a product of his time and also that his arguments are based on the principle of utility and not on appeals to natural rights.

Mill in *On Liberty* also delineates an impassioned defence of free speech. For Mill, free speech is a necessary condition for intellectual and social progress. According to Mill, 'We can never be sure that a silenced opinion does not contain some element of the truth'. He also suggests that the airing of false or uninformed opinions is productive for two reasons. Firstly, he states that an open and frank exchange of ideas will result in people abandoning incorrect beliefs. Secondly, Mill argues that debate forces people to examine and affirm their own opinions and thus prevents these beliefs from declining into mere dogma. In Mill's view, it is simply not good enough if one believes in something that happens to be true; one must also know why the belief in question is true.

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Mill believed that people should have the right to have a say in the government's decisions. For Mill then *Social liberty* meant limiting the power of rulers so that they may not be able to use power based on whims and thereby bring harm to society. Mill wrote that social liberty is, 'the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual'. Mill believed that to bring about this social liberty one needed the recognition of certain immunities, called political liberties or rights and also by establishing a system which had 'constitutional checks'.

The limiting of a government's power is not enough for Mill. Mill believed that a society can and does execute its own mandates, and if it issues wrong mandates instead of right, or any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it results in a social tyranny more fearsome than many kinds of political oppression.

Mill co-wrote *On Liberty* with Harriet Taylor; the work was published a year after Harriet's death and is dedicated to her. *On Liberty* begins with Mill's assertion that democratic nations like the United States would replace absolute monarchies of the past. However, Mill goes on to examine a new problem that would arise with people being control of their governments. Deeply influenced by the works of Alexis de Tocqueville, especially his *Democracy in America*, Mill fears that will of the people in democracies would result in the 'will of the majority'. Mill believed that a tyranny of the majority is a huge threat to individual liberty and self-development if the majority started acting to oppress minority viewpoints and lifestyles. To overcome this threat, Mill proposed what philosophers today call 'harm principle'. Mill's harm principle stated that, 'the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others.' This principle of Mill negates the tyranny of the majority and thus would block democratic majorities from interfering with the liberty of any adult unless that person threatened harm to others.

In *On Liberty* Mill identified various types of liberties. They are enumerated below:

- Liberty of conscience
- Liberty of thought and feeling
- Absolute freedom of opinion
- Liberty of expressing and publishing opinions (freedom of speech and press)
- Freedom to unite, for any purpose (freedom of assembly)
- Liberty of making the plan of our life to suit our own character, of doing what we like, even if this appeared to be foolish, perverse, or wrong

Mill stressed that a society that does not have such liberties is not really free. According to Mill, 'The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.' Mill argued that truth is found through the 'collision of adverse opinions'. He further wrote, 'He who knows only his side of the case, knows little of that.' When people listen only to one viewpoint, he explained, 'errors harden into prejudices, and truth itself ceases to have the effect of truth, by being exaggerated into falsehood'. At the same time Mill believed that there needed to be limits on individual liberty so as to prevent harm to others. To explain his point Mill provided the example of an 'excited mob' outside the house of a grain dealer who are shouting that the grain dealer is starving the poor. Mill believed that in such situations the police are justified in arresting those who might incite violence among the crowd.

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Mill was also against the censoring of newspaper articles by the government. In Mill's view, 'an atmosphere of freedom' was essential to make sure that all citizens of a nation had the opportunity to develop their own individuality. Condemning the conformist nature of British society, Mill supported original thinkers and non-conformists who experimented with different lifestyles, thus preventing human life from becoming a 'stagnant pool'. Mill declared that the purpose of government was only to provide the necessary conditions so that people could achieve the higher objective of self-development. He cites the example of the prohibition of gambling and also the harassment of Mormons to prove that the government is wrong in stamping out certain lifestyles and behavior. On the other hand in *On Liberty* Mill also argued for not permitting people from getting married if they could not afford to have children. He declared, 'To have a child without a fair prospect of being able not only to provide food for their body, but also to nurture their mind is a moral crime both against the unfortunate offspring and against the society.' From the moment it was published *On Liberty* was criticized from all quarters. Some said that the work promoted anarchy and godlessness, others critiqued Mill's notion of 'harm' and questioned his assumption that people actually wanted to pursue self-development. Mill himself stated that *On Liberty* was 'likely to survive longer than anything else that I have written'. Mill's prophecy proved to be accurate in *On Liberty* which remains one of his most popular works.

4.2.3 Representative Government

While in his *Essays on Liberty*, Mill's main concern was his passion for freedom of thought and expression, in the treatise *Representative Government*, Mill's concern is institutional reforms in the government so as to make it more representative and responsible. In *Representative Government* Mill asserts that progress requires representative democracy as only representative democracy can permit the full development of the faculties of its citizens. For Mill representative democracy promotes virtue, intelligence and excellence. He strongly believed that interactions between individuals in a democracy ensure that only the best and the wisest leaders emerge. Representative Democracy for Mill encourages free discussion which is necessary for the emergence of the truth. According to Mill, representative democracy should be judged on the basis of how far it 'promotes good management of the affairs of the society by means of the existing faculties, moral intellectual and activity of its various members and by improving those faculties'. Unlike Bentham, Mill has assigned some positive reaction of the state. He wants the state to have a positive role in the sphere of education, factory law, economic life, etc. In order to perform its duties well and exercise its power within the limits, every state must have a constitution. Of course, in those countries which have no written constitution, the conventions or customs prescribe the limits of the powers of the government. However, Mill argued there will always be a single repository of ultimate power, whether by a constitutional prescription or by an unwritten custom.

According to Andrew Hacker, Mill tried to reconcile the principle of political equality with individual freedom. Mill asserted that all citizens regardless of their status were equal and that only popular sovereignty could give legitimacy to the government. Democracy was good because it made people happier and better. Mill had identified several conditions for the representative government. First, such a government could only function with citizens who were of an 'active self-acting character'. They must be willing to accept it. The passive citizens in backward

civilizations would hardly be able to run a representative democracy. Second, they must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it functional. Third, the citizens must be willing and able to do what it requires from them to enable it to fulfil its purpose. Mill was an advocate for liberal democracy where the powers of legally elected majorities were limited by the protection of individual rights against majorities. Mill pleaded for balancing the numerical majority in a democracy by adjusting franchise. For Mill, it was only through political participation that a citizen's intellectual qualities of reason and judgment are developed. Therefore, people had to be free to be able to participate in the government of their country, the management of their work place and to act as bulwarks against the autocracy of modern-day bureaucracy. This feeling of belonging to a community could only come about if all were granted the right to vote. At the same time Mill worried about the consequences that granting universal adult franchise would entail, namely the trampling of wise and educated minorities by the mass of people. He prescribed compulsory elementary education for that would make citizens wise, competent and independent judges. Mill always emphasized that representative democracy was only possible in a state that was small and homogeneous. Mill also advocated for open ballot for voting. According to Mill, voting was a public trust which 'should be performed under the eye and the criticism of the public.'

Mill also prescribed some conditions for voting. He favoured registration tests to assess performances, universal education for all children and plurality of votes to the better educated in order to balance the lack of voting rights to the uneducated. His idea of representative democracy also entailed the disqualification of three other categories of dependence:

- Those who were unable to pay local taxes
- Those who were dependent on public welfare, would be excluded for five years from the last day of receipt
- Those who were legal bankrupts and moral deviants like habitual drunkards.

Mill, however, wanted equal voting rights for people irrespective of their gender or skin colour.

Mill also gave his views on the best form of government. According to Mill, the best form of government is the representative government. A despotic government however benevolent can never be a good government as its subjects suffer in their intellectual, moral and political capacities. There is no such thing as a good despotism. An ideal representative government must safeguard the aggregate interest of the society as a whole. The representative government must be supported by any active and critical body of citizens. The government should not be the representative of a minority but of the entire community. The representative body should represent all classes. According to Mill, the first element of a good government was the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community, and it is the foremost duty of the state to foster these elements in the members of the community. He argues that the sovereign power of the state should reside in the organ of the government which is representative of the people. He was in favour of a representative government, but it does not mean that the representative government could be uniformly applied to all people. This government should be adopted by people who are sufficiently advanced and trained in self-government.

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According to J.S. Mill, people may be unwilling or unable to fulfil the duties which a particular form of government requires from them. Rude people, though in some degree alive to the benefits of a civilized society, may be unable to practise the forbearance which it demands: their passions may be too violent, or their personal pride too exacting, to forego private conflicts and leave to the law the avenging of their real or supposed wrongs. In such a case, a civilized government, to be really advantageous to them, requires to be despotic to a considerable degree: to be one over which they do not themselves exercise control, and which imposes a great amount of forcible restraint upon their actions. Again, people who do not cooperate actively with the law and the public authorities in the repression of evil doers must be considered unfit for more than limited and qualified freedom; who are more disposed to shelter a criminal than to apprehend; who perjure themselves to screen those who has robbed them, rather than taking trouble or exposing themselves to vindictiveness by showing evidence against them; and who revolt an execution but are not shocked at an assassination, believe that the public authorities should be armed with much sterner powers of repression as the first indispensable requisites of civilized life have nothing else to rest on. These deplorable states of feeling in any person is when that person has experienced a savage life which is a consequence of a previous bad government that has taught them to regard the law to have been made for other ends than for their good and its administrators to be their worse enemies than those who openly violate it. However, little blame may be given to those in whom these habits have developed and these habits may be ultimately conquerable by a better government. People disposed to such habits cannot be governed as people whose sympathies are on the side of the law and are willing to give active assistance in its enforcement. Again, representative institutions are of little value and may be an instrument of tyranny or intrigue, when general electors are not sufficiently interested in their own government to give their vote or if they vote at all, they do not bestow their suffrages on public grounds but sell them for money or vote as told by others who have control over them. Popular election thus practiced is an additional wheel in its machinery. Besides these moral hindrances, mechanical difficulties are an impediment to government. In the ancient world, though there might be, and often were, great individuals or local independence, there could be nothing like a regulated popular government because physical conditions for the formation and propagation of a public opinion did not exist. It is a quality in which different nations, and different stages of civilization, substantially differ from one another. The capability of any individual of fulfilling the conditions of a given form of government cannot be pronounced by any sweeping rule. Knowledge of particular people, and general practical judgment and sagacity, must be the guides. There is also another consideration not to lose sight of. People may be unprepared for good institutions, but to kindle a desire for them is a necessary part of the preparation. To recommend and advocate a particular institution or form of government, and set its advantages in the strongest light, is one of the modes, often the only mode within the reach of educating the mind of the nation not only for accepting or claiming, but also for running the institution.

It is a quality in which different nations, and different stages of civilization, substantially differ from one another. The capability of any individual of fulfilling the conditions of a given form of government cannot be pronounced by any sweeping rule. Knowledge of particular people, and general practical judgment and sagacity, must be the guides. There is also another consideration not to lose sight of. People may be unprepared for good institutions, but to kindle a desire for them is a necessary

part of the preparation. To recommend and advocate a particular institution or form of government, and set its advantages in the strongest light, is one of the modes, often the only mode within the reach of educating the mind of the nation not only for accepting or claiming, but also for running the institution.

This mode of stating the problem gives less help to its investigation and does not even bring the whole question into view as the proper functions of a government are not fixed and it varies from state to state in a society which is much more extensive in backward states than in advanced ones. The character of a government or the set of political institutions cannot be estimated sufficiently.

A government is said to preserve its orders if it succeeds in getting itself obeyed. There are different degrees of obedience and every degree is not commendable. Only an unmitigated despotism demands that the individual citizen shall obey unconditionally every mandate of persons in authority. Orders, thus understood, express, without any doubt, an indispensable attribute of the government. Those who are unable to make their ordinances obeyed cannot be said to be governing. Although a necessary condition, this is not the objective of the government. That it should make itself obeyed is a requisite, in order that it may accomplish some other purpose.

The first element of a good government, therefore, being the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community. The most important point of excellence which any form of government can possess is to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves. The first question in respect of any political institutions is how far they tend to foster in the members of the community the various desirable qualities: moral and intellectual, or rather moral, intellectual and activeness. The government that does this the best has the likelihood of being the best in all other respects, since it is on these qualities, so far as they exist in the people, that all possibility of goodness in the practical operations of the government depends. The goodness of a government is measured by the degree by which it tends to increase the sum of good qualities in the governed, collectively and individually; since besides that their well-being is the sole objective of the government, their good qualities supply the moving force which makes the machinery work. The study on Mill's ideas of a representative government reveals that he was a reluctant and distrustful democrat.

ACTIVITY

Discuss the principles of political economy advocated by John Stuart Mill and evaluate them.

DID YOU KNOW?

Stuart won the Parliamentary seat of Westminster without any campaigning since he found it improper to attempt to sway the vote due to his beliefs on political process.

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Check Your Progress

4. Name J.S. Mill's book which is considered as one of the finest discourses on the definition of freedom in general and freedom of thought and expression in particular.
5. What, according to J.S. Mill, are the various types of liberties?
6. What, according to J.S. Mill, is the singular threat to an individual's liberty?

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4.3 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- J.S. Mill is one of the greatest liberals and individualists in the history of political thought. The state, according to him, exists for the individual and not the individual for the state.
- J.S. Mill is one of the greatest and most enlightened champions of individualism and individual liberty, and ranks with Milton, Voltaire, Rousseau, Paine and Jefferson. He observed that the existence of a state depends on the all round development of its individuals.
- J.S. Mill's contribution remains unparalleled in history so far his recognition of the value of human personality and his insistence on the development of a full individual as the goal of the government is concerned.
- J.S. Mill is also regarded as one of the true and the most efficient democrats that the world has ever produced. He not only advocated the cause of democracy, but also made aware of the dangers of the excesses and misuse of democracy. According to him, the ultimate political sovereignty should lie with the people.
- J.S. Mill's advocacy of rights and freedom for women also deserves utmost appreciation. He was a bold advocate of the enfranchisement of women. He earnestly thought for the rights of women. He championed the cause of their emancipation in both public and private life.
- There is no denying the fact that J.S. Mill was a great man and a great political thinker. His contribution to the growth of political thought is really remarkable. Mill through his writings gave a new direction to the utilitarian tenets so as to enable them to be acceptable in the high political and intellectual circles in particular and the masses in general.
- The world will always remember him for his advocacy of the emancipation of women and their suffrage, liberalism, individualism, classic advocacy of liberty, cautious approach towards democracy and realization of the possible tyranny of the majority rule.
- Today, most consider that J.S. Mill was Britain's greatest philosopher of the 19th century.
- J.S. Mill was also one of the last major thinkers to write on nearly every philosophical topic, ranging from logic to religion. His far-sighted views on democracy, individual liberty and equality for women make him the most relevant in the contemporary world.

4.4 KEY TERMS

- **Individual liberty:** It defines the state of being free to enjoy various social, political or economic rights, free from any government control or restraints in the exercise of those rights. It forms the core of democracy
- **Good governance:** It defines a form of governance where public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in a way to guarantee the realization of human rights

- **Subjugation:** It defines the state of gaining control over somebody or something
- **Representative government:** A form of government which is elected by the people; in such a form of government, only those who are the elected representatives have the power to make laws and institute taxes

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4.5 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. John Stuart Mill was a British philosopher, great essayist, political economist, reformer and one of the greatest political thinkers of modern times who actively contributed to social theory, political economy and political theory. He was born in London on 20 May 1806.
2. J.S. Mill started his educational career at the delicate age of 3 when he studied Greek under the supervision of his father, James Mill.
3. Besides starting his educational career at the age of 3 by studying Greek, J.S. Mill, at the age of 8, began studying Latin, algebra and geometry, and also read philosophy, including Plato's, Herodotus', Socrates', Diogenes' and Xenophon's. He read the ideas of Gibbon and Hume. At the age of 12, he studied logic and read Aristotle's *Treaties on Logic* in the original Greek. He also read some books on experimental science. At the age of 13, Mill's primary subject of study was political economy, particularly that of Adam Smith and David Ricardo.
4. Mill's *Essay on Liberty* is one of the finest discourses on the definition of freedom in general and freedom of thought and expression in particular.
5. In *On Liberty* Mill identified various types of liberties. They are enumerated below:
 - Liberty of conscience
 - Liberty of thought and feeling
 - Absolute freedom of opinion
 - Liberty of expressing and publishing opinions (freedom of speech and press)
 - Freedom to unite, for any purpose (freedom of assembly)
 - Liberty of making the plan of our life to suit our own character, of doing what we like, even if this appeared to be foolish, perverse, or wrong
6. According to Mill, the singular threat to an individual's liberty was from the tyranny of the majority in their quest for extreme egalitarianism and social conformity.

4.6 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. When did J.S. Mill contest for a membership in the House of Lords?
2. When did J.S. Mill serve as Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews?
3. What did J.S. Mill intend to convey through his work *Considerations on Representative Government*?
4. Name some famous books of J.S. Mill's.

5. Name the book through which J.S. Mill made a strong claim for an equal status for women.
6. What does the study on Mill's ideas on representative government reveal?

NOTES**Long-Answer Questions**

1. Sketch the life of J.S. Mill in your own words.
2. Critically examine Mill's concept of liberty.
3. Discuss Mill's contributions towards the emancipation of women.
4. J.S. Mill has been described as a reluctant democrat. Do you agree with this estimate? Give reason in support of your answer.
5. Discuss J.S. Mill as a political thinker.
6. According to Mill, 'the position of the wife under the common law of Britain was worse than that of slaves in the laws of many countries'. Discuss the condition of women during Mill's time in light of his statement.

4.7 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 F. HEGEL AND T.H. GREEN**Structure**

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Friedrich Hegel
 - 5.2.1 Idealism of Hegel
 - 5.2.2 Dialectical Method
 - 5.2.3 Theory of State and Freedom of Individual
 - 5.2.4 Freedom of the Individual
- 5.3 Thomas Hill Green
 - 5.3.1 Notion of Social Contract Theory and State
 - 5.3.2 Punishment
 - 5.3.3 Political Obligation
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Key Terms
- 5.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.7 Questions and Exercises
- 5.8 Further Reading

NOTES**5.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this unit you will learn about idealism as enunciated by Friedrich Hegel. The unit also describes various facets of Hegel's dialectical method and it also deals with Hegel's narration of the theory of the state and freedom of the individual.

Hegel was the founder of modern idealism. He innovated dialectic method and the theory of self-realization. He was critical of purely reflective knowledge. His famous work *Philosophy of Right* deals with key issues of law, politics and morality, and makes an important distinction between the state and civil society. According to some scholars and researchers, it was Hegel who was the first thinker to have understood very clearly that questions concerning morality change from one particular place and time to another, and there was nothing called a permanent moral question. The dialectic between civil society and the state of restoration is not incidental in Hegel's philosophy. Hegelian idealism is often referred to as absolute idealism because it provides us with a set of categories in terms of which all human experiences of the past and the present can be understood.

Thomas Hill Green was a leading British philosopher and political figure and founder of the school of British Idealism. He pioneered in questioning the traditional liberal antithesis between the state and the individual. He emphasized on individualism which is very strong in all liberal thought. Yet, when compared to the body of preceding liberal thought, he can be seen to have replaced the former's emphasis of the autonomy of the individual with an emphasis on the 'organic' society, and the value of community ethos.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Describe the life and times of Hegel and Green
- Define the idealism as propounded by Hegel

- Discuss the view of Hegel on the theory of state and also freedom of individual
- Discuss the 'dialectic theory' of Hegel
- Describe the views of Green on the theory of social contract and punishment

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5.2 FRIEDRICH HEGEL

Life Sketch

George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born in Stuttgart, Germany on 27 August, 1770. He was nineteen when the French Revolution broke out. His father was a civil servant in the department of finances of the state of Wurtemberg. Most of his relatives were either teachers or liberal ministers. He grew up with patient and methodical habits of those civil servants whose modest efficiency had given Germany the best governed cities in the world. Hegel as a student was highly industrious and hard working and he made full analysis of all the important books he read. He was sent to the grammar school at Stuttgart for his education. Hegel was a brilliant student, at school; he excelled and won a scholarship to a reputed seminary at Tubingen in 1788, where he studied philosophy and theology; he devoted himself thoroughly in theological studies in preparation for the Lutheran ministry. Later on he felt disgusted with the orthodox tenets of Christianity and abandoned the career which his parents wanted him to pursue. After completing his studies, he accepted the position of a family tutor with a wealthy family in Switzerland from 1793–1796. This was followed by a similar position at Berne and Frankfurt from 1797–1800. His philosophical speculation began at this time. His father died in 1799. His inheritance was modest. He gave up tutoring and took to writing. He published a book differentiating the philosophy of Fichte and Schelling. In collaboration with Schelling, he edited the *Journal fur Philosophie*. His well known work *Phenomenology of Mind* appeared in 1807. He was a university lecturer at Jena from 1801 to 1807. After working for a year as a newspaper editor in Bamberg, he moved to Nureberg as headmaster of a high school in 1808, and continued in this position till 1816. His long work, *Science of Logic* in three volumes, appeared in 1812, 1813 and 1816. By this time, he became quite well known, and in 1816 he was invited to take up the post of professor of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg.

Two years later in 1818, he was called to the University of Berlin as the only man who could fill with credit the chair of philosophy that had been vacant since the death of Fichte. At the University of Berlin, he created a name for himself and became a favourite of the government and in a sense its official philosopher. His doctrines were highly favoured and appreciated by the Prussian Government and he was signally honoured in many ways and attracted a large following. His influence extended all over Germany. In the last phase of his life, Hegel was a devout follower and admirer of the Prussian police state, just as he had previously admired Jacobinism and Napoleon.

His principal works were *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), *Science of Logic* (1812–1816), which captivated Germany by its unintelligibility and won him the chair of philosophy at Heidelberg. In 1817, he wrote his *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences* on the strength of which he could get a position at the University of Berlin. In 1821, he published his *Philosophy of Right* and his *Philosophy of History* was published posthumously in 1837. In all these works, Hegel covered many aspects of political theory.

Hegel was the founder of modern idealism and the greatest influence in the first half of the eighteenth century when the entire academic community in Germany was divided between Hegelians, the left Hegelians and the right Hegelians. He innovated dialectic method and the theory of self-realization. He propounded a new theory of history, which according to him was the human spirit writ large, the 'march of reason in the world'. He was critical of purely reflective knowledge. His famous work *Philosophy of Right* deals with key issues of law, politics and morality, and made an important distinction between the state and civil society. Towards the end of his life, Hegel started attracting large audiences from the entire German speaking world and many became his disciples. His other works were *Lectures in the Philosophy of History*, *Lecture on aesthetics*, *Lecture on the Philosophy of Religion* and *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*. In recognition of his work, in 1830, Hegel was elected rector of the University. He died suddenly on 14 November 1831, after suffering from cholera for one day.

5.2.1 Idealism of Hegel

Hegel is considered an idealist thinker. He started with the assumption that the universe is a coherent whole. In this organic unity, what he also refers to as idea, or spirit or reason, or the divine mind, is the only reality. Everything, including matter or the external world, is the creation of this idea or spirit or reason or the divine mind. Hence, it is true to say that reason is the sovereign of the world. In Germany, it was considered that if the contemporary reality was not based on reason, then the reality had to be altered. This framework of general political theory was given a highly sophisticated personal touch by Hegel with his two-fold argument that, first, history was not merely a chronological table but had a meaning which was both profound and purposeful, the particularly important thing for him being to recreate Greek harmony within the context of modern society based on individualism and reason. Second, as Alasdair Chalmers MacIntyre, a British philosopher, observed, it was Hegel who was the first thinker to have understood very clearly that questions concerning morality change from one particular place and time to another, as such and there was nothing called a permanent moral question. This led to the important assertion of Hegel that the history of philosophy was the core of philosophy. What logically followed was the important conclusion that history represented particular levels of development, and had to be judged on the basis of the advancement towards the realization of reason. Hegel was convinced that reason, truth and freedom were identifiable, and that the process of reaching the final stage and even a blue print of the final stage was conceivable as history.

Hegel's system is associated with a definite political philosophy and a political order. The dialectic between civil society and the state of the restoration is not incidental in Hegel's philosophy, nor is it just a section of philosophy of right. The Romantic movement in Germany influenced Hegel considerably, though he rejected the ideas of the movement. Among all the philosophers of the German Romantic movement it was Emanuel Kant who influenced Hegel's mind the most. Kant's famous work *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) was a synthesis of the two different ideals of the enlightenment—Newtonian Physics and Helvetian Empiricism. Newton offered definite and unalterable laws for all the occasions and places. On the other hand, Helvetious and Hume argued that rational belief emanated from our own sensual encounters. Kant's important contribution emerged with his assertion that these two different perceptions would be reconciled by the fact that all our experiences ended in a

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Newtonian certainty, by the nature of the concepts and categories with which we understand the world. This interrelationship was crucial, as 'concepts without percepts are empty: percepts without concept are blind'.

Kant was the exponent of practical reason, which was based on belief in God, freedom and immortality. Within this framework, any meaningful moral category had to have a universalistic basis, for instance, when all nations became republic there need not be any war. This was similar to a popular assertion in the late twentieth century that democracies do not fight one another. The condensation of history and the rejection of the past as essentially resonated in the writings of Hegel, and subsequently in those of Marx. Karl Marx's assertion, 'one hundred years of capitalism did more wonders than all the preceding history taken together', echoed the optimism and confidence that Kant and Hegel excluded.

Hegel criticized Kant's handling of reason while dealing with the challenge of empiricism. If things in themselves were beyond the scrutiny of reason then reason remained merely subjective, without control over the objective reality, leading to an unacceptable division of the world between subjectivity and objectivity. The relation between subject and object was complex but an interrelated one, with the unity of the opposite subjects or matters both in theory and practice leading to a 'praxis'. This conflict was of crucial importance to Hegel, as his seminal contribution of alienation originated with this formulation. The alienation of mind originated when the objective factors which were originally produced by human labour and knowledge became detached and unrecognizable to man. In such a situation, theory did not reflect reality, and truth had no meaning in the real world. As a result, human frustration and helplessness increased. To end this separateness in all its manifestations, the entire framework of inquiry was brought within the ambit of reason. Separateness had to be ended by a theory of unity of totality in philosophy. This utmost emphasis on reason was of tremendous importance to Hegel, as human emancipation—a distinct possibility in the modern period could only be realized on the basis of reason. Hegel emphasized the human capacity to cherish freedom, and in that sense had the capacity to transcend the imperfections of contemporary nature and society by the process of mediation. Reason and human action led to mediation by new concepts and category replacing old ones, which at one time looked stable. This was the driving force of the Hegelian dialectic, which made his philosophy a negative one.

Hegelian idealism is often referred to as absolute idealism because it provides us with a set of categories in terms of which all human experiences of the past and the present can be understood. There is another dimension of Hegelian idealism, which may be called the idealist interpretation of history. According to this theory, ideas constitute the true motor of history whereas what gives momentum to history is the development of ideas. All changes in society, economy, polity and culture take place because of development of these ideas. All changes in society, economy, polity and culture take place because of development of ideas. Hegel's idealism, which is often called absolute idealism, sees a certain relationship between the subject and the object. It is a relationship between the subject and the object. It is a relationship between a knowing subject and the objective world, i.e., relationship between the mind and the world.

5.2.2 Dialectical Method

The most distinctive feature of Hegel's philosophical system was his dialectical method. The dialectical method is as old as Socrates but in the hands of Hegel it was given a universal validity and application that was more moral and profound. According to

Hegel, the movement of thought was dialectical. By applying the categories of a thesis, and anti-thesis and a synthesis, Hegel's major thrust was to solve the problem of contradiction. It attempted to reconcile the many apparent contradictory positions and theories developed by earlier thought processes. As a method of interpretation, it attempted to reconcile the various different traits developed in the past. He never claimed to be its inventor, and even acknowledged that the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates used it. According to Hegel, every truth is the synthesis of two contradictory elements. Affirmation leads to dogmatism, negation to skepticism, and only through the systematic mediation of mysticism can the real truth emerge. According to Hegel, human progress does not take place in a positive straight line. It is always a zig-zag movement. It is just like 'a ship tackling against an unfavourable wind'. The world according to Hegel is not static, but dynamic. The true concept of this world must be an active, moving process, a process of evolution. In evolution, something that is underdeveloped, undifferentiated or homogenous develops by assuming many different and opposing or contradictory forms. It then unites again in a new concrete form. It does not remain what it was, but it is preserved in a higher form. This whole process was given the name of 'dialectic' by Hegel.

Hegel's own use of the dialectical method originated with his identification of Kantian critical theory, which meant rejection of the Enlightenment philosophical method based on the scientific approach of studying nature. Crucial to this method was a belief that accuracy came out of a method of reduction, which meant that knowledge emerged out of the detailed study and analysis of parts. Hegel's dialectical method pre-supposed that ideas and beliefs were to be related to their institutions and social structures, i.e. the spheres of the subjective mind and the objective mind had to converge. The categories of subject and object were to go together as theory and practice. What apparently looked contradictory were actually dialectical terms, interdependent. This method was to be internally, linked to the subject matter. It did not just record and observe but attempted to build an edifice of a well-connected discourse, which one may accept or reject. It accepted dialogue and conversations and the very basis of the dialectical method was a constant endeavour to convert every occasion of non-agreement into an occasion of agreement. In the *Phenomenology*, Hegel gave an example of the use of dialectics in human consciousness but a more comprehensive political use was found in the *Philosophy of Right*, in which the dialectical process reflected the evolution of world history from the Greek world to Hegel's time. According to Hegel there was a dialectical pattern in history, in the state representing the ultimate body, highly complex formed as a result of a synthesis of contradictory elements at different levels of social life. However, the relationship between contradiction and synthesis was within the concepts saved by human practices. Marx too discerned a dialectical pattern in history, but then understood contradictions between the means and relations of production and different stages of history.

Everything, as Hegel expressed, is to be understood, not only by what it is but what it is not. The opposite of being is not being, and being and not being are alike summed up and carried further towards reality. Each stage, or thesis reached by the ideal until it has arrived at its goals, must fall short of perfection. Its imperfections will call into being a movement to remove them or the anti-thesis. There will be a struggle between thesis and anti-thesis until such time as a synthesis is found, which will preserve what is true in both thesis and anti-thesis. The synthesis, in its turn, will become a new thesis, and so until the idea is at last enthroned in perfection.

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According to Hegel, the dialectic is the only way in which the human mind can arrive at the truth about anything. As human beings you formulate a doctrine about something. That doctrine will contain elements of truth but also since all human beings are passionate, self-centered, fallible and limited by their particular historical perspective, elements of error—other individuals perceiving the error in that doctrine will formulate a doctrine, which will be precisely the opposite. Their doctrine will contain elements of both truth and error. A third doctrine is necessary in order to preserve what is true in both, only a synthesis can reconcile the thesis and its anti-thesis. The third doctrine again became a new thesis subject to self-contradiction and you are faced with the problem again of constructing a new synthesis out of this third doctrine and its anti-thesis. This process presumably continues indefinitely although each synthesis is thought to be closer to the absolute truth than each presiding synthesis.

All finite things, according to Hegel are contradictory in themselves. Moreover, it is not men who remove these contradictions but reason itself, if not us, but the very force, within the thesis and the anti-thesis, which is the reason that promotes development. Contradiction or the dialectic is, therefore a self-generating process. It is the principle of the world.

Dialectic is, therefore, a theory which explains how history is the story of the continuous development of the spirit. Since all the former steps of the spirit are preserved in the new ones taken it emphasizes the continuity of that story of the increasing revelation of the spirit. History is a process by which the spirit passes from knowing nothing to the full knowledge of itself. It is the increasing revelation of the purposes of the rational mind. Hegel applied his dialectical theory to the explanation of the progress of society and its institutions. The purpose of the dialectics is to display what Hegel calls 'necessity in history'.

The historical necessity which Hegel saw in history was a physical and moral compulsion. He had before his eyes the picture of Germany after the Battle of Jena, which was hopelessly miserable. He wanted Germany to stand and Arise and become a world spirit. In other words, Germany should have its domination all over the world. When he said that Germany must become a state he meant that it ought to do so and the highest interest of civilization and national life required it to advance in that direction. Germany must become a state not because the Germans wished it but because the growth of Germany into a world-state was in line with the whole direction of moral and scientific development as it was the present bearer of the world spirit. The disunion and feebleness of Germany, he says, were not the marks of her decay but rather the travel of the German spirit about to give birth to a new social and political order. It is in this way that Hegel made an appeal to the fidelity of German nation and idealized and exalted the state to its mystical height. Thus, dialectic was not only a logical method of arriving at the truth; it was also a moral instrument for bringing about the unification of Germany and its emergence as a great nation.

The first criticism of Hegel's methodology is that the dialectic is very vague and ambiguous. Professor Sabine, professor of geography at Bonn University, contended that the most obvious error in Hegel's dialectic was the extreme vagueness, not to say the ambiguity, of his use of terms and the extreme generality that he attributed to words, which are notoriously hard to define. He uses words like 'thought', 'contradiction', 'absolute idea', 'civil society', 'march of God on earth' to mean what he wants them to mean. His use of these and so many other words is unconventional, vague and ambiguous. Hegel's theory of dialectic was full of over-simplification and over-generalization.

Second, as a synthetic logic, which Hegel wanted to replace, supplement and supersede the logic of the understanding, it was neither convincing nor effective.

Third, according to Hegel's dialectical and historical method, the course of history is determined. In the words of Professor Lancaster, founder and director of the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI), 'it is a necessary result of following the dialectical method that the individual wishes and preferences are reduced to the level of mere caprice. The actors in human history are not but vast in personal forces'.

Fourth, it is criticized that a double-edged sword, which was used by Hegel as an instrument of conservatism, while in the hands of Marx and Engels was a tool for bringing about revolutionary communism.

Fifth, Sabine has pointed out that Hegel's theory of the logical emergence of the German national state out of the dialectical logic was not correct. Hegel's theory of nationality was not the outcome of the dialectic but was occasioned by the revolutionary upsurge of contemporary France.

Sixth, it is also criticized that logic as such cannot be the only basis of all human activities. Dr Mac Taggart has pointed out three difficulties in Hegel's dialectics, which are as follows:

- The first difficulty is that the thesis, the anti-thesis and the synthesis cannot be recognized except in relation to one another.
- The second difficulty is that in religion, liberty, history, law and philosophy, the dialectical process is affected by the external influences.
- The third difficulty is that in the application of the dialectical method to the field of natural and social sciences, you will be dealing with a subject matter which is highly intricate and not sufficiently systematized.

5.2.3 Theory of State and Freedom of Individual

Hegel regarded the state as the embodiment of the Geist or the universal mind. The state, according to Hegel, was the representative of the divine idea or divine purpose. As such, he regarded it as essentially divine in origin. The state, as such, must be looked upon with great reverence. Since, Hegel regards the state as the product of the divine will; he rejects the social contract theory as the origin of the state altogether. The social contract theory makes the state an artificial institution—a position which Hegel is not prepared to accept. The idea that men in the state of nature were free and equal appeared to be absorbed and ridiculous to Hegel. Life of men in the state of nature, according to Hegel was marked by injustice and violence and it was mostly dominated by natural impulses and feelings. He regarded the state not as a play writ of the individuals but as a product of a long process of evolution. It marked the advancement from lower group life to higher and more perfect institutional life. It grew from the family which was replaced by civil society, and the civil society was replaced by the state. At every stage of this development, Hegel saw the working of the universal mind or the hand of the spirit, which was God. This is the Hegelian concept of the state as the march of God on earth. Through his logic also Hegel has amply proved that state is God in human history. It is a unity between particularity and universality and, therefore, it constitutes perfect rationality. To Hegel, what is rational is real and what is real is rational. The state is perfectly rational and, therefore, it was perfectly real. Since, perfect reality is God; the state is, therefore, God in the phenomenal existence.

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Hegel was born in _____
on 27 August 1770.
 - (b) Hegel was the founder of _____.
2. State whether True or False:
 - (a) According to Hegel every truth is the synthesis of two contradictory elements.
 - (b) Hegel's own use of the dialectical method originated with his identification of Kantian critical theory, which meant rejection of the enlightenment philosophical method based on the scientific approach of studying nature.
 - (c) According to Hegel the dialectic is the only way in which the human mind can arrive at the truth about anything.

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According to Hegel, the state represented universal altruism. It synthesized dialectically the elements within the family and civil society. As in the case of the family, the state functions in a manner that the interests of everyone were furthered and enhanced. It represented the universal tendencies within civil society, thus giving rise to the notion of civil society. The state had 'its reality in the particular self-consciousness raised to the place of the universal'. The state was 'absolutely rational' and had substantive will for realizing itself through history, and was therefore, internal. Hegel perceived the state as an end in itself; it was mind realizing itself through history. As an idealist, Hegel viewed the state as an organism having the highest right over the individual, whose highest duty in turn was to be a member of the state. He emphasized the public nature of the state, yet he did not distinguish between the private and the public spheres. Hegel examined the different components of the state like the rule of law, the bureaucracy and the monarchy.

According to Hegel, the state also is an end in itself. It is not only the highest expression that the spirit has yet to attend; it is also the final embodiment of spirit on earth. There can thus be no spiritual evolution beyond the state anymore, and then there cannot be any physical evolution beyond man. The state too is a whole, which is far greater than the parts which compose it and which have significance only in it. The state is unchecked by any moral law, for it itself the creator of morality. This can be seen clearly in its internal affairs and in its external relations. Firstly, it lays down what shall be the standard of morality for its individual citizens. It goes without saying that they can never plead conscience or the moral law against it. Kant had believed that the individual conscience or the practical reason of the individual was the guide of guides to cling to. Hegel while going beyond Kant to J.J. Rousseau maintained that conscience can only tell us to do what is right. It cannot tell us what is right. Conscience itself must be informed by the traditions of the community. According to him, wisdom and virtue consist in leaving conformably to the customs of one's people, which are indeed the collective reason of the past and the state is the truest interpreter of the tradition of the community. It can tell us what is good, and conformity with its decrease, or social ethics, is thus the highest morality. The state can recognize no obligation other than its own safety in its relations with the other states. Its own welfare is its highest law. It is a generally acknowledged and is a well known principle that the particular interest of the state is the most important consideration. Against this no plea based on hypothetic morality can be allowed. In the *Ethics*, Hegel writes categorically 'the state is the self-certain, absolute mind which acknowledges no abstract rules of good and bad, shameful and mean, craft and deceptions.' International relations, therefore, are relations between sovereign states who believe that what is in their own interest is right and that the only sin is to act knowingly against those interests. He further writes 'the fundamental propositions of the international law remain a good intention. States look upon the stipulations which they make with one another as provisional. Hence when the particular wills of states can come to no agreement; the controversy can be settled only by war.' Moreover war is not to be regarded as an absolute evil. For Hegel peace corrupts and everlasting peace would corrupt everlastingly. War is the state of affairs which deals in the earnest with the vanity of temporal goods and concerns – a vanity at other times a common theme for edifying sermonizing. He writes that successful wars have prevented civil broils and strengthened the internal power of the state.

According to Hegel, the state is an individual in history. It is to history what an individual is to biography. The state was the achievement of freedom because it was

the embodiment of freedom. The real freedom of the individual consists in obeying the laws of the state and cultivating the habit of looking at the common wealth as our substantive purpose and the foundation of our lives. From the point of view of will it is the incarnation of the general will or real will. The state represents the best in the individual will. It has a will and a personality of its own apart from and superior to the will and personality of its members. The individual can attain his true freedom only as a member of the state. Rights are derived from the state and therefore, no man can have any right against the state. The end of the state is the glorification of the state itself. Professor L. T. Hobhouse (a British liberal politician and sociologist) has summed up the Hegelian theory of the state by calling the state as a greater being, a spirit, a super—personal entity, in which the individuals with their private conscience or claims of right, their happiness or their misery are merely subordinate elements. The state also represented the highest social morality and it led down the standard of morality for its individual members. Hegel regarded the state as a mystic transcendental unity, the mysterious union of all with the entire greater whole which embraces all the other institutions of social life. Hegel morally and rationally exalted the authority of the state. Hegel completely subordinated the individual to the authority of the state. His personality has been reduced to a zero. Professor C.E.M. Joad (English philosopher and broadcasting personality) has drawn the following paradoxical conclusions from Hegel's theory of the state:

- The state can never act unrepresentatively. The policeman who arrests the burglar and hands him over to the magistrate, and the magistrate who sends him to the jail expresses the will (real will) of the burglar to be arrested and to be locked up.
- The bond which binds the individual to other individuals in the community and to the state as a whole forms an integral part of his personality. He cannot act as an isolated unit but only as an integral part of the state. The will with which he acts is not purely individual will but a part of the will of the state as well.
- The state contains within itself the social morality of all its citizens. It is a supreme moral community, a guardian of the whole moral world and not a factor within an organized moral world.

5.2.4 Freedom of the Individual

Hegel's concept of freedom was based on the old Greek idea of an individual finding his true self, freedom and personality in and through the state. According to Prof. G.H. Sabine, Hegel swung back in the direction of Greek political theory towards the view that an individual good implies the performance of a socially valuable task. According to Hegel, freedom is the very essence of man. It is his distinctive quality to renounce freedom and to renounce one's humanity. Not to be free, therefore, is to cease to be a human being. It is however, not the freedom of any and every casual will of which he talks. His freedom consists in rendering obedience to the real will or the reasonable will. In this concept of freedom he was very much indebted to Rousseau and Kant. In developing their theories and freedom, in fact, both Kant and Hegel have started from Rousseau's concept of moral freedom as the peculiar and distinctive quality of man, and both considered the state entirely in its relation to this freedom. But the Kantian concept of freedom was negative, limited and subjective in meaning, which made his attitude to the state somewhat individualistic. Kant had interpreted freedom as the right to will a self-imposed duty, and he insisted that every man

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possessing in virtue of his reason such a will, existed, and ought to be treated, always as an end in himself and never as merely a means. To Hegel, freedom of this kind is negative because it wears the face of beauty, and it is limited because it isolates each man as an end in himself. Such freedom is, again subjective because it resides in the inner world of intention and conscience, and does not find a free issue outwards into the objective life.

According to Kant, freedom consists in obedience to any moral will, but according to Hegel, freedom consists in obedience to the dictates of social morality, to the moral will of the community. According to Hegel, freedom consists in obedience to the dictates of the universal reason but he would identify the dictates of universal reason with social morality rather than with the isolated moral will of the individual. The state, for Hegel, is the crystallization of this social morality; it is the embodiment of the community.

According to Hegel, freedom consists in willing to make your natural self (composed of particular interest and passion) conform to thinking self (reason). A person realizes freedom when he submits to the law, to the rules of social morality and to the institutions of the national state. The state is the highest and the most perfect embodiment of social morality. It is sustained by personality as freedom of will transcends by compelling to contemplate a good beyond its own personal interest.

Hegel equates liberty with law. Law may guarantee and safeguard liberty but sometimes it may also go against liberty. In order to justify his equation of liberty with law Hegel says that only that authority has the power to make laws or thus guarantee liberty which can represent the spirit of the nation. The spirit of the nation cannot be represented by the majority of the people or by an assemblage of man. It can only be represented by one actual decreeing individual, i.e., the monarch. In other words, Hegel identifies the will of the monarch with the liberty of the individual. According to Hegel, each and every element in the society can reach its free resistance only in an absolute monarchy like the one prevailing in the then Prussia.

Hegel emphasized that freedom consists of complete obedience to the laws of the state. He argues that the state is the embodiment of reason. The laws of the state are the outward expressions of reason. According to German idealist, freedom lies in the obedience of reasons. Another argument put forward by Hegel is that the essence of spirit, which seeks to know itself, is freedom. The history of mankind is the history of the evolution of spirit and hence of freedom. When the state is the embodiment of freedom, all the individuals live under freedom. The individual realizes freedom to the extent to which he identifies himself with the spirit or the essence of spirit. There are two wills existing side by side in the individual mind – real will and actual will. Real will represents the rational will and takes care of the interest of the community as a whole while the actual will looks after the personal and private interest of the individual alone.

According to Hegel, freedom for the individual consists in subordinating the actual will to rational will. By serving the interest of the community alone, the individual can get the fulfillment of his personality. The impulsive will being very powerful, the individual himself cannot subjugate it without the help of the state. The only way to be free is the voluntary submission of the impulsive will to reason which is expressed in the state. According to Hegel, an individual is free only if he identifies voluntarily, willingly and consciously with the laws of the state. If an individual obeys the state due to fear or punishment he is no longer free. Hegel does not conceive of the freedom

in terms of the rights of the individuals. The state according to him is omnipotent. The individuals do not possess any rights against the state. He does not give any rights of speech, or expression or association to the individual in conflict with the state. In the state alone, man can find freedom, while without it, he is completely in subjugation.

Hegel's ideas of freedom was both objective and creative, and it outwardly expressed itself in a series of outward manifestations—first the law, then the rules of the inward morality; and finally the whole system of institutions and influences that make for righteousness in the national state. The whole system of institutions and influences was called social ethics by Hegel. The state should be envisaged in terms of social ethics. The social morality is the product of a free will seeking to realize itself in a positive and objective form; and the state, as the highest expression and organ of social morality. Individual freedom therefore was a social phenomenon. It consisted in participation of the moral life of the community. Freedom to Hegel meant willing of what is rational of what the spirit would desire and the power to perform it. It consisted in total obedience to the state and performance of duties.

According to Professor G. H. Sabine, 'theory of freedom was a part of the widespread reaction against the violence of the French revolution. There was a sound reason why the case against the revolution should have appealed to a German philosopher. The theory of natural rights, while of course fully known to educated German's, had never made itself part of the popular consciousness in Germany. In England and France, the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries had seen the theory made into a defense of revolution and Germany was a country in which there was no revolution. Hegel's view on freedom implied two things. First, he continually implied that no genuine conflict of interest can arise between the individuals and the society they belong to, and secondly, the state is continually represented as standing for the possible ethical value. These two phases of Hegel's philosophy, though they are perfectly comprehensible when viewed in the light of the circumstances in which he wrote, are nevertheless the causes of great confusion in his thoughts.

5.3 THOMAS HILL GREEN

Thomas Hill Green was an English philosopher, political radical and temperance reformer, and a member of British idealism movement that was born in Yorkshire, England in 1836. He was born on 7 April 1836 in Birkin, a tiny village in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where his father was rector. Together with his sisters and three brothers, Thomas was brought up by a nanny following the death of his mother when he was only a year old.

Like all the British idealists, Green was influenced by the metaphysical historicism of G.W.H. Hegel. He was one of the thinkers behind the philosophy of social liberalism. He was the son of a clergyman in the Church of England. On the paternal side, he was descend art from Oliver Cromwell. His education was conducted entirely at home until at the age of fourteen, then he entered Rugby, where he remained for five years. He entered Balliol College, Oxford in 1855 where he was destined to spend the remainder of his life. Neither at Rugby nor at Oxford was Green a prominent scholar. Regular studies did not appeal to him but he read widely and profitably in many fields. At Balliol he came under the influence of the great Benjamin Jowett and by this inspiring contact was fired to more definite and purposeful intellectual endeavours. Green was elected a fellow of Balliol in 1860 and continued in this capacity

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Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) According to Hegel, the state represented _____
 - (b) Hegel's concept of freedom was based on the old _____
- _____
- idea of an individual finding his true self, freedom and personality in and through the state.
4. What is the dialectic theory?
5. What was Hegel's idea of freedom?

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right up to 1878. In 1878, he was chosen as Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy. He married Miss Charlotte Symonds, a sister of John Addington Symonds in 1871. John Addington Symonds was a noted critic and poet of his days. Green's teaching at the University of Oxford covered a wide range of subjects including history, ethics, logic, metaphysics, education and the history of philosophy. Green was not merely a clustered pedagogue. He took an active part in public affairs and was a member of the Oxford town council for many years. Thomas was a frequent campaign speaker for the liberal party, served as member in several committees and commissions and was a prominent worker in the temperance movement. He was stricken with blood poisoning in 1882 and died at the age of forty-six. In his political philosophy Green was highly influenced by his studies of the Greek classics. According to Dr Barker, 'The influence of Plato and Aristotle has been peculiarly deep in England'. The curriculum of the oldest and most important branch of studies in Oxford finds in the 'Republic' of Plato and the 'Ethics' of Aristotle in its central texts; and truths drawn from Greek thought have been taught in Oxford and enforced in the world, not only by the thinkers, but also by the man of action who have been trained in this curriculum. Green himself was a product of the University of Oxford and there he had also served as a Professor of moral philosophy. The ultimate basis of his philosophy is to be found in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Another and more important influence on the political ideas of T. H. Green was that of German philosophy. Green drew his inspiration from the writings of Kant and Hegel. Among the philosophers of the continent who exercised a tremendous influence on the writings of Green, the author of the *Social Contract*, i.e., Rousseau was the most important. What he found permanently valuable in Rousseau was the conception of the state or sovereign as representing a General Will, and as authorized or entitled to obedience on that account.

Green was involved in local politics for many years, through the University, temperance societies and the local Oxford Liberal association. During the passage of the Second Reform Act, he campaigned for the franchise to be extended to all men living in boroughs, even if they did not own real property. In this sense, Green's position was more radical than that of most other Advanced Liberals, including William Ewart Gladstone. It was in the context of his Liberal party activities that in 1881 Green gave what became one of his most famous statements of his liberal political philosophy, the *Lecture on Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract*. At this time, he was also lecturing on religion, epistemology, ethics and political philosophy. Green was influenced by the metaphysical historicism of G.W. F. Hegel like all the British Idealists. He was one of the thinkers behind the philosophy of social liberalism. Green was most influential during his life time as a teacher and it was not until after his death that his most important works were published. His *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* were first delivered during his tenure of the chair of moral philosophy at Oxford in the winter of 1879-80 and first published in 1882. Likewise, his *Prolegomena to Ethics* was also published after his death. Green's views were previously known indirectly through the *Introduction* to the standard edition of Hume's works by Green and T. H. Grose, fellow of Queen's College, in which the doctrine of the 'English' or 'empirical' philosophy was exhaustively examined.

Most of his major works were published posthumously, including his lay sermons on *Faith and The Witness of God*, the essay *On the Different Senses of 'Freedom' as Applied to Will and the Moral Progress of Man*, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, and the *Lecture on Liberal*

Legislation and Freedom of Contract. His other famous book was *Lectures on Liberal Legislations and Freedom of Contract*.

5.3.1 Notion of Social Contract Theory and State

Green did not approve the social contract theory of the origin of government. He considered it a confused way of stating truth. The social contract theory has been rejected on the ground that it makes the state a voluntary association. He also rejected the force theory of the origin of the state because it makes the force as the very basis of the state. The basis of the state not 'consent', neither it is force, but it is will. This conception of his becomes clearer when he analyses Austin's definition of sovereignty.

It is not existence of supreme coercive power that makes a state but 'supreme coercive power exercised in certain ways and for certain ends viz. exercised according to law written or customary, and for the maintenance of rights.' The state maintains through a system of law, the possibility of freedom that otherwise would not exist. Green himself says that the state is justified in using force to repeal a force which is opposed to freedom. Hence, it can be said that apart from the state the individual can have no existence as a person. Green regards the state as natural and necessary. He considered it as an ethical institution essential to the moral development of man. Its primary purpose is to enforce rights, even by compulsion if necessary. Although natural and necessary but the authority of the state is neither absolute nor omnipotent. It is limited both from within and without. It is limited from within because the law of the state can deal only with the externality of an action and intentions. It cannot deal with motives. The state cannot promote morality directly. It can simply remove obstacles to good life. It is limited again by the fact that in exceptional circumstances particularly when the laws of the state are tyrannical and the state fails to promote the common good, the individual has the right of resistance. According to Green resistance under these circumstances is not merely a right but it becomes a duty.

Green further recognized that the various permanent groups with society have their own inner system of rights and that the right of the state over them is one of adjustment. According to Barker the state adjust each group its system of rights internally and it adjusts each system of rights to the state externally. Since the power of the state is that of adjustment, it therefore, had ultimate authority. Green mentioned that the existence of groups in society contains the germs of the theory of pluralism. But Green has not taken up the pluralistic position at all.

The authority of the state is limited from without in the sense that it has to show its respect to the existence of international law. Like Kant and unlike Hegel, Green is a believer in international law and international organizations. The right of every man as man to free life involves the conception of a common humanity and of a common social organism. According to T. H. Green the function of the state is negative. Good life for the most part is self-earned. The state cannot promote it directly. Its business was simply removing obstacles to freedom. The three greatest obstacles to freedom, as he saw it, were ignorance, drunkenness and poverty. It is the function of the state to remove such obstacles. Classical liberalism, he thinks went wrong in regarding freedom simply in negative forms; freedom is positive. Thus, Green led the intellectual foundations for the modern social welfare state, for old age pensions, unemployment and insurance, health insurance, and all the other legislative schemes designed to promote 'self-security'.

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Commenting upon Green's theory of state actions G. H. Sabine said 'Green's general principle that a liberal government ought to legislate in any case where the law can remove an obstacle to the highest moral development of its citizens, provided at least the framework for a wholly different conception of government form that held by the older liberalism'. In place of *laissez-faire* and freedom of contract it opened the way, in the name of positive freedom, for any degree of social legislation that could be justified as particularly effective in improving the standard of living. What Green added to liberal theory was his conception of collective well being as a precondition of individual freedom and responsibility. Thus in principle Green's revision of liberalism closed up the gap which *laissez-faire* has placed between politics and economics and put on government the duty of regulating the economic system and it fails to produce humanity satisfying results.

The state, Green insists is the only source of actual rights. He says idea rights may be conceived which are not in the state; only when they are in it do they become rights. Green's state like Hegel's, is a community of communities, but again like Hegel's there is no questions that it is supreme over all the communities. The members of the state derived the rights which they have as members of other associations from the state and have no rights against it.

For all his belief that the state was the embodiment of the Divine Spirit, Green never regarded the state as an end in itself. It was a means to an end, and that end was the full moral development of the individuals who composed it. He believed in the existence with the General Will. He is convinced that this general will is the real basis of the state. Legal sovereignty, he agrees with Austin, must reside in the supreme authority within the state, in that body which recognizes no power above itself. But behind this legal sovereign is the General Will, and this General Will, not force or fear is what really determines the habitual obedience of people. Men habitually obey only those institutions which, perhaps unconsciously, they feel represent the General Will. This is true irrespective of the form of government the state may possess, since even an absolute monarchy must inspire loyalty and voluntary submission in its subject. According to Green, 'General Will' is the true sovereign of the community.

Green believed that the state should foster and protect the social, political and economic environments in which people will be able to get their chance to act according to their conscience. It is the responsibility of the state to decide which liberties to curtail and in which way. Over-enthusiastic or clumsy state intervention could reduce or close the opportunities for conscientious action. This will eventually stifle the moral development of the people. The state should intervene only when it is sure that a particular liberty is enslaving a person. Even under such a situation, Green was of the opinion that the community should react to such a situation instead of the state as local councils and municipal authorities tended to produce measures that were more imaginative and better suited to the daily reality of a social problem. Hence Green favoured the 'local option' where local people decided the issuing of liquor licenses in their area through their town councils. He stressed the need for specific solutions tailored to solve specific problems. Green also thought that there are no inevitable solutions or timeless division of responsibilities between national and local governmental units. The distribution of responsibilities should be based on the participation of as many individuals as possible to exercise their conscientious will in particular circumstances. This would help to foster individual self-realization in the long-run. If the local and municipal departments are unable to control the harmful

influences of some social evils then the national state should take responsibility for the public policy of this area. Green argued that the ultimate power to decide on the allocation of such tasks should rest with the national state. The national state according to Green upholds a system of rights and obligations that is likely to help in individual self-realization. Even after all this, the most appropriate structure of this system cannot be determined by purely political calculation nor by philosophical speculation.

5.3.2 Punishment

Green's views on punishment are essentially related to his theory of state action. In order to maintain conditions and remove obstacles, the state must positively interfere with everything tending to violate conditions or impose obstacles. It must use force to repeal a force which is opposed to freedom. According to Barker, punishment is not inflicted with any direct reference to the moral guilt of the offender in the past; or to his moral reformation in the future. If it were imposed with reference to moral guilt, it would have to be graded according to the degree of moral guilt, and here we are at once made by the insuperable difficulty that moral guilt cannot be measured by degrees because we cannot enter into the recesses of the will to discover its intensity or quality. If again punishments were imposed with reference to moral reformation in the future, it would not only lose its power as a deterrent, but it would deprive the criminal of the possibility, let us rather say, the fundamental duty of regenerating his own will.

The criminals who are anti-social, constitutes a force opposed to freedom. Punishment in such a case is a force directed against that force. Punishment is not inflicted with any direct reference to the moral guilt of the offender in the past or to his moral reformation in the future. If it were imposed with reference to moral guilt, the difficulty would arise that moral guilt cannot be measured by degrees. If again punishment were imposed with reference to moral reformation in the future, it would not only lose its power as a deterrent, but it would deprive the criminal of the possibility of regenerating his own will. Actually punishment is adjusted to maintaining the external conditions necessary for the free action of will; it is not adjusted to the inner will itself. It is in fact directed to secure the external conditions necessary for the moral action. Punishment therefore, like all state action, has a moral purpose. It is moral in the sense that its ultimate aim is to secure freedom of action for the moral will of every member of the community.

According to Green, the primary object of punishment is not to cause pain to the criminal for the sake of causing it nor chiefly for the sack of preventing him from committing the crime again, but to associate terror with the contemplation of the crime in the minds of others who might be tempted to commit it. The future prevention of crime is the chief object of punishment. Green said that the state looks not to virtue and vice but to rights and wrongs. It looks back to the wrong done in the crime which it punishes; not however, in order to avenge it, but in consideration of the sort of terror which needs to be associated with such wrong-doing in order to ensure the future maintenance of rights. Actually punishment is adjusted to maintain the external conditions necessary for the free action of will; it is not adjusted to the inner will itself. Its ultimate aim is to secure freedom of action for the moral will of every member of the community. It implies that punishment should be given according to the importance of the right violated.

According to T. H. Green, punishment has both direct and indirect defect. Directly, it is a force preventive of a force opposed to rights. Indirectly, punishment is,

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Check Your Progress

6. Fill in the blanks:

- (a) Green was born on 7 April 1836 in _____.
- (b) Green was influenced by _____ in Balliol.
- (c) Green regards the state as _____ and necessary.

7. What is Green's view on state?

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and in order to be effectively preventive must be a reformation of the will, or rather a shock which makes criminal reformations possible. Even in this aspect, punishment is a removal of obstacle; for the obstacle which the criminal opposes is not only a force, but a will.

Green states that 'it is commonly asked whether punishment according to its proper nature is retributive or preventive or reformatory. The true answer is that it is and should be all three'. Beccaria had previously attempted to do the same with a theory of deterrence and an aspect of retributivism, but he failed to keep his theory consistent. Before launching into Green's work on crime and punishment, it is important to acquire a basic knowledge of the two theories, namely retributivism and deterrence, which Green attempts to unite. This brief examination of these concepts should indicate why they are so difficult to unite. This is only a short overview of an in depth analysis of each theory.

Retributivism, a concept advocated by Kant, obtains its right to punish from the social contract theory. To this end Kant formulated a framework that he called the categorical imperative: 'act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law'. Kant argues that punishment restores injustice that has been done when the moral or laws are broken. The offender has transgressed the moral law and has therefore brought the punishment upon himself. The punishment according to Kant needs to be fixed and has to be of equal value to the crime committed. Thus for murder, the punishment would be execution. For each crime there is an 'equal' physical punishment and once this is set no discretion can be used. Factors such as reform and deterrence have no place and cannot be used as mitigating factors. Hence someone who has reformed still needs to be punished 'equal' to the value of his crime. However, this does not mean that retributivism punishment may not lead to reformation. Deterrence and reform may be a side product of punishment under the '*lex talionis*' model, but nothing more. This effect may even be desirable. Retributivism focuses on the personal responsibility rather than the greater good. Various flaws already become apparent, as there is not always a physical punishment which is equal to each crime. It also does not take the circumstances or crime rates into consideration.

Thus, although retributivism can appear lacking in compassion. Individual responsibility, dignity and worth are largely absent from utilitarianism. The deterrence theory is completely opposite to the theory of retribution. A main advocate of this utilitarian theory of deterrence is Bentham. The right to punish is derived from concept of good or 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. The development of happiness is the key and any action that cause harm to the greater good need to be deterred. This shows that the idea of reform falls mainly within the idea of this theory. Punishment in itself is harm or unhappiness and should therefore be avoided unless it produces more happiness than harm.

Deterring harm becomes the main aim. Hence the punishment does not need to correlate with the crime committed. The punishment is designed to deter the individual and others for committing similar acts. This theory allows making examples of the individual when the crime rate goes up or even allows the punishment of innocent people if the outcome creates more happiness for the greater number. This is not, of course, desirable. If, however, it leads to greater happiness it is acceptable.

What follows now is Green's attempt to join aspects of both theories together. Green begins by asking himself: when does the state have the right to punish? As

noted above, both theories have different justifications for punishment. Green's theory is one that is based on rights: 'The right . . . of free life in every man rest on the assumed capacity in every man of free action contributory to social good'. He continues to argue that men cannot possess natural rights in a state of nature. Rights can only truly exist if there is a society that controls these for the purpose of achieving a recognized common interest. 'Natural rights', he argues: so far as there are such things, are themselves relative to the moral end to which perfect law is relative. A law is not good because it enforces 'natural rights,' but because it contributes to the realization of a certain end. We only discover what rights are natural by considering what powers must be secured to a man in order to attain this end. These powers a perfect law to secure its full extent.

This framework of the shared 'common good' forms the basis of our society's existence as well as the morality of the individual. Green shared Kant's view of the 'categorical imperative' and believed that this formed the content of morality. Green extends Kant's idea, claiming that possession of these natural rights include no interference of other members of the same society and a recognition by the individual of the other's rights. This means that a person should accept the moral agency of others as long as these actions do not impede the common good. Green maintains that 'associated men' have the right on their part to hinder and even prevent actions as interference contributory to social good. This constitutes the right of punishment, the right to use force . . . as may be necessary to save others from this interference.'

The purpose of punishment is not to punish moral wickedness; rather its purpose is the 'protection of rights, and the association of terror with their violations'. This means that a framework of rights ultimately brings with it a framework to enforce these rights—punishment. The logical conclusion is therefore that the state has to do what is necessary to maintain the rights and the common good that comes with it. A punishment however is unjust if the action is not a violation of a known right or fulfilling a 'known obligation of a kind. So far Green has established a framework of punishment. This framework is only in place because there are rights that are associated with each punishment. To accomplish just punishment Green states that the following aspects need to be incorporated into any theory of punishment.

Punishment of crime is preventive in its object; not, however, preventive of any or every evil or by any and every means, but . . . justly preventive of injustice; preventive of interference with those powers of action and acquisition which it is for the general well-being that individuals should possess, and according to laws which allow those powers equally to all men. But in order effectually to attain its preventive object and to attain it justly, it should be reformatory.

To understand what Green is trying to do and how he does it, each aspect of his theory needs to be scrutinized. He explains that although punishment should be just and retributive, it should not be mistaken with private vengeance. Only the state and its agencies have the right to inflict punishment. No individual has such a right, except in self-defence. This right has been given to the state on the understanding that it will prevent harm and if it fails to do so to punish the offender. At this point Green mentions that the amount of punishment to be used, is as much as is necessary to ensure future protection (137: 180). With his theory of punishment, he is trying to avoid the extremes of both the Kantian as well as the Utilitarian views. 'Kantianism and Utilitarianism are defective theories which must be rejected as they stand, but which can be exploited for their special insights'.

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So how does Green combine the two concepts? A crime, as mentioned above, is an action that violates a real right. 'Crime should be punished according to the importance of the right which it violates, and to the degree of terror which in a well-organized society needs to be associated with crime in order to protection of the right'.

Although Green advocates that the objective of punishment is deterrence, he does not neglect the fact that punishment needs to be retributive and reformatory. Like Hegel and Kant he agrees that punishment is in its own right an act returning on himself, in the sense that it is the necessary outcome of his act in a society governed by the conception of rights, a conception which the offender [sic] appreciates and to which he does involuntary reverence.

Retributivists would argue that in order to have a just punishment one must inflict equal physical harm that the crime has caused thereby making amends for the crime committed. Again Green agrees that the violation of a right demands retribution and that the criminal should 'have his due, and [sic] should be punished justly.' This is the point where Green and Kant's views differ. Green argues that a just punishment is not the same, as a punishment where equal suffering is inflicted. This is because the suffering, which is caused by a crime, is generally incalculable. If the harm, a crime causes is not quantifiable then how can equal harm be applied when inflicting punishment? Even then the exact suffering could not be 'reconstructed' as the suffering depends entirely on the circumstances. The example Green gives is that of hard labour. How can this, he asks, be in any way shape or form be equal to the robbery? It is this dilemma that Green used to his advantage. Green maintains that retributive elements form part of just punishment. The already difficult task of assessing the penalty must not be further complicated by adding to it the aim of trying to make the severity of the penalty proportional to the moral evil of the criminal. No such proportion can be established in any case.

The law, however, still needs to determine in which category each crime falls and fixes certain limits to the penalty. This is because the punishment should not be completely out of proportion with the right that is violated. The severity of the punishment is determined by this. This means: the more central the right the more severe the punishment. If it is seen in these terms, it could be said the greater the crime the harsher the punishment should be. 'It amounts to this, that the crime which requires most terror to be associated with it in order to its prevention should have most terror thus associated with it.' Green contends that a just punishment is one that in its proper nature is preventive. This does not mean that the retributive element is taken away from punishment. Although the punishment may not be physically equal to the crime the offender still receives his fair deserts. Punishment should not be 'preventive of any or every evil or by any and every means, but . . . justly preventive of injustice'.

This means that the state can only punish the offender for the crime that has been committed and not for anything else. Punishment looks back at the wrong done in the crime which it punishes; . . . in order to the consideration of sort of the terror which needs to be associated with such wrong-doing in order to the future maintenance of the rights.

He claims that punishment cannot be justified unless a real right has been violated. This means that Green would condemn the punishment of innocent people even if this deterred others from committing similar crimes. And that right has to be

intentionally violated. Once this occurs the punishment is justified and its objectives can be reached, as an innocent man cannot be deterred from doing an act he has not committed. How can one possibly judge an individual's acts not yet committed and remain just? Such a principle is open to abuse and justifications. Up to this point Green's concept seems to be more of a deterrence theory than a theory that is based on retribution. As mentioned, Green makes it quite clear that the first object of punishment is deterrence. However, the utilitarian's only objective is to deter people from causing harm and thereby disturbing the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Despite using deterrence as the main point of his concept, Green does give some examples that contradict this principle. He argues that to hang a man for sheep stealing does not satisfy the principle of just punishment. Even if this became a common problem this would still not justify such harsh punishment. If his were a purely utilitarian concept hanging a thief to deter others would be acceptable. Green, however, argues that 'a society where there was any decent reconciliation of rights no such terror as is caused by the punishment would be required for the punishment of death.' This shows that, despite having a deterrence theory, the punishment needs to accord with the right that has been violated. Green further maintains that a violation of rights must be punished. It can only be punished in the way which for the time is thought most efficient by the associating terror with its violation. This however, does not alter the moral duty, on part of the society authorising the punishment, to make its punishments just by making the system of rights which it maintains. The justice of the punishment depends on the justice of general system of rights.

The amount of punishment that is inflicted is the crucial part when determining whether a punishment is just or unjust. As stated above, the Kantian concept has the flaw that it is very difficult to actually determine what the physical equivalent of a violation of a right is. 'The amount of pain which in any kind of punishment causes to a particular person depends on his temperament and the circumstances, which neither a state nor its agent the judge, can ascertain'. The retributive approach also would actually not be just. So what does Green believe a just punishment is? As mentioned, a just punishment must have aspects of retributivism, deterrence and reform. The role that retributivism should play has been discussed above and not much needs to be added. In the case of deterrence one of the main questions that remain unanswered is that of who should actually be deterred by the punishment? Green maintains that the state punishes not only to punish the accused but to leave an effect on others. The amount of punishment should be prospective rather than retrospective. In case of a crime that has been committed a right has been violated. Therefore no punishment can undo what has been done or make good the wrong to the person who has suffered. Punishment can help reduce the occurrence of such crime with others. Therefore the reason for punishing someone is not for the sake of punishing that particular person but to create a fear in the minds of others to not commit such a crime in future. This object, unlike that of making the pain of the punishment commensurate with the guilt of the criminal, is in the main attainable.

This leaves only the aspect of reform. Green insisted that a punishment, in order to be effectively preventive and just, also needed to be reformatory. If the punishment is preventive then by its mere nature it should not only deter society from committing crimes but should deter the criminal too. If the criminal lays aside his criminal habits, the punishment has been preventative, just and reformatory. Reform is a desirable by-product of a preventive punishment. As the criminal has lost some of his rights due to his actions, it is desirable that he should be able to reform and thereby

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regain the rights he has forfeited. Dealing with the criminal in this matter, punishment will hopefully awaken him to the nature of his anti-social acts.

Finally, after examining Green's work on crime and punishment, it is possible to come to a conclusion on how successful Green's concept is in providing a theory of deterrence which also allows for the strength of retributivism and reform. It is not hard to see that Green's theory is one of deterrence. Numerous times throughout his text he states that the main objective is prevention. At the same time he argues that punishment must be just and by exploiting the flaws of the retribution theory and building upon them, he is able to make a strong case for a combination of the theory. The flaw identified is that it is very difficult to find the physical equivalent to the crime committed and therefore to find a just punishment. Green determines the amount of punishment by how the right has been violated. Green, like Kant, agrees that a fixed limit for each punishment must be set. Green, however, contrary to Kant, leaves some room for discretion on part of the judge. At the same, by using this model Green successfully irons out some of the flaws that make the deterrence theory unattractive; for example the punishing of innocent people as well as severely harsh punishments for minor violations. His theory is still mainly one of deterrence and although retribution is incorporated into it he has not followed the tradition of Kant. This, nonetheless, does not mean that he did not successfully improve the flaws of Kant's work as well as some aspects of the deterrence theory.

5.3.3 Political Obligation

The problem of political obligation is one of the most important issues of political philosophy. Green belongs to the idealist school of political obligation. It was T. H. Green in the idealist edition who declared that government cannot claim an unconditional obedience of its citizens. He argued that individuals owe their allegiance to society, not to the state or government. Accordingly, the organized power of society should be recognized as political authority for the purpose of determining political obligation. Green's concept of political obligation is based on his concept of the 'common good'. Green writes,

'To ask why I am to submit to the power of the state, is to ask why I am to allow my life to be regulated by that complex of institutions without which I literally should not have a life to call my own, nor should be able to ask for a justification of what I am called on to do. For that I may have a life which I can call my own, I must not only be conscious of myself and of ends which I present to myself as mine; I must be able to reckon on a certain freedom of action and acquisition for the attainment of those ends, and this can only be secured through common recognition of this freedom on the part of each other by members of a society, as being for a common good.'

The law of our being involves in its turn civic or political duties. Moral goodness cannot be limited or constituted by the cultivation of self-regarding virtues. It consists of the attempt to realize that moral ideal to us as our ideal. From this arises the fact of political obligation as the institutions of political or civic life are the embodiment of moral ideas in terms of our day and generation. We have a criterion by which to test these institutions since society exists only for the proper development of people. It is obvious that the final moral ideal is not realized in any civic institutions but the same analysis that demonstrates this points out the direction in which true development will take place. Due to this rights and duties should be formulated and be maintained by law, as opposed to those actually maintained. The state represents a 'general will' that

is a desire for a common good. Its basis is not a coercive authority that has been imposed on the citizens from without, but consists in the spiritual recognition on part of the citizens of that which constitutes their true nature.

He pointed out that it is society, not the state which is the pivot of the common good. Green is quite different from utilitarian view so far as the notion of human nature is concerned. Whereas utilitarian's treat human beings as a pleasure-seeking animal, Green holds that human beings do not seek pleasure as such. In his opinion, the rational basis of human activity is will or reason, not desire or passion. As self-conscious beings, man and women wish to realize the good which they grasp along with other members of the community. He further says that human beings do not identify their self-interest as distinctly as they identify the common good. Common good not only comprehends the good of all members of the community, but their conceptions of the common good are also identical. In his lectures on the principles of political obligations Green argued that the state itself is obliged to promote the common good as conceived by its citizens, and that individuals are obliged to obey only those laws which promote the common good. If individuals think that they will serve the cause of the common good by defying any command of the state, their political obligation does not prevent them from such defiance.

In Green's view, it is the consciousness of the common good which prompts human beings to accept their duties. They tend to sacrifice their self-interest for the sake of the common good for they realize that they can attain self-realization only as members of the community, not as separate individuals. The question of priority between the individual and the community is irrelevant because individuals have no existence outside the community, and no community can exist without its constituent individuals. The true basis of the community lies in each individual treating every other individual as an end in itself, because each member of the community is recognized as capable of pursuing ideal object. The true object of politics as well as of morality is to improve the moral character of the individuals. This should be the criterion of evaluation of any institutional law. In other words, each institutional law should enable the citizens to exercise their good will and reason in the conduct of their affairs. It is the moral nature of human being which postulates his freedom. Freedom requires all members of the community to have equal opportunity of self-development. It is the duty of the state to create such conditions that are conducive to human freedom. Green points out that law can force the individual to perform certain acts, but this would be external acts only. No law can make them moral because morality is dependent on something freely willed. Will, not force, is the very basis of the state, Green writes.

Green thus, emphasizes on the moral nature and capacity of human beings. The principal function of the state is to secure the common good as conceived and defined by its citizens. By recognizing the organized power of the community rather than the state as the object of political obligation, Green rules out the claim of any government to demand unconditional obedience from its citizens.

ACTIVITY

Discuss with your peers how relevant is Hegel's ideology in today's world. You could also refer to the Internet to find out the relevance of Hegel's ideology.

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DID YOU KNOW?

Hegel's theory of the state was the guiding force of the group known as the Young Hegelians, who sought the unification of Germany. His lectures on philosophy, religion, aesthetics, and history were collected in eight volumes after his death.

5.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In the entire tradition of western political theory of over two thousand years, no other thinker has aroused as much controversy about the meaning of his discourse as Hegel did.
- Hegel's works were difficult to dissect and because of the critical nature of his philosophy and the operation of the dialectics, the inner essence was always vulnerable to more than one plausible interpretation.
- The debate as to whether Hegel was a conservative, a liberal or a totalitarian continues till today.
- The credit of creating a philosophy of will, in the real sense, goes to Hegel.
- As a corrective to the extreme individualism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Hegelian philosophy emphasized the organic nature of society and the fact that individuals had not only rights as over against other individuals but duties as well.
- Hegel's political theory contained all the essential elements of fascism, racialism, nationalism, the leadership principle, government by authority rather than consent, and above all the idealization of power as the supreme text of human values.
- The claim of Hegel that each sovereign state is sufficient for its members is the greatest danger to modern civilization.
- Hegel lacked proper understanding of the role of science in changing the societal process. His thesis was in itself a key expression of the history of his time and place.
- The Hegelian political philosophy goes beyond the idealism of Kant and of Fichte to embody a historical, evolutionary doctrine, which transforms the will into an aspect of pure abstract intelligence.
- Hegel rejected the instrumentalist conception of the state as a political community for the promotional and protection of individual aspirations and ambitions.
- The Hegelian state did not permit individual judgment or choice. It emphasized obedience.
- The basic problem with Hegel's liberalism was that it was ambiguous and placed a great deal of emphasis on the state.

Check Your Progress

8. Fill in the blanks:

- (a) _____ advocated the concept of Retributivism.
- (b) Reform is a desirable by-product of a _____ punishment.

9. What according to Green, is the primary object of punishment?

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- Hegel was too authoritarian to be a liberal and too liberal to be authoritarian. He exerted considerable influence on subsequent political theory, particularly Marxism and existentialism. He is considered the philosophical inspiration for both communists and fascists.
- Thomas Green propagated the theory that ethics apply to peculiar conditions of the social life.
- Thomas Hill Green was an English philosopher, political radical and temperance reformer, and a member of British idealism movement that was born in Yorkshire, England in 1836. He was born on 7 April 1836 in Birkin, a tiny village in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where his father was rector.
- Green was influenced by the metaphysical historicism of G.W.H. Hegel. He was one of the thinkers behind the philosophy of social liberalism.
- Thomas was a frequent campaign speaker for the liberal party, served as member in several committees and commissions and was a prominent worker in the temperance movement.
- He was stricken with blood poisoning in 1882 and died at the age of 46.
- Most of his major works were published posthumously, including his lay sermons on *Faith and The Witness of God*, the essay *On the Different Senses of 'Freedom' as Applied to Will and the Moral Progress of Man*, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, and the *Lecture on Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract*. His other famous book was *Lectures on Liberal Legislations and Freedom of Contract*.
- He also rejected the force theory of the origin of the state because it makes the force as the very basis of the state. The basis of the state not 'consent', neither it is force, but it is will. This conception of his becomes clearer when he analyses Austin's definition of sovereignty.
- Green further recognized that the various permanent groups with society have their own inner system of rights and that the right of the state over them is one of adjustment.
- The state, Green insists is the only source of actual rights. He says idea rights may be conceived which are not in the state; only when they are in it do they become rights. Green's state like Hegel's, is a community of communities, but again like Hegel's there is no questions but that it is supreme over all the communities it contains.
- Green believed that the state should foster and protect the social, political and economic environments in which individuals will have the best chance of acting according to their consciences.
- Green's views on punishment are essentially related to his theory of state action. In order to maintain conditions and remove obstacles, the state must positively interfere with everything tending to violate conditions or impose obstacles. It must use force to repeal a force which is opposed to freedom.
- According to Green, the primary object of punishment is not to cause pain to the criminal for the sake of causing it nor chiefly for the sake of preventing him from committing the crime again, but to assure that the criminal is not tempted to commit it of the crime in the minds of others who might be tempted to commit it.

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5.5 KEY TERMS

- **Dialectic method:** The method of argument for resolving disagreement that is central to Indian and European philosophy
- **Totalitarianism:** A political system where the state, usually under the power of a single political person, faction, or class recognizes no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life wherever feasible
- **Liberalism:** The belief in the importance of liberty and equal rights
- **Retributivism:** A policy or theory of criminal justice that advocates the punishment of criminals in retribution for the harm they have inflicted
- **Subserve:** Help to further or promote

5.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- Fill in the blanks:
 - Stuttgart
 - Modern idealism
- True/False
 - True
 - True
 - True
- Fill in the blanks:
 - Universal altruism
 - Greek
- Dialectic is a theory which explains how history is the story of the continuous development of the spirit.
- Hegel's ideas of freedom was both objective and creative, and it outwardly expressed itself in a series of outward manifestations—first the law, then the rules of the inward morality; and finally the whole system of institutions and influences that make for righteousness in the national state.
- Fill in the blanks:
 - Birkin
 - Benjamin Jowell
 - Natural
- Green considered state as an ethical institution essential to the moral development of man. Its primary purpose is to enforce rights, even by compulsion if necessary. Although natural and necessary but the authority of the state is neither absolute nor omnipotent. It is limited both from within and without.
- Fill in the blanks:
 - Kant
 - preventive

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- According to Green, the primary object of punishment is not to cause pain to the criminal for the sake of causing it nor chiefly for the sake of preventing him from committing the crime again, but to associate terror with the contemplation of the crime in the minds of others who might be tempted to commit it. The future prevention of crime is the chief objective of punishment.

5.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- What influenced Green's political philosophy?
- Write in brief about the early life of Hegel.
- Why was Hegel considered an idealist?
- Hegel's dialectic method is the crux of his philosophy. Elucidate.
- What was Green's concept of political obligation?

Long-Answer Questions

- Explain Hegel's idea on the state and freedom of the individual.
- According to Hegel, the state is an individual in history. Explain.
- Discuss Hegel's concept of individual freedom in your own words.
- Write a brief note on Green's idea of state.
- Explain how Green interpreted the purpose of punishment.

5.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6 KARL MARX

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Unit Objectives
- 6.2 Karl Marx
- 6.3 Theory of Alienation
 - 6.3.1 Commodity Fetishism and Alienation
- 6.4 Dialectical and Historical Materialism
 - 6.4.1 Dialectical Materialism
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- 6.5 State and Revolution
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 - 6.5.2 Future Communist State
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- 6.9 Questions and Exercises
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6.0 INTRODUCTION

Karl Marx developed the socio-political theory of Marxism. While Marx remained a relatively obscure figure in his own lifetime, his ideas play a significant role in both the development of modern social sciences and also in the socialist political movement. In the 20th century, revolutionary socialist governments following Marxist concepts took power in different countries leading to the formation of socialist states like the Soviet Union. The 20th century also saw the development of various theoretical variants of Marxism, such as Leninism, Trotskyism and Maoism.

The foundational principles on which Marx based his ideas can be seen in the carved messages on his tombstone in London, which bears the messages: 'WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE', and 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point, however, is to change it'. Today, Marx is typically cited, along with Émile Durkheim and Max Weber, as one of the three principal architects of modern social science. In a 1999 BBC poll, Marx was voted the 'thinker of the millennium' by people around the world. In this unit of the book you will learn about one of the most important political theorists of modern times – Karl Marx.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the Marxist Theory of Alienation
- Explain the concept of Commodity Fetishism
- Describe the Marxist theories of Dialectical and Historical Materialism
- Evaluate the Marxist class analysis of the Bourgeois State
- List some criticisms of Marxist theory

6.2 KARL MARX

Life Sketch

Karl Marx was a German philosopher, sociologist, historian, political economist, political theorist and revolutionary socialist, who developed the socio-political theory of Marxism. His ideas have a huge impact in the development of modern social sciences and the socialist political movement. A number of books were published by him during his lifetime. The most notable books published by him were the Communist Manifesto (1848) and Das Capital (1867-1894) and many were co-written with his friend Friedrich Engels, a German revolutionary socialist.

The father of scientific socialism, Karl Heinrich Marx was born on 5 March 1818, in the predominantly Catholic city of Trier in the Rhineland province of Prussia in a Jewish family. His father was a moderately well-to do lawyer. His parents were descendent of a long line of Jewish rabbis. His father Heinrich, son of Marx Levi, was a rabbi in Trier.

Marx was an average student. He was educated at home until he was twelve and spent five years, from 1830 to 1835, at the Jesuit High School in Trier, at that time known as the Friedrich-Wilhelm Gymnasium. The school's principal, a friend of Marx's father, was a liberal and a Kantian and was respected by the people of Rhineland but was a suspect to authorities. The school was under surveillance and was raided in 1832.

After completing his studies, Karl became a journalist in Cologne. He wrote for a radical newspaper, the Rheinische Zeitung, where he began to use Hegelian concepts of dialectical materialism to influence his ideas on socialism. After moving to Paris in 1843, he began writing for other radical newspapers like the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher and Vorwärts!. He also wrote a series of books, several of which were co-written with Engels. During his exile to Brussels in Belgium in 1845, he became a leading figure of the Communist League. After moving back to Cologne he founded his own newspaper, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Having being exiled once more in 1849, he travelled to London where he lived in poverty but continued writing and formulating his theories about the nature of society and how he believed it could be improved. He also campaigned for socialism and became a significant figure in the International Workingmen's Association.

Following the government-imposed shutdown of the Rheinische Zeitung, where he was working as a journalist Marx got involved with a new radical newspaper, the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher (*German-French Annals*), which was then being set up by Arnold Ruge, another German socialist revolutionary. Although it was intended to attract writers from both France and the German states, the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher was dominated by the latter, with the only non-German writer being the exiled Russian anarcho-communist Michael Bakunin. Only one issue was published, but it was relatively successful, largely due to the inclusion of Heinrich Heine's satirical odes on King Ludwig of Bavaria, which led to those copies sent to Germany being confiscated by the state's police force.

In 1844 while Marx was in Paris, he became interested in the working class movement and political economy. At that period Marx and Engels began working on the *German Ideology* (1847). Marx wrote The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts in 1844. This work of Marx covered numerous topics and gave a detailed

explanation of Marx's concept of alienated labour. After a year Marx wrote Theses on Feuerbach which is best known for the statement 'the philosophers have only interpreted the world, the point is to change it.' In this Marx has criticized materialism (for being contemplative), idealism (for reducing practice to theory) and overall criticized the philosophy for putting abstract reality above the physical world.

This work of Marx introduced the first glimpse of his historical materialism, an argument that the world changes not by ideas but by actual, physical, material activity and practice. After the collapse of the Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, Marx wrote for Vorwärts!, the only uncensored German-language radical newspaper in Europe. Based in Paris, the paper had been established and run by many activists connected to the revolutionary socialist League of the Just. This came to be later known as the Communist League within a few years. Marx continued to refine his views on socialism based upon the Hegelian and Feurbachian ideas of dialectical materialism while working in Vorwärts!. At the same time Marx criticized the liberals and other socialists operating in Europe at the time. However after receiving a request from the Prussian king, the French government agreed to shut down Vorwärts! in 1845. Marx was himself expelled from France by the interior minister, François Guizot.

Marx was expelled from France in 1845 through the intervention of the Prussian government and after that he went to Brussels. It was here where Karl Marx with the aid of his friend Frederick Engels composed the most influential of all his writings *The Communist Manifesto*.

He actively participated in the revolutions of 1848 in France and Germany and as early as 1849 he was expelled again by the Prussian Government. In the later summer of 1849 he went to London where he became the permanent resident for the rest of his life. He was soon followed by his friend Frederick Engels.

It was here that he founded the new headquarters of the Communist League. Marx got heavily involved with the socialist German Workers' Educational Society, which held their meetings in Great Windmill Street, Soho, an area of central London. Marx devoted himself to activities such as revolutionary organizing and tried to understand the political economy and capitalism. Marx lived in poverty with his family and was supported monetarily by Engels who got much of his income from his family's business. Marx also briefly worked as correspondent for the New York Tribune in 1851. Marx wrote The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon from December 1851 to March 1852. This work of his was based on the French Revolution of 1848, in which he expanded upon his concepts of historical materialism, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He argued that the victorious proletariat has to smash the bourgeois state. Proletariat was the class of ordinary people who earned money by working.

In 1864 Marx became involved in the International Workingmen's Association (also known as *First International*). He became a leader of its General Council, to whose General Council he was elected at its inception in 1864. In that organization Marx was involved in the struggle against the anarchist wing centered around Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876). Although Marx won this contest, the transfer of the seat of the General Council from London to New York in 1872, which Marx supported, led to the decline of the International. The most important political event during the existence of the International was the *Paris Commune of 1871* when the citizens of Paris rebelled against their government and held the city for two months. On the bloody suppression of this rebellion, Marx wrote one of his most famous pamphlets, *The Civil War in France*, in defence of the Commune.

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While Marx's ideas and ideology exerted a major influence on socialist movement after his death but he remained a relatively obscure figure in his own lifetime. Revolutionary socialist governments following Marxist concepts took power in various countries in the 20th century, leading to the formation of socialist states such as the Soviet Union in 1922 and the People's Republic of China in 1949. Various theoretical variants such as Leninism, Trotskyism and Maoism also developed. Marx is cited with Émile Durkheim and Max Weber as one of the three principal architects of modern social science. In a BBC poll of 1999, Marx was voted the 'thinker of the millennium' by people from around the world.

6.3 THEORY OF ALIENATION

The theory of alienation is the work of Marx which remained unpublished during his lifetime. Marx's early work contains his humanist thought of communism, and focuses on concepts of alienation and freedom. Alienation refers to the separation of things that naturally belong together, or to put antagonism between things that are in harmony with one another. In Marxist theory, alienation is mostly used to refer to the social alienation of people from aspects of their 'human nature'. Marx believed that alienation was a systematic result of dehumanizing effect of Capitalism.

Marx's theory of alienation is founded upon Marx's observation that, within the capitalist mode of production, workers invariably lose determination of their lives and destinies by being deprived of the right to conceive of themselves as director of their actions, to determine the character of their actions, to define their relationship to other actors, to use or own the value of what is produced by their actions. Under Capitalism, workers never become autonomous, self-realized human beings, but are directed and diverted into goals and activities dictated by the bourgeoisie, who own the means of production in order to extract from workers the maximal amount of surplus value possible within the current state of competition between industrialists. According to Marx, alienation in capitalist societies occurs because workers can only express their individuality through a production system that is not collectively, but privately owned, a privatized asset for which each individual functions not as a social being, but as an instrument. As Marx says:

'Let us suppose that we had carried out production as human beings. Each of us would have in two ways affirmed himself and the other person. (1) In my production I would have objectified my individuality, its specific character, and therefore enjoyed not only an individual manifestation of my life during the activity, but also when looking at the object I would have the individual pleasure of knowing my personality to be objective, visible to the senses and hence a power beyond all doubt. (2) In your enjoyment or use of my product I would have the direct enjoyment both of being conscious of having satisfied a human need by my work, that is, of having objectified man's essential nature, and of having thus created an object corresponding to the need of another man's essential nature . . . Our products would be so many mirrors in which we saw reflected our essential nature'.

Marx's theory of alienation was derived directly from Hegel, though its roots may be found in works of earlier philosophers. Like other young Hegelians, Marx in his early writings discussed several forms of alienation, from religious alienation to philosophical, political and economic categories of alienation. However, Marx considered the economic aspects of alienation as most important because he believed that labour was man's most significant activity. His analysis of the economic aspects of alienation is found in the work *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*. In it, Marx mentioned four aspects of estrangement:

- (i) Alienation from the product of work
- (ii) Alienation from the work itself
- (iii) Alienation from one's fellow beings
- (iv) Alienation from human species or life

Estrangement or alienation is a radical loss of freedom because it is the negation of free genuinely human creative activity.

According to Marx, the worker in the capitalist mode of production does not own and control the products of his own labour. He does not use the wealth which he creates and thus, is alienated from his own product. The worker himself becomes a commodity whose value is equal to the bare means of his subsistence. On the other hand, the capitalist who purchases the labour power of the working class is the real owner of the wealth which is created by workers. Marx also asserts that the alien relationship of the worker to the products of his labour is only a manifestation of the alienated nature of the productive activity itself. The labourer who sells his labour-power for a wage, produces commodities under orders from the capitalist. His work is, therefore, neither free nor voluntary because he does not satisfy any creative urges of his own by working in a factory owned and managed by his bourgeois employer. The bourgeois institutions of private property reduce the worker to the status of a wage-slave.

Alienated labour also results in the estrangement of the proletariat from his fellow-being. It results in the hostility between the employed and unemployed workers who look upon each other with suspicion. The workers similarly see in the manager and the proprietor alien forces profiting from his alienated work. The basis of genuine social relation is thus totally destroyed in capitalism. The above three aspects of man's alienation produces the working class' estrangement from their species-life as they also become totally alienated from man's entire cultural heritage. As Marx points out, the oppressed members of the working-class are scarcely aware of the artistic, scientific, literary and other cultural achievement of the human race. They lack the

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capacity to understand and enjoy these beautiful and valuable gifts of human creativity. Man is thus cut off from the life history of his own species. By dehumanizing his existence, man becomes a slave to his own alienated activity. What is true of the worker is equally applicable to those who live parasitically on appropriations of the product of estranged labour. The capitalist, who rides on the backs of the proletariat, also leads an alienated life because he is also not personally engaged in any creative work and is a victim of the fetishisation of commodities. In a society based on unfreedom, the slave and his enslaver are equally unfree.

Thus, it is the division of labour with all its effects, private ownership of the means of production and the products of labour, fetishism of commodities, the power of money, state, church and other institutions confronting the individual as alien forces, produce the condition which Marx described as alienation. Man, with the exception of a few individuals engaged in creative activity, cannot recognize themselves in their own works. In a society of alienation, the relationship of a man with other men is not that of a human being to his fellow human beings but that of a servant to his master, of a subordinate to his boss, and so forth. The alienation of workers is the most extreme form of alienation because it is the very nature of his activity. For the non-workers, the master, the owner, the idler, the priest, the philosopher, the general or the ruler, alienation is not activity but a condition.

Marx's theory of alienation rests on the premise that individuals become fully human only when they develop and express their potential through satisfying labour. Linked with this premise is the assumption that the modern industrial system affords opportunities for all to engage in rewarding labour.

6.3.1 Commodity Fetishism and Alienation

Marx believed that commodity fetishism has increased with the growth of capitalism, in which 'the capitalist mode of production takes over the totality of individual, family, and social needs, and, in subordinating them to the market, also reshapes them to serve the needs of capital'. There is a market for everything today like sex, art, labour and as well as televisions and cars.

As Ernst Fischer wrote, 'We have become so accustomed to living in a world of commodities, where nature is perhaps only a poster for a holiday resort and man only an advertisement for a new product, we exist in such a turmoil of alienated objects offered cheaply for sale, that we hardly ask ourselves any longer what it is that magically transforms objects of necessity (or fashion) into commodities, and what is the true nature of the witches' Sabbath, ablaze with neon moons and synthetic constellations, that has become our day to day reality.'

Marx believed that alienation and commodity fetishism shape all relationships in society. Those who possess wealth also inhabit a world beyond their control in which relationships are reified and their individuality is influenced by the dictates of capitalism. As Marx wrote that people have the instinct to enrich themselves which 'in a miser is a mere idiosyncrasy, is, in the capitalist, the effect of the social mechanism, of which he is but one of the wheels'. The ruling class may have a lot of riches that they get from their inheritance but they cannot control the vast economic forces of the system or even plan any section of it accurately. The capitalists are caught in a contradiction, that 'capital is a social force, but it is privately, rather than collectively, owned so its movements are determined by individual owners necessarily indifferent

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to all the social implications of their activities.' Capitalists have to compete constantly with their competitors. Their actions can be perfect for their individual firm but in general it may bring about recession that might affect the society in general and can destroy firms. Economic crises are irrefutable proof that the system is more powerful than any individual capitalist. All this goes on to show how economic crisis are such a massive blow to the confidence and ideology of the ruling class. The capitalist may like to believe that his daring, entrepreneurial spirit creates his wealth, but in reality he 'rides a wave another has created'. The class struggle, which he cannot prevent, brings home forcibly how dependent he is on the labour of his employees, and, like economic crises, is a wounding blow to the outlook of the ruling class. Thus, no matter how deeply alienation affects the ruling class they will always defend the system that creates their alienation with power and brutality because of their material position within it.

Marx believed that the conditions of man's alienation can be overcome under communism which abolishes commodity production. In communism, there will be no private property and, therefore, no alienated labour. Economic planning will reverse the existing domination of the product over the worker and distribution according to need will remove the workers existing concern for his physical survival. The division of labour existing under capitalism will be replaced by a new system of assigning work through which an individual can engage himself in several types of productive and creative activity according to his own aptitude and choice. In capitalist society, the working-class cannot hope to achieve its freedom because it cannot put an end to the phenomenon to the alienation without abolishing the capitalist method of production itself.

6.4 DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

6.4.1 Dialectical Materialism

Another important concept of Marxists theory is the idea of dialectical materialism. Marx talked about the concept in the *Theses on Feuerbach*, written in 1845 but first published as an appendix to the 1888 edition of Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach*. Marx borrowed his dialectical method from Hegel and sought to combine it with his materialism. Hegel had postulated that 'idea' or 'consciousness' was the essence of universe, and that all social institutions were the manifestation of changing forms of idea. Idea evolved into new forms because of its inherent tension, exemplified in the clash between thesis (partial truth) and anti-thesis (opposite of thesis — again a partial truth) resulting in synthesis (which is nearer the truth). As long as synthesis itself contains partial truth, it takes the role of thesis and undergoes the same process until this process reaches absolute truth, exemplified in 'absolute idea' or 'absolute consciousness.'

In Hegelian philosophy, dialectics applied to the process, evolutions and development of history. Hegel viewed history as the progressive manifestation of human reason, and the development of a historical spirit. History recorded increasing awareness and greater rationality as exhibited in human affairs. Human consciousness and freedom expanded as a result of conflicting intellectual forces, which were

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constantly under tension. Hegel believed in a movement from a rudimentary state of affairs to a perfect form. The process of history, for Hegel was marked by two kinds of causation:

- (i) The individual spirit which desired happiness and provided energy
- (ii) The world spirit which strived for higher freedom that came with the knowledge of the self

Although Marx agreed with Hegel that there was a constant movement in the dialectical process he believed that 'matter' and not the 'idea' as the essence of universe. For Marx, the social institutions were the manifestation of changing material conditions. Matter undergoes the dialectical process because of its inherent tensions, until perfect material conditions, exemplified by a 'rational mode of production' comes into existence. Marx emphasized the real rather than the ideal, the social rather than the intellectual, matter rather than mind.

Marx believed that the key idea was not the history of philosophy, but the history of economic production and the social relation that accompanied it. According to Marx, consciousness was determined by life, and not the other way around. Unlike the latent conservatism and idealism of Hegelian philosophy, Marxism rejected the status quo—capitalism—as intolerable. Marx asserted that Capitalism arose under certain historical circumstances, which would disappear in due course of time.

6.4.2 Historical Materialism

While dialectical materialism represents the philosophical bases of Marxism, historical materialism represent its *scientific basis*. It implies that in any given epoch the economic relations of society – the means whereby man and women undertake production, distribution and exchange of material goods for the satisfaction of their needs – play an important role in shaping their social, political, intellectual and ethical relationships.

Marx applied dialectics to the material or social world consisting of economic production and exchange. According to Marx, a study of the productive process explained all other historical phenomena. Marx noted that each generation inherited a mass of productive forces, an accumulation of capital, and a set of social relations which reflected these productive forces. The new generation modified these forces, but at the same time these forces prescribed certain forms of life, and shaped human character and thought in distinct ways. The mode of production and exchange was the final cause of all social changes and political revolutions. Marx considered matter as being active and capable of changing from within. It was not passive and needed an external stimulus for change, a conception found in Hobbes.

The Marxian interpretation of human history is economic. Marx saw evolutionary changes in the ethical, religious, social, economic, and political ideas and institutions of mankind. According to Marx, institutions and ideas, and therefore, action are subject to endless change. The chief motive force which brings about this change in human beings is not the Hegelian idea but the material conditions of life. Human history, therefore, has a material basis. Marx postulated that the structure of society may be understood in terms of its base (the foundation) and superstructure (the external build-up). The base consists of the mode of production while the superstructure is represented by its legal and political structure, religion, morals, social practices, literature, art and culture, etc. The mode of production has two components: forces of production and relations of production. Forces of production cannot remain

static; they have an inherent tendency of development in the direction of achieving the perfect society. Forces of production have two components: means of production (tools and equipments) and labour power (human knowledge and skills). Men and women constantly endeavour to devise better ways of production. Improvement in the means of production is manifested in the development of technology. This is matched by development of human knowledge and skills as required to operate the new technology. Hence there is the corresponding development of labour power. On the other hand, relations of production in any given epoch are governed by the pattern of ownership of means of social production. These give rise to two classes – haves and have nots.

Marx talked about the stages of human history, which were Primitive Communism, Slave Society, Feudalism, Capitalism and a *future society* based on Communism. According to Marx, in the earlier stages of historical development, development of the forces of production fails to make any dent in the pattern of ownership. In other words, changes in the mode of production bring about changes in the nature of contending classes but they do not bring about an end the class conflict. Change in the nature of contending classes is brought about by social revolution. When material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, these relations turn into their fetters. The new social class which comes to own the new means of production, feels constrained by these fetters and overthrows the old dominant class in a revolution. As a result of social revolution, an old social formation is replaced by a new social formation. In this process, the old ruling class is replaced by a new contending class, but, class conflict continues on a new plan. This has been the case till the rise of capitalism, which, according to Marx, will be overthrown by a socialist revolution leading to the eventual emergence of classless society.

Marx, in his analysis of history also mentioned the important role of ideology in perpetuating a false consciousness among people, and demarcated the stages which were necessary for reaching the goal of communism. In that sense both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were performing their historically destined roles. In spite of the deterministic interpretation of history, Marx stated that the individual had to play a very important role within the historical limits of his time, and actively hasten the process.

Marx had a very powerful moral content in his analysis, and asserted that the progress was not merely inevitable, but would usher in a perfect society free of alienation, exploitation and deprivation. His materialistic conception of history emphasis the practical side of human activity, rather than speculative thought as the moving force of history.

6.5 STATE AND REVOLUTION

6.5.1 Class Analysis of the Bourgeois State

Marx critically dissected the Hegelian theory of the modern bourgeois state and its institutions in his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1843). According to Marx, Hegel's separation of civil society and the state was only relevant in his perception of a particular historical context. The state was not eternal. It would eventually disappear. Marx contended that the state was not a march of god on earth as Hegel described,

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Check Your Progress

1. The Marxist theory of alienation is based on what observation of Marx?
2. What produces the condition of alienation according to Marx?
3. How can man's condition of alienation be overcome?
4. In Marxist analysis, what are the stages of human history?

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but an instrument of the dominant economic class exploiting and oppressing the other sections of society. Marx rejected the dichotomy between civil society and the state in Hegelian philosophy, and concluded that the state and bureaucracy did not represent universal interests.

Marxist theory advocates a class analysis of the state. It is different from the mechanistic theory as well as from the organic theory of the state. It treats the state neither as a 'natural institution' nor as an 'ethical institution'. Marxism treats the state as an artificial device which is neither a manifestation of the will of the people, nor an instrument of reconciliation of conflicting interests. According to the class theory, the state comes into existence when society is divided into two antagonistic classes, one owning the means of social production and the other being constrained to live on its labour. In other words, it is the emergence of 'private property' that divides society into two conflicting classes. Those owning the means of production acquire the power to dominate the other class not only in the economic sphere but in all spheres of life.

According to Marx, in an antagonistic class society, the state is a political instrument, 'a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another'. The class dominating economically, i.e., the class possessing the means of production, acquires in the state a powerful instrument for the subjection of the oppressed and exploited. The state has a clearly defined class character. Being the principal component of the super-structure founded on the economic basis of society, the state takes every measure to strengthen and protect this basis. With the emergence of 'private property', society is divided into 'dominant' and 'dependent' classes. The dominant class, in order to maintain its stronghold on economic power, invents a new form of power — *political power*. The state is the embodiment of political power. It is therefore, essentially subservient to economic power. Thus, according to Marxian class theory, the state neither originates in the will of the people, nor does it stand for the benefit of all society, but is an instrument devised by a dominant class for its own benefit. It is imposed on society from above to serve the interest of a particular class. The state has not existed from eternity. It came into existence at a particular stage of historical development. It is a product of the conscious effort of the dominant class which first acquired the means of production and thereafter political power. The state is therefore, by no means a natural institution as the organic theory has maintained.

Unlike the organic theory, the class theory of the state makes a clear distinction between state and society. Society and the state do not come into existence together. The class theory treats society as a natural institution, and the state as an artificial device. In other words, man is by nature a 'social animal', but not a 'political animal' as Aristotle had assumed. Society is a natural institution because it is an essential condition for the production of material goods which are indispensable for the survival of man. Production is the most important of all human activity. Since men in association produce more than men in isolation, society is a natural means of securing the necessities of life. The form of production at any given stage of social development determines the pattern of social relations.

Under 'primitive communism', when the state had not yet made its appearance, the means of production were meagre and communally owned. At that stage, there was no private property; hence, society was not divided into antagonistic classes. Marx observed that at a later stage, the means of production somewhat developed, i.e., hunting, fishing and food-gathering economy was replaced by an economy based on animal husbandry, domestic agriculture and small industry. As a result there was 'surplus production' which was cornered by a class owning the means of production.

Hence, 'dominant' and 'dependent' classes came into existence. Thus, in Marxist analysis, the structure of society is always determined by the prevalent form of production. The hand mill gives us a society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill gives us a society with the industrial capitalist.

The attitudes and outlook of society—the legal, political and intellectual relations as well as the religious and social systems are also determined by the material conditions of life. Whatever the form of state, it is invariably an instrument of the dominant class.

6.5.2 Future Communist State

Marx and Engels provided a blueprint of a future state based on socialism. They elaborated that a communist society would eliminate all forms of alienation for the individual from nature, from society and from humanity. This does not merely mean consumer satisfaction, but the abolition of all forms of estrangement, the liberation of human forces and enhancement of personal creativity. In the future socialist state, the institution of private property and division of labour identified as the source of alienation would be destroyed as a prerequisite for the new and truly human phase in history. Marx viewed the working class as an agent of history and not as a tool in history; the liberation of the working class would result in the liberation of society.

The transitional phase, the phase between the destruction of the bourgeois state and the inauguration of a communist state or society, symbolized by the dictatorship of the proletariat, generated a great deal of controversy in Marxist political theory. The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat holds the key in understanding Marx's theory on the nature of communist society and the role of the proletarian state. Marx and Engels spoke about the political rule of the proletariat, advising the workers to capture the state, destroy all privileges of the old ruling class, and prepare for the eventual disappearance of the state. Marx and Engels were convinced that the existing state whether as instruments of class domination and oppression, or ruled by bureaucratic parasites on the whole of society, would grow inherently strong and remain states which would represent the interests of the small, dominant and powerful possessing class. It is only when the proletarian majority ceases the state's structure that the state would become truly democratic.

6.5.3 Marxist Theory of Revolution

On the basis of scientific analysis of the system of capitalism, Marx asserted that a social revolution was inevitable. Revolution was certain to come, because the forces of discontent would eventually accumulate and break through all obstacles. But how would it come and what would follow? For these questions Marx had definite answers. Marx stated that the proletariat must organize for political action and make revolution. The *Communist Manifesto* declares that all the classes that have the upper hand have sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The working class cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their previous mode of appropriation. Marx asserted that the proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir without the whole super-incumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air. Therefore, the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

According to Marx, social progress would have to come about through a violent struggle between classes. By progress Marx meant the expansion of the productive

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capacity of both society and individual human beings. This would ultimately lead to greater freedom and equalities and to the realization of man's capacity. Marx observed that the dramatic conflict of classes intensifies during a period of social upheaval and reaches its climax in a political revolution. The fundamental cause of any revolution is the desire and endeavour of a subject class to capture the state power from the ruling class by force and to reorganize the state apparatus to suit its own specific needs. A successful revolution will remove those social, economic and political institutions which obstruct the development of the class for whose benefit the revolution has been carried out.

The Marxist theory of revolution is the consequence and the concentrated expression of Marx's view of historical development, which is to say of the sequence of social formation in history. He saw that the driving force of social development was the historical tendency towards establishing property relations which corresponded to the level of development and character of the technique used for production at a particular period. Marx found the key to understand the sequence of the various modes of production in the law of motion, which was activated by social classes whose interest coincided with the developing tendency. For Marx, social revolution is an ongoing process in which causes and effect are dialectically related. The old social order includes in its womb certain elements which contradicts its dominant features.

Marx said, in the social production of their life, men enter into definite relation that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces . . . At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or what is but a legal expression for the same thing – with the property relation within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution.

Marx asserted that when in past, the fetters of the relations of production were broken by the developing forces of production, the resulting revolutions were partial in nature. The transition from feudal relation of production to bourgeois relations of production accompanied by social and political constitution adapted to it represented a *partial* revolution only. Marx observed:

'What is the basis of a partial, purely political revolution? It is that a part of civil society emancipates itself and attains to universal domination, that a particular class undertakes the general emancipation of the society from its particular situations. This class frees the whole of society but only under the pre-supposition that the whole of society is in the same situation as this class, that it possesses, or can equally acquire for example, money and education.'

Contradictions between the principles of the state and the real economic life of the citizens was what, for Marx, characterized a merely a political revolution. For him, all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities.

It is necessary to remember that Marx emphasized the human causes of revolution. He was at pains to point out that he conceives revolution as a mechanical result of the conflict of economic forces; it was something that had to be accomplished by human beings. He said 'of all the instrument of production, the greatest productive force is the revolutionary class itself. The organization of the revolutionary elements as a class presupposes the existence of all the productive forces that could be

endangered in the womb of old society.' But the proletariat had to undergo a massive transformation through its own education in the school of class struggle before it could become a fit agent of revolution. In making the revolution, the proletariat would acquire the capacity of undertaking the task of socialist reconstruction. The name that Marx gave to this activity was 'revolutionary praxis'. The activity embodies a dialectical unity of theory and practices the subjective and objective causes of revolution. He summed this up in the following words, 'In revolutionary activity the changing of oneself coincides with the changing of circumstances.' This implies that the proletariat must become a class 'for itself' by developing class consciousness which is a necessary cause and precondition for a successful revolution.

6.5.4 Criticism

Critics of Marxist theory have argued that there is no rigid class division in society. They state that classes are not fixed and rigidly maintained blocks within society as Marx assumed. Moreover, liberal thinkers have pointed to the constant forces of social mobility — the changing status of men and women by their efforts and other social circumstances.

The supporters of capitalism have argued that twentieth century capitalism was different from 19th century capitalism when Marxism emerged. They have claimed that capitalism transferred itself by adopting the model of 'welfare state', and had itself become an instrument of social justice. Thus, the present day capitalism is the capitalism with a human face. Other critics argue that there is no science of classless society in the socialist countries as Marx had assumed. In the former USSR and the Peoples Republic of China, where socialist revolutions had taken place, there were no indications of an emergence of a classless and stateless society. On the contrary, the state-apparatus in socialist countries proved to be much more repressive than that in liberal democracies, and their social set-off was characterized by a pyramid of power, instead of moving towards classlessness.

In fact, the class theory of the state and revolution is now being revised by its champions. It is now being increasingly realized that instead of looking for a rigid class division in the present-day society, it would be more fruitful to look for the different 'structures of domination' and 'forms of domination' and launch a systematic attack on such structures and forms in order to restore freedom, equality and justice in society.

ACTIVITY

Search the Internet and read about the communist countries of the world. Write your views regarding communism.

DID YOU KNOW?

- Marx lived in terrible poverty for most of his adult life. His friend, Engels sent him 5 pounds a month on which to live. For most of this time in England, Marx wrote constantly with his teenage daughter, Eleanor, helping him with editing and discussion of ideas.
- Karl Marx wasn't simply a philosopher. He was actually a Doctor of Philosophy. He received his Ph.D. in 1841.

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Check Your Progress

5. What kind of analysis does Marxist theory advocate with regard to state?
6. How does Marxist class theory analyse society?
7. On what basis does Marx assert that social revolution is inevitable?
8. What is the driving force of social development according to Marx?

6.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Karl Marx was a German philosopher, sociologist, historian, political economist, political theorist and revolutionary socialist, who developed the socio-political theory of Marxism.
- Marx's theory of alienation is founded upon Marx's observation that, within the capitalist mode of production, workers invariably lose determination of their lives and destinies by being deprived of the right to conceive of themselves as director of their actions, to determine the character of their actions, to define their relationship to other actors, to use or own the value of what is produced by their actions.
- According to Marx, the worker in the capitalist mode of production does not own and control the products of his own labour. He does not use the wealth which he creates and thus, is alienated from his own product.
- According to Marx, in a capitalist society, human beings lose the ability to see their own products for what they are, and are willing to be enslaved by them. This is what is meant by commodity fetishism.
- Marx applied dialectics to the material or social world consisting of economic production and exchange. According to Marx, a study of the productive process explained all other historical phenomena. Marx noted that each generation inherited a mass of productive forces, an accumulation of capital, and a set of social relations which reflected these productive forces.
- Marx talked about the stages of human history, which were Primitive Communism, Slave Society, Feudalism, Capitalism and a *future society* based on Communism.
- Marxist theory advocates a class analysis of the state. It is different from the mechanistic theory as well as from the organic theory of the state. It treats the state neither as a 'natural institution' nor as an 'ethical institution'. Marxism treats the state as an artificial device which is neither a manifestation of the will of the people, nor an instrument of reconciliation of conflicting interests.
- According to the class theory, the state comes into existence when society is divided into two antagonistic classes, one owning the means of social production and the other being constraint to live on its labour.
- Marx and Engels provided a blueprint of a future state based on socialism. They elaborated that a communist society would eliminate all forms of alienation for the individual from nature, from society and from humanity. This does not merely mean consumer satisfaction, but the abolition of all forms of estrangement, the liberation of human forces and enhancement of personal creativity. In the future socialist state, the institution of private property and division of labour identified as the source of alienation would be destroyed as a prerequisite for the new and truly human phase in history.
- According to Marx, social progress would have to come about through a violent struggle between classes. By progress Marx meant the expansion of the productive capacity of both society and individual human beings. This would ultimately lead to greater freedom and equalities and to the realization of man's capacity.

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- It is necessary to remember that Marx emphasized the human causes of revolution. He was at pains to point out that he conceives of revolution as a mechanical result of the conflict of economic forces; it was something that had to be accomplished by human beings.

6.7 KEY TERMS

- **Proletariat:** The class of ordinary people who earn money by working
- **Marxist:** A person who supports the political and economic theories of Karl Marx
- **Alienation:** In Marxist analysis, alienation is the systemic result of living in a socially stratified society, because being a *mechanistic part* of a social class alienates a person from his and her humanity
- **Dialectical Materialism:** It is a strand of Marxism, synthesizing Hegel's dialectics, which proposes that every economic order grows to a state of maximum efficiency, while simultaneously developing internal contradictions and weaknesses that contribute to its systemic decay
- **Organic Theory of the State:** It is the theory which maintains that the state transcends individuals within the State in power, right, or priority
- **Primitive Communism:** It is a term used by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to describe what they interpreted as early forms of communism. As a model, primitive communism is usually used to describe early hunter-gatherer societies that had no hierarchical social class structures or capital accumulation

6.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Marx's theory of alienation is founded upon Marx's observation that, within the capitalist mode of production, workers invariably lose determination of their lives and destinies by being deprived of the right to conceive of themselves as director of their actions, to determine the character of their actions, to define their relationship to other actors, to use or own the value of what is produced by their actions.
2. It is the division of labour with all its effects, private ownership of the means of production and the products of labour, fetishism of commodities, the power of money, state, church and other institutions confronting the individual as alien forces, which produces the condition Marx described as alienation.
3. Marx believed that the conditions of man's alienation can overcome under communism which abolishes commodity production. In communism, there will be no private property and, therefore, no alienated labour.
4. Marx talked about the stages of human history as Primitive Communism, Slave Society, Feudalism, Capitalism and a *future society* based on Communism.
5. Marxist theory advocates a class analysis of the state. It is different from the mechanistic theory as well as from the organic theory of the state. It treats the state neither as a 'natural institution' nor as an 'ethical institution'. Marxism treats the state as an artificial device which is neither a manifestation of the will of the people, nor an instrument of reconciliation of conflicting interests.

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6. Unlike the organic theory, the class theory of the state makes a clear distinction between state and society. Society and the state do not come into existence together. The class theory treats society as a natural institution, and the state as an artificial device.
7. On the basis of scientific analysis of the system of capitalism, Marx asserted that a social revolution was inevitable. Revolution was certain to come, because the forces of discontent would eventually accumulate and break through all obstacles.
8. Marx saw that the driving force of social development was the historical tendency towards establishing property relations which corresponded to the level of development and character of the technique used of production at particular period.

6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the Marxist Theory of Alienation?
2. What does Marx's theory of alienation refer to?
3. Which two directions did contemporary Marxism develop into?
4. Why did Marx turn to journalism initially?

Long-Answer Questions

1. The division of labour under the capitalist system is what produces the conditions of alienation. Discuss.
2. What is the relationship between alienation and commodity fetishism?
3. While dialectical materialism represents the philosophical bases of Marxism, historical materialism represent its *scientific basis*. Explain.
4. Explain the Marxist class analysis of the bourgeois state.
5. What is the Marxists theory of Revolution? Discuss some criticisms of Marxist theory.

6.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 7 HERBERT MARCUSE

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Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Unit Objectives
- 7.2 Herbert Marcuse
- 7.3 The New Left and Radical Politics
- 7.4 Marcuse and Positivism
- 7.5 Marcuse's Early Heideggerian Marxism
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- 7.8 Summary
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- 7.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 7.11 Questions and Exercises
- 7.12 Further Reading

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Herbert Marcuse was a leading twentieth century New Left philosopher in the United States and a follower of Karl Marx. Marcuse's writing reflected discontent with modern society and technology and their 'destructive' influences, as well as the necessity of revolution. Herbert Marcuse co-founded the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research with Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer. The members of the Institute have been credited for the development of a model of Critical Theory, a type of Marxism influenced by psychoanalysis and existentialism, and their influential aesthetic theories and critiques of capitalist culture. Marcuse was involved in the Institute's many interdisciplinary projects, identifying in particular with critical social theory, and maintained a close relationship with the other members of the Institute throughout his life. In this unit you will learn about the life of Herbert Marcuse and also about his philosophy.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the life and times of Herbert Marcuse
- Describe the new left and radical politics
- Explain the idea of Positivism of Marcuse
- Discuss Heideggerian Marxism and Marcuse's interest in Capitalism
- Analyse the basic ideas of critical theory of society of Marcuse and its relationship between philosophy, social theory and cultural criticism

7.2 HERBERT MARCUSE

Life Sketch

Herbert Marcuse is an internationally renowned philosopher. He was also a member of the Frankfurt School. He was famous as a social activist and a theorist. Marcuse has been remembered as one of the most influential social critical theorists inspiring the radical political movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Herbert Marcuse was born on 19 July 1898, in a Jewish family. His father was Carl Marcuse and mother was Gertrud Kreslawsky. He was the eldest son of a Berlin Merchant. At the age of six, Marcuse entered an exclusive Berlin Vorschule, or preparatory school. He moved to the prominent Mommsen Gymnasium in Berlin at the age of nine. He studied in Kaiserin Augusta Gymnasium in the fashionable Charlottenburg suburb at the age of eleven. Marcuse received a privileged bourgeois education and biographical accounts indicate that he was a voracious reader of German classics and world literature from an early age. He also became deeply involved with modernism in arts and a wide range of literature and poetry.

Marcuse was famously known as a German philosopher, sociologist and political theorist. He was deeply associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory. Marcuse was a famous figure in the Frankfurt based Institute for Social Research which later came to be known as the Frankfurt School. He joined the Frankfurt School in 1932. He was also a co-founder of the 'Frankfurt School of Marxist Sociology' with Max Horkheimer and T.W. Adorno. In 1916, during the First World War, he joined the German Army, but his main job was to work in horse stables in Berlin. He then became a member of a Soldiers Council that participated in the aborted socialist Spartacist uprising. He completed his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Freiburg in 1922 on German Kunstlerroman. After completing his Ph.D. he moved back to Berlin, where he worked in the publishing sector. In 1924 he married Sophie Wertheim, who was a mathematician.

He became a member of the Social Democratic Party during his student years. After completing his studies he worked as a bookseller in Berlin. He published his first article in 1928 and returned to Freiburg in the same year to study with Edmund Husserl and write a Habilitation with Martin Heidegger. He published his book *Hegel's Ontology and Theory of Historicity* in the year 1932. This study was written mainly in the context of the Hegel renaissance. At that time renaissance was taking place in Europe with an emphasis on Hegel's ontology of life and history, idealist theory of spirit and dialectic.

In 1933, Marcuse joined the Institute for Social Research based in Frankfurt. He went into exile with other members of Frankfurt school. They first moved to Geneva and later to the United States. Unlike some other members of the Frankfurt school, Marcuse did not return to Germany after the war.

In 1933, Marcuse published his first major review of *Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. In this review, he revised the interpretation of Marxism, based on the early works of Marx. This review helped the world to see that Marcuse was becoming one of the most promising theorists of his generation.

In 1934, Marcuse took citizenship of United States. He never contemplated returning to Germany but remained one of the major theorists to remain associated

with the Frankfurt School for a long time, along with other philosophers such as Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, etc. In 1941, Marcuse published the most famous book which was based on a dialectical study of G.W.F. Hegel and Karl Marx on the book of *Reason and Revolution*. During the Second World War, Marcuse worked for the United States Office of War Information (OWI) on anti-Nazi propaganda projects. In 1943, he got transferred to another office which was a part of Central Intelligence Agency and the office was known as the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). He worked as a researcher in the Office of Strategic Services. His research work is based on the Nazi Germany and denazification. Marcuse was an employee of the central European section till 1951. He was given this job by the US Department of State. After remaining in government service for a long time, Marcuse became a faculty in Brandeis University. Before joining the University he spent four years doing part-time academic work. He retired from the University as a faculty after the death of his first wife in 1951.

In the late 1960s and 1970s after his studies, Marcuse became a prominent theorist of the New Left. He was also involved with the student's movements which had increased at that time in countries like Germany, France and USA. In 1943 and 1950, Marcuse wrote his book *Soviet Marxism*. He was known as the 'Father of the New Left'. His best known works are *Eros and Civilization* which was published in 1958 and *One-Dimensional Man* which was published in 1964.

Marcuse's belief in Marxist ideology and scholarship inspired many radical intellectuals and political activists in USA. Marcuse was a leading thinker of the new left and also called the Guru of student movement.

In 1952 Marcuse began his career in a different way and became a tutor of political theorist in Columbia University. Later on he also joined as a tutor in Harvard University and also at Brandeis University till 1965. He taught philosophy and politics in those universities. Later on he went to the University of California at San Diego as a tutor. After joining the university he was associated with people like the famous political sociologist Barrington Moore, Jr. and political philosopher Robert Paul Wolff. He was also a friend of C. Wright Mills, a sociology professor, in Columbia University. He was one of the founder members of the New Left movement.

Marcuse continued to identify himself as a Marxist, socialist and a Hegelian in the post war period. At that time he was known as the most explicitly political and left-wing member of the Frankfurt School. Marcuse's critiques of capitalist society resonated with the concerns of the student movement in the 1960s. His work heavily influenced the intellectual discourse on popular culture. He was always involved in many conferences and meetings in US and Europe in the late 1960s and 1970s. Marcuse became a close friend and inspirer of the French philosopher Andre Gorz. Marcuse also defended the East German dissident Rudolf Bahro who was arrested at that time. He was very much influenced by Rudolf Bahro's theories of 'change from within'. Jesuit Fr. James Chevedden made a written complaint to the Superior General of the Jesuit Order, Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, regarding the promotion of the ideology of the Marxist philosopher, Herbert Marcuse at the 1998 California Jesuit Province Social Pastoral Conference.

Herbert Marcuse married three times in his life. He has married to his first wife who was a mathematician in the year 1901. Her name was Sophie Wertman. Marcuse married Inge Neumann in 1910 after the death of his first wife. She was the widow of his close friend Franz Neumann. His third wife was Erica Sherover. Marcuse

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died after he suffered from a stroke during a visit to Germany on 29 July, 1979. His ashes were rediscovered in 2003 in United States and after that the ashes were buried in Berlin.

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7.3 THE NEW LEFT AND RADICAL POLITICS

Many famous radical scholars and activists such as Norman O. Brown, Angela Davis, Kathy Acker, Abbie Hoffman, Rudi Dutschke, and Robert M. Young, were influenced by Herbert Marcuse. Among those who criticized Marcuse from the left were Marxist humanist Raya Dunayevskaya and fellow German Emigre Paul Mattick. They mainly criticized Marcuse on the subject of *One-Dimensional Man*. They also gave their views about Marxist critique Noam Chomsky, who knew and liked Marcuse 'but thought very little of his work'. Marcuse in his essay of 1965 on *Repressive Tolerance* claimed that capitalist democracies can have totalitarian aspects. For this he has been criticized by many conservatives of that time. Marcuse argues that genuine tolerance does not permit support for 'repression' and for doing so ensures that marginalized voices will remain unheard. He characterizes tolerance of repressive speech as 'inauthentic'. Instead of this, he advocates a different thing which is called a form of tolerance that is intolerant of right wing political movements which he described as:

'Liberating tolerance, then, would mean intolerance against movements from the Right and toleration of movements from the Left'.

Marcuse said that 'surely, no government can be expected to foster its own subversion, but in a democracy such a right is vested in the people. This means that the ways should not be blocked on which a subversive majority could develop, and if they are blocked by organized repression and indoctrination, their reopening may require apparently undemocratic means. They would include the withdrawal of toleration of speech and assembly from groups and movements which promote aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, discrimination on the grounds of race and religion, or which oppose the extension of public services, social security, medical care, etc'.

Marcuse later expressed his radical ideas through three books. The books are:

- *An Essay on Liberation* in 1969 which was mainly on celebrating liberation movements such as those in Vietnam, which inspired many radicals at that period.
- Again in 1972 he wrote *Counterrevolution and Revolt*, which argues that the hopes of the people in 1960s were facing a counterrevolution from the right wing. His teaching contract was not renewed by Brandeis in 1965 and after that Marcuse decided to devote the rest of his life teaching, writing and giving lectures around the world. His initiative and efforts brought him attention from the media, which claimed that he openly advocated violence, although he often clarified that only 'violence of defense' could be appropriate, not 'violence of aggression'. He continued to believe and promote Marxian theory. He always supported student movements and for this he shared his ideas with some of his students.
- He published his final work *The Aesthetic Dimension* in 1979 on the role of high art in the process of what he termed as 'emancipation' from society.

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In fact, Marcuse's major works which were mentioned earlier such as *Eros and Civilization*, *One-Dimensional Man*, *An Essay on Liberation*, and *Counterrevolution and Revolt* mediated aesthetics with critical philosophy and social theory and a project of radical political critique and transformation. Thus, Marcuse was never an aesthetic, but rather saw art as a crucial phenomenon that helped to reveal the vicissitudes of contemporary society and that could help in the transformation of an oppressive world while inspiring the construction of a better one and promoting human liberation. Moreover, despite their limitations, Marcuse's continual reflections on utopia and liberation and the role of art in aiding social change contain many important insights. Much great art does have the potential of emancipation, and Marcuse's works help to reflect on how Cultural Revolution can help promote social change. In a difficult historical period, Marcuse had the courage and vision to project alternative possibilities in which a happier and freer life could be envisaged.

In Marcuse's view, the New Left provided important emphasis on the subjective conditions of radical social change and sought new and more humane values, institutions and ways of life. It embodied the best features of previous socialist and anarchist traditions that it concretized in social struggles such as the anti-war, feminist, ecological communal and countercultural movements. In Marcuse's view, this change was the demand for total revolution that distinguished the New Left and its championing of freedom, social justice and democracy in every sphere of life. Marcuse's work in the subject of philosophy and social theory generated many controversy and problems. Most of his studies and his work are highly tendentious and frequently sectarian. Marcuse was in favour of contemporary capitalist societies and spoke in defense of radical social change.

Marcuse specifically pointed to the risk involved in the demand for scientific study of society and politics. He argued that when the language of social science attempts to conform to the language of natural science, it tends to lend support to the status quo. In this context, scientific terminology is sought to be defined in terms of such operations and behaviour that are capable of observation and measurement. This is not giving any scope for critical version in the scientific language. For example, when people's participation is sought to be estimated on the basis of the numbers of voters who turn up at elections, we do not question whether the prevailing electoral system conforms to the true spirit of democracy. When the people adopt this method of study, then social science no longer remains an instrument of social inquiry but becomes an instrument of social control. The move towards New Left by Robert Nisbet and Herbert Marcuse is a long journey for the alienated individual to take in search of a state and the society in which he can live a life of creative happiness within himself, of love and friendship with his fellowman and peace, harmony with nature. But the search further appeared to have been vain and futile.

Marcuse embodied many political thoughts about the New Left in his own thoughts and politics. At that time a younger generation of political activists or the students looked up to a white haired German refugee in his mid 1960s for theoretical and political guidance. The Third World countries were disgusted by the excessive affluence of the advanced industrial societies and the violence of neo-imperialist interventions. The people of that generation found theoretical and political inspiration and also support in Marcuse's writings through which they could produce a New Left movement. Marcuse in turn tirelessly criticized 'advanced industrial society,' of USA which was based on imperialism, racism, sexism, environmental destruction and the

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forms of oppression and domination that he perceived as growing in intensity and scope.

In particular, it can be said that Marcuse's identification with the New Left will be discussed in the contemporary era and his attempt to sharpen his critique of the current society and to project radical alternatives. The younger generation of that time finds theoretical and political guidance and also insight into the life and work of Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse attempted to articulate the theory and practice of a New Left during that period. He also tried to influence a widespread social protest among the people. Marcuse believes that the rise of New Left is used for the vision of a free, liberated individual in a non-repressive society.

In Marcuse's view, the New Left is a specially advanced political force. He gives his views on this because this was instrumental in drawing political struggle into the realm of non-material needs and the physiological dimension. Hence, after adopting the new left ideology the new or the younger generation got involved in an emergent anti-corporate globalization. They had tried to bring worldwide peace and social justice movement in the making which may find theoretical and political guidance in the Marcusean texts. In the New Left ideology, Marcuse found concrete referents for his dialectical categories of contradiction, negation and the Great Refusal. The New Left activists were influenced by the famous philosopher. They found a teacher, defender and also a great spokesperson in Marcuse.

Marcuse and Students' Revolution

Marcuse always thought that the students are the future and agents to bring changes in the society. Because of this he associated himself with student revolutions in early sixties. The students' revolutions were mainly expected to change not merely institutions but also human attitudes, instincts, goals and values. His support for the revolts of the students was based on the hope that they would become an integral part of the struggle for freedom later waged by the subversive majority. Marcuse was totally clear that the students' movements itself is not revolutionary but believed that it was certainly a revolutionary expression and a possible prelude to revolutionary action. He supported the students' revolts because he believed that the students voicing their criticism of the society will soon take place as political and social forces in the society and then this protest will increase, and progressively acquire power which will bring radical change. His support for the students was therefore part of an effort:

- To create revolutionary mentality among the youth.
- To prepare them for leadership in the coming revolution against society.

In order to get over the existing forms of consciousness, which have rendered man as a one dimensional creature, Marcuse has evolved the concept of negative thinking. He advocates the same for the students also. He says that unless the student learns to think in the opposite direction he/she will be inclined to place the facts into the predominate framework of values. He further believes that it is a matter of natural right, for the minorities oppressed by the society to use extra legal means against it, when legal means prove inadequate. Marcuse thus called for change by adopting extreme ways such as violence. But with the exception of encouraging the students strategies through which revolution could be organized further or the stages through which revolution can take place.

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Marcuse tries to elaborate his ideas on:

- The existing situation
- The goal to be achieved
- The methods to be adopted for achieving it

His disgust for the contemporary society was as intense as ever 'we all feel, we experience, we have it in our bones, that the society is getting increasingly repressive, destructive of the human and natural capabilities to be free, to determine one's own life, to shape one's own life without exploiting others'. The most disappointing part of the philosophy of Marcuse however, is the enunciation of means. In a situation in which the working class is highly qualified salaried employees, technicians and specialists occupying a decisive position in the material processes of productions cannot be expected to provide any solid mass base for a revolution, democratic persuasion is not likely to carry us far. For this, Marcuse advocates not a large centralized and coordinated movement, but local and regional political action against specific grievances. According to him the specific grievances are mainly, riots, ghetto rebellions and so on. In his views the rising mass movements of that period lacked in political consciousness and depended more on the people. The movements was also depended on the political guidance and directions by militant leading minorities parties.

Marcuse was not in favour of setting up of political parties for this. He never envisaged any political party. He was always in favour of overt organizations, concentrated in small groups around local activities. He also supported the small groups which were highly flexible and autonomous and could take decisions without any delay. He also believed in small contesting and competing groups which can be actived at many points at the same time, such as a kind of political guerilla force which always acts for bringing peace in a disturbed area.

7.4 MARCUSE AND POSITIVISM

The development of positivist theory derived from a debate within European intellectual circles over the basis of human realities and the challenging of dominant discourses which espoused a view that made sense of the world through the power of God. As positivism was famous among the scholars of that period the members of Frankfurt school argued about positivism and they said that it may be seen as:

'amalgam of diverse traditions ... While the history of these traditions is complex and cluttered with detours and qualifications, each of them has supported the goal of developing forms of social enquiry patterned after the natural sciences and based on the methodological tenets of sense observation and qualification'.

Herbert Marcuse in his most famous book the *One Dimensional Man* sees positivism as an ideology, concentrating only on the observable. It rejects philosophical concepts such as justice, democracy and fulfillment. According to Marcuse the use of 'positivism' will focus on the work of the early French sociologist Henri de Saint-Simon. Herbert Marcuse defines positivism in his own words as partly encompassing 'the orientation of cognitive thought to the physical sciences as a model of certainty and exactness' and 'the belief that progress in knowledge depends on this orientation'. This type of affirmation attempts to assimilate intersectionality into models of certainty and exactness. In this way, the category works to facilitate the ideological presumptions of social scientific methodologies, particularly their claim to get at the truth of reality.

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Herbert Marcuse was born on 19 July _____.
 - (b) Marcuse was famous as a social activist and a _____.
2. Name the two best known works of Marcuse.
3. Why did Marcuse support students' revolution?

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Marcuse also described about positivism that, 'Positivism finds in the society the medium for realization and validation of its concepts'. He also said that positivism is the harmony between theory and practice and also between truth and facts. He also said that the people are doing this, whether they are conscious of it or not. Marcuse wrote that 'Paying respect to the prevailing variety of meanings and usages, to the power and common sense of ordinary speech'. He said that we should be more aware of whatever is coming our way so that we can say our everyday speech, regardless of whether it's at home or while discussing a topic in the classroom, we shouldn't take everyone's views for granted. Marcuse explains that, 'ordinary language reveals speaking as it does'. Regardless of our language, the context of our speech and our personal experience that has brought sense to each word, thought and whatever we speak is a philosophy in itself.

Marcuse discussed positivism and its philosophy, which tends to be compared to empiricism. Positivism was designed to solve philosophical problems, which had arisen as a result of scientific development. Positivism is basically empiricism brought to extreme logical consequences. All in all there are different philosophies and ways to study human language, but Marcuse points out how all is taken for granted. As mentioned earlier the debate on positivism mainly emerged from the European academic tradition. The most frequent critiques of positivism derived from the members of Frankfurt school, particularly seen in the work of Herbert Marcuse, Jurgan Habermas, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, etc. The influence of Fascism and forced emigration had a profound impact on members of the Frankfurt school and strengthened their acute feeling that oppression and injustice characterized the world.

The debate surrounding positivism can be seen in its widest sense as a dispute over the legitimation of contesting bodies of knowledge. The debate is concerned with validity of research, methodology and knowledge and in particular the validity of scientific methodologies as appropriate frameworks through which to understand human society. Friedman analysis unveils the critical nature of positivism. The members of Frankfurt school have challenged the way in which knowledge is legitimated and in particular, the way in which knowledge is situated in false dualisms which dissolves the tension between potentialities and actuality. The knowledge within a positivist paradigm is defined in terms of conceptions of science and conflicts and the knowledge in a society remains an inadequate paradigm for the analysis of human society. Positivism as a framework is based fundamentally on an assumption that facts may be measured objectively to ascertain universal truths about the world.

Marcuse's Concept of One-Dimensional Man

Herbert Marcuse as a young man was a member of the German Spartacist movement, a left wing revolutionary splinter group crushed by the Berlin government in 1919. He later became a Hegelian philosopher. His theory of one-dimensional man has mainly provided critical perspectives on contemporary capitalist and state communist societies. This theory has also given his notion of the great refusal which makes him a renowned theorist of revolutionary change and also liberation from the affluent society. During the period of 1960s to 1970s he became one of the most influential intellectuals in the United States.

Herbert Marcuse claimed to be a Marxist and gave brilliant analysis of the problem of freedom in contemporary western society. The orthodox Marxist as well

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as anti-Marxist has insisted on a scientific and economic interpretation of Marxism. In contrast, Marcuse, like other neo Marxists, underlined subjective, critical and humanist dimension of Marxism. He rejected Soviet Marxism by saying that it was a distorted version of Marxism and sought to revive the original, humanist interpretation of Marxism as a tool of analysis as well as an instrument of social change. In his *One Dimensional Man* which was published in 1964, Marcuse dwelled on the theme of alienation in contemporary Western Society. He gave a penetrating criticism of capitalism as regards its impact on human freedom. According to him, capitalism exercises monopolistic control not only on production and distribution, it also creates the desire and demands for commodities through a clever manipulation of the mass media. The result is widespread craze for consumer goods which develops into a distorted second nature of an individual. The consumer capitalism renders the oppressed sections insensitive to their original discontent, by stimulating their trivial, material desires which can be easily satisfied. Under the spell of gratification of these trivial desires, the genuine importance of freedom disappears. Against this the alienated human beings become unaware of their alienation. Under these circumstances, they should first be awakened to realize their condition of alienation in order to arouse their urge for freedom.

In his another book *Eros and Civilization* in 1966, Marcuse has given a blue print of society where alienation will be removed and freedom will be restored. The democratic community will be the place where work will become play, and the necessary labour will be organized in harmony with liberated and authentic individual needs. The discontinuance of repressive performance will eliminate surplus repression and will thus help to free the person from alienated labour. After that, Marcuse concludes with an optimistic need and said that the western society has already evolved a technology which is geared to meet most of the human needs. It is sufficient to enable a man to live in freedom and dignity. Once they understand the necessary conditions of freedom, they can transcend the era of violence and anarchy and that will bring a new society where freedom will reign supreme. Marcuse's view concerning the possibility of happiness has been criticized on many grounds. Some critics believe that human needs are endless and the gap between aspiration and achievement will never allow human beings to attain happiness. Then the question arises as to who would bring about revolution? In this regard Marcuse had no faith in the revolutionary potential of a proletariat. He made his hopes on the marginal elite of the unbrainwashed students and radically dispossessed members of the poorest classes. Some critics also argue that after denying the revolutionary potential of the proletariat Marcuse loses his claim to be a Marxist.

7.5 MARCUSE'S EARLY 'HEIDEGGERIAN MARXISM'

The Nazi's takeover made the political situation worsen in Germany. After Nazi's rule in Germany, in 1927, Marcuse read a much discussed book by Husserl who was a former assistant and successor of Martin Heidegger. In the famous book *Being and Time*, Husserl has made phenomenological method into a remarkably delicate instrument. This is mainly for investigating the most basic human experiences and their commitments. After reading this book Marcuse made a great change in his life. The book had given a way out of the dead to Marcuse and also brought an end of

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traditional Marxism. This also shows a way forward to a new concept of revolution. After that, Marcuse returned to Freiburg to take up his studies again. The intention of Marcuse was to enter the German university system as a professional philosopher. To understand Marcuse's thoughts, it is necessary to explain the phenomenology briefly in both its original Husserlian and its Heideggerian versions.

Marcuse wrote a series of essays during his stay in Freiburg. These essays explored the possibility of synthesizing Marxism and Heidegger's fundamental ontology. In 1928, Marcuse became Heidegger's assistant. The series of essays written by Marcuse was drawn critically on Heidegger's thought and that also attempted to synthesize it with Marxism. Marcuse's writing bring fundamental objection which was mainly concerned with Heidegger's basic concept of the world. Heidegger had attempted to uncover ultimate structures of the world. Later in his book he raised them to a higher plane by identifying specific worlds with national communities of meaning and carriers of tradition.

The early interest in Heidegger followed Marcuse's demand for 'concrete philosophy', which, he declared in 1928. Marcuse's interest in concrete philosophy was against the neo-Kantianism of the mainstream. This has also made a change against both the revisionist and orthodox Marxist. Though later on, Marcuse quickly distanced himself and his ideas from the views of Heidegger. This step was taken by him because Heidegger believes and supports Nazism. Later it was suggested by many thinkers such as the most famous member of Frankfurt School Jurgen Habermas that for understanding Marcuse's ideas, ideology and thinking it is essential to give credit and appreciation of his early Heideggerian influence in his ideas.

Marcuse always believes that Heidegger was the greatest teacher and thinker. Marcuse collected a series of lectures and notes and kept it as archives starting from the late 1920s until he left Freiburg in 1933. The collected documents give clear picture and the intensity of his interest in Heidegger's philosophy and his devotion to his lectures. But Marcuse was highly disappointed with Heidegger's political affiliations with National Socialism. He completed his Dissertation on Hegel's Ontology and the Theory of Historicity. He decided to leave Freiburg mainly to join the Institute for Social Research which was located in Frankfurt. The institute decided to open branch offices which Marcuse joined later at Geneva and then at the Columbian University.

It can be seen that from his very sketchy description of Heidegger's complex theory why he came to be known as existentialist. Like other philosophers such as Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, Heidegger promised philosophical insight into the most fundamental problems of personal life. Marcuse wrote at that time about Heidegger's work that it seemed to the people to be a turning point in the history of philosophy. He said that the turning point for the people was the bourgeois philosophy that transcended from within and also opened the way to a new concrete science. Marcuse applied this concrete science for understanding the passivity of the working class in the revolutionary situation. Marcuse also said that the idea of authenticity suggested a way of completing Marxism. This will happen by bringing a new theory of revolutionary consciousness among the people. He also gave his views that the traditional Marxism had failed because it relied on the motivating force of economic self-interest. It is misunderstood that the revolutions do not happen for simple economic reasons. After going through many ideologies Marcuse had a far more powerful instrument for mainly analysing the radical act in which individuals exist through transforming their world.

Marcuse published a series of essays that drew critically on Heidegger's thought and attempted to synthesize it with Marxism.

Marcuse's fundamental objection for Heidegger philosophy was mainly concerned with his basic concept of the world. Heidegger in his philosophy had attempted to uncover ultimate structures of the world which has left the particulars of specific worlds to the side as sociological details. In the later parts of his book, Heidegger referred to the details that he raised it to a higher plane by identifying specific worlds with national communities of meaning and carriers of tradition. Marcuse argued that in doing this, Heidegger covered the divisions within communities. Indeed, from a Marxist standpoint, the class divisions are ultimately more significant than nationality. It was seen that modern capitalism destroys tradition and it replaces it with a society which is based on self-interest. The authenticity in this situation becomes a matter of seizing the historical moment along with one's class in the affirmation of human possibilities against the routines of the existing society. While working with Heidegger, Marcuse decided to write a second thesis on Hegel which would qualify him to teach in the German university.

Marcuse's thesis was published in 1932. This thesis was based on remarkably rich and complex interpretation of Hegel which was strongly influenced by Heidegger's writing. But it was also different from Heidegger's ideas which were based on addressing the issue of history which is primarily in terms of Hegelian and Marxist notions of labour as the human power to produce worlds. It is seen that in Hegel's text labour is portrayed as loosely and symbolically related to actual work. Labour means the act of negating the given reality in the creation of objects or institutions that reflect various aspects of human reality. But despite the vagueness of Hegel's reference to labour, Marx made the most of it and saw in him an important predecessor. Marcuse appreciated Marx's takeover on Hegel but later he gives it a Heideggerian twist. An initial analysis of the tool used forms the background of the notion of being in the world. The world created by labour is in fact the Heideggerian world of experience awaiting and preparing the authentic act of the human subject.

Marcuse's interpretation of the ideology of Hegel was also influenced by Heidegger's theory of history. Heidegger's theory established the central significance of time in the constitution of the world. He has referred to a future that gives order and meaning to the present. Heidegger at that time worked out his theory of temporality in relation to individual human being. In his theory he had not explained clearly how history is constituted at the collective level. For Marx and Hegel the future is a collective project that emerges from tensions in the society that they reflect on different projects borne by different social groups. The progressive projects realize the potentials of the present that helps to develop human capacities. This notion of became the basis for Marcuse's theory which was described as two dimensions of society. The dimension of everyday facts and the dimension of transcending possibilities lead to higher stages of historical and human development. With this reinterpretation, Marcuse prepared his new concept of revolution. This interpretation of Hegel came close to Marx's early unpublished writings. In 1932, an unknown text emerged from the archives which were based on the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts and showed a revolutionized image of Marx.

In 1844, Marx had argued that capitalism was not simply an economic system for the society and that capitalism alienated workers from their basic nature as creatures capable of building a world through labour for fulfilling their needs and powers but

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the world did not belong to them. Instead it belonged to the capitalist perverting their whole existence into a debased struggle for survival. Marx in his writing attacked the destruction of the 'human essence' in an economic system that reduces the worker to nothing but into an abstract capacity for 'labour power'. He says that it was abstract because in the early factory system labour was measured solely in quantitative units of time and was stripped of all qualities of skill and creativity. Related to this text, Marcuse discovered about Marx's writing spoke of contemporary crisis of modernity as a whole. Marcuse also found similarities to his own writings rather than creative interpretations of Heidegger and Hegel.

Marx makes surprising claims that distinguish his concept of nature from that of the natural sciences and he brings it closer to the phenomenological concept of experience which Marcuse had gone through during his studies. Marcuse did not have to stretch the point in treating Marx's affirmation of the unity of human being and nature as an intentional correlation of subject and object, a kind of being in the world. What is more essential is that Marx grants this experiential unity a supreme ontological significance that is same like Husserl and Heidegger's views. But unlike these phenomenologists, Marx's version of being in the world has a radical historical character. Marcuse argues that the objectification of human faculties through labour under socialism which creates a humanized nature in which an individual can feel that he is finally at home. Marcuse emphasized these aspects of the Manuscripts and the early work of Marx and it brought to the culmination and turning point of his own phenomenological education.

Marcuse, is not only the root of Heidegger's failure, it explains why his so called mistake in allying himself with the Nazis is not just a mistake but is also the betrayal of the philosophy. Marcuse's self-interpretation has been seconded by numerous scholars who can see Marcuse's interest in Heidegger as a recovery of the subjective dimension of Marxism. One can see the evident enthusiasm in his review of Marx's Manuscripts of 1844 in New Sources on the Foundation of Historical Materialism. It is argued that Marcuse could allow his reservations about Heidegger to further distance himself, since this active, sensuous subjectivity could be found within Marxism itself.

7.6 MARCUSE AND CAPITALISM

Like Marx, Marcuse also accepts the Hegelian dialectic and uses this to reinterpret society. But he differs from Marx in as much as he believes in dialectical idealism, which would lead to the dictatorship of the intelligentsia, and not in dialectical materialism, which had led Marx to the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat. Marcuse differs from many political theorists such as Erich Fromm, David Reisman, Hannah Ardent, Erik H. Erikson, and C. Wright. Mills and all those writers who had deplored the human condition in contemporary industrialized society and had directly or indirectly suggested a return to the preindustrial age. Marcuse believed in industrialization and all its material benefits, but he thought that the time has come when we have to move, not towards preindustrial age but forward into a post industrial age. This is mainly to fulfill the objective of happiness of a particular individual not his performance. Marcuse differs both from Marx and Hegel, neither of whom had given much thought to the happiness of the individual. He has also shown a strong empirical insight into the critical analysis of the contemporary capitalism.

Marcuse argues that the performance principle was good when the industrial civilization was being built up and the life of the individual worker was both sustained and improved by increase in productivity, but now it has less or no relevance in present period. The individual has now obtained so much control over nature that the productivity has expanded to such a large extent, that it is no longer necessary for individuals to keep working throughout their lives. Marcuse argues that in the age of affluence in which we are living, production should be treated as a by-product of labour and the 'performance principle' should be replaced by the 'pleasure principle'. With scarcity having been conquered and the society having achieved maturity, the time has come to build up a non-repressive civilization, a civilization in which the individual can give expression to his creative and contemplative impulses and build up a higher form of culture based on harmony between individual and nature. According to Marcuse, by the capitalistic desire for profit which gives expression to what he calls 'surplus repression' he attributes it to the desire of a few individuals to control distribution and thereby to dominate other individuals. According to Marcuse, the surplus repression can certainly be eliminated by eliminating scarcity and liberating individual from the clutches of the performance principle, which has so far dominated human thought. It is the capitalists who make individuals work more than necessary, and also under the fear that if he knew that his basic needs could be satisfied even by working for a short period, he would not work and will keep his personality under complete suppression. A certain amount of repression is an unavoidable part of civilization but the greed of the capitalist leads him to inflict the surplus and unnecessary repression of the individual. He said that presently the main work for the society is to eliminate the surplus repression.

Marcuse is not particularly impressed by Marxism as it operates in the Soviet Union. He described it as a 'repressive, puritan morality rationalized on the basis of scarcity and external threats' and says it has merely led to new forms of repression. The Soviet Marxism mainly tried to obey all its ideologies which converted it to bring up a new ideology. Both capitalism and communism are thus equally destructive of human personality. An individual in all its social systems continually faces defeat and frustration in search for happiness. For this Marcuse has put all the blame on the pattern of consciousness which has taken the modern individual under their grip, which he brings in his theory of *One Dimensional Man*. The changes in consumption patterns and in the structure of the labour force, along with institution of the welfare state, have so much domesticated the working class and the labour movement that the classical Marxist doctrine of class conflict has become inapplicable in modern society. Modern industrial society has made man the victim of a specific ideology, and the irony of it, is that he is completely unaware of it. Marcuse's dismay at the failure or unwillingness to seize the productive capacities unleashed by capitalism and put them towards more humane purposes than those to which they were and currently are being put. Marcuse says that the conditions for transformation were for individuals present in the same conditions that also gives individuals so much reason for despair.

As mentioned earlier Marcuse was the follower of Marx. Marcuse's analysis of capitalism derives partially from one of Karl Marx's main concepts. The concepts are objectification, under which capitalism becomes Alienation. Marx wrote his views about capitalism and said that capitalism was exploiting human beings. This is happening by producing objects and the labourers becoming alienated which ultimately dehumanized human beings to become functional objects. After going through this

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Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Herbert Marcuse in his most famous book the *One Dimensional Man* sees positivism as an ideology, concentrating only on the
 - (b) Positivism was designed to solve philosophical problems, which had arisen as a result of
5. When was *One Dimensional Man* Published?
6. What is the book *Eros and Civilization* about?

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concept, Marcuse took this belief from Karl Marx and expanded it further in his own views. He argued that capitalism and industrialization pushed labourers so much that they thought themselves to be an extension to what they were producing. At the beginning of *One-Dimensional Man*, Marcuse writes, 'The people recognize themselves in their commodities, they find their soul in their automobile, split-level home and kitchen equipment'. This means that in capitalism, human beings become extensions of the commodities that they buy and thus makes commodities extensions of individual's minds and bodies. In capitalism Marcuse also argued that the affluent technological societies were totally controlled and manipulated. Under capitalism the societies are based on mass production and mass distribution.

The modern capitalism has created needs that are false and false consciousness which is locked one dimensional man into one dimensional society. The mechanism which ties an individual to the society has changed and the social control is part of the new needs which it has produced. Most important of all is that the pressure of consumers has led total integration of the working class into a capitalism system. In capitalism the political parties and the trade unions has become fully bureaucratized and the power of negative thinking or critical reflection has rapidly declined. The working class or the labour class is no longer potentially subversive and is capable of bringing revolutionary changes in the society. As a result of this, rather than looking at workers as the revolutionary group, Marcuse moved forward and pinned his faith in an alliance between radical intellectuals and groups which were not still integrated into one dimensional society. They were the socially marginalized, the substratum of the outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted, the unemployed and the unemployable individuals of the society. These were the people whose standard of living demanded the end of intolerable conditions and institutions and whose resistance to one dimensional society could not be diverted by the system. The involvement of these people in the revolution is extraordinary even if their consciousness was not so strong.

According to Marcuse, revolution means the necessary development of a subversive majority which can seek out the objective truth for itself. He does not ever hesitate in suggesting the leaders to adopt the subversive majority, which will determine to bring about a revolution or if organized repression is blocked then they can take recourse to undemocratic means. In other words Marcuse is in favour of encouraging all leftist movements and tolerating and encouraging violence directed against rightist movements.

Major contribution of Herbert Marcuse to the contemporary political thought is his analysis of how the mass media keeps on churning one dimensional thought which is systematically digested by man and the repetitive self-validating assumptions behind it are accepted by him as self-evident truths. The working class has become completely disorganized towards the established society and that it is no longer the same as Marx thought earlier that the main antagonistic force is a capitalist society. In the words of Marcuse, 'the tangible source of exploitation disappears behind the façade of objective rationality, hatred and frustration are deprived of their specific target and the technological veil conceals the reproduction of inequality and enslavement.'

Marcuse believed at that period, in the industrial society, a new kind of slavery had come into existence. He said that this is a type of slavery which is determined neither by obedience nor by hardness of labour but by the status of being a mere

instrument and the reduction of mass to the status of a thing. He said that this is a pure form of servitude, to exist as an instrument or as a thing. The labourer, shorn of all revolutionary attitudes, no longer poses a threat to advanced society. He said that neither partial nationalization nor extended participation of labour in management and profit would by themselves alter this system of domination, as long as labour itself remains a prop and an affirmative force.

Herbert Marcuse believes in a new kind of society and a new kind of man. He also believes that they are both desirable and attainable. He considers that in a non-repressive civilization, a civilization in which nature will be experienced primarily as contemplation, violent and explosive attempts will cease, and individuals will be actively engaged in display of the free manifestation of potentialities. He also believes that 'all laws are self-given by the individuals', individuals are free from discrimination by men and by institutions, and there is no surplus repression. This society will make optimum use of science and technology and minimize the need for human labour. The new type of individual emerging from this new form of society will make rational and scientific use of resources for the ultimate happiness of everyone. Marcuse said that when this mature society is established will bring an objective truth which can be discovered only in learning and comprehending that which can be done for the sake of improving mankind.

7.7 CRITICAL THEORY OF SOCIETY

The term critical theory itself was only established in 1937, after the majority of the institute members had already immigrated to the United States following the triumph of Hitler. This concept was initially a type of code which, while differentiating its adherents from prevailing forms of orthodoxy, tended to veil their radical commitments in an environment that was hostile to anything which was remotely associated with Marxism. But this term was stuck and soon used to encompass and define general theory of contemporary society that was associated with many political thinkers such as Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Friedrich Pollock, etc. Marcuse developed a model for critical social theory when he was a member of the Institute of Social Research. He created a theory of the new stage of state and monopoly of capitalism. In his critical theory he described about the relationships between philosophy, social theory and cultural criticism. He also provided an analysis of critical theory and also criticized the German fascism. He was closely associated with the institute and also worked whole heartedly with other critical theorists.

As mentioned earlier Marcuse is identified with a group of German thinkers who were known as member of the Frankfurt School. These thinkers were associated with ideas at one time or another with the Institute for Social Research that was founded at the University of Frankfurt in 1924. In this school Marcuse was one of the member and the other prominent members were Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. After some time, Walter Benjamin was recognized as another important member of this institute. The Frankfurt School belonged to one of the main components of the early twentieth century trend called 'Western Marxism'. This is the time period when the Western European thinkers were heavily influenced by Marx. This is seen in the interpretation of Marx's work which differed notably from the version propagated in the Soviet Union. The members of Frankfurt School defined their own unique version of Western Marxism during the 1930s. The members were in exile from Nazi

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Germany and they were already spread across the rest of Europe and United States. The members of Frankfurt School made a label and they named their version as the critical theory of society. In an essay on Traditional and Critical Theory which was published in the Institute's house journal in 1937,

Max Horkheimer defined critical theory of society as:

- A theory dominated at every turn by a concern for reasonable conditions of life
- A theory which condemns existing social institutions and practices as inhuman
- A theory which contemplates the need for 'an alteration of society as a whole'

The members of the Frankfurt School were among the early victims of the terror and repression that was to spread among the people. This was an important situation for developing the critical theory of society. The threat from the right wing was by far the worse of the two. Soviet Marxism was converting humane and ethical vision of progressive social change of Marx into the repressive ideology of a totalitarian state. The members of the Frankfurt School responded to the early signs by emphasizing the concept of human freedom and political freedom in the socialist vision. They criticized the reduction of Marxist ideology and thought which was developed for the society to a set of crude formulas. The threat from the right wings appeared to be the more serious at that time for many reasons. The reasons are mentioned below:

- First and the most important aspect is that it had started in some of the powerful nations in the west. The nations that had not only the most modern industrial technologies but also had a long tradition of European culture based on the most important human values. The human values were enlightenment, science, rationality, individual and political freedom, universal education, equality, tolerance, democracy, and the rule of law. These values were accepted by few supporters of socialism and they incorporated them in their own vision of a better future in the belief that socialist revolution will develop in European countries.
- Secondly, at that time the fascist movement was growing rapidly and the people were also supporting the movement as the strength of this movement was also increasing. Both Horkheimer and Marcuse were reaffirming their commitment to both the continued need for social transformation toward democratic socialism and to certain fundamental values of the Enlightenment tradition. In the longer run this was a fragile duality. After the end of the Second World War, Horkheimer gradually started believing that these twin commitments were incompatible and only the second one should be defended.

Marcuse identified with the 'Critical Theory' of the Institute and throughout his life maintained close but sometimes conflicting ties with Max Horkheimer, T.W. Adorno, Leo Lowenthal, and others in the Institute's inner circle. Marcuse worked intensely during the 1930s and early 1940s on Institute projects. Engaged with the Institute in developing a critical theory of contemporary society, and focusing on culture and ideology, Marcuse undertook to develop a critical theory of art and aesthetics, a project that he would continue to pursue in different historical contexts. The critique of ideology was an important component of the Institute's work and they began in the 1930s to examine how bourgeois culture helped to reproduce, legitimate, and cover over the social relations of capitalism. Critical theory contextualizes phenomena in terms of a specific historical situation and at the time the Institute was developing a

critical theory of bourgeois-capitalist society in its transition to fascism. Accordingly, Marcuse set out to develop a theory of bourgeois culture that would reveal how it helped to serve ideological mystifying functions for the bourgeoisie by reproducing the social relations of industrial capitalism. Further, he set out to show how the different aspects of bourgeois culture helped to prepare the way for fascism and had certain continuities and differences with the fascist culture. Thus one aspect of the critical theory of art is to delineate how it serves to advance oppression and domination. But for Marcuse, critical theory also depicts the positive emancipatory and utopian features of cultural phenomena that can advance the cause of human liberation, helping to create a freer and happier life. Accordingly, Marcuse also explicated the utopian and emancipatory features of bourgeois culture that could help create a better society and thus serve the interests of emancipation and radical social transformation – a project that Marcuse would be committed to for decades to come.

A critical theory of art is thus a dialectical one, criticizing negative features and articulating positive ones. It analyses art within specific social formations and develops utopian notions of art and liberation that show that art can have emancipatory potential and effects within specific social conjunctures. Accordingly, Marcuse's key analyses of art articulate defining and constitutive contradictions, ambiguities, and ambivalences of art; thus it is a mistake to read him as an idealist aestheticist or reductive ontologist of art for he always historicizes his analyses and stresses contradictions and ambivalences. For example, Marcuse's 1937 study 'The Affirmative Character of Culture' focused on the dialectics of Western art in particular during the era of German fascism; later he reflected on the potentials of art and the aesthetic dimension, first in the context of a repressive conformist society in the US in the 1950s and early 1960s, and then in the context of world revolution in the later 1960s and 1970s followed by a global counterrevolution and a retreat of the Left.

Marcuse's reflections on art, however utopian, are grounded in very specific historical environments and are part of a critical theory of society, providing analysis of a given society and aiming at radical social transformation. Thus, Marcuse's reflections on art are grounded in critical social theory and politics, and while art is a quasi-autonomous dimension for him, it is deeply involved in the vicissitudes of society and history. Marcuse has a transcendental ontology of art, since reflections on art and aesthetics for him from the time of his work with the Institute for Social Research in the 1930s are always bound up with a specific historical conjuncture and imbricates in critical social theory and radical politics.

Marcuse continued to believe that the two reasons for which the country is facing threat will not change until the end of his life and he said that the two were inseparable. But later he remembered about the third element in critical theory, which was not yet discussed. This aspect of critical theory was shared by Horkheimer and Marcuse. Although this element was strongly supported by Marcuse they named this as the utopian spirit which was from the beginning a main element in critical theory and also believe as the moral basis for this theory. The meaning of utopia is described as both no place and good place. Utopia is the term which has the oldest traditions of thought in the modern west. The idea of utopia or the word originated and emerged in a seminar entitled *Utopia*, which was written by the English statesman and philosopher Thomas More in 1516. This term is used almost for the next three hundred years. Many books have been written by using a similar term and also appeared envisioning a more perfect society.

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There was a great change in the utopian tradition when industrialism came into existence in the nineteenth century. Till the nineteenth century, the political economy of the good society was usually described by utopian writers. Before industrialism came into existence, the political economy was described as a form of communitarian agrarianism, which was described as a farm based economy with progressive social relations. At that time according to the utopian writers the good society means equality of possessions and work obligations, peaceful relations with neighbours, universal education, satisfying craft labour and also more equal gender relations. The country has some exceptions, like they have very few rich societies but they all made their provisions for fulfilling the basic needs. In this the main point is that they were more just, more humane and more enlightened. But after industrialism entered in the society for the first time the individuals felt that the future society could be far richer to bring the described society by the utopian writers because industrialism will free the individuals from the curses of earlier times, which was on endless and backbreaking labour. These above mentioned themes found their way into that part of the tradition of social criticism that promoted an explicit vision of socialism or communism.

Karl Marx clearly predicted the utopian speculations but he was skeptical of ethically inspired depictions of the future. At that time he believed that as most of the other utopian writers were trying to show not only the need to transcend the unjust society in the name of something better, but also the ways to accomplish that goal. Later he argued that for the existing society a lot more was required which was a far more exact account of how the prevailing society functioned. This could be necessary because the secret of the future society depends on its present function. Marx argued that according to Hegelian thought, once the individuals can understand the precise nature of the changes which come in a society and that the capitalist industrial society is forced upon its predecessors then only it would be possible to understand the forces which are growing within. These types of changes were mentioned as the free-market relations and the commodity form of production. This will put an impact on human labour, the factory system, sweeping together diverse populations into larger collectivities, the collapse of older social class formations into just two polarized classes, capitalist and proletariat. The last and final impact will be the existential foundations of the revolutionary character of the proletariats and the class that would abolish itself in the process of unseating the capitalists from power. This will also give more impact on the society by making the class that will unlike all its other predecessors, would not re-establish political domination among other individuals that is to serve its own interests in future but that would gradually try to bring an end to all class system in human history.

During the exile period Horkheimer wrote about the critical theory by describing that 'one thing which this way of thinking has in common with fantasy is that an image of the future which springs indeed from a deep understanding of the present determines men's thoughts and actions even in periods when the course of events seems to be leading far away from such a future and seems to justify every reaction except belief in fulfillment. . . . But in regard to the essential kind of change at which critical theory aims, there can be no corresponding concrete perception of it until it actually comes about. Marcuse also linked the idea of utopia to the human capacity for fantasy'. Horkheimer also expressed his views in his book on *Philosophy and Critical Theory* where he refers to the famous set of three questions. These three

questions were also raised by another philosopher like Kant who had posed at the end of his *Critique of Pure Reason*. The three questions were described as 'What can I know? What should I do? and What may I hope? After going through these questions Marcuse comments that the critical theory is not the depiction of a future world, although the response of fantasy to such a challenge might not be as absurd as we are led to believe. If fantasy was set free to answer the fundamental philosophical questions asked by Kant then all of sociology would be terrified at their utopian character. And then also the answers will be that fantasy will be very close to the truth.. or it would determine the position of man on the basis of what he really can be tomorrow or in the future.

During writing all these Horkheimer and Marcuse knew that they would have had the reality of their own circumstances which were in their mind. These two philosophers were among those who had fled for their lives from a regime that would have arrested, tortured, and killed them either for their thoughts or for their ethnicity, or both. As the power of fascism reduced from his own country, Marcuse reduced critical theory to its barest essentials. Marcuse replied to the question on, 'What may I hope?' This pointed less to internal bliss and inner freedom than to the fulfillment of needs and wants. In a country where such type of future is a real possibility, fantasy is important in the task of holding the goal continuously. Marcuse never wavered in his adherence to this standpoint. Marcuse had total faith in fantasy which was closely connected to beliefs about art that existed in his critical theory. He survived with the disappointments that led his closest colleague, Max Horkheimer, to abandon it at the end of the Second World War.

The heroic period of the Frankfurt School was over as the Institute for Social Research was eventually reestablished at the University of Frankfurt in 1951. The gap between Marcuse and his former colleagues is evident in discussions held in 1947 as to when and how to restart the Institute's main publication which was the *Journal of Social Research*. This publication was closed during their period of exile. After a long discussion Marcuse drafted a programmatic document referring to this text for Horkheimer in which he proposed that the theory must be adjusted to current circumstances and become more closely tied to practice. This theory will help for explorations of how the dream of the individuals for having a better future might be realized. This untitled document given by Marcuse also argues that after the war the world of nations is split into two divisions such as neo fascist and Soviet camps. He said that the remaining group of democratic liberal will be crushed between the two groups. Further, he said that it remains true to the vision that a society of free persons can only result from the actions of a revolutionary working class. This will happen because the society alone has the real power to abolish the existing relations of production and the entire apparatus that goes with it.

The document given by Marcuse also acknowledges that the working class of the time is not ready to play this role because its own needs and perceptions have become habituated to the structures of the existing capitalist society. Thus the traditional class antagonisms are frozen in place, and one cannot imagine any longer the possibility of a revolutionary consciousness arising spontaneously in the working class. This though was also shown by Marx and also had assumed in his writings. Therefore, Marcuse draws the logic as a conclusion that all this has confirmed the correctness of the Leninist conception of the vanguard party as the subject of the revolution. Marcuse's

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Check Your Progress

7. State whether True or False:

- (a) Herbert Marcuse in his most famous book the *One Dimensional Man* sees positivism as ideological.
- (b) Institute for Social Research was re-established at the University of Frankfurt in 1943.
- (c) Herbert Marcuse was born in Berlin on 19 June, 1867 in a Jewish family to Carl Marcuse and Gertrud Kreslawsky.
- (d) Herbert Marcuse believes in a new kind of society and a new kind of man.
- (e) Marcuse's analysis of capitalism derives partially from one of Hegel's main concepts such as: Objectification, under which capitalism becomes Alienation.
- (f) The term critical theory was established in 1937.

project was nowhere at that point of time when his colleagues felt that this kind of analysis and a programme of studies was of no use. After four years when Horkheimer returned to Frankfurt institute Marcuse never received from him a firm offer of employment at the Institute and the University of Frankfurt. Marcuse crossed fifty years and till that time he had no permanent job. He hoped to get a call from his old institute to rejoin his old colleague. He did not receive any call from the institute and later he reluctantly accepted the offer of a faculty position at Brandeis University in 1954. After teaching in the Brandeis University he moved to the University of California which was in San Diego, in 1965. He spent his whole academic career in various universities of United States.

In his life time Marcuse does not appear to see the difficulties inherent in his hopes for autonomy and the unity of subject and object. He never tried to prove that rational freedom would be conducive to happiness or otherwise desirable. However, he is sensitive to charges that he is utopian in his dreams of moral, communistic men rationally controlling the world and achieving fulfillment. He responds to various charges put on him by channeling discussion in two directions. These two directions are:

- Firstly, he says that the vision of perpetual pleasure is made to seem Utopian by the painful reality of work and the common sense knowledge that man will have to toil all his days to make a living. He does not look into other arguments which could be based on the nature of the appetites themselves, arguments epitomized by Plato's comparison of the intemperate life to an effort to keep a leaky jar filled. He probably would answer such objections by saying that the jar could be kept filled by adjusting the rate of influx to the rate of draining and that the only significant question then would be how much work would be necessary to keep the two rates equal.
- Secondly, Marcuse sees no reason at all to doubt that people could subject the world to fore sight if they wished but he does admit that human wickedness is a barrier to rationality and communism. As a Freudian, he conceives of this problem as that of man's aggressiveness and he knows that Freud considered aggressiveness an indestructible feature of human nature. This led Freud to attack the ideal of a moral, collective existence in which ill will and hostility would disappear among men as an untenable illusion. Marcuse, naturally, does not agree. He maintains that neither aggressiveness nor the necessities of work are insurmountable obstacles to freedom. He thinks that both problems have been solved in principle and that they only appear insoluble today because common sense has not awakened to the genuine possibility of a new reality.

Some of the political thinkers described the work of Herbert Marcuse such as, Lukes who goes wrong by failing to situate Marcuse's work as a whole within the problematic of Marxism and critical theory, while Reitz correctly grounds much of Marcuse's work in his Marxism and critical theory, but argues that there are moments of an idealist aesthetics and ontology of art in contradiction to Marcuse's more sociological and political takes on art. The idealist, utopian, and ontological moments of Marcuse's analysis should be read in the framework of the critical theory of society that informed his work from the 1930s until his death.

ACTIVITY

Compare views of Marcuse with that of Karl Marx.

DID YOU KNOW?

Marcuse published his final work *The Aesthetic Dimension* in 1979 on the role of high art in the process of what he termed 'emancipation' from bourgeois society.

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7.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Herbert Marcuse's engagement with art and aesthetic theory was a major concern of his work that generated many important contributions to aesthetics, cultural studies and critical social theory.
- In his dialectical vision, critical theory was to delineate both forms of domination and oppression and possibilities of hope and liberation.
- For Herbert Marcuse, culture and arts played an important role in shaping forces of domination, as well as generating possibilities of liberation.
- Marcuse's work is part of a historical and dialectical tradition of critical theory that is to be appropriated, worked through, developed and taken up in new directions and with new positions and ideas in evolving historical situations which was seen in the case of Marcuse's own work.
- Marcuse described or imagined for advanced industrial society as an all encompassing system of repression that subdued argument and debate, and also absorbed opposition. As mentioned earlier his hopes rested not with the proletariat, but with the marginalized groups such as students, ethnic minorities, women and the countries of the third world.
- It is clearly stated that, Marcuse was a great a thinker and activist which was also accepted by his colleagues in the Frankfurt School because like them he never gave up from his own thoughts and ideas.
- Marcuse struggled for more than thirty years, but he never ceased reinterpreting and reconfiguring the critical theory of society.
- By adopting the critical theory of society Marcuse had a single aim in his mind to track the obscure path to the socialist utopia through the latest transformations in capitalist societies in an era marked by an astonishing rise in material wealth.

7.9 KEY TERMS

- **Heideggerian Marxism:** The term which was earlier adopted by Herbert Marcuse. This is a philosophy which Heidegger has written about Marxism at that time

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- **Critical Theory:** According to Herbert Marcuse critical theory is mainly to concern with human happiness, and the conviction that it can be attained only through a transformation of the material conditions of existence
- **Denazification:** Social process of removing Nazis from official positions and giving up any allegiance to Nazism
- **Vicissitudes:** A change of circumstances or fortune
- **Empiricism:** The view that experience, especially of the senses, is the only source of knowledge
- **Phenomenological:** A philosophy or method of inquiry based on the premise that reality consists of objects and events as they are perceived
- **Ontologist:** One who studies the philosophical study of the nature of being

7.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) 1898
 - (b) theorist
2. Marcuse's best known works are *Eros and Civilization* which was published in 1958 and *One-Dimensional Man* which was published in 1964.
3. His support for the revolts of the students was based on the hope that they would become an integral part of the struggle for freedom later waged by the subversive majority. Marcuse was totally clear that the students' movements itself was not revolutionary but believed that it was certainly a revolutionary expression and a possible prelude to revolutionary action. He supported the students' revolts because he believed that the students voicing their criticism of the society will soon take place as political and social forces in the society and then this protest will increase, and progressively acquire power which will bring radical change.
4. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Observable
 - (b) scientific development
5. *One Dimensional Man* was published in 1964.
6. In his book *Eros and Civilization* in 1966, Marcuse has given a blue print of society where alienation will be removed and freedom will be restored. The democratic community will be the place where work will become play, and the necessary labour will be organized in harmony with liberated and authentic individual needs.
7. State whether true or false:
 - (a) True
 - (b) False
 - (c) False
 - (d) True
 - (e) False
 - (f) true

7.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by positivism?
2. Why Marcuse was called as the guru of student revolution?
3. Write a brief note on the life of Herbert Marcuse.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe Marcuse's most famous book *One Dimensional Man*.
2. Discuss Marcuse *Critical Theory of Society*.
3. Marcuse continued to maintain throughout his life that Heidegger was the greatest teacher and thinker that he had ever encountered. Explain why?

7.12 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 8 FRIEDRICH AUGUST VON HAYEK

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Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Unit Objectives
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- 8.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 8.11 Questions and Exercises
- 8.12 Further Reading

8.0 INTRODUCTION

If any twentieth-century economist was a Renaissance man then it was Friedrich Hayek. He made fundamental contributions in political theory, psychology and economics. In a field in which the relevance of ideas often is eclipsed by expansions on an initial theory, many of his contributions are so remarkable that people still read them more than fifty years after they were written. Hayek was the best-known advocate of what is now called Austrian Economics. He was, in fact, the only major recent member of the Austrian school who was actually born and raised in Austria. In this unit you will learn about the life of F.A. von Hayek and also about his political philosophy.

8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the life and times of F.A. von Hayek
- Explain neo-liberalism of Hayek
- Discuss Hayek's belief in democracy and the democratic system
- State the importance of liberty and freedom for human beings according to Hayek
- Describe Hayek's views on social justice

8.2 F.A. VON HAYEK – LIFE SKETCH

Life Sketch

Friedrich August von Hayek was born in Vienna on 8 May 1899 to a distinguished family of Viennese intellectuals. He was the son of August von Hayek, a doctor in the

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municipal health service. Hayek's grandfathers were prominent academics working in the fields of statistics and biology. After 1919, titles of nobility were banned by law in Austria, and the 'von Hayek' family became simply the Hayek family. Hence, after 1919, Hayek's legal name became 'Friedrich Hayek', not 'Friedrich von Hayek'. He was the eldest son amongst three. His paternal line had been raised to the ranks of the Bohemian nobility for its services to the state. Similarly, a generation before his maternal forebears had also been raised to the lower noble rank.

In 1917, Hayek joined the artillery regiment of the Austro Hungarian Army and fought from the Italian side. He was a spotter in an aeroplane. During the war, Hayek damaged his left ear that left him with a hearing defect. He honoured for bravery. Hayek survived the 1918 flu pandemic during this time.

Hayek was second cousin to the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein from his mother's side. As a result of their relationship, Hayek became the first reader of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus* when the book was published in German edition in 1921. Hayek had met Wittgenstein only on few occasions. He said that Wittgenstein's philosophy and his methods of analysis had a huge influence on his life and thought. Hayek recalled a discussion of philosophy with Wittgenstein in his later years when both were officers during the First World War. After the death of Wittgenstein, Hayek wanted to write the biography of Wittgenstein and worked on collecting his family materials. On his father's suggestion, Hayek read the genetic and evolutionary works of Hugo de Vries and the philosophical works of Ludwig Feuerbach.

In school Hayek was impressed by the lectures on Aristotle's ethics. He was influenced by these lectures which helped him in his writings later.

In October 1921, Hayek met Ludwig von Mises, a very important person in his life. At that time Mises was a financial adviser at the Chamber of Commerce. Mises was known as a famous and respected economist at that time. He had written a book *The Theory of Money and Credit* which was published in 1912. In his book he described how government expansion of money and credit caused inflation. At that time Hayek was searching for a job and Mises helped him to get one. He started his job with a salary of 5,000 old kronen per month. After nine months his salary increased to a million old kronen per month. This happened after an effort was made to maintain the purchasing power amidst Austria's postwar inflation.

Later, Hayek decided to pursue an academic career, determined to help avoid the mistakes that had led to the war. Hayek said about his experience in his own words, 'The decisive influence was really World War I. It's bound to draw your attention to the problems of political organization'. He vowed to work for a better world. He studied in the University of Vienna and earned doctorate degrees in law and political science in 1921 and 1923 respectively. Hayek joined the University at the age of 19 just after the First World War. The University of Vienna was one of the three best places in the world to study economics followed by Stockholm and Cambridge in England. First he joined as a student of law, but was interested to study economics and psychology. Therefore, later he also studied other subjects like philosophy, psychology and economics. In February 1931, Hayek had arrived in England to deliver a series of lectures at the London School of Economics. Hayek met Helen Berta Maria von Fritsch at Abrechnungsamt, a secretary at the civil service office where Hayek worked. Hayek liked her and they decided to get married. They got married in the summer of 1926. They had two children named Christina Maria Felicitas and

Lorenz Josef Heinrich. After his marriage Hayek decided to continue his studies. As at that time the University of Vienna was closed for sometime Hayek studied in Constantin von Monakow's Institute of Brain Anatomy, where Hayek spent much of his time staining brain cells. Hayek's time in Monakow's lab, and his deep interest in the work of Ernst Mach, inspired Hayek's first intellectual project which was eventually published as *The Sensory Order* in 1952. It located connective learning at the physical and neurological levels, rejecting the 'sense data' associationism of the empiricists and logical positivists. Hayek presented his work in a private seminar that he had created with Herbert Furth called the Geistkreis. He divorced Helen in July 1950 and married Helene Bitterlich just a few weeks later. Hayek moved to Arkansas in order to take advantage of permissive divorce laws. Hayek did not believe in religion and he was an agnostic.

During his years at the University of Vienna, Carl Menger's work on the explanatory strategy of social science and Friedrich von Wieser's commanding presence in the classroom left a lasting impression on Hayek. After his examinations, on Wieser's recommendation Hayek was hired by Ludwig von Mises as a specialist for the Austrian government working on the legal and economic details of the Treaty of Saint Germain. He worked as a research assistant to Prof. Jeremiah Jenks of New York University between 1923 and 1924. His work was to compile data on macroeconomics of American economy and the operations of the U.S. Federal Reserve.

In 1962, Hayek got a call from the University of Freiburg to join the faculty of economics and to teach economic policy which he accepted. He did not acquire the chairmanship which was in the hands of a former faculty Eucken. He mainly wanted to join the university to be a part of an unforgettable heritage of Walter Eucken. Hayek became the president of Walter Eucken Institute which was founded in 1954 and later became the honorary president of the institute.

Hayek was an academician who taught at the London School of Economics and the Universities of Chicago, Freiburg and Salzburg. Hayek was awarded the Nobel Prize for economics in 1974. After he got his Nobel Prize his interest in Austrian school got suddenly revived. As an exponent of Austrian school, he was a firm believer in individualism and market order, and an implacable critic of socialism.

After Hayek came back to Austria, Mises helped him to join the Institute for Business Cycle Research where he became the first director. In the beginning, Hayek started the institute without any official staff and later on the institute was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. Later in Central Europe the institute was recognized as a leading centre for the study of economics. Hayek and the institute primarily prepared studies on economic conditions in Austria and central Europe for the League of Nations. Hayek moved to London in September 1931. Oskar Morgenstern took over as the director of the institute and he remained in this position till the Nazi annexation of Austria. In 1938, the Institute ceased to operate as an independent organization.

Lionel Robbins, the economics professor of London School of Economics, impressed by Hayek's work on the causes of economic depressions invited him to his university to deliver guest lectures and later Hayek joined the institute as a full time professor. Hayek was introduced as an English speaking economist who believed that a depression was the consequence of a prior inflation of money and credit. Hayek was an academician at the London School of Economics till 1949. At that time he published many important writings that established his international stature as one of the leading economists of his time. During this period he became the

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greatest challenge to the emerging New Economics of Keynes. He published many books such as *Prices and Production* and *Monetary Theory* and the *Trade Cycle*. He has also published a series of articles which were reprinted in 1939. His articles were reprinted under the title *Profits, Interest and Investment* and *The Pure Theory of Capital*. Hayek in his theory of business cycle argued that business cycles had their origin in the mismanagement of the monetary system. He also wrote a lengthy two part review of Keynes's *Treatise on Money* for the journal called *Economica*. In this review, Hayek explained his theory and emerged as a critique of Keynes's work. It was in this period, when Hayek applied his thinking about central planning to current politics.

The famous book, *Road of Serfdom* written in 1944, was a pioneering work that attacked economic interventionism. In this book he has warned of the danger of tyranny that inevitably results from government control of economic decision making through central planning. In the book his message was clear and he said that the systems like Nazism and fascism were not the only threats to liberty. Many people read this book and know about his ideas. The later works of Hayek were: *The Constitution of Liberty* written in 1960, and *Law, Legislation and Liberty* written in 1979 developed themes in political philosophy. His writings had considerable impact on the emergent New Right. Hayek was specialist in business cycle theory which was recognized as his early work on industrial fluctuations and modern information theorists. Hayek's work is also famous for his writings on political philosophy, legal theory and psychology. He was a widely influential person in Austria because he has given importance on spontaneous order and his work on complex systems. The famous scholars and philosophers have given special credit to Hayek's other works which were on technical economics, particularly on capital and the business cycle, which were citing a tension between some of Hayek's and Mises's views on the social order. In mid-1970s, Hayek himself attended the conference which was organized at the Institute for Humane Studies. He continued his writing and wrote a book on *The Fatal Conceit* at the age of 89.

He died on 23 March 1992, at the age of 92 in Freiburg, Germany. He was living there since he left Chicago in 1961. His funeral was conducted by Father Johannes Schasching and was attended by hundreds of people. Hayek was buried in Neustift, a cemetery overlooking the Vienna Woods.

8.3 HAYEK AND NEOLIBERALISM

Friedrich A. von Hayek is undoubtedly one of the most significant liberal thinkers of the past century. He was also known as the most important classical liberal political economist of the twentieth century. Hayek comes across as a more conservative type of neoliberal who while approximating at many places a utilitarian argument in favour of neoliberalism and bases his political thought on an idea of natural law. In Hayek's theory it is the notion of a 'spontaneous order' of social life, which is better than any kind of artificially created order when it comes to securing individual liberty and well being.

One could more easily identify, however, some of the common varieties of liberalism and liberal thought. One frequently encountered distinction between classical and modern types of liberalism. Classical liberalism is associated with earlier liberals such as the already mentioned famous political philosophers John Locke and Adam

Smith. In addition, he names Alexis de Tocqueville from the nineteenth century, and Friedrich von Hayek from the twentieth century, as belonging to the tradition of classical liberalism.

Adam Smith, the famous economist of twentieth century, defined liberal tradition as minimal concept of the state and Hayek has given the continuity and support to this liberal tradition. The liberal tradition's special contribution refers to the radical criticism which is towards the idea of social justice. According to him this concept is a disguise to protect corporate interests from the middle class. This concept promotes the elimination of public, social and economic interventions. According to Adam Smith, the minimal state is a way to escape from the power of the middle class that controls the democratic process and this will give the aim of obtaining redistribution of wealth through the public treasury. He has mentioned this programme mainly to eliminate ruling, to privatize, to decrease the amount's of programmes to fight unemployment, which would help to eliminate subsidies to housing and also to control the rents, to reduce the expenditures in social security and finally to limit the power of trade unions. He said that the state must not ensure any type of redistribution which will further serve the criteria of social justice.

He has tried to provide a legal framework which will give guarantees for elementary rules of exchange. He also suggested the elimination of the nationalization of the currency and also the privatization of national central banks to submit the monetary production to the world market. This statement was given by him in 1967. At that time this stand showed that it offered different tonalities of socialism. His position was an attempt to provide different perspectives to the radicalism which is embedded in his liberalism. For this Hayek has given an example, which refers to the creation of a minimal income, but the proposal should be seen as a rehabilitation of the British law for indigents and not for a peculiarity of a so called Hayekian type of socialism.

Hayek has developed the theory based on his belief and shared by all the liberals. The liberals who shared and supported this theory was from the classics and also included other scholars who favoured the Austrian thesis. According to Adam Smith's Theory, the symbol of invisible hand ensures a proper relation between offer and demand in various markets. This perfectly illustrates the common believe which many people try to demonstrate by using different theories. The different theories are the general equilibrium of Walras, spontaneous order in the market or catalaxy according to Austrian school which was developed by Pareto. These theories are natural; it is not something the individuals want and is not planned in the market or anywhere else.

The Hayekian concept on the economy is used to justify the criticism for interventionism which was shown as a generator of imbalances and problems of catalaxy. Hayek considers that the Keynesians transform the state into an economic director. It is clear that the political philosophy of Hayek is very close to the thesis which was developed by John Locke. According to Hayek the state defends the natural right of the property and it is also limited by individualist clauses which was in its nature a hypothetical founding of the contract.

According to him the law is transformed into a protecting instrument which was a spontaneous order in the market. This was basically important to defend economic liberalism. The democratic ideas helped in provoking Hayek's statements. According to Hayek, democracy does not constitute an infallible political system: it is essentially a means, a utility procedure to safeguard internal peace and also individual

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freedom. He also said that it is preferable to have a non-democratic regime than a planning democracy. He preferred the non-democratic regime because it could guarantee the natural order of the market towards the society. Hayek thought that this is a mixture of liberalism and conservatism. This was an initiative to give importance against unlimited democracy which leads to unavoidable totalitarian democracy.

Although Hayek was trained as a technical economist, his main work and interest was extended well beyond the discipline of economics. In fact, the most productive reading of Hayek's work is as an interconnected research programme of 'political economy' that overlaps the disciplines of economics, politics and law. As Gordon described in his notes, that Hayek's writings on these matters or disciplines are unequalled in profundity, historical scholarship and current relevance.

Hayek was passionate towards people who were mainly from the medium classes and who were holding control on the democratic regimes. In his words he said that there is some truth in the formula of fascism and National Socialism which are in its nature a sort of medium level class socialism. He was afraid that this concept was poor since the right reaction could not be seen in the society. Hayek was always in favour of the minimum income for individuals although it was only in the interest of those who are pretending to be protected. Hayek had rejected the idea of social justice which had a special notion on justice that is the liberal aspect while he remained a conservative.

Classical liberalism is associated with the belief that the state ought to be minimal. It means that practically everything except armed forces, law enforcement and other non-excludable goods ought to be left to the free dealings of its citizens and the organizations as they freely choose to establish and take part in it. The state where classical liberalism is adopted is sometimes described as night watchman state. This was the sole purpose of the minimal state which is to uphold the most fundamental aspects of public order. Some of the scholars who wrote about classical liberalism, such as John Locke, say that the state is a freely established association between individuals. The members of this association have a justified cause for rebellion if the state seizes more power than what has been originally ceded to it by its citizens. Classical liberalism has the tendency to favour laissez faire economic policies which portrayed as leading proponents of neoliberalism. Later the classical liberals of twentieth century such as Hayek are however hardly distinguishable from the libertarians. Even if some of the economist of Austrian school insists on describing themselves as a proponent of classical liberalism then also at the same time accusing mainstream liberals of advocating 'a programme that only in details differ from the totalitarianism of the socialists'. The Liberal egalitarians always share the traditional liberal views that have various legitimate goals and ideals and also have commercial freedom which is merely one of these goals. The liberal egalitarianism is a word which indicates that liberal egalitarians would like to see equality as well as liberty which places them alongside other modern liberals. The liberal egalitarianism is politically towards the left of classical liberals and libertarians alike.

In his writings Hayek comes across as a more conservative type of neoliberal. His political thoughts were based on the idea of natural law which was based on his utilitarian arguments in favour of neoliberalism. Hayek's main theory is based on the nation which is in a spontaneous order. He discussed about the social life in a society, which is better than any kind of artificially created order when it comes to the rights of individual liberty and their well beings.

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Hayek's radical ideas are mainly against his attacks on economic interventionism which is not easy to understand unless an individual cannot go back to the historical period of the post war time. He said that the drafting of a new version of liberalism always belongs to a total criticism of Keynesianism. As already mentioned earlier, Hayek was inspired by the economic thinking of Mises, and in his thinking he rejects Marxism and also economic intervention in the capitalist societies. He also supports the ideas of Mises of criticizing the possibility of planning the economic system in a society because its complexity is opposed to any rational estimate. If it is seen properly then Hayek's thinking on third democratic and social way is similar to Roosevelt's new deal and British laborite. This thinking explains the marginalization of ultra liberals which was seen in the fifties especially within the most powerful organizations which are based on anti-communist.

Hayek was known as the critique of socialism. His criticism on competition had effectively undermined the legitimacy of liberal institutions among the people in a society and also especially among the intellectual scholars. According to Hayek, liberalism imparted a healthy suspicion of any argument that demanded restrictions on the competitive market of the society. The competitive market system was criticized and the socialist theory had swept away the liberal restrictions against the special pleading and opened the door for interests groups emerged in the society which were demanding protection from competition under the socialist planning system.

Hayek has also given another important aspect in his book *The Road to Serfdom*. He said that the liberal propositions such as economic freedom and political freedom are always linked with each other. He argued that the economic control does not control the society in a pure sense. He said in his words that:

'A sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all ends. And whoever has some control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower in short, what men should believe and strive for. Central planning means that the economic problem is to be solved by the community instead of by the individual; but this involves that it must be the community, or rather its representatives, who must decide the relative importance of the different needs.'

Hayek has shown that the government is unable to engage in the economic calculation and for that the result was a failure and it was unable to achieve the ultimate target which was desired by the central planner in a society. When the society faced this type of problem Hayek asked the government official to implement another potential option which was to adopt liberal economic policies. Hayek argued that as already the liberalism has criticized the socialists of that period, the government officials were going to face sufficient interventions in the ongoing system and for this they have to take a reverse course to adopt liberal economic policies. For this he said that, the government officials should expect more interventions to correct the past failure. This is the basis for the arguments which is known as slippery slope where some initial intervention increase its future interventions and it attempts to bring remedy to the past failures.

He said that even the liberal socialists are opposed by collectivists in their desire to plan the economy. He also said that they must establish the institution of discretionary planning and grant authority to the planners to exercise their political power in order to accomplish the task which was assigned to them. The task for

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planning an economic system for the society is very complex and for this it required proper planners who must have unlimited discretion.

Many scholars thought that Hayek holds a radically individualistic view of man, but the judgment given by him was premature. As later on it is clear that, Hayek goes far in emphasizing individual's dependence on the society and their need to understand individual's actions in a social relationship. He said that individuals always experience other persons in their concreteness and individuality but they never detach from their qualities as a social being. For this Hayek understands that an individual is a deliberate concept derived from social man and the social context of human life. Hayek wanted to establish that freedom is essential for individuals to fulfill all their needs and also to face the arbitrary coercion by the government. It is said that the involvement of human beings in society and their membership in a particular community also raise vital issue of coercion and for this Hayek says that by defining freedom, he wants to defer consideration of above mentioned issues which he will achieve by abstracting the social and communal relations of a human being. Hayek's insistence on the social character of human life helps him to understand the liberal tradition and his own place in society. Hayek forcefully rejects the rationalist understanding of the individual and the society which was identified as the original and primary aspect of liberalism by many renowned scholars. Hayek has characterized the rationalist theory which was same as the ideas of John Locke and also some aspect of Bentham's utilitarianism. According to rationalists the idea of natural liberty mainly insists on freedom which is the birthright of each individual. They cannot conceive of anything for serving a human purpose that has not been consciously designed.

In Hayek's opinion these types of teaching is dangerous for the individuals. The individuals will fail to recognize the limits of the reason and also the social dimension of liberty. Hayek has tried to draw an anti-rationalist or empiricist evolutionary principles to make his own liberal principles. These aspects grew out of English common laws, Scottish moral philosophy and the reflections of parliamentarians such as the famous Edmund Burke. This exposition helped Hayek to get an opportunity to bring out the social side of human life. The anti-rationalist did not favour that human beings are born free or freedom is man's birth right. They said that human beings lived in the society from the beginning and the society was build around the family. According to their understanding civilization was not the outcome of rational design and freedom could develop only after the civilization was under control and check.

When Hayek refers or talks about 'classical liberalism,' he means the form in the nineteenth century, after the anti-rationalism of thinkers such as Hume, Adam Smith and Burke became widely influential. Hayek's main aim was to recover and restate classical liberalism as thus understood. Besides, emphasizing on the social dimension of human life, the classical liberalism also developed ideas about markets. This concept is already given by Adam Smith and other evolutionists. Therefore classical liberalism or neo liberalism did not envision uncontrolled individualism or tradition. This was never defended or discussed by any of the English classical economists.

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks:

- Hayek was born in _____ on 8 May 1899.
- Hayek was second cousin of philosopher _____.
- Hayek wrote _____ in 1960.

2. Name the institute that Hayek started after returning to Austria.

3. What is the book Road of Serfdom about?

8.4 HAYEK ON DEMOCRACY

Hayek regarded democracy as the best and practical form of government as long as the majority of the community is committed to individual liberty, the Rule of Law and limited government. Democracy is not primarily a way of life but are procedures for organizing and operating a government. There are no particular and set ends or beliefs that are essential to a democratic rule. By conceding that the majority of a community may follow any set of core beliefs, Hayek is left with no basis for opposing totalitarian democracies on democratic grounds.

Before discussing democracy, Hayek has sought to clarify the relation between the two doctrines such as democracy and liberalism by pointing the fact that they are already concerned with different issues. The term liberalism is concerned with the function of government, particularly with the limitation of all its powers. On the other hand, democracy is concerned with the question as to who is direct government. If the issues were divided into two questions such as —What government should do and what are the limits of a government? Second, how government should be organized? At this time liberalists will focus their attention towards the first question but the advocates of democracy will focus on the second one. This shows that the two aspects are different from each other and they neglecting some aspects about the governmental procedure in each sphere.

Hayek tried to reconcile liberalism and democracy into one in his famous book *The Constitution of Liberty*. The problem about the concept of liberalism in this book is shown as human liberty or freedom and how this will protect and extend by setting limits to the governmental system. On the other hand democracy as described by many theorists is often practiced to subordinate liberty for the search of equality. Hayek says that the democratic government can be established in different ways. He is quite unclear about the ideas and arrangement in the beginning. He said that the idea of majority rule presupposes some collectivity within which this rule will take place. He said that any group can be the decision making authority for the majority of members but it is not necessary that every group is important for the political life. Hayek has adopted different ways to identify politically relevant groups such as state, country, and society. but he has given importance to community. Hayek assigns most of the power to the community and has also given an important role in the political life. He explains in his own words that the authority of democratic decision rests on it being made by the majority in a community whose members are together by common beliefs. The community is created by those members who accept some common principles in their life. Hayek always insisted that the majority rule must depend on the community's common beliefs or their principles. The majority rule cannot override them and for this reason it is essential that the majority rulers submit their common principles to the community. The main point in this given by Hayek is that the power of the majority rule is limited and they don't have any legitimate power in their hands.

According to Hayek, dependence towards the community raises two problems which are important. First, in what sense does the majority of a community make the important decision in a democratic system? Second, does this process make any difference to the beliefs of a community? For these questions Rousseau the famous philosopher insists that a community must retain all the lawmaking power in its hands and they should not give this power to anyone else. They can only distribute or delegate

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the power of government or the executive power. Like Rousseau, Hayek has also differentiated between lawmaking and governing power of a state. He also praised Rousseau because he has given a clear understanding that the laws must be general in form for every human being. Hayek is always critical in his views which include his insistence that the law is an act of will by the community. But most of the majoritarian believe that the conception of democracy offers still another way to understand the majority rule. Unlike Rousseau, these conceptions give legislative power to the representative legislature which holds that the elected representatives should enact the specific policies which will be supported by the majority of a community. The law will be prepared by the people's representatives but the law's direction is determined by the majority of people's opinion in the community.

In Hayek's case it is essential to know that whether he is talking about majority rule by the community or by the legislative body of the government. If it will be seen that in a liberal and a democratic form of government the decisions for the state is taken by the majority. Hayek accepted this procedure but in his description he did not mention about the level or levels at which the majority rule should take place. Hayek mainly thought that the formation of majority opinion will be created in the community itself and the majority rule will guide or direct various actions of the government. He had complete understanding that the majority opinion in the community is always binding on the government. In ancient times the liberal tradition had identified many alternative forms of government but Hayek has followed the liberal tradition in these respects. He classifies the governments mainly according to their limited or arbitrary forms which help to bring the form of rule into second position. He also said that for him it is not essential that who is governing the state but what is the responsibility of the government towards the state is the main concern. According to Hayek, a limited government is one which always uses the coercive power and it is constrained by general rules that are well established and also effective. For defining arbitrary government Hayek says that it is the state where political rule are not constrained by law. The arbitrary government in all its form always endangered the liberty of the people in a state. Hayek has his own views about majority rule and he says that it will be consistent with the community's common beliefs or principles, but in the beginning Hayek then if the community believes in these aspects then it is clear that democracy is consistent with fascism or with totalitarian democracy. It certainly is consistent with socialism because the opinion of the community decides what every individual shall receive and the same authority has the power to decide what they shall do to receive those things. This shows that the community is detaching democracy from its main principles and that it would lead to oppression. Hayek offers two ways to solve this problem. The first solution is that the majority decisions should take the form of general rule. For understanding this, he says that though democracy constraints individuals or human beings only through the means of general rules of its own making it has the power to control the power of coercion. It is dangerous for the democratic form to go beyond the ends to achieve something else because this will extend the discretionary power of the administrators. For this he says that the individuals have little fear for any general laws which the majority may pass in the state but the individuals have many reasons to fear the rulers because he may be given the charge to implement its directions. Hayek says that under this solution an individual has a way for constraining government by general rules or laws for protecting freedom despite the opinions or beliefs that are retained by the community and voiced by the

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majority. The second solution is to encourage those beliefs or opinions that are favourable towards liberty. An individual may profoundly respect the convention that the majority view should prevail in collective action but this may not mean that one should not make any effort to alter it. Hayek has given a long view on how opinions are formed in democratic communities and especially how the ideas of the political philosophers or scholars influence the public opinion in the long run. He says that making democracy safe for the liberty or freedom is primarily an important task. According to him, democratic government has yet to learn that in order to be just it may be guided in its action by general principles. Hayek has mentioned these principles through his teaching in his book the *Rule of Law and Limited Government*. Again *The Constitution of Liberty* which is an educational enterprise, Hayek designed to shape belief and opinion in a democratic age. Hayek is much more supportive to democracy in his book on *The Constitution of Liberty* and also in *Law, Legislation and Liberty*. In the previous one he attributes democracy's excesses mostly to the lack of understanding towards the solution on education. But later Hayek believed that democracy had changed into unlimited or arbitrary government. This is mainly turned into some kind of a game in which the government tries to maintain majority coalition by fulfilling the demands of huge number of people for their interest. This made him develop institutional means for limiting the majority rule, which he incorporated into a model constitution.

8.5 HAYEK ON FREEDOM AND LIBERTY

Hayek starts by defining the state of liberty or freedom in his famous book *The Constitution of Liberty*. He said in his own words that 'we are concerned in this book with that condition of men in which coercion of some by others is reduced as much as is possible in society'. F.A. Hayek argued that a man possesses liberty or freedom when he is not subjected to coercion by the arbitrary will of another. According to him this is the essence of individual freedom which should not be confused with any other meaning of freedom. Hayek's understanding on freedom mainly belongs to individual human beings.

There are many reasons why Hayek thinks that freedom is mainly concerned with individuals. The reasons are mentioned below:

- Human beings are able to choose, think and act. This is because an individual is primarily applicable to think about the concept of freedom. Hayek realized that human beings raise difficult questions about the individual's own capacity to choose anything on his own without any difficulties. But for defining the concept of freedom, it suffices to consider only external impediments to action as they might arise not from nature, but from other human beings.
- Hayek also gives his views that freedom must be defined by always referring to individuals. He believes that he is rediscovering the earlier understanding of freedom when he defines it as the state in which a man is not just involved as subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another or others.

After going through Hayek's views on freedom it can be said that this definition resembles the earliest distinction between slaves and free men which was defined by the ancient philosophers. The earlier political thinkers have also been affirmed by the best modern proponents of liberty, who insist on a free private sphere.

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4. Hayek tried to reconcile liberalism and democracy into one in his famous book _____.
5. Hayek favoured which type of government and why?

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Hayek defined freedom by giving clear rules and also which was protected from arbitrary coercion, through which the individual can fulfill his own aims by not violating the freedom of others. Hayek admits that in the society he is trying to pursue a negative view of freedom among individuals but this will only help to give a positive view of freedom. This will show positive character through the use of freedom that all individuals can exercise further.

- A society cannot exist and also cannot act freely without giving freedom or liberty to the individuals. For this Hayek argues his views on this concept and says that for having a free society the exercise of freedom is essential for all. Hayek accepts that freedom has acquired meanings that are quite different from the one which he refers earlier. Hayek says that individual freedom should not be similar to political freedom. He said that by exercising freedom individuals are able to understand their rights towards government. They can participate in the governmental process such as in legislation or for controlling the administrative system. He also said that the popular consent and participation won't necessarily secure individual freedom and may work against it.

Hayek also describes that individual freedom is not to be understood as exercising freely or choosing someone's day-to-day life. In defining a condition of freedom, the question is whether others can impose their will. Hayek insists on his thought that liberty and responsibility cannot be separated. The term liberty requires that the individual 'must bear the consequences of his actions'. The individual cannot exercise liberty without having responsibility and the individuals would be able to learn from their experiences and enjoy personal growth. Moreover, a free society will not function or maintain itself unless the individuals exercise the rights which occupy the position that results from his action and accept it as the repercussion of his own action. Scientific determinism teaches, however, that actions result not from one's own free choice, but from circumstances beyond one's control and many believe that this scientific teaching has destroyed the basis for individual responsibility.

Hayek particularly sought to contrast individual freedom with three other meanings of freedom — political freedom, inner freedom and freedom as power.

- Firstly, the political freedom denotes participation of men in the choice of their government, in the process of legislation and also in the control of administration. This is not similar to individual freedom. Thus in this regard, Hayek argues that a non-democratic order may be permissive and a democratic order may be restrictive. Hence, the political freedom is neither necessary nor a sufficient condition of freedom.
- Secondly, the inner freedom denotes the extent to which a person is guided in his action but his own considered will rather than by momentary impulse or circumstance. It stands opposed not to coercion by others but to moral weakness or the influence of passing emotions. Hence it is different from individual freedom.
- Thirdly, freedom as power signifies the power to satisfy our wishes, or the extent of the choice of alternatives open to us. There is a vital difference between non interference with another's act and a person's effective power to act. A person may be able to do what he may not lawfully do, or unable to do what nobody is trying to prevent him from doing. Hence, freedom as power should not be confused with individual freedom.

Hayek insists on preserving the original meaning of the word 'freedom', enhancing its value by closely restricting its application. He argues that the cardinal value of liberty should not be exploited by collectivists to justify large amounts of state interventions. If liberty is viewed as power, there is no end to the number of legislative measures which can be justified as extending the range of choice of persons or their effective power to do whatever they may wish. The result could be the destruction of individual liberty in the name of a spurious notion of liberty. Hayek is not denying that the limited provision by government of skills and opportunities is desirable. He is only saying that such type of enabling activities should not be represented as promoting freedom.

According to Hayek, freedom in short can be described as, 'freedom from constraints of the state'. Hayek defines and defends liberalism as a doctrine which emphasizes the minimization of the coercive powers of government. He argues that the state should positively promote competition, and should undertake non-coercive service functions, as the market mechanism does not provide for all needs. The state should ensure minimum income to each individual or family, but should not make market itself an instrument of distributive justice. Dwelling on the antithesis between liberty and equality, Hayek argues that individuals differ greatly in their skills and abilities and this natural tendency towards inequality can be countered only by the authoritarian suppression of individual talents and aspirations. Thus Hayek observes freedom as:

'From the fact that people are very different it follows that, if we treat them equally, the result must be inequality in their actual position, and that the only way to place them in an equal position that would be to treat them differently... The equality before the law which freedom requires leads to material inequality... The desire for making people more alike in their condition cannot be accepted in a free society as a justification for further and discriminatory coercion.'

In a nutshell, Hayek's argument against equality is based on two premises. In the first place, he assumes that liberty exists in the absence of coercion in the sphere of individual activity by other individuals or the state. Secondly, he observes that individuals differ in their talents and skills and their equality before the law is bound to create inequality in their actual position in terms of their material status. Hence, any attempt to create material equality among different individuals is bound to involve coercion which would deprive them of their freedom.

Hayek's concern for freedom is so profound that he never tends to ignore the claim of equal freedom for all individuals. He recognizes the value of individual freedom not so much from the standpoint of the individual as from that of society. For Hayek, acquisition and use of new knowledge is the key to social progress. An individual makes his contribution to progress through the cumulative growth of knowledge. 'If there were omniscient men... there would be little case for liberty... Liberty is essential in order to leave room for the unforeseeable and unpredictable.' The larger the sum total of human knowledge, the smaller the share each individual can absorb. Nobody is competent enough to pronounce a final word about human affairs. Submission to another's will is therefore disastrous. The value of any particular freedom is not to be judged by counting heads. The importance of freedom to do a particular thing has nothing to do with the number of people who want to do it. It is quite possible that the freedom vital to social progress may not be widely sought. Hayek therefore asserts that it is better that some should be free than none and many

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should have full freedom than having limited freedom. Thus according to Hayek, the cake of freedom is not to be divided on the basis of equal share for all, but it can be divided on the basis of each individual's contribution towards progress. It is difficult to ascertain each individual's entitlement to different amounts of freedom. Hayek's conclusions are not consistent with his own assumptions. He begins his view by taking individuals as an end and ends up with reducing them to a means.

F.A. Hayek argued that individual differences in skills and abilities under the conditions of equality before the law result in inequalities of income and wealth. If we try to remove these inequalities by forcing an authoritarian rule, it is bound to destroy the freedom of individual's. Hayek values freedom as an instrument of social progress. He argues that while extending the scope of freedom, we should not ask how many persons will be benefited by it, but how much progress will be made possible.

Hayek has summarized a legal framework for liberty. He says that laws should be rules rather than the process of command which will help to dictate people what they must do. In Hayek's view the foundation for securing each individual a known range within which the individual can decide on his actions enables him to make the fullest use of his knowledge in the society. Again he says the laws should be general for the people and the government who can apply them easily. He said that this is not the procedure to prevent the bad laws in the society but if the laws are applied in full force on the people, then there will be less chance of facing or creating any problem. Hayek identifies liberty with western civilization. But by the mid-nineteenth century the western civilization started losing faith on the principles of liberty.

Various writings of Hayek highlights one or another proximate of danger to western liberty mainly on the central planning, demands for social justice and excesses of majority rule but the ultimate danger is the loss of faith and self-confidence among the individuals of the society. Hayek is especially harsh in his indictment of western intellectuals who have long been disillusioned with their own civilization, disapproving its achievements and got drawn towards utopianism. They turned away from western terms or principles just as other people of the world were looking to the western countries for guidance. It is said that the Western countries are continuing on the path of progress and it must renew its understanding about liberty and the value of the liberty is essential for both the society and individuals. Later on Hayek identified the basic principles of liberty and reaffirmed them in words which were suitable for the people of that period. Hayek recognized that the mission that was in his mind must go beyond economics and historical inquiry. The existing situation requires attention to the principles that claims universal validity. It calls for an ultimate justification or justification of fundamental values. The economics and historical inquiry can certainly illuminate questions of liberty but there was no single discipline which has a comprehensiveness and normative force that required to put liberty on a sound footing. This is a proper work which is mentioned in the political philosophy. The book *The Constitution of Liberty* has a comprehensive restatement of the basic principles of philosophy of freedom.

Hayek has discussed the term freedom or liberty in three main parts:

- The value of freedom
- Freedom and the law
- Freedom in the welfare state

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In the first part he explains about the endeavours that show why individuals want liberty and what it does. In the second part he explains the institutions that the western people have developed to secure individual liberty and in the third part tries to test this ideal of liberty by applying its principles such as critical economic and social issues. Hayek introduces several concepts in his introduction to the term liberty and freedom that turn out to be much more important. In his book *The Constitution of Liberty*, Hayek has described about liberty and freedom where he says that people are concerned with various conditions of individuals in which coercion of some is reduced as much as is possible in the society. He said that some of the people must be protected from coercion and the others should restrain. The question has already occurred in the book that by what means the coercion in the society should be reduced and how much of it will necessarily remain in a society.

In Hayek's views, freedom belongs to the individuals of the society. He has given many reasons as to why he begins from the individual. First, the human being or the individual is the person who chooses, thinks and also acts. Hayek acknowledges that human agency raises difficult questions about an individual's capacity to choose or to resolve freely. But for defining the freedom it suffices to consider only external impediments to action as they might not rise from the nature, but only from the human beings. Second, freedom must be defined by giving reference to the individuals. He defined freedom as that the state in which a man is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another or others. This definition goes back to the history where the distinction between the slaves and the free man was defined. This has been affirmed by the best modern proponents of liberty who insists on free private sphere which was defined by clear rules and also protected from the arbitrary coercion. This is the way in which the individual may pursue his own aims so long as his actions do not violate the freedom of others in the society. Hayek thinks that he is proposing a negative freedom for the individuals in the society but he also insists that such type of freedom further takes on a positive role depending on how it is used by individuals in a society. Thirdly, a free society cannot be seen if the individuals are not free for this Hayek argues that freedom is necessary for all individuals. At that time some collectivist argued that social or political freedom is essential which excludes individual freedom but Hayek clearly rejects any effort to exclude individual freedom from the political freedom. He said that freedom has its own meaning in a society. Individual freedom should not be confused with political freedom. Any popular consent and participation will not surely secure individual freedom and also may work against it.

Hayek insists that liberty and responsibility cannot be separated from each other. When people get liberty then they should be aware of the consequences of their actions. This will only happens when the individual will be responsible. So it is said that individuals who are not able to learn from their experiences also cannot enjoy their personal growth. So a free society will not be able to function or maintain itself unless its members think that each individual should occupy the right position in the society. Hayek supports the term determinism altogether. He said that the conception of responsibility rests on a determinist view. This is the view that follows actions from the internal causes such as emotion and also habit. This raises a question of inner freedom or whether the internal causes remove actions of their voluntary character. Hayek does not pursue this question further because he is concerned about the determinist teaching that focus on the external causes of actions rather than the internal ones. This form of determinism is mentioned in the subject of Physics during the period of nineteenth century. In that it is described that the actions and mental operations

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are necessarily determined by the external actions. Hayek did not try to show that this term is false but he only said that it is practically wrong. It will bring conflict between people when they will know that they have to follow some rules. So Hayek says that no one knows whether the free choice is possible in the society or whether praise or blame can make a difference. Finally it is said that individual freedom is not to be identified with the power to overcome obstacles. The idea of 'liberty that is translated as power' is easily in demand for power or wealth, as opposed to freedom from coercion.

Hayek admits that his definition of freedom is incomplete without defining coercion. He thus defined various ways of coercion, but the main question is that why it is desirable for the individual to have a sphere of freedom in which coercion is reduced to a minimum extent? Hayek insists that the state of coercion is required to prevent the private persons from forcing each other. By knowing this it does not mean that all private coercion can be eliminated. For this Hayek has given an example that coercion are of different kinds such as psychological pressures to give into the demands of another often occurs in private relationships that an individual enters into voluntarily, but for the state to regulate such type of choices would involve even greater coercion like if people are to be free to choose their associates, then the coercion that can be seen from the voluntary association cannot describe the concern of the government. The state always controls coercion under different forms of government but in a free society the government cannot exercise the coercive power freely, they will face restrictions. They make predictable general rules that could be applied equally to all individuals in the society including those individuals who make them and also enforce such type of laws. At that time coercion by the state is indispensable to freedom but Hayek wants to reduce the need for it to a minimum level. This can be possible only in the place where individual can be expected to conform voluntarily to the traditional rules of conduct and particularly to follow the common moral rules. The moral rules can be evolved as distinct from unnatural constructed ones which should be regarded with reverence and also held as a matter of sincere belief. Hayek follows all the great champions who have given their views on freedom outside the rationalistic school beliefs. The question is if conformity to moral rules is truly voluntary or it is simply produced by different kind of compulsion that is imposed by the state. Hayek explains that an individual conforms to moral rules which comes from habit, but the social pressure to do this type of rules is often powerful. According to J.S. Mill, the famous political philosopher conformity is the most pressing contemporary threat to freedom which is greater than the threat which is occurring from state coercion. Hayek is less concerned than Mill for protecting the private conduct which is from the pressure of opinion or disapproval. But Mill is strongly against moral coercion which has probably overstated the case of liberty.

Hayek feels that a free society can function successfully only if the individuals are in some measure guided by some common values. This is the reason for which Hayek is willing for society to exert pressure on individuals to conform to some moral rules. However, he does not want pressure that interferes with the individual's freedom of choice. He said that it is essential to give space to other people which means every individual has his own scale of values which we should respect even if we don't approve his views. This is essential in a society where people believe in freedom and not be the ultimate judge of another person's values or restrict them from pursuing anything which they want so long as he does not disobey freedom of

others. The society which fails to recognize these principles don't have respect for the dignity of individuals and they don't have any knowledge about freedom.

If we discuss about liberty then Hayek discusses about this concept and clearly rejects positive side of liberty on the basis that there is not much connection between being free to do something and having the power or ability to do something. The confusion of which, he says, 'inevitably leads to the identification of liberty with wealth' and supports 'a demand for the redistribution of wealth.' Hayek attempts to draw a dividing line between illegitimate coercion and 'the conditions or terms on which our fellow men are willing to render us specific services or benefits'.

Many people have argued that the rigid conceptual distinction between positive and negative liberty does not bear any scrutiny and also not necessary to become entangled in the intricacies of that debate. Hayek has already argued the coercive enforcement of property rights that constrains freedom of those who are excluded from the use of private resources is in a way entirely consistent with his negative conception of liberty. An individual is not permitted to use possessions of others without taking consent. The extent one's freedom of action is constrained by the existing structure of property rights. Hayek says that this sort of restriction on someone's freedom of action is justified as by separating private sphere where people are free to act for their personal purposes and the enforcement of property rights enables society to maximize the use of local knowledge. An individual cannot coherently claim on the Hayekian grounds that the private exercise of the incidents of property and the contract is constitutive of liberty because this would define the concept of liberty in strict terms. To avoid this type of charge Hayek should agree that property rights are justified by values other than negative liberty itself. This thinking does not provide any basis for rejecting and redistributing the income for legitimate public purposes on the ground that it violates the economic liberty of the people who are giving tax in the society. This thinking does not provide any principal basis for rejecting and redistributing the income for legitimate public purposes on the ground that it violates the economic liberty of the people who are giving tax in the society.

8.6 HAYEK ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

F.A. Hayek was a champion of freedom that enables the talents to flourish and thereby promote progress. He placed liberty of freedom above every other political ideal, like equality and justice. He particularly attacked the concept of social justice as an unrealizable principle.

In his later work *Law, Legislation and Liberty: The Mirage of Social Justice*, Hayek argued that the idea of social justice itself is irrelevant. Justice is the characteristic of human conduct, and not of a society. If freedom is curtailed to promote equality, the disputes over the distribution of life's goods are bound to give rise to conflict and controversy. Search for justice is simply a matter of procedure designed to promote freedom. Justice requires that each individual should get maximum opportunity to serve his interest according to his own understanding.

Hayek maintained that society has only limited resources which are not enough to satisfy everybody's needs. If we try to adopt the policy of social justice, the bureaucracy responsible for the implementation of that policy would assume the power of arbitrary distribution of those resources. This will harm the individual freedom. Again, diverse interest groups will start demanding a large share of these resources in

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6. F.A. Hayek argued that a man possesses _____ or _____ when he is not subjected to coercion by the arbitrary will of another.
7. Name the three main parts in which Hayek has discussed liberty.
8. Why does Hayek think that freedom is mainly concerned with human beings?

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order to serve their self-interest. Stronger interest groups will be able to corner the larger share. So the incompetent sections of society will be able to grab an undue share of social wealth. As a result, competent people will suffer. They will be discouraged from giving their best to society. This trend will impoverish society.

Hayek was keen to promote excellence in society. He was not worried about the plight of the poor and the unlucky. His way of thinking resembled the railways' policy on trains running late. When many trains are running late, the railways would try that the trains which are not very late should run on time, and those which are very late could be allowed to be further late. The emphasis is on reducing the number of late running trains even if some trains become very, very late. Hayek would wish that the distinguished members of society should maintain and enhance their excellence even if the poor become poorer. Hayek not only rejects social justice, his philosophy also militates against the spirit of humanitarianism.

Hayek's message is clear about the concept of liberty. He said that 'let us strive for achieving high levels of excellence in the chosen few rather than marginal improvement in the majority of mediocres.' In his views, the question of social justice should not come in the way of individual prosperity. Hayek declared social justice to be a mirage, hence an unrealizable principle. Liberty alone is the principle worth pursuing. Hayek wants to solve the problem of individual liberty within the market system although he conceded that the state should provide for some public services outside the market system. But he has not made it clear as to wherefrom these services will be provided without diverting some resources from the market system. By separating liberty from social justice, Hayek has undermined foundations of liberty itself.

Hayek argued that the idea of social justice is baseless. He said that justice is in fact a characteristic of human conduct and it cannot be just or unjust. If liberty is curtailed in the interest of equality, it would lead to widespread tension and dispute on the question of unjust distribution of life's goods. Pursuit of justice is a matter of procedure. Its objective is to promote freedom. It should provide for maximum opportunity to each individual to serve his self-interest according to his own knowledge and wisdom. The exponents of procedural justice are F.A. Hayek, Herbert Spencer, Robert Nozick and John Rawls. All the philosophers sought to accommodate the requirements of substantive justice or social justice in his well drawn scheme of procedural justice. Procedural justice rejects all discriminations between human beings on ground of caste, class, sex, race, religion, language and culture.

Hayek understands that the term social justice usually refers to the deliberate doling out of economic rewards from the government. He says that some pattern of remuneration is based on the assessment of the performance or the needs of individuals or the groups by any specific authority which can be possessing of the power to enforce it. Hayek's basic contention is that any such type of conception of justice must be wholly changed. By knowing this claim Hayek readily acknowledges that it is one which by its very nature cannot be proved. Instead he said that this assertion can only be issued as a challenge which will make it necessary for others who can reflect on the proper meaning of the words that they use. It is already mentioned that Hayek was identified as the classical liberal and he also followed the same traditions. His position on distributive justice is distinctive as he does not contend as classical liberals or libertarians. He said that the distributive pattern that emerges from the series of voluntary market and their exchanges is necessarily different provided that it

occurs in the absence of fraud. Hayek does not believe that the interferences with voluntary exchanges are justifiable as it is merely an effort to realize the goal. However it is essential that Hayek has taken a great pain to insist that there is no necessary connection between the outcome of successful market and moral merits which is based on hard work, skill, etc. He argues that positive economic grounds give serious attempts to achieve any pre-determined pattern of income through state sponsored redistribution which will invariably have disastrous moral, political and economic consequences.

Hayek defends the term libertarianism in the name of liberty. Libertarianism upholds that system where capable and resourceful members of society should face no obstruction in their way to advancement. They need not be concerned with poverty and misfortune of others. The rich should not even be taxed to provide welfare of the poor. Libertarianism upholds procedural justice which stands for converting all social relations into market relations. It interprets equality as equal subjection of all members of society to common rules and regulations. In its view, the function of the state is confined to ensuring that nobody harms others' interests by force or fraud. When the members of the society are made to follow the reasonable procedure, its consequences should be acceptable to all.

8.7 HAYEK AND CONSERVATISM

Before describing Hayek's views on conservatism it is essential to understand the term conservative which is mainly used to describe both political tradition and also the attitude of mind of an individual. It is said that the person who supports the left wings can be described as conservative if he or she exhibits a reluctance to accept any change or to move with new ideas. Some of the examples are the trade union movement in Britain and especially its leadership which was for a longtime described as conservative. The group is called conservative even though they fight to secure the election of collectivists in the government. But if we describe Hayek in this sense then he himself was not a conservative. His own outlook about this term is much more serious. On the other side, it is characterized by the curiosity of intellectuals and the readiness to be inspired by some of the new ideas. Some of the people have faced challenges in their mid-eighties which Hayek has taken on and also displayed the same enthusiasm for intellectual excitement. In 1980s and 1990s Hayek received more attention because this was the period when conservative governments took power in countries like USA, UK and Canada. In 1979 Margaret Thatcher won the general election in United Kingdom and appointed Keith Joseph as secretary of state for industry which was an effort to redirect the economic strategy of the parliament. At that time Keith Joseph was the director of the Hayekian Centre for Policy Studies. Hayek has given his views about conservatism in his book on *Why I Am Not a Conservative* in which he criticizes conservatism for its inability to adopt changes or offer positive political programmes and that conservatism is only good as what it conserves. He believed that conservatism stands still whereas liberalism embraces the free market as it wants to go somewhere else. As mentioned earlier Hayek identified himself as a classical liberal but at that time in USA it had become almost impossible to use the term liberal in its original definition and for this people used the term libertarian in its place. Hayek found another term called 'singular unattractive' and also offered the term 'old whig' which he took from Edmund Burk. Later on he said that he was becoming a Burkean Whig. But if we see, the term whiggery as a political

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doctrine had very little attraction towards political economy. His essay has served as an inspiration to many liberal thinking economists who were wishing to distinguish themselves from conservative thinkers such as James M. Buchanan. He has also written an essay on *Why I Too Not a Conservative: The Normative Vision of Classical Liberalism*.

Hayek mentioned a common term for the whole world, that is, neo liberalism. In 2010 a British scholar called Samule Brittan said that Hayek's famous book *The Constitution of Liberty* is the most comprehensive book where the moderate free market philosophy promotes neoliberals. Again Brittan says that although another philosopher Raymond Plant is against Hayek's views, but he mentioned that in the book Hayek has done more thorough and fair minded analysis.

The question arises as to why Hayek is a conservative? For this British policy analyst Madsen Pirie believes that Hayek has made mistakes by looking at the conservative outlook of nature in a wrong way. Pirie says that conservatives are not reluctant in bringing change, but Hayek likes to bring change and wanted change to be imposed on the social order of the people and also on the authority who thinks that they know how to run things in a better way. This will help to allow the market to function smoothly and also give freedom to everyone to create an atmosphere to bring about change and development. Pirie says that this is an imagination that both Hayek and the conservatives share between each other.

It is essential to draw the distinction between the conservative nature as a personality trait and the political tradition which can bear the same name. This can happen because Hayek avoids the former which he can accommodate within the latter. It all happens because Hayek has his own desire to move towards a free society that fits well with the society which the conservatives prefer. In this type of society the outcome is the product of actions by its members rather than the rules that was imposed by the leaders. At that time Hayek might have been influenced by the fact that some of the parties who called themselves conservatives appeared to have strong hold in the central planning and for this they didn't try to restore the naturalness of the society.

In Europe Hayek said that the conservatives have already accepted a large part of the collectivist doctrine. He cited the advocates of middle way who had not compromised with socialism and also didn't have their own goals.

Hayek has supported Winston Churchill and Mrs. Thatcher who tried to restore their administration without adopting the natural principles of socialism. For this Hayek said that this was the natural tendency of conservatives to sustain naturalness against the violations of designers when it is present and to restore them when it is lost. He also pointed out that follies and abuses are not better for having been established in the principle of any policy for a long time period.

Hayek has supported Winston Churchill's words when he said that the individuals need free and varied society where there is space for everyone and they can lead happy lives. Again he said that individuals are fundamentally opposed to all types of systems which are rigid in its nature. Churchill recognized freedom which is the essential need for every individual and for this Hayek got attracted towards Churchill's views. Later Hayek said that the people should use their common sense and make their choices which are open to them during the phase of problems which they face in their lives. This above mentioned view of Hayek was similar to the understanding of Churchill about the people of the society.

Hayek denied that he was a conservative because the conservatives do not want any change in the society and want to keep everything in a similar way but Hayek wanted to bring change in the society. The conservatives don't have any political views but Hayek wanted to move towards free society. Conservatives do not approve freedom or liberty for the individuals in the society. For this Hayek said that conservatism is legitimate, probably necessary and certainly a widespread attitude of the opposition that could bring drastic change in the society.

Hayek was clear about his rejection for conservatism. He stuck on the point of differences and also minimized the areas of cooperation and contact. Although conservatives find themselves in dangerous situation from time to time among those people who need to be part of free society, for this Hayek argues that this is just a clash of situation. This is the combined opposition to socialism which brings them together as allies. Hayek points out that the distinction between liberty and conservatism is not clear for the people of USA but it is sharply seen in Europe even when both of them are working together against further advancement of collectivism. Hayek wants to slow the process of change but the others want to move the process in a different direction. Hayek described conservatives as a group who are moving helplessly in the wake of progress towards socialism. He also gives the remark that as the socialists took a long time to be able to pull harder, the conservatives also have followed that path rather than following the path of liberals.

Hayek has criticized the thoughts of conservatives and their practices but by taking insistence on the limits of reason, the force of tradition and the need to recover the old principles one should think that Hayek is the supporter of conservative thoughts. This notion is exploded by Hayek's postscript which denies conservatism in uncertain terms.

The postscript summarizes some main points which are mentioned in the work of Hayek. This was framed to highlight the disagreement of Hayek to the term of conservatism. However it is also discussed that if the postscript is only the summary of Hayek's main work then it would not have become highly readable and discussed in the famous book *The Constitution of Liberty*. Postscript in the book is properly framed so as to criticize the term conservatism. By doing this, Hayek thought that this part of the book will be more controversial and lots of people will love to read this section. Another question also arises that - Why Hayek was separated from conservatism? At that period he was already supporting the conservative party of Britain and also European nations and he mentioned that they have many free market ideas and also favoured the government. They give privileges to the people of that country. The conservatives are the parties who always tried to compromise with socialism and also stole its thunders. They have accommodated the collectivist group rather than resisting them. So Hayek supposed that the true conservatism is the enemy of liberty rather than a friend. So as he was a defender of liberty Hayek wanted to bring a gap between his position and his ideas about conservatives. At that time USA had a conservative party which was not so strong and also they didn't have a major socialist party. In Hayek's views the Americans always cherished their original constitution and were not believers of conservatives because they were the supporters of liberty that the constitution symbolizes. In USA the term conservatism was widely used by the people after the Second World War. This term was used to oppose the liberalism system in America which was fully supported by Franklin D. Roosevelt in his New Deal. He was the supporter of the principles and policies of liberalism. In

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1950s a movement took place by the burgeoning conservatives. They had taken inspiration from diverse thinkers and writers who had defended individual freedom and had limited government in various ways. This movement was a coalition of people who were traditionalists and libertarians or can be called humanists; people who were worried about the moral and religious decline and also advocated free market economics and wished to control the power of government in the country. The libertarian groups were highly influenced by Hayek's writings and later on he was classified as libertarian conservative. Hayek didn't want to identify himself as a conservative in libertarian sense or any way. So in his writings on postscript Hayek has given specific objections about historical conservatism and also shown how it is different from true liberalism. Conservatism follows the principles or goals in which there were many problems. These are mentioned below:

- It is unable to offer an alternative form of development.
- It fears that new ideas can affect thinking and for this they prevented various innovations.
- It is fond of authority and for this they willingly use it to make individuals traditional so as to accept the values, goals, morals and religious beliefs.
- It raises the authority of supernatural sources of knowledge when the reasons fail to assign special privileges to individuals whom the authority recognize as superior and uses the state to preserve the social hierarchy.
- It also distrusts the democratic form of government and blames for the evils which already exist in the country.
- It has also some more problems which have sufficient knowledge of economics and also see that the spontaneous forces of adjustment which can be counted to produce the beneficial order that shows growth in the future as they have already had in the past.
- It is stridently nationalistic and endorses imperialistic missions to civilize other people in the society.

But true liberalism can be described as:

- The contrast which is guided by principles and by theory of social order.
- It welcomes and adopts new ideas in the society and also invests authority in the law.
- It also favours the rule of law over the rule of men.
- It is tolerant of moral and cultural diversity and therefore makes it possible for many people with different values coexist peacefully in the society.
- It acknowledges individual's unavoidable ignorance and also explanations that invoke the supernatural power.
- It regards democratic form of government as the least evil form of government.
- It is willing to let the market work because it assumes that the economics acts as the self-regulating forces of the market and will somehow bring about the required adjustment to the new ideas which are seen in the society from time to time.
- The outlook of liberalism is cosmopolitan rather than nationalistic.

For this Hayek wants to identify himself as the party of liberty or the party of life. The party of liberty was mainly used in the eighteenth century and it did not have any relation with the political party which Hayek was supporting. Its main aim was to

promote freedom by influencing various opinions and also helping in formulating ideas that would help to govern society in future. In 1940s and 1950s Hayek worked really hard to promote liberal movement in Europe which can be called the rebirth of the movement. He also gave advice to the scholars to stand for the highest ideals and also keep themselves free from the political disputes which were occurring at that time. He said that the devotion to the liberal ideas should protect them from the risk of becoming involved in party passions.

Hayek as a political philosopher supported the party of liberty which was the only kind of party that he held positively. He wanted to give an opinion by defending the general principles in different ways. The party leaders tried to organize people for various actions and this was the task which required them to downplay differences of principle among the followers and also to aim for different values which were politically possible at that moment. The politicians and the political philosophers think in different ways. The politicians always need a short-term result but the political philosopher always understands the far reaching adjustments in the institutions or policies which are possible only through a change in the public opinion. Hayek has taken a long view in both 1950s and 1960s and also stuck mainly to the philosopher's task of clarifying the basic principles. For this, Hayek and many scholars who supported liberalism had contributed vastly to the developments in 1970s which was the period of transformation of conservatism movement in USA. Hayek was confused about the party of liberty and also did not have any idea about this term. He has ruled out the name of conservative. The term liberal is historical but the term no longer famous in England in nineteenth century and also in USA the meaning is the opposite in its true sense. The term libertarian seemed unattractive to Hayek as it carries too much of flavour of a manufactured term and also of substitute. Hayek has tried to find out a word which can explain the party of life, the party that always favours free growth and spontaneous evolution. He has taken an indication from the English Whigs whose ideals inspired the liberal movements in both Europe and America. Finally, he concludes that whiggism is historically the right name for the ideas in which he believes. In mid-nineteenth century Whig Parties in both USA and UK had been discredited. But it is said that Hayek's knowledge about the evolution of ideas have made him aware about his own unrepentant Old Whig with the stress on the old ideas. Whiggism was the name which was the only name for the ideals that has consistently opposed all arbitrary powers. Hayek did not know that it was the right thing to revive the name of practical politics but this is not the main concern as a political philosopher. The party of liberty or the party of life which Hayek wanted to revive is a famous movement and also the ideas which may develop in future affect the political affairs. This is a political party which would give it an altogether different character.

It is clear that Hayek's rejection about the label conservative arises from his interest for bringing change in the society rather than the more difficult attitudes which can be characterized by the people who are involved in conservative politics. Hayek's views can be clear once the distinction between these two is established. Hayek might occupy the position later which stresses on freedom and choice. But these ideas always played a very important role in the conservative political history. This can be seen in the thinking of Churchill who wanted to choose between two ways of life. The two ways are between individual liberty and state domination and another is between the concentration of ownership in the hands of the state and the extension of a property owning democracy.

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Check Your Progress

9. State whether true or false:

- (a) Hayek was born in Vienna which was the capital of United State of America at that time.
- (b) In 1917, Hayek joined an artillery regiment in the Austro Hungarian Army and fought from the side of Italian front.
- (c) In 1952, Hayek got a call from University of Vienna to join the faculty of economics and to teach economic policy.
- (d) The famous book of Hayek the Road of Serfdom was written in 1984.
- (e) Hayek was known as the champion of freedom.
- (f) Hayek was the supporter of conservatism about?

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ACTIVITY

Find out about John Maynard Keynes and compare his philosophy with Hayek's philosophy.

DID YOU KNOW?

Along with Milton Friedman, George Stigler, and others, Hayek formed the Mont Pelerin Society so that classical liberals could meet every two years and give each other moral support in what appeared to be a losing cause.

8.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Hayek is undoubtedly known as the eminent economist in modern Austria. He was more successful than anyone else for spreading Austrian ideas throughout the English speaking world. He was totally committed towards freedom.
- Hayek said that the individuals must be allowed to make choices and the overall outcome must be the result of their decisions.
- He always supported and believed that individuals should do their own planning and also be free to do that.
- He differentiated between liberalism and conservatism that must not be hidden in USA and it was also possible to defend individual liberty by defending the long established institutions.
- He has made clear in his writing about the majority rule as an end but merely it mentioned as means or it can be said that the least evil of those form of government from which an individual has to choose.
- Hayek believes that the conservatives mislead themselves when they blame the evils of democracy. The main problem is the unlimited government and no one is qualified to have unlimited power.
- He has also said that both democracy and unlimited government are connected with each other. It is not the democracy but the unlimited government which is objectionable. So it is essential that people should learn to control the scope of majority rule or any other form of government.
- As a scholar Hayek has differentiated between conservatism and liberalism. Conservatives feels that the new ideas can pursue change in the society but conservatism fears new ideas because it has no distinctive principals of its own to oppose them.
- According to Hayek the work of a political philosopher is to influence public opinion. They don't have to organize people for any action in the government. The political philosopher will do all these if he is not concerned about the possibility of political action at that time.

- He consistently defends the general principles which are always same in every governmental system.
- Hayek is regarded as the foremost contemporary exponents of the liberal traditions. Thus it has been observed that Hayek constructs a coherent and powerful case for liberty for exercising equal power of which in our present century it is really difficult to find.
- The final failure of Hayek's system and his ideas neither was the classical liberals who can afford neither to neglect the normative political theory nor is to ignore the questions in epistemology and metaphysics in which such type of theory unavoidably occupied. He has given the intellectual thoughts during which his views were described about the social justice which were formed. So it was clearly understandable that Hayek is overriding the concern which was to shore up the moral and also produce theoretical foundations of the market process.
- Hayek freely allows individuals to consistently embrace a morally defensible principle of distributive justice that will bring satisfaction to the material conditions which was necessary for the meaningful exercise of individual liberty.
- It can be said that Hayek was known as the famous political philosopher and economist. That is the period when people supported conservative and socialist form of government and at that time he was the philosopher or scholar who discussed freedom and liberty for the individuals. He was the scholar who fought for democratic form of government. He said that democracy is the best and practicable form of government, so long as a majority of the community is committed to individual liberty, the rule of law and limited government.
- Hayek was also famously known as the supporter of neoliberalism who always thought about the people of the society.

8.9 KEY TERMS

- **Classical liberalism:** Classical liberalism is associated with the belief that the state ought to be minimal. It means that practically everything except armed forces, law enforcement and other non-excludable goods ought to be left to the free dealings of its citizens and the organizations they freely choose to establish and take part in it
- **Night Watchman state:** The state where classical liberalism is adopted is sometime described as night watchman state
- **Neoliberalism:** A moderate form of liberalism that modifies its traditional government policies, as on labor unions and taxes
- **Burkean Whig:** Burkean Whig means who supports the term singular unattractive and also offered the term old whig which he was given by Edmund Burk. This term was adopted by Hayek so he was also called a member of Burkean Whig
- **Whiggism:** Whiggism was the name which was the only name for the ideals that consistently opposed all arbitrary powers

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8.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Vienna
 - (b) Ludwig Wittgenstein
 - (c) The Constitution of Liberty
2. Hayek started the Institute for Business Cycle Research after he returned to Austria.
3. The famous book, *Road of Serfdom* written in 1944, was a pioneering work that attacked economic interventionism. In this book he has warned of the danger of tyranny that inevitably results from government control of economic decision making through central planning. In the book his message was clear and he said that the systems like Nazism and fascism were not the only threats to liberty.
4. *The Constitution of Liberty*
5. Hayek regarded democracy as the best and practical form of government, so long as a majority of the community is committed to individual liberty, the Rule of Law and limited government. Democracy is not primarily a way of life, but a set of procedures for organizing and operating government. There are no inherent substantive ends or core beliefs that are essential to democratic rule. By conceding that the majority of a community may embrace any set of core beliefs that it chooses, Hayek is left with no basis for opposing totalitarian democracies on democratic grounds.
6. Liberty or freedom
7. Hayek has discussed the term freedom or liberty in three main parts:
 - The value of freedom
 - Freedom and the law
 - Freedom in the welfare state
8. The reasons are:
 - Human beings are able to choose, think and act.
 - Society cannot exist and also cannot act freely without giving freedom or liberty to the individuals.
9. State whether true or false:
 - (a) False
 - (b) True
 - (c) False
 - (d) True
 - (e) True
 - (f) False

8.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Who was F.A. von Hayek and what is he known for?
2. List the names of some of the books written by Hayek.
3. What do you understand by conservatism?
4. Hayek argued that the idea of social justice is baseless. Explain why.
5. What is classical liberalism?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a brief note on the life sketch of F.A. von Hayek.
2. Describe about Hayek's most famous book *The Constitutional Liberty*.
3. Discuss the reasons for which Hayek supported Freedom and Liberty.
4. Why has Hayek differentiated between liberalism and democracy? Describe in your own words.
5. Discuss the terms conservatism and true liberalism.

8.12 FURTHER READING

Hayek, Friedrich. 1988. *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, ed. W. W. Bartley and others. Chicago Press.

Hayek, Friedrich. 2010. *Studies on the Abuse and Decline of Reason: Text and Documents* edited by Bruce Caldwell. University of Chicago Press.

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UNIT 9 JOHN RAWLS

Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Unit Objectives
- 9.2 Liberal Perspective—Rawls' Theory of Justice
 - 9.2.1 Development of the Normative Perspectives
 - 9.2.2 Origin of Justice
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 - 9.2.4 Categories of Justice: Social, Economic and Political
 - 9.2.5 Marxist Theory of Justice
 - 9.2.6 Relation of Justice with Liberty, Equality and Fraternity
 - 9.2.7 Formation of Justice with Special Reference to Rawls' Theory of Justice
- 9.3 Feminist and Subaltern Perspectives of Justice
- 9.4 Rawls and Deliberative Democracy
- 9.5 Rawls and Political Liberty
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Key Terms
- 9.8 Questions and Exercises
- 9.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 9.10 Further Reading

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9.0 INTRODUCTION

Any discussion on equality and liberty is incomplete without the mention of justice. You have already studied the concepts related to equality and liberty, now you will learn about justice.

The word 'justice' is obtained from the Latin words *jungere* (to bind, to tie together) and *jus* (a bond or tie). Justice, as a bonding and joining idea, serves to systematize people together into a right or fair order of relationships by allocating to each person his or her due share of rights and duties, rewards and punishments. Some of the precepts of justice have been stated by the Roman Emperor Justinian in Latin as *alterum non laedere* (not to harm or injure others) and *suum cuique tribuere* (to allocate to each what is due to him or her). Justinian's precepts of justice were derived from the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, who had defined justice as the treating of equals equally and of unequals unequally in proportion to their inequalities. He had also differentiated three types of justice which are distributive justice, corrective justice and commutative justice (i.e., the justice of equivalence in the exchange of different kinds of goods).

In this unit, you will learn about the normative concepts of justice, the sources of justice, the kinds of justice, the Marxist theory of justice and formation of justice, with special reference to the theory of justice by Rawls.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Describe the normative concepts of justice
- List the sources and kinds of justice

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- Explain social, economic and political justice
- State the Marxist theory of justice
- Analyse the relation of justice with liberty, equality and fraternity
- Discuss the formation of justice with special reference to Rawls' theory of justice

9.2 LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE—RAWLS' THEORY OF JUSTICE

John Rawls was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1921. He received his degree in philosophy from Princeton in 1943. He joined the army after graduating from college and saw combat in the Pacific during the Second World War. After his discharge from the military, Rawls returned to Princeton, where he received his doctorate in philosophy in 1949. In the same year, he married Margaret Fox. Rawls spent 1950-1952 as an instructor at Princeton and 1952-1953 on a Fulbright Fellowship at Oxford. After his return to the United States, Rawls joined the philosophy department at Cornell. He moved to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1960 and eventually to Harvard in 1962. Rawls remained a member of the Harvard faculty until he retired in 1991. He taught and published in retirement until ill health made it impossible for him to continue working. He died on 24 November, 2002.

The normative idea of justice has a significance of its own in the realm of political theory in view of the fact that among the proper ends of state, it has been given a high place at all times. However, the difficulty of offering a precise definition of this term lies in the fact that different individuals hold different ideas and views about justice from time to time. The result is that as Arnold Brecht says, justice has become like 'a barrel with several bottoms.'

Like few other basic concepts of political science, the term 'justice' is very broad and vague. Generally the term 'Justice' is used in two senses. On the one hand, it means faithful realization of existing law as against any arbitrary dealing. On the other hand, it means the ideal element in law—a thing to which a good law should aspire for. In the latter sense, the idea of justice is more related to morality than law. It is presumed to be a set of values which is higher than law. It is presumed to be a set of values which is higher than and superior to that which is embodied in law. The idea of justice is better realized today than in earlier times.

The word 'justice' has been derived from the Latin word *ungere* which means 'joining' or 'fitting together'. It otherwise means a bond or tie. Justice implies a system wherein all individuals and institutions are related to each other. To quote Barker

Justice is a joining or fitting together not only of persons, but also of principles. It joins and knits together the claims of the principle of liberty with those of the principle of equality, and both with those the principle of fraternity or cooperation; it adjust them to one another in a right order of their relations.

'Let right be done' is the motto of justice. It is often defined as 'charity in conformance with wisdom.' Justice can be realized by the destruction of arbitrary or discriminatory social order. It is generally used in the sense of fairness, equality and impartiality. It implies doing one's own work and not meddling with that of others. Bryce writes, 'Justice is the reconciler and synthesizer of political values; it is their union in an adjusted and integrated whole.'

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To quote J.S. Mill, 'Justice is the name for certain classes of moral values, which concern the essentials of human well-being more clearly and are, therefore, of more absolute obligations, than any other rules for the guidance of life'.

According to Benn and Peters, 'To act justly, then, is to treat all men alike except where there are relevant differences between them'. R. Pound says, 'Justice is the ideal relationship based upon reasonable expectation and maximum free individual self-assertion. It is antithetic to authority and encroachment.'

Thus, a precise definition of the term 'justice' is linked with the problem of reconciling its normative with its empirical connotations. While in the normative sense, it means the idea of joining or fitting, the idea of a bound or a tie, in an empirical context, it has its relation with the concept of positive law with the result that law and justice become sister-concepts. It is owing to this reason that the fundamental purpose of law is said to be the quest for justice with 'is to be administered without passion as when it (passion) comes to the door, justice flies out of window.' (C.K. Allen) Viewed in this sense, justice means 'the fulfilment of the legitimate expectations of individual under the existing laws and ensuring him the benefits promised therein and to afford him protection against any violation of his rights.' Justice has also relationship with liberty and equality. Thus, Justice has relationship with law, rights, liberty and equality.

The various definitions highlight the six following aspects or characteristics of justice.

- Justice is concerned with moral values and virtues in society.
- Justice is related to law and courts which are set to get justice.
- The aim of justice is to protect rights of the people.
- Justice is related to liberty and equality.
- Virtue or truth is the basis of justice.
- Justice promotes peace, good will and harmonious relations in society.

9.2.1 Development of the Normative Perspectives

Plato, the famous Greek political philosopher of early times, had given a theory of justice. According to him, justice is 'giving to every man his due.' Further, Platonic justice refers to the determination to concentrate on one's own sphere of duty and not to interfere with the sphere of others. It therefore resides in the heart of every citizen who performs his/her duty in the appointed place. Thus justice is something internal and not external. In short, 'the justice of the State is the citizen's sense of duty of his station.' The idea of justice enunciated by Plato does not satisfy a modern man. As Barker observes, 'He (Plato) does not start from the conception of a legal society based on legal rights and he does not conceive justice as a system for the maintenance and correlation of such rights. He starts from the conception of an ethical society based on the moral duty of discharge of specific functions and he conceives justice as the spirit by which men are animated in the fulfillment of that duty'. He linked justice with morality and viewed it as an ideal to be attained in any society. Aristotle spoke of 'distributive justice' and 'corrective justice'. The Renaissance and Reformation Movements actually put emphasis on the realization of justice. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution gave a revolutionary flavour to the idea of justice. With the spread of democratic values, mankind is moving close to achieve the ideals of justice. It should be regarded as the primary social as well as political value. Emphasizing on the importance of justice, Barker writes, 'First, justice and then the rules of liberty, equality and fraternity which follow on, and form justice.'

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9.2.2 Origin of Justice

The origin of justice and the origin of law have many similarities. Justice, like law, has various sources. However, Barker says that there are only four sources of justice namely, religion, nature, economics and ethics (morality). In addition to these sources, we may add three more sources, i.e., customs, law and judicial interpretations. These sources may be described in brief as follows:

- **Religion:** Religion prescribes the standard of behaviour and ideal relationship of the individuals and groups. It deals with eternal law and divine law which may be regarded as a source of justice.
- **Nature:** Natural law and natural rights are viewed as a source of justice. They say that men should be free and be treated as equal with each other. Everything should be guided by reason.
- **Economics:** According to Marx, the origin of justice lies in economics. Economic equality should be the basis of justice.
- **Ethics:** Ethics or morality is also a source of justice. It implies a sense of right and wrong from which justice originates. It is a good source of justice.
- **Customs:** Customs also regulate the life of the people. Justice is often a product of customs.
- **Law:** Law is the will of the nation as formulated by a definite process. It is main source of justice. Law and justice are interrelated.
- **Judicial interpretation:** Judiciary interprets law and administers justice. Justice is what it finally pronounces. Thus, judicial decisions and interpretations are a source of justice. These are various sources of justice.

9.2.3 Kinds of Justice

Justice may be of the following kinds:

- **Social justice:** It implies giving everybody his due in society. It also means the absence of any inequality on the basis of caste, creed, colour, etc. Any form of discrimination in a society goes against social justice.
- **Natural justice:** Natural justice has come from the idea of natural law. Man by nature is a social animal. It is his natural instinct which compels him to stay with others. His dealing with others should be just. He should do to others what he expects from others.
- **Legal justice:** Justice is realized through the eyes of law. In the eyes of law, all should be equal and nobody should be above it. Law should not discriminate one class against the other. Justice is mostly realized through the legal system of the State.
- **Economic justice:** Economic justice is a modern concept. It is the result of the growth of socialism in recent times. It means that there should be no economic disparity in society. It also implies abolition of unemployment, poverty, inequality, etc. It stands against any form of economic exploitation.
- **Administrative justice:** Administrative justice is a type of justice which is generally administered by administrative courts. Such courts are generally found in France and other continental countries. Administrative tribunals in other countries also deal with such justice.

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- **Distributive justice:** Aristotle maintains a distinction between 'distributive justice' and corrective justice.' According to him distributive justice means each and every individual in a society should be given an opportunity to develop his inherent potentialities. In the distribution of those material resources which conduce to the self-development of individuals in a society, all persons should have equal considerations and chances.
- **Political justice:** Political justice refers to the participation of people in political affairs. Each citizen should participate in elections without fear or favour. He has a right to criticize the government.
- **Corrective justice:** Where redress is made to a wrong done to an individual, it is known as corrective justice. It provides relief to an affected person. Justice has both negative and positive aspects. Corrective justice speaks of the negative aspect of justice. Provision of equal opportunity and reduction of inequality indicate the positive aspect of justice.

Thus, justice as a society is realized by distribution of arbitrary social order. There is a distinction between justice and morality. Justice is a check on the external action of man. Morality is a check on the internal action of man.

9.2.4 Categories of Justice: Social, Economic and Political

Although justice can be broadly classified into various types, in actual situation, social, economic and political justice have assumed greater importance in modern society. One of the objectives as stated in the preamble of the Constitution of India is to achieve 'Justice: Social, Economic and Political.' Hence a detailed discussion of these three types of justice is given below.

Social justice

Social inequality exists in all human societies. Social justice refers to socially ordained arrangement for removing all inequalities and affording equal opportunity to all individuals in social affairs and also in economic activities. G.D.H. Cole defines it as 'a way of life ensuring equality in status and opportunities in all aspects of social life of the individuals.' The following are the main characteristics of social justice:

- (a) Social justice makes individual equal in the society, irrespective of caste, creed, religion, sex, colour and birth.
- (b) It prevents the privileged section of society from exploiting the weaker section of the society.
- (c) It removes existing inequality and seeks to achieve equitable distribution of wealth of society.
- (d) It removes the tears from the eyes of the poor and seeks to provide basic minimum to them.

It is an instrument of social change. It seeks to reorganize the society on the basis of new social order and democratic values. Law tries to achieve social justice.

The Preamble to our Constitution declares the objectives to ensure: (a) Justice – social, economic and political (b) Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, (c) Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all, (d) Fraternity assuring the dignity of individual and unity of the nation. The Constitution also abolishes untouchability, prohibits discrimination, ensures equal opportunity,

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prevents exploitation and assures the right to education, and assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and undesirable want. It ensures equal wages for men and women and abolishes titles. The good objectives of our Constitution is to achieve social justice at an earliest possible time. When justice prevails in all the spheres of the society, normally we say that social justice is established. According to K. Subba Rao, the former Chief Justice of India, 'The expression 'social justice' has a limited as well as a wide meaning. In its limited sense, it means the ratification of injustice in personal relations of the people. In its larger sense, it seeks to remove the imbalances in the political, social and economic life of the people. Social justice is to be understood in the latter sense. As the three activities are interconnected, there cannot be social justice even in its limited sense, unless the society progresses in all directions. In short, social justice helps to bring about a just society.'

Political justice: Political justice means absence of privilege and inequalities in political participation. It is the essence of political equality. It is 'conformity to the community's sense to rights in political activities. It requires certain objective conditions for its realization: (a) Each adult citizen must be given fair chance to exercise his right to vote. (b) Elections must be free, fair and periodic. (c) Rule of law, as opposed to arbitrary will of men, is the foundation of political justice. (d) Freedom of speech, of assembly, of petition and criticism and oppositions to government are essential for political justice. (e) An independent and impartial judiciary is necessary for guaranteeing equal political rights to people, (f) Free press and strong public opinion are necessary safeguards against arbitrary exercise of power, (g) Political justice is possible in a liberal democratic society which limits authority and guarantees liberty to individuals. (h) If national independence is not there, political justice cannot be realized.

Justice and Law: Although justice is realized through the legal system of the state, there is difference between justice and law. Law seeks to give justice, but it is not justice itself. Law is made by a definite legislature. Justice is not made by anybody, rather it aims at securing a few ideals in society. Law can be criticised. Law may be defective. Justice is neither criticised nor defective. In spite of these differences, law aims at securing social justice. Administration of justice is done by legislation. Justice is therefore, based on the legal system of a country. Administration of justice is important in the State. That is why legal justice is regarded as blind fold. It does not create discrimination. It is impartial and impersonal also. The symbol of judicial system is a scale which indicates an idea of impartiality of legal system. Hence justice cannot be separated from law. Law and justice go hand to hand.

9.2.5 Marxist Theory of Justice

Economic justice is well explained by Marx. Marxism maintains that private property and the capitalist economic system which is based on it are unjust and irrational. The Marxist notion of justice is that it is related to social values of society which are determined by its mode of production. Private property is unjustified in a capitalist economic system as it is based on exploitation and injustice. In a socialist society, private property is considered to be unjust and unnecessary. Thus, property is viewed by Marx as contrary to social justice because of its exploitative nature. In a socialist society, private property is unjustified. Marxism views the whole issue depending on the means of production and economic system. Therefore, justice, from Marxist view, is related to the doctrine of class war. According to the Marxists, the state is an

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instrument of exploitation and oppression by one class over another and hence systems of law and justice are originally bound up with it. According to this view, the laws are needed by the bourgeois class to keep itself in power. Communism views that private property is contrary to equality, liberty and social justice. It leads to the division of society into classes and the exploitation of the majority of people. Its abolition is a precondition for the achievement of justice under the communist system. The courts and the judiciary in a communist country are 'committed' to implement the ideology of scientific socialism as explained by Marx. While the liberal interpretation of justice is quite flexible that places judiciary in a 'free position', the Marxist notion desires its 'committed' form. The result is that while the former is too flexible, the latter is very rigid. Further, while the former is necessarily connected with the premises of what is popularly known as the rule of law, the latter constitutes a fragrant violation of the same.

According to Sitalvad, 'Economic justice is the provision of equal opportunities to the citizens to acquire wealth and use it for their living. It is applied to those persons who are disabled or old or unemployed and therefore, not in a position to acquire wealth should be helped by society to live.' Following are the important elements of economic justice:

1. The bare necessities of all the citizens should be provided by the State.
2. Every individual should be given the adequate source of livelihood. Adequate wages for their work should be given.
3. Under special circumstances, poor citizens have the right to get government aid. The State should protect the old, unemployed and the poor economically,
4. The men and women should get equal wages for equal work.

9.2.6 Relation of Justice with Liberty, Equality and Fraternity

Justice is also linked with liberty, equality and fraternity. Since the days of the French Revolution, the slogan of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' has come into much use in political literature. Liberty means not only absence of restraints, but also presence of opportunities. Equality generally means that whatever conditions are guaranteed to one, in the form of rights, should also be granted to others. Fraternity implies 'co-operation' and a sense of unity and feeling of people for common cause. Justice is connected with these three principles. Barker rightly observe: 'Justice is synthesis and the balance, holding together all the three and holding them all in equilibrium.'

9.2.7 Formation of Justice with Special Reference to Rawls'

Theory of Justice

John Rawls was an American philosopher and a prominent figure in moral and political philosophy. His significant work, *A Theory of Justice*, in 1971 contributed in bringing about a revival in the academic study of political philosophy. His work received serious attention from the economists, legal scholars, political scientists, sociologists and theologians because it crossed the disciplinary lines. Rawls is in fact known among the modern political philosophers for being frequently cited by the courts of law in the United States and referred to by the practising politicians in the United States and United Kingdom. In his work, *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls attempts to re-establish liberty and justice in a principled way, presenting an account of 'justice as fairness'.

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Different political theories offer different pictures of what would be a really just social order. Two of these theories are, the utilitarian theory, and theory of justice as fairness by John Rawls. The utilitarian theory asserts that the social order in which the largest number of people can have the highest satisfaction of their utility is just. But from its very early days, critics have found great difficulties with utilitarianism. In this backdrop, Rawls' theory has offered an alternative to utilitarianism. Rawls' book, *Theory of Justice* gives a final interpretation of the concept.

To discuss Rawls' theory of justice, his method of approaching moral problems must be mentioned first, which is in the contractarian tradition of social philosophy. But at the same time, Rawls' method entails that the conclusions of moral reasoning be always checked and readjusted against intuitive moral notions and this contrasts with others in the contractarian tradition, who maintain that the rules of justice are those that would be agreed to in a hypothetical setting.

Justice as fairness is given to people who are neither great humanitarians nor extremely self-centred. Human beings, according to Rawls, are both rational and reasonable. Because of their rationality, human beings have certain ends that they want to achieve but human beings are reasonable as far as they are happy to attain these ends together if they can in accordance with the mutually acceptable regulative principles. But since the needs and aspirations of human beings are varied, how can they find principles that are acceptable to everybody? Rawls gives a model of a fair situation that can help human beings in making such a choice and he also believes that the two principles of justice would be very attractive.

Rawls supports a principle of equal basic liberties and thus protects the familiar liberal freedom of conscience, association, expression and the like. But human beings also need to know that whatever is their station in society, liberties must represent meaningful options for them.

Example: Formal guarantees of political voice and freedom of assembly have very little value to the pathetically poor and marginalized in the society. It is also a non-viable desire to demand to have the same effective opportunities in life. Achieving such a demand would definitely offend the very liberties that are supposedly being equalized.

Human beings, nonetheless, want to make sure that they get the fair value of their liberties. Irrespective of where they stand in society, they want life to be worth living, with sufficient effective freedom to chase personal goals. Thus they would be forced to affirm a second principle that requires fair equality of opportunity in combination with the famous principle of difference. The latter helps to ensure that those who possess comparable talents and motivation, stand roughly the same chances, and social inequalities help those who are less privileged. According to Rawls, these principles of justice are applicable to the 'basic structure' of fundamental social institutions (courts, markets, the constitution, etc.)

Rawls further argued that these principles should be lexically ordered, giving more priority to basic liberties than the more equality-oriented demands of the second principle. Moral and political philosophers have debated on this topic. Finally, Rawls claimed that his approach was applicable to a 'well-ordered society designed to advance the good of its members and effectively regulated by a public conception of justice'. Accordingly, he interpreted justice as fairness and contributory to 'ideal theory'. However, answers have been sought to questions such as 'what does justice as fairness dictate?' Is it useful? What about 'partial compliance' under the 'non-ideal theory'?

Does Rawls's theory address the issue of action to be taken in case of societies already characterized by profound injustice, deep distrust, material deprivation and the like?

In his book, *A Theory of Justice*, published in 1971 and revised in 1975 and 1999, John Rawls tried to provide a solution to the problem of distributive justice by making use of a variant of the familiar device of the social contract. The theory that resulted was 'Justice as Fairness' from which Rawls derives the principles of justice: the liberty principle and the difference principle.

In his later works, Rawls concentrated on the question of stability, seeking answers to questions such as 'Could a society, which is ordered by the two principles of justice endure? The answer can be found in a collection of lectures titled *Political Liberalism*. In this collection, Rawls introduces readers to the concept of an overlapping consensus or agreement on justice as fairness between citizens following different religious and philosophical views (or conceptions of the good). The collection has also introduced the concept of public reason — the common reason of all citizens.

9.3 FEMINIST AND SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVES OF JUSTICE

1. Feministic theory of justice

The concept of feministic theory of justice is being treated as a political ideology. It is closely associated with women's studies and women's movement in various parts of the world. India is also no exception. In the initial years after independence, women's liberation was not recognized in the politics or in the society of the country. In this context we have to remember there exists a thin but clear line of difference between feminism and women's politics. For a long time, there was an accepted belief that all kinds of women's activities should belong to the 'private' domain of the individual and family. But with a gradual change in attitude, women's issues have started receiving a great attention and a new awareness started to develop.

Feminism as a modern political ideology developed in Europe and in the United States in the 1960s and percolated in several parts of the world. In the USA feminism and women's studies developed side by side along with ethnic and African-American movements and studies. Broadly defined, feminism as a political ideology can be identified as:

- (i) An effort to make women a self-conscious category
- (ii) A force to generate a rational sensible attitude towards women
- (iii) An approach to view the women in their own positions
- (iv) An approach to view the women through their own perspectives

Feminism had its roots in 18th century Europe. The major thrust of this ideology was centred on the demands of equality, liberty and universal suffrage. This was in tune with the ideas of European liberalism. Publication of *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*, (1792) by Mary Wollstonecraft can be considered a watershed of the feminist movement. In India under the colonial influence and as a part of the 19th century reform movement the feminist ideas began to spread. During the pre-independence period feminist questions revolved around some major issues like the spread of education, prohibition of child marriage, abolition of Sati system, widow remarriage,

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Check Your Progress

1. What are the six aspects of justice?
2. What are the usual sources of justice?
3. Name the different types of justice.
4. List the elements of the Marxist theory of justice.

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etc. However, analysis of women's question in colonial India was limited in its scope and approach as it was concerned with upper caste Hindu women of the society only. Actually, it encompassed the colonial elite experienced in colonial modernity.

Mahatma Phule was perhaps the first to relate the caste question with women's issues along with the problems of the widows who are the most marginal of the women within the upper caste society. In 1848, he opened a school for the untouchables. Girls and widows from the upper caste were punished for illicit sexual relations. Being childless, Phule was under extreme pressure to take a second wife. But instead of doing this, he and his wife Savitribai took a revolutionary stand in those days by adopting a baby born to a Brahmin widow. He believed that, 'the upper caste women faced the impossible burden of maintaining caste purity in their person. So, the problems faced by upper caste women were no less oppressive than the expropriation of manual and sexual labour experienced by the lower caste women'. The limited nature of gender issues in the colonial period has been analyzed in detail by eminent social scientist Partha Chatterjee, who considers that the gender offered a means for working through the contradictions of colonial modernity.

In the 19th century, there developed another concept of womanhood simultaneously with national identity. According to noted social scientist Chakravarti, 'The nation's identity lay in the culture and more specifically in its womanhood. In the changed political and social environment, the image of womanhood was more important than the reality.' Drawing the coinage of Eric Hobsbawm she said that during the 19th century there was 'an invention of tradition'. The *sahadharmini* model incorporating the notion of spirituality with a combination of Gargi-Maitreyi-Sita-Savitri and Lakshmibai model became the central theme of womanhood. To Chakravarti, 'Nationalism itself came to occupy the place that religion had done before; it was a permitted area for women's participation. In this model of womanhood, there was no difference between the perceptions of progressives and of conservatives'. She further said, 'The twentieth century has continued to reproduce, in essentiality, the same kind of womanhood that the nineteenth century has so carefully and successfully constructed as an enduring legacy'. This kind of constructed womanhood reflected a kind of allied value system with emphasis on caste morality and concept of purity. An idea of extremely fragile feminine moral vulnerability was inherent in this concept. These models womanhood, in turn, reinforced with Hinduized forms of veiling outward modesty for women, were particularly important for emerging dominant peasant castes like Marathas, Jats and Rajputs in the 19th century. These newly hegemonic upper and middle caste peasant groups generated some of the most repressive cultures for women even in the contemporary period. We can say that growth of militant Hindu womanhood, which became very visible since the last decades of the 19th century, owes its origins to this period. The Rashtrasevika Samity, the mother wing of militant Hindu women founded in 1936 with an intention to keep the women 'tied to fan interests and ideology while spicing their lives with the excitement of a limited but important public identity.'

It is found that since the late 19th century, the issue of female emancipation somehow disappeared from the public agenda. To a great extent this was because of a trend of objectifying femininity for nationalist and revivalist purposes. In other words, feminist issues became subservient to nationalist and revivalist agenda. Partha Chatterjee in his article 'The Nation and its Women' has explained the reasons for this departure. To him, 'the reason lies in the inner domain of sovereignty, far removed from the arena of political contest with the colonial state. This inner domain of national

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culture was constituted in the light of the discovery of 'tradition'. By assuming a position of sympathy with the bonded and oppressed womanhood of India, the colonial mind was able to transform this figure of the Indian woman into a sign of the inherently oppressive nature of the entire cultural tradition of a country. The reason why the issue of 'female emancipation' seems to disappear from the public agenda of nationalist agitation in the late 19th century is not because it was overtaken by the more emotive issues concerning political power. Rather, the reason lies in the refusal of nationalism to make the women's question an issue of political negotiation with the colonial state.

In other words, following the simpler words of Uma Chakravarti we can say, 'as the women's issues were no longer compatible with more deified forms Hindu tradition and Hindu womanhood since the 1890s we noted a disappearance of women's issues from the agenda of nationalist politics.' Thus, in the colonial period nationalist solution to women's question was largely hazy and it was more an attempt to reformulate the notion of an alternative patriarchy with a benevolent facade. At the same time, it was very limited in its span and failed to touch the majority of the women and the problems of their everyday existence. Neither it was a venture to pose any challenge to the patriarchal edicts nor did it contribute to the true emancipation of the colonized elite women. Contrarily, the attempt of nationalism to project women as a homogeneous community developed a notion that their interests are well protected in the hands of gentlemen nationalists alone. This not only developed a false notion of femininity.

Whereas, at the same time we must remember that the nationalist period cannot be considered as a totally wasted period for the growth of feminist concerns in the country. The importance of the historical possibilities ushered in during this period cannot be overlooked. We must here acknowledge the contributions of women like Rasasundari, Kailashbasini, Kundamala and many others who dared to express their alternative visions despite the existence of an extremely strong and modernized patriarchal control.

After independence, some kind of apathy and quietness prevailed for nearly three decades on feminist issues. Though the Constitution prohibited any kind of discrimination on grounds of sex, no serious attempt was made to promote feminist causes. There was a belief during the Nehruvian period of political compromise that egalitarianism, democracy, secularism and socialistic pattern of modernization will eliminate all social evils including caste, religious fundamentalism and discrimination against women. Since the seventies of the last century began a spread of feminist ideas with a revival of women's questions and problems at its core only. Several factors contributed to the growth of feminism during this period. According to Neera Desai and Maitreyi Krishnaraj, 'Women have been looked upon either as victims of social practices or targets for development as in the post-independence period, but never as participants in development'. Contrarily, 'women's position was worsening in practically every sphere with the exception of some gains in education and employment for middle class women' and at the same time, 'the declining value of women was surfacing in almost every aspect of life. This naturally developed a sense of discontent among a sensible section of the society who felt the need to review the situation'. In this context in 1971 the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) was set up to review the status of women. This committee was set up as per UN recommendations and it placed its report in the Parliament in 1973 and that was published in 1974 with the title 'Toward Equality'. The report revealed that women of every category and social group only face inequality in

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their respective positions. This report of sex inequality can be considered as the watershed of feminist ideas and movements in the country in modern times. Since 1975 both in academics and in administration a serious change crept in. From this time women's study, to some extent, provides the theoretical basis for the women's movement and sociopolitical context of 'gender politics'. According to Kumud Sharma, noted feminist theoretician, 'Women are attempting to remove themselves from the footnotes and appendices of academic discourse to the main text. The emergence and growth of women's studies in India reflects women's conscious engagement in the politics of knowledge.' To her, it becomes evident that gender is useful to social scientists as an analytical category in the same way as caste, class and ethnicity. Attention to gender leads not only to an understanding of the multiple roles that women fill in society but also to an awareness of the social processes which constrain or enhance their potentialities; and it leads us to provide reasons for women's oppression and subordination in various systems and subsystems and to take note of women's responses to these systems.

Feminist issues and feminism at large are being considered as part of human rights issue and the democratic agenda. Evolution of feminism in this period was characterized by a major ideological regarding the issue of autonomy. To quote Bandana Chatterjee, 'It involved both structural autonomy from other political organizations and ideological autonomy in relation to other issues in Indian socio-political system.' Structural autonomy refers to the inter-relationship between political parties on the one hand and women's movement and organizations on the other. As feminism in the real sense of the term does not imply substitution of male exclusiveness with female exclusiveness feminism in India has adopted a dual approach. On the one hand, it focuses on gender issues including women's rights with emphasis on health, morality, nutrition, equality, security and obviously empowerment, while the question of ideological autonomy is much more a complicated issue. In this regard, a number of women's groups and NGOs started surfacing, which are in a position to critique both the state and political parties. Feminist organizations gained an access to the language of feminism, in particular.

Parallel to this, several socio-economic and ecological issues also affect the functioning of feminist groups. Thus, feminists participate in different movements of the backward castes and peasants; they also play significant roles in the tribal and ethnic movement. In several ecological movements also women's groups and participants play key roles. During the 70s and 80s, enormous activism was noted on the part of the feminist groups. As a result, almost all political parties came up with separate women's wings. Though, in practice, all the parties attach least priority to the women's issues on their agenda.

The issue of violence of different forms entered into the feminist movement and thought process and became a major concern since the 1980s. Apart from governmental and NGO levels, several other voluntary associations and movements also placed adequate importance on the issue of violence. For instance, Shetkari movement of Sharad Joshi by perceiving violence as a primary factor in historical development and relating it to the women's issues contributed to this trend. It viewed women's and men's liberation in the awakening of women's power. In November 1986, it organized one of the largest gatherings of peasant women. From the very beginning, Shetkari Sangathan has been active in the implementation of its political ideal of decentralization and balanced village-centric development.

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The feminist issues gained wide political currencies along with different ethnic, caste, class and other interest groups quest for state attention.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s Chipko became a major environmental and social movement in the northern India, which is commonly cited worldwide as a primary example of successful grass roots activism. Centering this movement there developed a trend of ecofeminism in India. According to Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, ecofeminism asserts the special strength and integrity of every living thing. To them, 'it is a woman identified movement and we believe we have a special work to do in these imperiled times. It believes that the devastation of earth and her beings by the corporate warriors, and the threat of nuclear weapons by the military powers, as feminist concerns. It is the masculine mentality depending upon the multiple systems of dominance and state power which denies women's right to their own bodies and own sexuality. Thus, ecofeminism is essentially based on the women-nature connection. However, the ecofeminist school of thought is not ready to consider women as a passive victim of male violence alone; it considers women, particularly rural women as embedded in nature and active participants of development.

Women or *prakriti* seeks to nurture and maintain the harmony and diversity of the natural forests as a life source. It is the duty of the women to recover the nature from the grips of men and alien industrial culture. Following the arguments of Shiva, beginning of commercialization signals the death of nature, which is for the women, 'simultaneously a beginning of their marginalization, devaluation, displacement and ultimate dispensability' (Shiva; 1988:41-42). She makes it clear that this death is triggered by the arrival of the masculine, reductionist, industrial, colonizing forces of Western culture. She categorically emphasizes on the fact that masculinization of females is clearly undesirable. The twin ends of ecofeminism are liberation of nature from ceaseless exploitation and women from limitless marginalization. The spread of ecofeminism in India is receiving prominence with the spread of liberalization and globalization at a rapid scale. More and more different feminist groups and organizations are subscribing to these ideals as women everywhere are the greatest victims of industrial modernization and liberalization. The forces of globalization are affecting the social, economic, psychological and physical conditions of the women in an extremely negative way. Thus, resistance to the process should also emanate from the wombs of feminism itself. Ecofeminism is a method, which combines ecological and feminist movement with social justice, political democracy and reformation of agriculture.

Since the 1990s, the growth of exultant feminism based on religious fundamentalist line has caused a lot of tension for the women of the country in general and feminist issues in particular. The *Hindutvabadi* militant feminists draw their inspiration from the nationalist icon of Bharatmata, based on the concepts of *virangana* and *lakshmi*.

The feminist ideology of liberation challenges the notions of women's status and domination within the family and elsewhere in the society. This approach towards emancipation pushes women to question on inconvenient issues and to take painful risks whereas the ideology of Hindutva focuses on women with absolutely short-term but attractive issues. The fundamentalist feminist organizations have succeeded in appropriating some concepts of western radical feminist thought in an inverted way for achieving the goals of fundamentalism and in this way they are creating a 'feminist

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space' within fundamentalist agenda. For instance, radical feminist thinking perceives all male as potential rapists, while fundamentalist women's organizations preach the idea that all male belonging to other religious communities as potential rapists. Indian middle class tradition with Victorian legacy forbids public discussion on sexuality but fundamentalist agenda by focusing on the issue of female sexuality as a threatened subject and posing it in contrast to 'other community-male sexuality' have tried to create a space for the development of fundamentalist feminism. It appears that by providing strong defense of Hindu tradition and ideology, occasionally it deals with publicly visible issues like dowry.

To end the discussion on the different trends of feminism in India we find that contemporary feminist movement emerged here in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During this period, a large number of autonomous feminist groups evolved to raise their voices against the prevailing sex-based discrimination in a dispersed way without the support of any centralized organization. This is obviously very natural for a class-based multi-cultural society like India where women can never be identified as a homogeneous category. The political ideology and the language of the movement were largely leftist than liberal. This ushered in a new atmosphere of cultural radicalism.

One of the first steps of this movement was the attempt to break silence and to expose different categories of humiliation, atrocities, tortures and individual as well as collective assault which women have to face in their daily existence. Gradually, the movement started critiquing family, government and the larger society along with their protest against the growing power of state machineries. Gendered violence, including rape, dowry murder, and other forms of domestic and public violence are also included in the feminist agenda. But since the 1990s the new visibility of the women in the right-wing movement is confounding and appropriating the issues of contemporary feminism.

2. Subaltern view of justice

The term 'Subaltern' refers to the class of lower strata in the society. They are peasants, women, and petty workers. Since time immemorial, this group has been marginalized and has been cut-off from the national mainstream. They have been named as subaltern groups. These groups have been victimized on the basis of their own political, economic and cultural identity. It is a real threat to the Indian democracy. These groups from the very beginning have been continuously dominated by the upper class in the society. They do not have space to use their resources at their free will. They have been thrown out from the society and are economically, politically down trodden. They are not considered as full citizens due to the cultural, political and economic gap. As per the fundamental rights of the citizen, billions are classified as citizen by birth and maintain social, economic, political and cultural dignity. These subaltern sections have no recognition acknowledged for them in the society. Justice is not authoritatively allocated to them. These subaltern groups have been named as peasant groups, local tribal and inferior rank of women. These groups are living in jungles and slums. They have been deprived by the upper caste group. They are not only subject to physical but also subject to the question of breaking down of bonding of full citizenship. They have been far away from education, acquisition of skills; acquisition of justice or recognition of their own

Check Your Progress

5. What do you understand by feminism?
6. Write the full form of CSWL. Why was it set up?
7. What is the subaltern approach?

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9.4 RAWLS AND DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Rawls's deliberative democracy theory is based on liberal political thought. He believed that deliberative only needs to apply to problems that are of a constitutional nature or have political importance. This restriction allows citizens who are involved in constitutional or governmental matters to be included in political deliberations like judges in courts of law, political candidates, or government officials. Rawls's deliberative democracy theory therefore encourages passive form of citizenship which allows citizens to participate or exercise political power during government elections.

Rawls articulates his theory of deliberative democracy when he tries to answer the question, 'what would a reasonably just constitutional democracy be like under reasonably favourable historical conditions?' (Rawls, 1999, p. 11) He labels this ideal as a 'realistic utopia' and argues that a deliberative democracy and a well-ordered constitutional democracy are one and the same thing.

'Here I am concerned only with a well-ordered constitutional democracy a term I used at the outset- understood also as a deliberative democracy. The definitive idea for deliberative democracy is the idea of deliberation itself. When citizens deliberate, they exchange views and debate their supporting reasons concerning public political questions. They suppose that their political opinions may be revised by discussion with other citizens; and therefore these opinions are not simply a fixed outcome of their existing private or non-political interests. It is at this point that public reason is crucial, for it characterizes such citizens' reasoning concerning constitutional essentials and matters of basic justice.'

The three elements that form the core of Rawls's theory are:

- The idea of public reason, which establishes a common principle for deliberation.
- A constitutional framework that establishes the necessary regulatory institutions.
- A general acceptance of the idea of public reason, establishes a foundation of commonality within pluralistic societies.
- According to Rawls, three more conditions are required to assure deliberative democracy.
- The funding of elections must be public.
- There should be allowances made for orderly and public deliberation of the issues under consideration which should not depend on funding that could taint the deliberation, whether public or private.
- The public should be educated in the basic processes and procedures of constitutional democracy and at the same time have access to information on problems requiring political deliberation.

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By arguing that a deliberative democracy is an ideal constitutional democracy, Rawls adopts a liberal view for his deliberative democracy theory and establishes structures and institutions that can be used by citizens who are rational individuals.

9.5 RAWLS AND POLITICAL LIBERTY

On the question of stability, Rawls' later work contented—is it possible that a society ordered by the two principles of justice endure? His answer to this question is traced in a collection of lectures titled 'Political Liberalism'. In this, he introduced the idea of an overlapping consensus or agreement on justice as fairness between citizens who hold different religious and philosophical views or conceptions of the good. Further, 'Political Liberalism' also introduced the idea of public reason—the common rationale of all citizens. This is, in a sense, a right understanding for the betterment of society for all practical purposes. Again, Rawls addressed the most pressing criticism fabricated in '*A Theory of Justice*'—the criticism that the principles of justice were simply an alternative systematic conception of justice that was understandably not better to utilitarianism or for that matter any other comprehensive theory. From the point of view of critics, 'justice as fairness' is merely a different comprehensive and rational doctrine that happens to be compatible with other rational doctrines. For them, it did not distinguish between a moral and a comprehensive theory that catered to the problem of justice and a political conception of justice that people with conflicting yet logical, religious or metaphysical views would accept to regulate the intrinsic unit of society. The distinction of Rawls' accounts and the earlier ones on liberalism is that it requires reaching a point of consensus without appealing to any one metaphysical source. Thus, the idea of 'political liberalism' goes against the views of social contractualists like John Locke or John Stuart Mill, who promote a more robust cultural and metaphysical liberal consensus regardless of the 'deep' religious or metaphysical values that the parties appreciate. This outcome is underlined as an 'overlapping consensus' due to often conflicting and different accounts of nature, morality, etc. These tend to 'overlap' with each other regarding the issue of better rules applicable to humanity. Rawls further brought changes in the principles of justice, which are as follows:

1. Each person has an equal claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic rights and liberties, which scheme is compatible with a similar scheme for all; [and in this scheme the equal political liberties, and only those liberties, are to be guaranteed their fair value.]
2. Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: first they must be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair and equal opportunity; and second, they must be to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society.

These principles are subtly modified from those in *A Theory of Justice*. The first principle now reads 'equal claim' in place of 'equal right', and also replaces the phrase 'system of basic liberties' with a fully adequate scheme of equal basic rights and liberties.

ACTIVITY

Write an essay on the growth and impact of feminism in India.

DID YOU KNOW?

As a college student Rawls wrote an intensely religious senior thesis (BI) and had considered studying for priesthood. Yet Rawls lost his Christian faith as an infantryman in World War II on seeing the capriciousness of death in combat and learning of the horrors of the Holocaust.

9.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The word 'justice' is obtained from the Latin words *jungere* (to bind, to tie together) and *jus* (a bond or tie).
- Justice, as a bonding and joining idea, serves to systematize people together into a right or fair order of relationships by allocating to each person his or her due share of rights and duties, rewards and punishments.
- The normative idea of justice has a significance of its own in the realm of political theory in view of the fact that among the proper ends of state, it has been given a high place at all times.
- 'Let right be done' is the motto of justice. It is often defined as 'charity in conformance with wisdom.' Justice can be realized by the destruction of arbitrary or discriminatory social order. It is generally used in the sense of fairness, equality and impartially.

The various definitions highlight the following six aspects or characteristics of justice:

- o Justice is concerned with moral values and virtues in society
- o Justice is related to law and courts which are set to get justice
- o The aim of justice is to protect rights of the people
- o Justice is related to liberty and equality
- o Virtue or truth is the basis of justice
- o Justice promotes peace, good will and harmonious relations in society
- From the historical and normative development perspective, the idea of justice is better realized today than in earlier times.
- Platonic justice refers to the determination to concentrate on one's own sphere of duty and not to interfere with the sphere of others. It therefore resides in the heart of every citizen who performs his/her duty in the appointed place.
- Barker says that there are only four sources of justice, namely religion, nature, economics and ethics (morality). In addition to these sources, we may add three more sources, i.e., customs, law and judicial interpretations.
- The different kinds of justice include social, natural, legal, economic, administrative and distributive.

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- Social justice refers to socially ordained arrangement for removing all inequalities and affording equal opportunity to all individuals in social affairs and also in economic activities.
- Political justice means absence of privilege and inequalities in political participation.
- The Marxist notion of justice is that it is related to social values of the society which are determined by its mode of production.
- Broadly defined, feminism as a political ideology can be identified as: (i) an effort to make women self-conscious (ii) a force to generate a rational and sensible attitude towards women; (iii) an approach to view women in their own positions; and (iv) an approach to view the women through their own perspectives.
- In this context in 1971, the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) was set up to review the status of women. This committee was set up as per UN recommendations and it placed its report in the Parliament in 1973 and that was published in 1974 with the title, Toward Equality.
- In the late 1970s and early 1980s Chipko became a major environmental and social movement in the northern India, which is commonly, cited worldwide as a primary example of successful grass roots activism.
- The feminist ideology of liberation challenges notions of women's status and domination within the family and elsewhere in the society. This approach towards emancipation pushes women to question on inconvenient issues and to take painful risks.

9.7 KEY TERMS

- **Ethics:** Implies a sense of right and wrong from which justice originates
- **Social Justice:** Providing equality irrespective of caste, creed, colour, etc.
- **Administrative Justice:** A type of justice which is generally administered by administrative courts
- **Social Justice:** Socially ordained arrangement for removing all inequalities and affording equal opportunity to all individuals in social affairs and also in economic activities
- **Fraternity:** Any group or class of persons having common purposes, interests, etc.
- **Political Justice:** Absence of privilege and inequalities in political participation
- **Chipko Movement:** It is a major environmental and social movement of 1970s and 1980s in Northern India, with focus on grass root activism
- **Subaltern:** The class of lower strata in the society

9.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The six aspects or characteristics of justice are: (i) Justice is concerned with moral values and virtues in society; (ii) Justice is related to law and courts

which are set to get justice; (iii) The aim of justice is to protect rights of the people; (iv) Justice is related to liberty and equality; (v) Virtue or truth is the basis of justice; and (vi) Justice promotes peace, good will and harmonious relations in society.

2. The usual sources of justice include:
(i) Religion, (ii) Nature, (iii) Economics, (iv) Ethics, (v) Customs, (vi) Law, and (vii) Judicial interpretation.
3. Justice may be of the following types:
(i) Social justice, (ii) Natural justice, (iii) Legal justice, (iv) Economic justice, (v) Administrative justice, (vi) Distributive Justice, (vii) Political Justice, and (viii) Corrective Justice.
4. Marxist theory of justice includes the following elements:
(1) The bare necessities of all the citizens should be provided by the state. (2) Every individual should be given the adequate source of livelihood. Adequate wages for their work should be given. (3) Under special circumstances, poor citizens have the right to get government aid. The state should protect the old, unemployed and the poor economically, (4) Men and women should get equal wages for equal work.
5. Feminism, as a political ideology can be identified as:
(i) an effort to make women a self-conscious category; (ii) a force to generate a rational sensible attitude towards women; (iii) an approach to view the women in their own positions; and (iv) an approach to view the women through their own perspectives.
6. The Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) was set up to review the status of women.
7. The subaltern approach focuses on the justice associated with lower strata of the society, namely peasants, women, and petty workers.

9.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the origins of justice.
2. List the types of justice and briefly explain each of them.
3. Explain Feministic theory of justice.
4. What are the different categories of justice?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain in detail Rawls' theory of justice.
2. Explain the feminist theory of justice.
3. Analyse critically the subaltern view of justice.
4. Write a short note on Rawls.

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9.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 10 ANTONIO GRAMSCI

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Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Unit Objectives
- 10.2 Life Sketch of Gramsci
- 10.3 Gramsci and Civil Society
- 10.4 Gramsci on Hegemony
 - 10.4.1 Roots of Hegemony
 - 10.4.2 Ideological Hegemony
- 10.5 Gramsci on Revolution
- 10.6 Summary
- 10.7 Key Terms
- 10.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 10.9 Questions and Exercises
- 10.10 Further Reading

10.0 INTRODUCTION

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist and also a socialist theorist. He was a leading Marxist thinker. Gramsci used the term *hegemony* to denote the predominance of one social class over others. This represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as 'common sense' and 'natural'. In this unit you will learn about the life of Antonio Gramsci and also about his political philosophy.

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the life and times of Antonio Gramsci
- Explain Gramsci's views on state and civil society
- Discuss Gramsci's views on hegemony and how he used the term to denote the predominance of one social class over others.

10.2 LIFE SKETCH OF GRAMSCI

Antonio Gramsci was born on 22 January 1891 in the town of Ales, an island in Sardinia, which was one of the poorest regions of Italy. He was the fourth of seven children born to Francesco Gramsci and Giuseppina Marcias. His relationship with his father was never very close, but he had a strong affection and love for his mother, whose resilience, gift of story-telling and pungent humour made a lasting impression on him. Of his six siblings, Antonio enjoyed a mutual interest in literature with his younger sister Teresina, and seems to have always felt a spiritual kinship with his two brothers, Gennaro, the oldest of the Gramsci children, and Carlo, the youngest. Gennaro's early embrace of socialism contributed significantly to Antonio's political development.

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Antotio Gramsci's father's name was Francesco and mother's name was Giuseppina. His father was a minor public official who worked as a land registrar and his mother belonged to a local landowning family. His father had faced many financial problems and also had difficulties with the police. So as a family they were always forced to move from one village to another in Sardinia City. Finally the family settled in a village called Ghilarza. Gramsci's father was associated with politics but was unsuccessful in the parliamentary election which was held in 1897. In that period corruption and local disputes played a major role in Sardinian politics and Gramsci's father laid himself open to reprisal. When Gramsci was a small child his father was arrested and sentenced to five years of imprisonment on embezzlement charges because of which Gramsci and his family had to face a lot of problems. One to financial problems Gramsci was taken out from his school at the age of eleven. After some elementary education Gramsci started working in an office. He worked as a tax officer in Ghilarza to help his family. After that he had worked in many casual jobs until his father's release from the prison in 1904.

Gramsci continued his studies privately during that period. When his father was not at home the family lived in utter poverty. During this time Gramsci suffered physical deformity and developed a hunchback. Because of his ill health Gramsci was plagued by various internal disorders throughout his life. He later wrote that the doctors had given up on him and until about 1914 his mother kept a small coffin and little dress which he would wear after his death. His sickness and the visibility of his disorder in health left Gramsci particularly in vulnerable condition to the harshness of village life and made him an introvert.

Gramsci's personality would resurface at regular intervals throughout his life. Gramsci described himself as a worm inside a cocoon that was unable to unwind itself. After his father was released from prison their financial conditions improved and again he went to school for completing his education.

At the age of 17, Gramsci and his elder brother moved to Cagliari which was the capital of the island. Gramsci completed his secondary school in Cagliari where he was studying with his elder brother Gennaro. His brother was a soldier who believed in socialist thinking. Because of this he was known as the militant socialist in his mainland. In 1911 he won a scholarship and joined the university which was situated in Turin. Gramsci was in Turin at the time when it was called the red capital of Italy. It was the home to the most advanced industry in the country and above all it was described as the motor manufacturer. During the period of the First World War almost 30 per cent of the population was industrial workers and despite this almost 10 per cent of the populations were in army. Turin was on the brink of witnessing countless demonstrations and general strikes for the next twenty years and later in 1919 there began a movement for the occupation of the factories and also setting up of factory councils. Gramsci encountered all these upheavals when he went to Turin for his higher studies which invariably affected his thinking for the rest of his life.

When Gramsci was in the University of Turin he had come in contact with the thoughts of famous people like Antoni Labriola, Giovanni Gentile, Rodolfo Mondolfo and Benedetto Croce. Benedetto Croce was the most famous and a highly respectable intellectual in Italy of his time. These thinkers promoted the thought of Hegelian Marxism and for which Antoni Labriola had given the name as a philosophy of praxis. But Gramsci had later used this term to escape the prison censors. His relationship with this phrase was mainly to develop the current thought which was ambiguous

throughout his life. Gramsci's writings were famous from his study period and in 1914 onwards he started writing for the socialist newspaper *Grido del Popolo*. His writings made him famous and he gained his position as a notable journalist. He was an articulated and prolific writer of political theory. He also proved a formidable commentator and his writings were based on all aspects of Turin's social and political life.

Lots of problems were taking place in Cagliari relating to working class movement and many people lost their lives due to this unrest. At the time Gramsci reached Cagliari for his studies his elder brother Gennaro was the secretary of the local socialist party. After reaching Cagliari Gramsci met a friend called Raffa Garzia who was also his teacher at that school. His friend Garzia was also involved in the movement and commissioned articles from the students for the newspaper called *Sardinian Nationalist*. Gramsci was also influenced by the thoughts of radical socialist Gaetano Salvemini. He argued against the exploitation of the Mezzogiorno group in the northern side.

Gramsci met Julka Schucht in Russia who was a violinist and also a member of the Russian Communist Party. Eventually he married her and had two sons named Delio and Giuliano. Gramsci joined the socialist party in 1913 by becoming the general secretary of the newly formed Italian Communist Party in 1921. Although he was elected as a member of parliament, he was imprisoned by Mussolini in 1926. On 9 November 1926, the fascist government enacted a new wave of emergency laws that were taking as an alleged attempt on Mussolini's life.

As mentioned earlier, Gramsci was the supporter of socialist thoughts and this increased further by reading pamphlets which were sent from Sardinia by his elder brother. His political thought was enlarged by his experiences at the university and also in his new city where his family was staying. At that time Gramsci had the work to mainly develop and organize political activities. He became the first Marxist theorist to work with the problems and also deal with them. He had to also deal with the revolutionary changes which were taking place in the twentieth century of Western European society and was the first to identify the importance of the struggle against the Bourgeois values such as ideological and cultural struggle.

Gramsci's stress on informal education was mainly based on three aspects. Firstly, his exposition of the notion of hegemony provides a way to understand the context in which the informal educators can easily function and have the possibility to criticize and transform. Secondly, his concern was essential for the role of organic intellectuals which helped the people to understand about the place and also informal educators. Lastly, his interest in schooling and also in more traditional forms of education system points towards the need to dismiss more traditional forms. Gramsci enrolled as the faculty of letters. He met Angelo Tasca and other people in Turin University with whom he shared struggles first in the Italian Socialist party and also after the split that took place in January 1921.

Gramsci was a great academic scholar who became an active member of the Socialist Party. In 1915 he also started a journalistic career that made him one of the most feared and critical voices in Italy of that period. His writings in the Turin edition called *Avanti* were widely read by many people. He used to talk to the workers in Turin during his stay in the university. He discussed many topics such as novels of Romain Rolland with whom he felt great affinity, The Paris Commune, the French and Italian Revolutions and also the writings of Karl Marx.

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It was done at that time when the war dragged on and the Italian intervention had become a bloody reality. At that time Gramsci had taken an undecided stand but he knew that the basic position was that the Italian socialists should use these interventions as an occasion which turned Italian national's sentiments in a revolutionary way rather than towards chauvinist direction. During 1917 and 1918 he began to predict that the need of integration was essential between political and economic actions with cultural work. This took the form of a proletarian cultural association in Turin. In October 1917, the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution further stirred his revolution and a reminder of the war. After few years Gramsci identified himself closely although not entirely with the methods and aims of the Russian Revolution.

In 1919 Gramsci made contact with other scholars such as Angelo Tasca, Umberto Terracini and Togliatti. They started a periodical called *The New Order: A weekly Review of Socialist Culture* which within a few days became an influential periodical and later on a bi monthly periodical for almost five years. This periodical was famous among the radicals and also with the revolutionary left in Italy. The review of the periodicals gave much attention to political and literary thinking of the people in Europe, USSR and also in United States of America. At that time Gramsci devoted most of his time for the development of the factory council movement for next few years. He was known as the militant journalist and sided with the communist minority within the PSI at the Party's Livorno Congress. He became the member of PCI's Central Committee but did not play any significant role for several years. He was among the most prescient representatives of the Italian left at the inception of the fascist movement. Many occasions predicted that unless the unified action taken against the rise of Mussolini's movement, Italian Democracy and also Italian socialism would suffer a disastrous defeat.

The period between 1921 and 1926 is called the 'year of iron and fire' and Gramsci called them more eventful and productive. In 1924 Gramsci lived in Moscow as an Italian delegate to the Communist International election mainly to the Chamber of Deputies and also his assumption of the position of general secretary of the PCI.

Gramsci was arrested on 8 November 1926 in Rome. This was done mainly in accordance with a series of exceptional laws which enacted by the fascist dominated Italian legislature who committed to solitary confinement at the Regina Coeli prison. He was in jail for almost 10 years with lots of physical and psychic pain. He faced a stroke that killed him which shows that he was not treated properly in the prison. He died in 1937 at the Quisisana hospital in Rome at the age of 46 years. His ashes are buried in the protestant Cemetery of Rome. His book *Notebooks*, written in 1929 to 1935, tried to counterbalance the emphasis within orthodox Marxism on scientific determinism by stressing the importance of the political and intellectual struggle. Although proponents of Eurocommunism have claimed him as an influence, he remained throughout his life a Leninist and a revolutionary.

Gramsci's life in the prison was also full with many intellectual achievements which were recorded in his book *Notebooks*. He kept many of his writings in various cells that later saw the light of the day after the Second World War and extraordinary letters were discovered which he wrote from the prison to his friends and also to the family members. He wrote almost 500 letters from the prison. The important letters which were significant were written to his sister-in-law, Tania Schucht from the prison. She was the person who was most intimately and unceasingly involved in his prison life because she resided in Rome for many years and also was in a position to provide

him not only her thoughts but also feelings in the form of a letters. She also provided clothes, food and medicines which he needed to survive in prison. He spent his last two years of life in Rome. His economic friend Piero Sraffa used his own personal funds and also many professional contacts to provide necessary books and periodicals for Gramsci in the prison. He had a very sharp memory for writing the famous book *Notebooks* but it is also the truth, that without Sraffa's assistance and Tania's help he wouldn't have been able to write this famous book. By 1950s, his prison writings attracted and also increased interested towards the host countries. His critical commentary was also famous at that time. Because of this his writings were famous among the western and the third world countries. Some of his terminology was most famous among the follower of left and the most important and essential term which he used was hegemony. He had used this word in his writings and also applied to the twin task for understanding the reasons which were underlying both successes and failures of socialism on a global scale. He had also used the word hegemony for a feasible programme and for the realization of a socialist vision within the existing conditions that prevailed in the world. At that time the conditions were the rise and success of fascism and also disorder on the left side that had ensued as a result of that success. Terms such as organic intellectual, national popular and also historical bloc which even if not created by Gramsci was acquired in such a way that it had radically new and original implications in the realm of political philosophy.

During the trial period Gramsci's prosecutor said that it is essential to stop this brain from functioning for twenty years. After that he received an immediate sentence of five years in jail on the island of Ustica. In the same year he received a very long person sentence of twenty years. In prison his health deteriorated. In 1932, a project planned mainly for exchanging political prisoners which also included Gramsci between Italy and Soviet Union failed. But in 1934 he gained a conditional freedom on his health grounds after visiting hospitals in Civitavecchia, Formia and also Rome.

After Gramsci's death in an interview of archbishop Luigi de Magistris who was the former head of the Apostolic Penitentiary of the Holy See stated that during Gramsci's final illness he returned to faith of his infancy and also died taking the sacraments. However to the Italian State documents on Gramsci's death show that no religious official was sent for or received by Gramsci.

10.3 GRAMSCI AND CIVIL SOCIETY

In the history of political thought the concept of civil society is quite old. However over a period of time this concept has undergone a considerable change. Originally the terms civil society and political society were used as conterminous. Thus the term civil society was applied synonymously with state. But under the complex conditions of present day society it is necessary to recognize the distinctive feature of civil society.

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist who sought to distinguish civil society from political society in the context of his analysis of capitalist society. Conventional Marxist theory had held that economic mode of production of any society constituted its base while the legal and political structure and various expressions of its social consciousness including religion, morals, social customs and practices constituted its superstructure. It believed that the character of the superstructure was determined by the prevailing character of its base. During the course of social development the changes in the base led to corresponding changes in the superstructure. So it focused on changes

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks:

- Gramsci was born on 22 January 1891 in the town of _____.
- Gramsci completed his secondary school in _____ where he was studying with his elder brother Gennaro.
- Gramsci's met _____ in Russia who was a violinist and also a member of the Russian Communist Party.
- In 1919 Gramsci made contact with other scholars such as Angelo Tasca, Umberto Terracini and Togliatti and started a periodical called _____.
- Gramsci died in 1937 at the Quisisana hospital in Rome at the age of _____ years.
- Gramsci remained throughout his life a Leninist and a _____.

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in the base; the superstructure was not regarded to deserve an independent analysis. Gramsci did not accept this position. He suggested that the superstructure of contemporary western society had attained some degree of autonomy; hence its analysis was also necessary.

Gramsci particularly focused on the structures of domination in the culture of the capitalist society. He identified two levels of this superstructure.

- Political society or state which resorts to coercion to maintain its domination. The whole organization of government including police, judiciary, prison, etc. comes within its purview. The structures associated with this part of superstructure are called structure of coercion.
- Civil society which resorts to obtaining consent of the citizens to maintain its domination. This part of superstructure is closer to the base and is relatively autonomous. The structures associated with this part are called structures of legitimation.

Gramsci pays special importance to this part of the superstructure. According to Gramsci, the institutions of civil society family, school and church familiarize the citizens with the rules of behaviour and teach them to show natural respect to the authority of the ruling classes. These structures led legitimacy to the rule of capitalist class so that even injustice involved in this rule would carry the impression of justice. That is why these are called structures of legitimation. They enable the capitalist society to function in such a manner that the ruling classes seem to be ruling with the consent of the people. When the power is apparently exercised with the consent of its subject, it is called hegemony.

Gramsci points out that the structures of legitimation within the capitalist society tend to prevent any challenge to its authority. Capitalist society largely depends on the efficiency of these structures for its stability. It is only when civil society fails to prevent dissent that political society is required to make use of its structures of coercion including police, courts and prisons.

This analysis leads us to the conclusion that the strategy of communist movement should not be confined to the overthrow of the capitalist class but it should make a dent in the value system that sustains the capitalist rule. This value system is likely to persist through the institutions of civil society even under socialist mode of production. Fresh efforts will have to be made to transform the culture of that society by inculcating socialist values in the mind of the people. According to Gramsci it would be futile to hope that true socialism would automatically grow from the ashes of capitalism.

Gramsci tried to convince the Marxist that they should emerge from the spell of economics and continue their ideological warfare in the field of culture, art, literature and philosophical debates. The revolutionaries must infiltrate the autonomous institutions of civil society and create a new mass consciousness informed by the socialist value system.

Gramsci was primarily a humanist. He was opposed to any type of tyranny. He did not want to use revolution in order to set up a coercive state, but wanted to democratize all institutions. In fact he sought to replace the state by regulated society where all decisions would be made through consensus and not by means of coercion.

Gramsci followed Marx and tried to develop his theory of state which takes into account the reality of civil society. His main proposition is that one cannot understand the state without understanding the civil society. He says that the state

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should be understood as not only the apparatus of government but also the private apparatus of hegemony or civil society. Building on the Marxian notion of the state, Gramsci makes a distinction between the state as a political organization and the state as government. The integral state keeps reproducing itself in the practices of everyday life through activities situated in civil society. It is hegemony which provides moral and intellectual leadership to practices in civil society. Hegemony, for Gramsci, works for both for the dominant as well as the subaltern class in civil society. According to Gramsci each class must hegemonise social relations in society before seizing power.

Gramsci enriched the concept of civil society to a great extent. Retaining Marx's idea of class war, he focused as much on war as on class. He understood politics as a kind of war and used metaphors from military warfare to explain its many processes. But unlike in military warfare, in politics the battles are not limited to the use of sheer force. Although force is used as well, the battle in the field of ideas is most important. Civil Society for Gramsci is a space where this battle for the control of ideas takes place. According to him the dominance of the ruling classes is not maintained solely on the basis of their control of the coercive apparatus of the state, namely the police and the army. They also need to acquire a dominant intellectual and moral leadership in civil society.

In Gramsci's view, exploitative class relations of capitalist society have to be made to appear right and proper in order to establish legitimacy of the ruling exploitative class. In other words, the ruling classes need to create a false perception among the working classes of their own social situation. Since human beings define themselves in terms of ideals and values, the ruling classes need to control those institutions where ideas, ideals and values are formed. This function according to Gramsci's conception is performed by the various institutions of civil society. These civil society institutions are churches, parties, trade unions, universities, the press, publishing houses and voluntary associations of all kinds. By disseminating the ideology of the dominant class the institutions ensure its cultural and moral supremacy over the subordinate classes. In this way the ruling class obtains the consent of the latter of their own subordination.

The theory of hegemony given by Gramsci is tied to his conception of the capitalist state. Gramsci does not understand the term state in the narrow sense of the government. He has done a division between state and economy. The political society was the arena of the political institutions and also legal constitutional control. The civil societies commonly seen as the private or non-state sphere mediates between the state and the economy. But Gramsci stressed on the division which is purely conceptual and in reality often overlap. Gramsci claims that the capitalist state rules through the force with consent such as political society is the realm of force and civil society in the area of consent. Gramsci said that under modern capitalism the bourgeoisie can maintain its economic control by making certain demands which would be met by the political sphere. Thus it can be said that the bourgeoisie engages in a passive revolution which was going beyond its immediate economic interests and also allowing the forms of hegemony to change. Gramsci said that the movements such as reformism and fascism as well as the scientific management was also the assembly line methods of Frederick Taylor and Henry Ford.

Machiavelli in his writing 'The Modern Prince' argues that the revolutionary party is the force that will allow the working class mainly to develop the organic

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intellectuals and also an alternative hegemony within the civil society. Gramsci has given a description about the complex nature of modern civil society which means war of position. This was carried out by the revolutionaries through political agitation, trade unions, advancement of proletarian culture and also other ways to create an opposing civil society. This was necessary because of the war of maneuver which means a direct revolution. This was in order to have a successful revolution without any danger for a counter revolution or degeneration. Despite many claims, Gramsci rejects the state of worship which results from identifying the political society with civil society which was mainly done by the Fascists and Jacobins. Gramsci believes that the proletariats have always done historical task that was mainly to create a regulated society and also mainly to define the withering away of the state for the full development of civil societies and the ability to regulate itself.

Gramsci defined civil society as the vast range of institutions which were also super structural in nature. Gramsci also argues that the state provides an important mechanism for connecting the civil society with economy but also in another way civil society becomes a more encompassing term. Gramsci has given the widest term of definition on civil society of an ensemble of organisms that are commonly called private. It is therefore described as a matter of individual behaviour, tastes and values as it is the matter of regulated institutions. This is the model which was clearly known as the superstructure which is far removed from Marx's assertion and also it is the set of institutions which transmit a monolithic bourgeois ideology. The civil society has many definitions as it includes the legal apparatus but it also includes other things such as children parties, shopping trips and going on holidays.

As everyone knows that the civil society is involved with the everyday life so it's very difficult to recognize and also have some connection with the operations of power. Thus civil society overlaps significantly with Gramsci's category of common sense. For example gardening and also among other things home ownership, family life and nationality contains certain wisdom about the world and are functional modern capitalism. The civil society can be expressed in terms of other social divisions such as gender, age, etc. rather than the class. So it is precisely in this private sphere that the ruling values seem to be more natural and also unchangeable. The outcome of this is mainly for the transformative politics which could thoroughly enter this sphere in both successful and durable way. The civil society therefore absolutely acknowledges that there are issues in circulation which were different than the class. So it can be said that the earlier version of the concept of civil society as was defined is only useful for sustaining an unequal society. For this Gramsci argues that a complex and well articulated civil society would be necessary even after a major disruption.

10.4 GRAMSCI ON HEGEMONY

Hegemony is in its simplest sense use the ascendancy or domination of one element of a system over others. In Marxist theory the term is used in a more technical and specific sense. In the writings of Antonio Gramsci, hegemony refers to the ability of a dominant class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugates as an alternative to the use of coercion. As a non-coercive form of class rule, hegemony is typically understood as a cultural or ideological process that operates through the dissemination of bourgeois values and beliefs throughout the society. However it also has a political and economic dimension: consent can be manipulated by pay increases or by political or social reform.

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The most influential twentieth century exponent of this view was Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci drew attention to the degree to which the class system is upheld not simply by unequal economic and political power, but also by bourgeois hegemony. This consists of the spiritual and cultural supremacy of the ruling class, brought about through the spread of bourgeois values and beliefs via civil society: the media, the churches, youth movements, trade unions and so forth. What makes this process so insidious is that it extends beyond formal learning and education into the very common sense of the age. The significance of Gramsci's analysis is that, order for socialism to be achieved a battle of ideas has to be waged through which proletarian principles, values and theories displace or at least challenge bourgeois ideas.

Gramsci used the term hegemony to describe all the process through which the dominant class attained this intellectual and moral leadership. Through the concept of hegemony he also emphasized that the ruling classes rely more on the institutions and civil society than those of the state for obtaining the consent of the subordinated. The coercive apparatus of the state is used only where spontaneous consent has failed. The concept of hegemony has a strategic importance in Gramsci's own political practice. He argued that in order to properly fight the revolutionary battle for the working classes and peasantry, communist parties in different countries need to contest the hegemony of the ruling classes in civil society.

Gramsci admired the Bolshevik revolution of Russia as a victory of the will power over economic conditions. He also warned that this strategy would not be suitable under the conditions prevailing in the western society where the working class had come to accept the existing arrangements. He set aside certain assumptions of classical Marxism and produced a new analysis of the bourgeois state. Previously the term hegemony was described and also used by the famous Marxists such as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He used this term to symbolize the political leadership of the working class for the democratic revolution. After that Gramsci greatly expanded this concept for developing a sharp analysis for the ruling capitalist class and also for the bourgeoisie which establishes and maintains its control in the society. The orthodox Marxism always predicted that the socialist revolution was inevitable for the capitalist societies. This type of revolution was not famous in the advanced nations by early twentieth century. The concept capitalism seemed even more fixed than ever. So according to Gramsci, capitalism was suggested and maintained through ideology and not just through violence, political and economic coercion. At that time the bourgeoisie developed a hegemonic culture which mainly propagated its own values and norms. This was mainly done so that the bourgeoisie become the common sense of values for all. The people who were in the working class identified their own good with the good of the bourgeoisie class who helped them to maintain the status quo rather than for revolting.

He said that the bourgeois class had the values which represented natural and normal values for the society and this was only for the working class which needed to develop a culture of its own. Lenin who was famous for his Leftist thought held that the culture was ancillary to political objectives but for Gramsci it was fundamental for the attainment of power that had cultural hegemony which was essential to achieve first. In his view a class in a society cannot dominate the modern conditions without advancing its own economic interests. This was neither dominated through force nor coercion. So this can be said that it must have intellectual and moral leadership and also make compromises and alliances through variety of forces. Gramsci calls this union of social forces 'historic blocs' a term taken from the famous philosopher Georges

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Sorel. This bloc forms mainly on the basis of consent for making a certain social order which produces and also reproduces the hegemony of the dominant class. This was mainly done through a nexus of institutions, social relations and also their ideas. For this Gramsci developed a theory which emphasized on the importance of the political and ideological superstructure which was mainly for maintaining and fracturing relations of the economic base. Gramsci thought that the bourgeois had cultural values which were tied to popular culture and religion and also his analysis of hegemonic culture. In Gramsci's writing it has been seen that he was strongly impressed by the influence of Roman Catholicism. They had taken to prevent an excessive gap which was developing between the religion of the learned and also among less educated people. Gramsci thinks that Marxism was like marriage which was purely an intellectual critique for religion found in renaissance humanism. He also said that the elements of reformation had appealed to all the people in the society. Gramsci also thought that Marxism could replace religion only if it met people's spiritual needs. Gramsci thought that the hegemonic dominance will ultimately rely on a consented coercion. He thought that the term crisis of authority and the masks of consent will slip away by revealing the first of the force.

The term hegemony is more sensitive and a critical term and therefore this was more useful than the term domination. The term domination fails to acknowledge active role during the operation of power for the lower class people. Gramsci had defined the term hegemony through a series of distinctions between different moments which was within the hegemonic process. As Gramsci thought to define the term in various ways it isolates his earlier notes mainly on coercion and consent, domination and leadership, common sense and good sense and also limited and expansive. So the term hegemony can show how these details which were given by Gramsci could be build into a nuanced conception mainly for political and cultural authority. The term hegemony has been very prominent and also applicable in Gramsci's writings which were vastly used by many political philosophers in the humanities and social sciences.

10.4.1 Roots of Hegemony

Gramsci used to argue that the term hegemony is essential for making deep division which is mainly made for the order to form a genuinely popular and national organization which can defeat fascism and also achieve a transformation of society. However, this is the alliance which is not simply described as a federation of factions which carry an equal weight. He said that the industrial working class can lead their allies mainly through the ideological means and they also provide the centre for any progressive movements. So in this simplest way he described the term hegemony to the people of that time. Gramsci was not the originator of the term hegemony as this term was famous from the Russian socialist movement and also given fresh description about this term by Lenin. Gramsci knew about this term in Moscow when there was a debate going on about this term.

Lenin never used the term hegemony openly in a society but Gramsci claimed that Lenin was the philosopher who described the concept and also the fact of the term hegemony at that period. By saying this Gramsci mainly thought about the three things which are mentioned below:

- Lenin understood that the revolution would not happen simply by adopting a response from developing contradictions which is emerging within the economy. So he gave proper consideration to the front of the cultural struggle.

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- Lenin developed the idea that the bourgeoisie has committed towards the struggle for hegemony as its opposition party people were attempting to lead the working class through its control of ideas and also the institutions. Lenin in his writing said that the working class spontaneously gravitates towards socialism which nevertheless is a bourgeois ideology. The bourgeois ideology was widely known by the masses and for this it spontaneously imposes itself on the working class after knowing the fact that Russia did not appreciate the western democracies that can try to develop the civil societies because of which such nations could be disseminated and also embedded.
- Lenin also argued that the revolutionary party should not adopt the economic struggle of the industrial working class but should support the struggles which were taking place during that period against the groups and classes who suffered a lot. He also said that it is only possible to understand the oppression of the working class by understanding the connection between all the classes and divisions and also the state and government which was the main area of the interrelations between all the classes in the society.

Gramsci was a follower of Lenin so we can say that he is a Leninist to some extent. But if we describe it particularly then it can be seen that the political party at that time had a major role of educating the allied groups and also to make strong leadership for the working class. In many ways Gramsci writes that the parties decide between the interests of their own group and also for other groups mainly for securing the development of the group which they represent with the consent and also through the assistance of the allied groups. But Gramsci did not follow those ideas about hegemony which were given by Lenin. Gramsci's work was mainly a political tool for the construction of a revolutionary and popular coalition. This was also a tool of historical and cultural analysis that enabled the people to evaluate those strategies. In the past they also tried to frame different groups and attempted to form the hegemonic blocs. So the understanding of the term hegemony by Gramsci was also influenced by both native and international people. He also added that his own and unique understanding about the term mainly joined many thinkers of that period and they also understood the term with the intellectual point of view.

10.4.2 Ideological Hegemony

Gramsci in his book *Prison Notebooks*, written between 1929-35, emphasized the degree to which capitalism was maintained not merely by economic domination, but also by political and cultural factors, and he called this the ideological hegemony. He accepted the description of capitalism put forward by Marx earlier and also accepted that the struggle between the ruling class and the subordinate working class was the main driving force which moved towards the society at that time. People did not accept the traditional Marxist view. The traditional Marxist mainly believed how the ruling class ruled at that time. Gramsci made a great contribution towards modern thought by his ideology. The term ideology was mainly seen as a simple system of ideas and also beliefs. But the term was closely tied with the concept of power and also the definition which was given by another philosopher called Anthony Giddens. He has given the definition which was the easiest way to understand the general people. According to Giddens the term ideology was defined as the shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of the dominant groups. He also said that the relationship to power is mainly to legitimize the differential power that the groups hold. This is mainly to distort the real situation that the people find themselves within

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it. It is said that the traditional Marxist theory of power was one sided and was based on the role of force and coercion as the basis for the ruling class for domination. This was mainly reinforced by Lenin during the success of Russian Revolution in 1917 and the people also believed on the wording of Lenin. During that time Gramsci felt that there was something missing and that may be the understanding of the subtle but pervasive forms of ideological control and manipulation which affected all the repressive structures.

Gramsci identified two different forms of political control such as:

- The domination which referred the direct physical coercion by the police and the armed forces.
- The hegemony which referred to both ideological control and more crucially consent.

He also assumed that no regime, how authoritarian it might be, could sustain itself through the organized state power and also the armed forces. If we think about the long process then it had to have some popular support and also legitimacy in order to maintain the stability. Gramsci thought that Hegemony meant the permeation throughout the society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that effected the status quo in power relations. So hegemony in this sense might be defined as an organized principle that is diffused by the process of socialization which is focused in every area of social life. It can also be said to an extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the population which becomes the part of the common sense so that the culture, philosophy and the morality of the ruling class comes to appear as the natural order of things. As according to Marx, the basic division of society is mainly the base represented by the economic structure and a superstructure represented by institutions and beliefs prevalent in society and accepted by many Marxists followers. Gramsci took this belief a step further and he divided the superstructure into those institutions that were overtly coercive and also those that were not. The coercive ones are basically those which were the public institutions such as the governments, armed forces, police and the legal system. He also said that the state or political society and the non-coercive ones were those he regarded as civil society. To some extent schools come into both the categories. As we all know that the parts of school life are quite clearly coercive but some others are not like the hidden curriculum of the school. So for this, Gramsci said that the society was made up of the relations of production, the state or the political society and the civil society. Gramsci's analysis about the society went much further than the Marxist theory which provides a clear understanding of why the European working class had failed totally to develop the revolutionary consciousness after the First World War and had instead moved towards reformism. This can be understood through some example such as tinkering with the system rather than working towards overthrowing the system from its existing place. It was a very subtle theory of power and went a long way to explain how the ruling class ruled during that period. So if the hegemony of ruling capitalist class resulted from an ideological bond between the rulers and the ruled then what will be the strategy which was needed by the employed persons? The answers to these questions were mainly those who wished to break that ideological bond and had to build up a counter hegemony for the ruling class. They had to see the structural changes as part of the same struggle. It is mentioned that the labour process was the main class struggle but it was the ideological struggle that had to be addressed. Workers should be allowed questioning their political and economic masters for right to rule. It

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was the popular consensus in the civil society that had to be challenged and this can be seen as a role for the informal education. It's said that overcoming popular consensus is not easy. At that period there were many complaints raised about the ways things were run and people looked for improvements and reforms. But the basic belief and also the value system underpinning in the society were seen as general applicability in the class structure of the society. The Marxist may have seen that the people in the society are always asking for bigger role in the society or higher responsibility in the government sector. For this Gramsci used the term hegemony as a tool for analysing the historical and political issues of the society. As we have already seen that Gramsci used this term in many ways and it also changed according to time and relations to his subject. Before his arrest he wrote that some aspects of the Southern question are unambiguous about the nature of hegemony. Again he said that the working class becomes a leading and dominant class to the extent that it succeeds in creating a system of class alliances. So this alliance allows it to mobilize the majority of the working population against capitalism and the bourgeois state. As the struggle which rose in Italy was mainly because of historical development in the society it did not have any proper impact on the economic inequality. It is essential to understand properly the working class movement issues which were culturally important to the peasants mainly because it would help to lead the other groups within the working population of Italy. Gramsci had identified the two issues based on the role of Catholic Church. It was within the matter where the peasantry experienced their oppression the most and also the industrial proletariat. So the hegemonic group should recreate themselves rather than dominate their junior partners. This was not a question of speaking in favour of desires of other groups in order to gather their votes or for selecting certain issues mainly to appeal to a broader constituency. A hegemonic group or class who truly believe in the concept really make large parts of its subalterns in the whole world and also make its own. So the leading group will change as it narrows factionalism. To get the leadership it is necessary for the workers to stop thinking about themselves. They must think of themselves as a worker associated with a class which mainly aims to lead the peasants and also intellectuals.

The broad definition of leadership has a number of issues. They are:

- Firstly, it grants a leading group the power to make choices and also act collectively. The people in leading groups are mainly granted a good degree of clarity on seeing a situation as it is. They should not impair by structural constraints or by the ideology.
- Secondly, engage with the subaltern groups which means treating in a serious manner those practices and values which are meaningful to them but which are also by no means necessarily progressive. As we have already seen earlier that Gramsci identified the Catholic Church as a main institution and also set some ideas that exert forces over the everyday lives of the Peasantry. Despite his own skepticism Gramsci did not see the church as automatically reactionary. In his socialist career Gramsci rejected a mindless anti-clericalism and also fostered the links with the church activists as recognizing that most of the Italians were believers. Similarly, the 'Aspects of the Southern Question' makes the point that the church in Italy was itself divided along the regional lines. In the south the priests mainly acted as a layer of feudal oppression as they were themselves middle class landlords of that period. But in the North the church often fulfilled a totally different role. This was mainly for providing a form of

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democratic and also ethical and spiritual opposition towards the state. So the question arises that whether any political formations presently hold together any uneasy bedfellows and also analyse the strategies that are deployed to maintain such alliances. So for this we can see an example from United Kingdom where there was a coalition called antiwar which was formed around 2003 during the invasion of Iraq and also which temporarily together with the united secular leftist with many other Muslim people. This was mainly for the perception that the Islamic membership of the alliance compromised the Left's commitments towards the women and gay rights which was the biggest contest among the coalitions. They argued that the Muslim social conservatism should not prevent any collaboration among the hostility to the war.

- Thirdly, the question must raise that to what extent the subalterns were incorporated into the worldview of a dominant group. What if the ruling group is forced to grant too many economic or ideological concessions to those it leads? What if a subaltern group develops the necessary agency to lead a hegemonic struggle itself and also to challenge the authority of a fundamental group such as the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? If these types of things were to happen then above the long war of position the leading group will be moved out of all recognitions. For example, if we take the socialist politics which exists presently. This typically involves a broad coalition of the Left that involved among others feminists, gay right campaigners, peace activists, representatives of the ethnic groups and also the environmentalist. But if we will think of maintaining the primacy of class among these various interests then it is far from straight forward. So the socialism begins to look like just only one alternative position among many people or which can be defined precisely as a rainbow alliance of equal interest. So moreover the political groups or the parties never face downwards or seen as oppressed group. So if we can say that in their electoral appeals to the business and middleclass voters the American democrats and the British Labour Party have been accused of taking on board the perspectives of those whom they sought to hegemonise. They also go from the hegemonic bloc to being a bloc that is hegemonised by the multinational capitalism and also the middle class conservatism. So it can be observed that the attempt by one region is to lead to another region unanticipated hegemonic consequences. The subaltern regions exerts the hegemonic pressures of their own. Gramsci has no conclusive answer about how the fundamental groups can limit the hegemonic activities of those which seeks to lead and also restrict the expensiveness of its hegemony. The inability which would fully theorize this problem is given by one of Gramsci's rare resorts towards economism. He said that such sacrifices and also such a compromise cannot touch the essential that is the function which is exercised by the leading group in the economic activity. Despite all these typical productiveness the porosity of a hegemonic bloc for the demands of others provides a cause of optimism. The ruling class which asked for consent and also cannot give any voice towards the aspirations of those people in whose name it rules will not survive indefinitely. For this Gramsci argued that within the hegemonic process the subaltern must pass from being a thing to being a historical person or a protagonist which is a powerful counter towards mass culture. This was the position where the subalterns were ideologically dominated by their leaders in the society. So this shows a sign of democratic process by Gramsci and for this he argues that a

hegemonizing group must accept challenges to its leadership. So Gramsci writes that the active and the direct consent means the participation of all who are living in society even if it produces a disintegration or an apparent tumult. The issue of subaltern people's aspiration mainly focuses towards the people and is described as a process without an end. In order to maintain its power, a leading group must be constantly alert towards the volatile demands of the subalterns and also to the shifting context which is within it that exerts its authority. So Gramsci said that the social group has to exercise the leadership before it wins power but even when this power is won it must continue to lead the society. Hegemony is not simply a question of meanings and values. It also takes the economic, material and also legal political forms. So the ruling power ensures that its subordinates have enough to eat and for this they are paid and also have adequate access to healthcare, childcare and holidays which has gone a long way in winning their hearts and also minds. This is seen as the parliamentary democracy which appears to grant subordinate people who have a good degree of legal political autonomy by granting them various rights and also by allowing them to vote to change their government and also to stand for elections on their own. Therefore Terry Engleton said that the people are supposed to believe that they govern themselves. For this it is arguable that other forms of society also foster such an illusion. But Engleton brings the attention of people towards the institutional dimension of hegemony. Within the ideological operation of hegemony the organizations also contribute towards the dissemination of meaning and values. The final point which was raised about Gramsci's conception of hegemony mainly concerns the question of force. This is the hegemonic group that cannot be assimilated into its cultural and also into the political project. Again he writes that while the hegemonic group leads coalition groups it also dominates the antagonistic groups.

10.5 GRAMSCI ON REVOLUTION

At that period the powerful Turin movement took place and Gramsci came in contact with the people involved in that movement. In 1913 he joined the Socialist party and engaged more in the work of the party. Gramsci gave up his studies in November 1915 and joined the editorial board of the paper of the Socialist Party. He wrote the editorial section which was published daily in the name of *Avanti*. In these few years he was active as a militant. The Russian Revolution in 1917 shook the foundation of European Social Democracy. Gramsci's involvement in politics was totally different from the most famous political philosopher of that period such as Lenin and Bolsheviks despite the strategic and tactical tasks of Italy and Russia were almost the same. By the time Gramsci became a powerful revolutionary in 1915 the Bolsheviks had gone through the experience of one revolution and also counter revolution. This was the process which clearly formulated their positions on the revolutionary party and also the agrarian question. The implications of these positions were mainly to avoid the lefts to enter the Socialist Party till 1921. By 1915, Lenin understood the reasons for the collapse of the International in the face of the imperialist war and felt a need for a complete political break within it. As already mentioned Gramsci's own learning process about politics is different from Lenin. This was specifically the Italianized version of Marxism which found its way to Gramsci through different works such as Croce, Labriola and Gentile. These are the figures which Gramsci turned to as a

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Check Your Progress

2. Fill in the blanks:

- (a) Antonio Gramsci was an Italian

who sought to distinguish civil society from political society

- (b) Gramsci followed Marx and tried to develop his theory of

which takes into account the reality of civil society.

- (c) Retaining Marx's idea of class war, he focused as much on war as on

- (d) Machiavelli in his writing

argues that the revolutionary party is the force that will allow the working class mainly to develop the organic intellectuals.

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remedy to the weaknesses that he perceived in the practice and theory of the right wing mainly in the Second International event of Socialist party. Gramsci felt that the passivity and the fatalism of this trend was itself related to an original historical Materialism which was described by Marx and Engels. Gramsci considered that Marx was the critic of political economy as found in the famous book *Kapital* which was in fact mechanical materialism that ignored the role and power of the subjective factor mainly to become conscious of its own exploitation and also rise up to overthrow a system which was based on economic conditions. Thus, Gramsci saw materialism of Marxism as deficient and in need of a return to Hegel which was advocated by Croce. He said that in order to inject a dose of idealism and provide an adequate account of subjectivity political factor in the revolutionary politics.

The approach of Lenin and Trotsky towards the problem of Russian Revolution was totally different to this issue. In 1899 Lenin and Narodniks argued against Marx's mechanistic interpretation on political economy which mainly led towards the conclusion that the backwardness of Russia's internal market meant that the development of the capitalism in Russia could be avoided. In early 1905 Trotsky described in his theory of permanent revolution that the Russian capitalism had to be understood in context of the uneven and also combined development of capitalism on the world scale. Capitalism rapidly increases because of the alliance with the European and especially the French capitalism and also the Tsarist Autocracy which was also overseen. Precisely because of this both Lenin and Trotsky contested the legal Marxist view which insisted that because of this development the leadership of the bourgeois revolution against the Tsar fell to the Russian bourgeoisies. They proved that the weakness of an indigenous Russian bourgeoisie and also the social weight of the Russian proletariat combined to guarantee that the former would bloc with recreation which was against the working class. This happened when they faced with a real fight to force through the bourgeois democratic demands. But for Gramsci the revolution in the backward Italy had to be carried through despite its believe on social relations through an act of will. But for Lenin and Trotsky the revolution in backward Russia would occur precisely because of the contradictions in the material fabric of Russian capitalism. The flaws seen in the Gramsci's methodological grasp of Marxism betrayed a real weakness in his grasp about historical materialism. In 1920 for some time Gramsci was propelled towards the positions of the revolutionary Comintern which was significant of these weaknesses that become obscured. The full significance about the issue was totally revealed in the book of *Prison Notebooks* during his discussion about civil society and also the state. Gramsci welcomed the Russian revolution as a proletarian act ... which was the result in a socialist regime. He regarded it as a confirmation of his views on Marxism. He considered it a revolution against **Das Kapital** and the same thing he saw in the Bolshevik's work. The Bolsheviks said that this was the continuation of Italian and the German idealist thought and also is seen in Marx which contaminated the positivist and also naturalistic incrustations.

There was an attack on Marxism in the methodological terms but Gramsci's real target was the Menshevik strategy which believed that there was a fatal necessity for the bourgeoisies to be formed in Russia mainly for the capitalist era to open before the proletariat that might demand their own revolution. Gramsci saw a kind of leader in Lenin who could force the pace of history by an act to organize the will rather than someone who could give a conscious expression about the social contradictions in the Russian Society.

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As the crisis of revolution increased in Italy after the Russian Revolution, Gramsci had the chance to reflect further on different lessons that could be learned from Lenin. In August 1917, a strike started by the workers in Turin which led an insurrection against the local state was supported throughout the whole piedmont region. Five hundred people died and almost two thousand people faced casualties in this strike but the Turin workers refused to quit the strike. Again the working class movement developed in an unprecedented manner during the year 1919 to 1920. These are the years when the Socialist Party grew from a membership of 81,000 to 216,000. The trade union federation members also increased from 32,000 to 2.3 million which was between the period of 1914 to 1920. Again in April 1919, Gramsci with others established the paper called *L'Ordine Nuovo*. This paper was mainly to use the growing movement. In June the same year he wrote about the state of workers and that this state not did pop up by magic: the Bolsheviks worked for eight months to spread and also make their slogans. All powers to the Soviets were already known to the Russian workers during the period of 1905. In October 1919, the Socialist party affiliated to the Comintern in the following month fought a general election on a programme which called for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party won the largest bloc of seats in the new parliament. In early 1920, the Socialist Party went on to win the control mainly over half of the municipal councils. The Italian workers were seeking the path of revolution without asking any question. In 1920s the struggle in the factories had risen to a higher level mainly with the formation of the Internal Commissions which enabled the workers to control all the aspects of the factory.

In 1920s throughout the summer almost half a million workers were involved in the commissions and councils. Gramsci grasped what was at stake and said that under the capitalists the factory was a miniature state that was ruled by a despotic board. After the workers took over this despotic power in the factories was smashed and the right to choose passed into the hands of the working class. Every factory that had industrial executives became an illegal state, a proletarian republic living from day-to-day, awaiting the outcome of the events. But this was the challenge as is how to direct the outcome of the events, and how to turn dual power in the factories into a challenge for the national state power. Here Gramsci's weaknesses on the party question were cruelly exposed.

The leadership in Serrati was certainly guilty of refusing to take responsibility for organizing the working class through the party to prepare for the seizure of state power. But Gramsci had always failed to strive for a revolutionary communist party. Even if after the affiliation to the Comintern, Gramsci was reluctant to fight the Turati reformist wing which was up to the point of expulsions. Gramsci did not even share the Brodiga's grasp of the need to organize to fight the factional views on the national level within the Socialist Party. It is a fact that Harman in his Phamplets stated the failings of the party and also about Gramsci with a remark that when it came to valuing the role of Marxist intervention in the class struggle his own activity in 1919-1920 and also in 1924-1926 was a shining example of such type of intervention. Lenin and Trotsky were much stronger on the failings of all sections in the Socialist Party. About the socialist party Trotsky said that the party carried on agitation mainly in favour of Soviet Russia. The Italian working class and also the mass took this issue seriously and entered the road of open revolutionary struggle. But precisely at the moment when the party should have drawn all the practical and political conclusions from its own agitation became scared of its responsibility and also shied away, leaving the rear of the proletariat group unprotected. After that Lenin was equally harsh and

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said, 'did a single communist show his mettle when the workers seized the factories in Italy?' The answer was 'no' at the time there was as yet no communism in Italy.

In 1924 Gramsci wrote in his own words that 'in 1919-1920 the people of Italy made extremely serious mistakes which was ultimately paying for today. They are afraid for being called upstarts and careerists. They did not form a faction and organize this throughout Italy. The people are not ready to give the Turin councils which was an autonomous directive centre that could have exercised an immense influence throughout the country mainly for fear of a split in the unions and also of being prematurely expelled from the Socialist Party.' He also said that it was the quality of self-criticism. They don't feel anything which was closely connected personally to the events and also how costly the mistakes proved. This was the quality possessed by all great revolutionists that enabled Gramsci to turn to the Comintern.

In his revolutionary conception of society a new body of organic intellectuals, emerging from the rising class would work to ease out those progressive elements that contained within the classes for the common sense. The boundaries of classes may be shifted but the role of intellectuals as a key of cultural intermediaries has not. These types of issues were extensively publicized by the websites and studio experts but later they were disorganized. In that period the network controllers, programme producers and also website designers were the newly forms of intellectual group which were within the greatly expanded sphere of the communication industry. Therefore, Gramsci draws a distinction between the kind of revolutionary action that was same in Russian Revolution and also the kind which was needed in other countries. In Russia the political superstructure was very poorly developed and later on slowly there was very little in the way of intermediaries between the Tsarist regime and also the revolutionary opponents. The Bolsheviks did not have to win over these intermediaries and they could therefore concentrate their efforts in taking the control of the state. Gramsci gave the name of 'war of manoeuvre' for this all out frontal attack but it was mindful of how the western front had become bogged down during the fighting of the First World War. So for this he argues that such sudden transformation and the lighting victories are very rarely seen in the state. Most of the revolutions have to proceed through a war of position which was fought over a long period in the superstructure in which the meaning and the values become the object of struggle. The western capitalist nations have predicted that there must be serious oppositions for their rule and for this Gramsci argues for organized struggle. In the undeveloped societies there was an absence of intermediaries, modern capitalist regimes that have developed a strong woven network of practices and also institutions which guard against the internal disintegration that make the revolution a political and also psychological impossibility. There were many points which can be made for the differentiation between the war of manoeuvre and the war of position. The first one, the war of manoeuvre, mainly concerns the relationship between the ideological struggle and the armed revolution. Gramsci's usage of the distinction is somewhat contradictory. Gramsci argues that the war of position is needed to prepare the ground which before an assault can be made on the capitalist society. But on the other hand again he said that the war of position has decisively superseded the frontal attack. So the second description about the war of position may make Gramsci's work useful for the political movements which renounced the revolutionary violence. This thought also threatens to align the war of position with reformism which was precisely the tendency that prompted Gramsci's break with the Socialist Party. In 1992, Ransome said the persuasive cases that the people should think about are two strategies for

operating in combination with each other. At some points longer preparation is needed to shape the superstructure before a decisive action can be taken. At other times, however the frontal attack is only the precursor towards the war of position.

Whether through this type of coercive or through symbolic means Gramsci proposes that the crisis can be resolved in favour of a ruling social group. However this type of resolution is unlikely to be permanent or satisfactory. So Gramsci's one axiom that was drawn from Marx is the social formation that cannot disappear while its productive forces still found room for further movements in future. This was a declining ruling class that impedes the development of these productive forces which was a failure to which Gramsci gives the name of 'passive revolution'. For Gramsci, the Risorgimento was the key example of a passive revolution. So during and after the unification the Italian bourgeoisie had the opportunity to construct a genuine national popular class after responding to their aspirations. For this they constructed a minority political class that was based on the Moderate Party which gradually absorbed and transformed the leadership of the radical Action Party. These bourgeois elite wrote that Gramsci was characterized by his aversion to any intervention of the popular masses in the state life and towards any organic reform which would substitute hegemony for its crude dictatorial dominance. The truly popular mandate for its rule was therefore susceptible to a series of crises that was culminating in the rise of fascism. Gramsci sees a fundamental connection between the periods of transformation and Mussolini's rise to power since both are revolution from above which was rather than hegemonic projects. In both the state forced into a high level of intervention does not rely on the active participation and also consent of the people. Therefore it would not be possible to have a socialist or a social democratic passive revolution that was described by Gramsci when he pointed out towards Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal as another manifestation of the phenomenon. The remaining part is a suspicion of the state as a vehicle for coercion which presently the people might wish to think more reflexively about the connections between the people and the state. Given the concerted neoliberal assault that has taken place on the western welfare states over the past three decades seems questionable to represent the state as a vehicle for the interests of the ruling class. The people should take seriously Gramsci's proposition that the radical change without the democratic participation simply reproduces the authoritarian and patronizing assumptions that was about the relationship between leaders and led.

In 1848, the Paris Commune ushered in a qualitatively new phase of the historical development despite the defeat of both the sides. The previous fragile equilibrium of the class forces and their superstructures were thrown into crisis which was progressive expansivity of the bourgeois project which had encountered its organic crisis. The crisis was organic by nature in the sense that it placed the very foundations of the bourgeois hegemony. According to the Traditional Marxist, it was the moment when the bourgeoisie's claims about the universality were revealed to be in the service of the particularist interests. This was defined as the accumulation of capital in the hands of the ruling class.

The working classes mainly revolted and their refusal was subsumed pacifically into the expensive state of the bourgeoisie. Their demands were always different and instead of the political forms which were adequate to their own emergent class project, sought to elevate and also educate but whatever they did was always on their own terms. Dr. Frankenstein who was a bourgeois had unwittingly called forth his own namesis. This is the Gramsci's version of the Communist Manifesto which was the

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thesis of the bourgeoisie where they brought forward their own gravedigger though once again Gramsci said that the stresses alongside is traditionally emphasized on the economic dimensions and also the political determinants of this process. It was the crisis of the entire social formation as both was based on the economic content and political form. So in certain sense the logic of historical development of the previous period went into the reverse and that was a traumatic return to a primal scene. Gramsci argued that this process comes to a halt and also the conception of the State was a pure forced return towards the state. The bourgeois class is saturated and also it not only expands but also starts to disintegrate. It not only does not assimilate the new elements but it loses part of itself. Then after that they began a period of passive revolution. In the early 1930, Gramsci appropriated the concept of passive revolution from Vincenzo Cuoco. The political context of this appropriation is significant and for this it is the same period when he polemicised against the implicit economism of the comintern. These types of revolutionary fantasies of those years were particularly related to the struggle against fascism in Italy. During a discussion in the prison with his other inmates or the party members, Gramsci insisted that it was always necessary to be more political to understand the historical foundations of fascism and also to outline a realistic political programme that could be the mass forces against the regime. Gramsci's proposal was mainly for a constituent assembly which could help to provide the Communist Party with the political space that was necessary to rebuild its forces for an assault on the bourgeois state. The seeming pessimism of this proposal can lead to his isolation among the other political prisoners amid acrimonious accusation. Gramsci said that judging the balance of forces that conducted a tactical retreat to his famous book *Notebooks* in order to furnish his position with the political arguments was necessary to justify his untimely meditations. Therefore the concept of passive revolution was originally used by Cuoco to describe the Neapolitan revolution which happened in 1799. From this Gramsci transformed the concept in the first instance mainly to provide an analysis of the distinctive features of the Italian revolution. Later on it soon became clear that Gramsci used the concept which could have had a more general significance and could be used to indicate the modernity. This was also taken by other States such as the Jacobin Moment which distinguished the experience of the French revolution. In the third moment he also extended the concept to signify pacifying and incorporating nature that was assumed by the bourgeois hegemony in the revolution of the imperialism. This happened particularly in the Western European nations but with the determinant effects that was upon the colonial periphery. The passive revolution thus came to denote the hegemonic project for an entire historical period of that era. At that period according to Domenico Losurdo, in 1848 and till 1871 a phase of passive revolution began with the defeat of the workers and also the popular classes was identifiable neither with the counterrevolution nor with the political and ideological fall of the dominant class. So the category of passive revolution is a section which was used in the famous book written by Gramsci the *Prison of Notebooks* in order to denote the persistent capacity of the initiative of the bourgeoisie which succeeded even during the historical phase in which it ceased to be a properly revolutionary class. This class was mainly to produce the socio-political transformations which were sometime significant for conserving the power properly in its own hands, the initiative and the hegemony and also leaving the working classes in their conditions.

If the bourgeois project was able to continue then it was to deliver real progress. At the same time, it actively sought to deny other classes the opportunity to assume the initiative for producing the stagnation and also widespread loss of faith during the

progress. Modernity was caught in an Arnoldian twilight where it was mentioned that the wandering between two worlds, one was dead and the other was powerless to be born. So the full development of Gramsci's concept of passive revolution always provides an example of the capacity of the Marxist tradition for both productive engagements with non-Marxist thought and also critical self-renewal. Therefore, both the moments are integrated in Gramsci's dialectical analysis. Initially appropriating the concept of passive revolution from outside the Marxist tradition, he deployed this for the study of historical cases and also for testing and modifying it in accordance with the findings of his own research. In the third moment Gramsci assumed that his new concept was against theoretical criteria of the critique of the political economy that were foundational for the materialist conception of history. So finally Gramsci supplemented these criteria with another equally foundational concept of praxis as their necessary corollary or the lens that allowed them to be read in a new and politically enabling way. The Marxist traditions are subjected to an act of imminent critique. Perhaps it can be more importantly, held by returning to the concept of praxis as the self-critique of Marxism itself. So Gramsci proposes that a conception of Marxism that is neither an attempted synthesis of competing doctrines nor one theory which was ranged alongside others. So Gramsci's vision of Marxism insists upon its constitution a political moment which was capable of explaining the historical emergence of all ideologies. It is precisely described in the sense that in terms of making the possibilities for the social and political transformation that are immanent to the existing forms of thought was comprehensible. The historical materialist interdisciplinary research programme still has its continuation in the present period.

ACTIVITY

Compare Gramsci with Karl Marx.

DID YOU KNOW?

Gramsci wrote more than 30 notebooks and 3000 pages of history and analysis during his imprisonment. Although written unsystematically, the *Prison Notebooks* are considered a highly original contribution to 20th century political theory.

10.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Antonio Gramsci was the famous philosopher of Italy who has mentioned the theories which were useful at that period.
- Gramsci made the distinction between the state and civil society which must be maintained in order to prevent authoritarianism.
- Gramsci also provided the basis for a historical materialist that was described as interdisciplinary research programme.
- Gramsci provides the fertile tools and also the concepts for research into the macro or metanarratives of modernity and modernization.

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Check Your Progress

3. State whether true or false:

- Gramsci was born in a poor family in the town of Ales which was situated in Sardinia in Egypt.
- At the age of 17 Gramsci and his elder brother moved to Cagliari which was the capital of island.
- Gramsci used the term hegemony to describe all the process through which the dominant class attained this intellectual and moral leadership.
- In early 1907, the Socialist Party went on to win control mainly over half of the municipal councils.
- The term subaltern literally means someone who is in a superior rank.

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- He proposes that the particular interpretation of the foundational concepts of historical materialism breaks with various determinists of deformations of Marx's thought. At the same time Marx's thought was only insisting upon the integrity of his theory which was a tradition of thought that was capable of the renewal through self-criticism.
- Gramsci also said that the hegemony is moral and also intellectual in its leadership nature which treats the aspirations and also views of subaltern class people as an active element within the political and cultural programme of the hegemonising bloc.
- Gramsci's conception of hegemony always revolves around the maintenance of the fundamental groups and also around the mechanism by which the subaltern groups accepts the leadership of another group.
- The idea of power described as hegemony was also influenced by many debates about the civil society.
- Many philosophers have criticized the civil society that was described by Gramsci but the way civil society was narrowly conceived in liberal democratic thought was reduced to an associational domain.
- The goal of civil society was for strengthening the development of policy that can be pursued either in the neoliberal sense for building the civic institutions to complement the states and also the markets. This can also be seen in the Gramscian description about building the civic capacities to think differently and also challenge the assumptions and the norms that can be articulated in the new ideas and visions.
- Gramsci's writings about education were not always easy to understand. In fact that was described as quite confusing during that period. Many times these writings were used by the philosophers in a wrong way or were misinterpreted.
- Lastly it was clear that Gramsci was the most famous philosopher who described civil society and also the political society for the people of Italy. He suffered a lot in his childhood period but still was interested in political processes of Italy. He had worked a lot for changing the situation of people in the society. The most important work of Gramsci was the description about the term hegemony which was later on used by many other philosophers in their writings.

10.7 KEY TERMS

- **Political Society:** Gramsci described the term political society as the arena of the political institutions and legal constitutional control.
- **Hegemony:** Hegemony is in its simplest sense the ascendancy or domination of one element of a system over others. In Marxist theory the term is used in a more technical and specific sense. According to Antonio Gramsci the term hegemony refers to the ability of a dominant class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugates as an alternative to the use of coercion.
- **Ideological hegemony:** Gramsci in his book Prison Notebooks emphasised the degree to which capitalism was maintained not merely by economic domination, but also by political and cultural factors, and he called this ideological hegemony

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10.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Ales
 - (b) Cagliari
 - (c) Julka Schucht
 - (d) The New Order: A weekly Review of Socialist Culture
 - (e) 46
 - (f) revolutionary
2. Fill in the blanks:
 - (a) Marxist
 - (b) State
 - (c) Class
 - (d) The Modern Prince
3. State whether True or False:
 - (a) False
 - (b) True
 - (c) True
 - (d) False
 - (e) False

10.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a brief note on the life of Antonio Gramsci.
2. State Gramsci's views on revolution.
3. Describe Gramsci's views on hegemony.
4. Why has Gramsci used the term hegemony in that period?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss Gramsci's views on civil society. Why did he give more importance to this in that period?
2. What is Gramsci's criticism regarding the subaltern classes?
3. How has Gramsci differentiated between civil society and political society?
4. Describe the term hegemony and economism.