



**STUDY MATERIAL FOR B.A HISTORY  
MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT  
SEMESTER - IV, ACADEMIC YEAR 2020 - 21**



<b>UNIT</b>	<b>CONTENT</b>	<b>PAGE Nr</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>SOVEREIGNTY</b>	<b>02</b>
<b>II</b>	<b>UTILITARIANISM</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>III</b>	<b>SOCIALISM</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>IV</b>	<b>DEMOCRACY</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>V</b>	<b>PLURALISM</b>	<b>32</b>

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**UNIT – I**  
**SOVEREIGNTY**

**Sovereignty - Thomas Hobbes - John Lock - Political philosophy of Rousseau - Montesquieu - David Hume - Edmund Burke**

**SOVEREIGNTY THOMAS HOBBS (1588-1679)**

**His Early Life**

Thomas Hobbes was prematurely born in 1588 in Westport near Malmesbury in England. He was a witness to the great political and constitutional turmoil caused by the English civil war and his life and writings bear clear imprint of it. After his education at Oxford, Hobbes joined as tutor to the son of William Cavendish in 1608. He remained closely connected with the Cavendish family for a long period of his life. His first publication was a translation in English of Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian war in 1629.

**His Career**

Thomas Hobbes is one of the greatest political thinkers that the world has ever produced. His status as a political thinker and philosopher was not fully recognized until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His major work the "Leviathan" is the greatest, perhaps the sole masterpiece of political philosophy written in English language. What makes Leviathan a masterpiece of philosophical literature is the profound logic of Hobbes' imagination, his power as an artist.

**State of Nature and Human Nature**

Hobbes political theory is derived from psychology which, in turn, is based on his mechanistic conceptions of Nature. Hobbes, like Machiavelli, was concerned with the secular Origins of human conduct. Contrary to Aristotle and medieval thinkers, who saw human nature as innately social, Hobbes viewed human beings as isolated, egoistic, self-interested and seeking society as a means to their ends. According to Hobbes, prior to the formation of state or common wealth, there existed state of nature Men in the state of nature were essentially selfish Individuals were creations of desire, seeking pleasure and avoiding pain. Pleasures were good and pain bad, which was why men were sought to pursue and maximize their pleasure and avoiding pain. The pleasures were good and pain bad, which was why men were sought to pursue and maximize their pleasure and avoid pain.

**Social Contract**

This is the generation of that great Leviathan or rather of that Mortal God to which we owe under the immortal God our peace and defense." It is clear from the above statement that no individual can surrender his right to self - preservation. Hobbes makes a distinction between a contract and a covenant. The mutual transferring of right is that which men call contract covenant is a special kind of contract. Covenant is a special kind of contract which implies trust and promise for future performance. Hobbesian contract is a unilateral contract in which the contracting individuals obligate themselves to the resultant sovereign. According to William Ebenstein, Hobbesian social contract is made between subjects and subjects and not between subjects and sovereign. The sovereign must treat all the individuals equally in matters of justice and levying taxes. Once the sovereign power was created, it would be bestowed with all powers. As has been rightly pointed out by Hobbes in his Leviathan



### The Sovereignty Theory of Hobbes

The following are the major attributes of Hobbesian sovereign:

1. Sovereign is absolute and unlimited and accordingly no conditions, implicit or explicit, can be imposed on it. It is not limited either by the rights of the subjects or by customary and statutory laws.
2. No one can complain that sovereign is acting wrongly because everybody has authorized him to act on his behalf.
3. Sovereign has absolute right to declare war and make peace, to levy taxes and to impose penalties.
4. Sovereign is the ultimate source of all administrative, legislative and judicial authority. According to Hobbes, law is the command of the sovereign not its counsel.
5. The sovereign has the right to allow or takes away freedom of speech and opinion.

### Totalitarianism

Hobbes is one of the founding fathers of totalitarian Fascism or Communism. However, William Ebenstein in his well-known work 'Great Political Thinkers' has opposed this charge in the following grounds.

1. Government is set up, according to Hobbes, by a covenant that transfers all power and authority to the sovereign. This contractual foundation of government is an anathema to the modern totalitarians.
2. Hobbes' assigns to the state some fundamental functions such as to "maintain order and security for the benefits of the citizens". By contrast, the aim of modern totalitarian state is anti-individualistic and anti-hedonistic.
3. Hobbesian state is authoritarian, not totalitarian. Hobbes' pleads for equality before law so that rich and mighty have no legal advantage over poor and obscure persons. Hobbes' authoritarianism thus lacks one of the most characteristic features of the modern totalitarian state: inequality before law and the resulting sense of personal insecurity.
4. Hobbes holds that the sovereign may be one man or an assembly of men whereas modern totalitarianism is addicted to the one man leadership principle.

### JOHN LOCKE (1632 - 1704)

#### His Early Life

Locke was born in a Somerset village in England in the summer of 1632. His parents come from Puritan trading and land owning families and were sympathetic to the parliamentarians and the Whigs during the civil war. His father was a notary while his grandfather was a tanner and clothier. Locke went to Westminster school in 1647, and then enrolled himself in Christ church college as a student in 1652 for 15 years till 1667.

#### His Career

Locke's first works were written at Oxford, namely the Two Tracts on Government in 1660-1662 and the same year saw the publication of his famous philosophical work, the Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Locke's other important writings were the Letters Concerning Toleration (1689) and Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693). The Two Treatises of Government consists of two parts the first is the refutation of Filmer and the second, the more important of the two, is an inquiry into the "True Original, Extent and End of Civil Government". The work was mainly to justify the historic glorious revolution. Locke played an important role in the repeal of the Act for Regulation of printing in 1695.



### **State of Nature**

In order to explain the origin of political power, Locke began with a description of the State of Nature. Locke's description of State of Nature was not as gloomy and pessimistic as Hobbes'. As all of us know, the State of Nature is the stock in trade of all contract theories of the state. It is conceived as a state prior to the establishment of political society. Locke believes that man is a rational and social creature and as such capable of recognizing and living in a moral order. He is not selfish, competitive and aggressive. The Locke's state of nature, far from being a war of all is a state of 'Peace good will, mutual assistance and preservation". It represents a pre-political rather than a pre-social condition. Men do not indulge in constant warfare in it, for peace and reason prevail in it. The state of nature is governed by a law of nature.

### **Natural Rights**

The concept of Natural rights forms an important theme in Lockean political philosophy. According to Locke, men in the state of nature possessed some natural rights like right to life, liberty and property. These natural rights are derived from natural law and are limited by it. The freedom of man and liberty of acting according to his will is grounded on having reason, which is able to instruct him in that law he is to govern himself by, and make him know how far he is left to the freedom of his own will". The end of law is not to abolish or to restrain but to preserve or enlarge freedom for in all the states of created beings, where there is no law there is no freedom." to Locke, Right to Property is intimately connected with right to life and liberty as its necessary consequence. Sometimes Locke sums up all natural rights in the right to property. Life and liberty are more important than property.

### **Social Contract**

According to John Locke, men in the state of nature entered into a contract due to some inconveniences such as absence of common law making, law-enforcing and law interpreting agency capable of protecting natural rights. Therefore, the problem is 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. Lockes' social contract was a contract of each with all, a surrender by the individual of his personal right to fulfill the commands of the laws of Nature in return for the guarantee that his rights as nature ordains them - life, liberty and property - would be preserved. Locke in his 'Two Treatises on Government' wrote the nature of the contract thus: Each individual contracts with each to unite into and constitute a community.

### **State: Its Nature and Functions**

Locke's state is characterised by certain features. The first and most important feature is that the "state exists for the people who form it and not they for it". Locke further insists that all true states must be founded on consent of the governed. For Locke, men were by nature free, politically equal, creatures of God subject to the laws of nature; and possessors of an executive power of the laws of nature; they became subjects of political authority only by their consent. Without consent there was no political community. Locke speaks of two kinds of consent: express or direct and tacit consent. Express consent was an explicit commitment given at the time when the commonwealth was instituted. According to Locke, the true state must be a constitutional state in which men acknowledge the rule of law. Locke believes that there can be no political liberty if a man is subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man.

### **JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712- 1778)**



### **His Early Life**

Rousseau was born in June 28, 1712 in the city of Geneva Rousseau's mother died a few days after giving birth to him, and his father was unable to raise Rousseau in any inherent fashion His parents were protestants but Rousseau got converted to Catholicism under the influence of Madame de Warens, his lover. During his life time he accomplished many things including mastery in writing on music, politics education, culture.

### **His Career**

At the age of 30 Rousseau went to Paris. From 1743 to 1744 Rousseau became the secretary of the French Ambassador in Venice. He developed an intimate relationship with The resele Vasseur in 1745, who subsequently became the mother of his five children. All his children were abandoned in an orphanage. Rousseau made a passionate appeal for human equality. As a political moralist and a constitution builder he made utopian demands. In his well known work Discourses on Origins of Inequality(1755) he described how contemporary society fell short of civilized standards .In the Social Contract (1762) he stipulated and portrayed a decent and human society.

### **Political Theory of Rousseau**

Jean Jacques Rousseau was the greatest political thinker that the French has ever produced.

In the entire history of political theory, he was the most exciting and most provocative. He was a genius and a keen moralist who was ruthless in his criticism of eighteenth 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. His philosophy is highly personal, an expression of his own fierce insistence on independence and liberty, but at the same time paradoxical and complex. He is best remembered for his concept of popular sovereignty and the theory of general will, which provides a philosophical justification for democratic governance.

### **State of Nature**

Rousseau built his political theory on the conception of pre-political state of nature. The reason is that he grew up in the rigorously Calvinist atmosphere of the small city of Geneva. Throughout his life, in spite of his conversion to Catholicism and a great humiliation which he suffered in Geneva, his love for his home strongly shaped his political thought. As he was restless man by nature he was never completely at home in any profession. He could never tolerate external restraint. In the Discourse on Inequality published in 1754, Rousseau started with the analysis of human nature. He considered the natural man, living in natural surroundings or in the state of nature as a noble savage. Man, as a natural animal lived the happy and care free life of the brute, without fixed abode without articulate speech, with no needs or desires that cannot be satisfied through the mere instinct. According to him, men in the state of nature were equal, self-sufficient and self-controlled. Their conduct was based not on reason, but on emotions of self- interest and pity.

### **Social Contract**

Rousseau in his work Social Contract presented theory of the state. In the development from the state of nature, there comes a time when individuals can no longer maintain themselves in primitive independence; it then becomes necessary to self- preservation that they should unite to form a civil society- a political society. Rousseau admitted that the problem is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the



person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remains as force as before. This is the fundamental problem of which the social contract provides the solution. The social contract involves the total alienation of each. The contract is calculated to create the community and yet the community is part of the contract. The social contract of Rousseau was social and not governmental. According to Rousseau, the social contract was the total surrender of the whole community.

### **General Will**

The doctrine of general will occupies an important place in Rousseau's political philosophy. By making Sovereign and individuals as participants in the General will, Rousseau reconciled authority with freedom as none before him had done. In order to understand how Rousseau achieved this end, we need to know more about the meaning, nature and characteristics of general will and other related wills. By introducing the concepts of General will, Rousseau fundamentally alters the mechanistic concept of the state as an instrument and revives the organic theory of the state which goes back to Plato and Aristotle. In the Discourse on Political Economy, where he had first stated the concept of general will, Rousseau says that "General Will trends always to the preservation and welfare of the whole and every part, and is the source of the laws constitutes for all the members of the state, in relation to one another and to it the rule of what is just and unjust" According to Rousseau, the actual will of the individual is his impulsive and irrational will.

### **Characteristics**

The following are some of the important features of general will. Firstly, Rousseau's General will is permanent. It is rational and not impulsive. It is not eternal but permanent and imparts stability to national institutions. Secondly, Rousseau's general will is inalienable and indivisible. Rousseau locates sovereignty in the General will. General will and Sovereign are inalienable just as life of the individual is inalienable. Whereas Hobbes sets up a ruler as sovereign, Rousseau draws up a sharp distinction between sovereignty, which always and wholly resides on the people and government, which is but a temporary agent of the sovereign people. Rousseau saw the government as an agent of the General will, the sovereign entity of the body politic. Like Montesquieu, he believed all forms of government were not suited to all countries. Rousseau's general will is not self-contradictory. It gives touch of unity of national character. His general will is unrepresentative because sovereignty lies in the community which is a collective body and cannot be represented but by itself.

### **MONTESQUIEU**

#### **His Career**

Montesquieu, generally referred to as simply, he was a French judge, man of letters and political philosopher. He is the principal source of the theory of separation of powers, which is implemented in many constitutions throughout the world. He was born in 1689 at Paris, France.

#### **Political Theory of Montesquieu**

##### **Method of Approach**

Aristotle said that in order to understand anything, we must observe its beginning and its development. This poetic method is most essential to the understanding of the origin and development of political institutions which are not brought into existence, at any time, by the brain of one man or by the philosophers. Montesquieu follows Aristotle when he adopts the historical method. But there is a difference between Aristotle and Montesquieu.



### Conception of Law

Law is the central subject of Montesquieu. It is the key stone of his work. Therefore, it is at once the most important, the most interesting and the most difficult part of his work. Unless we comprehend his meaning of law we shall not be able to understand Montesquieu's political philosophy. Law is a concrete social fact. It is a crystallization of social experience.

### Classification of States

Both Montesquieu and Aristotle believed that the forms of government are fixed. They are merely modified by the influence of their environment. Since Aristotle confined his investigations to the city state, the assumption was substantially true. But as Montesquieu's investigation was on a grand scale, this assumption was dangerous and untenable. Again, Montesquieu does not deal with this subject elaborately as Aristotle had done. He merely says that governments are of three kinds. Further, although both of them classified governments, there is a difference in their classification.

### Climate

Although Montesquieu discusses climate in its relation to law, it is one of the least exact and over simplified discussion on the subject. Historically speaking, it is one of the most important subjects relating to political science. Therefore, Montesquieu's discussion on the subject marks the beginning of modern investigation into the physical conditions which at least partially determine the character of the various institutions. Montesquieu says that different temperatures affect the body.

### Slavery

Montesquieu believes, like Aristotle in the existence of slavery. But there is a difference between the two. Montesquieu believes that slavery is the result of climate conditions. The people living in the tropics are fitted only for despotic rule. Montesquieu says that the people in hot climate are almost always effeminate and that the bravery of those in the cold climate has enabled them to maintain their liberties, a contention which is unsound and untenable. The Japanese were able to defeat the Russians at Port Arthur in 1905. The Russian bravery was humbled by the patriotic spirit of Asiatic Japan.

### Revolutions

Montesquieu, like Aristotle, deals with revolutions. Both of them seem to take revolutions for granted. Both of them studied the causes for revolutions. But Aristotle is a little better than Montesquieu in this respect because he not only deal with the causes of revolutions but also the means by which they may be prevented.



### **Elections of Member**

Montesquieu says that the members of the legislature should not be elected from the general body of the nation. It is desirable that the representatives are elected by the inhabitants of a members by small constituencies for obvious reasons. The inhabitants of the particular town are much better acquainted with its want and interests than those of other places. Further, they have a better knowledge of the capacity of their neighbours.

### **Voting**

Aristotle does not discuss the method of voting for the election of representatives of the legislature because he contemplates direct democracy. But the method of voting became important in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The debate was whether it should be secret or open. Montesquieu advocated open ballot secret ballot. Secret voting says Montesquieu is undemocratic. Montesquieu does not seem to realise the difficulties involved in open ballot.

### **Estimate**

Montesquieu's contribution to political philosophy is timeless. He left behind him much more than political philosophy. He left what only a few of the rarest minds in human history have given the world a method by which the ideas of any political theorist might be validated. It is true that Montesquieu was often mistaken in his facts, often he erred in his deductions.

## **DAVID HUME**

### **His Early Life**

David Hume was born in Edinburgh, United Kingdom in 1711. He was a Scottish Enlightenment philosopher, historian, economist and essayist, who is best known today his highly influential system of philosophical empiricism, scepticism and naturalism.

### **The political Theory of David Hume**

The political theory of David Hume is simpler than that of any of his contemporaries. Whatever originality it has it is mostly negative. It is what he rejects rather than what he adds to the ideas current in his day that distinguishes him from his predecessors. He rejects the conception of natural law, natural rights and social rights.

### **Political Parties**

The concept of political parties, David Hume had a very poor opinion. Their influence, according to him, is destructive. Parties which originated in real difference continue even after these differences are lost. When men enter into political parties they contract an affection to the person with whom they are united and an animosity against their antagonists. These passions they transmit to posterity. At the same time Hume came to the conclusion that party system is an unavoidable necessity.

### **Religion**

David Hume is the most devastating anti-religionist of the age. He considers religion as useless. He rejects revealed religion in fact any religion. He considers that personal relationship between the deity and humanity as intellectually untenable. Such views were very uncommon among the intellectuals of the eighteenth century. Therefore, they were excited when Hume denounced religion. Religion, he said, made men bad, both individually and collectively.

### **Prosperity of nation**

Hume was an eminent economist. Even before Adam Smith he wished the prosperity of





nations. He emphasized on free communications and exchange. He condemned tariff barriers. He decried the evils of an arbitrary system of taxation. He insisted that commerce would develop only under a free government. Absolute government gives the commercial class an insignificant status.

### **Property**

Dealing with the institution of property, Hume says that the stability of property should be maintained not only to prevent disputes but also not to disappoint the expectations that it has created. By the law of society this coat is mine and ought to remain perpetually in my possession. By depriving me of it, you disappoint my expectations and doubly displease me.

### **Liberty**

Hume interpreted liberty as order, security and justice. Free Government might not guarantee these things. But when government guarantees these concepts there is liberty.

### **Origin of Society**

Hume anticipates the modern sociological and historical schools of political thought. Political society is not established for the administration of justice. It did not come into existence at one time. Then how the state came into existence ?. It came into existence at the time of war. The superiority of man at the time of war enable him to establish his authority over others. The state of war continued for a long time. Therefore, people continued to submit themselves to the authority of one man.

### **Divine Right and Social Contract**

Hume discusses the theory of Divine Right and Social Contract. He said that both the theorists were blowing soap bubbles that both the doctrines were purely speculative, equally rational, equally devoid of Factual foundation, equally absurd in practical consequences. Hume also ridicules the social contract theory. It is fallacious.

### **Estimate**

We have so far considered all aspects of the political theory of David Hume. He was not a political thinker of that kind. Discovery and creation were not in his line. He was an appraiser more than a formulator of political ideas. He simply analysed the political doctrines, clarified them put them on trial and eliminated those which could not stand the strain of rational criticism.

## **EDMUND BURKE**

### **His Early Life**

He was born in 1729 in Dublin, Edmund Burke was the son of an Irish government lawyer who grew up among a variety of Christian traditions. Though raised in his father's Protestant faith, his mother was Catholic, and in his youth Burke was sent to Quaker boarding school. This upbringing prefigured Burke's later advocacy for greater religious tolerance.

### **His Career**

He was an Irishman and Philosopher. He served as a Member of Parliament between 1766 and 1794 in the house of Commons of Great Britain with the Whig party after moving to London in 1750.

### **Method of approach**



Like Montesquieu, Burke approached the study of the state through history and not through philosophy. He appealed to experience against dogmatism. He did not believe in the idea of natural rights which seemed to split the society into individual fragments.

### **Political Reason**

It is communal good. Political reason directs public action. But action as distinguished from thought aims at the good and not at the truth. The political good must be practicable. What is meant by practicable?. Capable of being realized in the situation in which the statesmen have to act. The facts of the existing situation limit the possibilities of action. Political good is complex because the nature of man is intricate. Further, the good of the commonwealth is not a single and definable one. The realizable good of man in society is not only limited but imperfect. Statesmen ought not to aim at perfection because they cannot attain it.

### **Civil Society**

Civil Society for Burke was not the product of nature alone. Nor of abstract reason. Still less of mere human will. It was a product of man's practical intellect. Working after a basic pattern established by nature. For Burke civil society was both natural and conventional. It is natural because it provides the milieu in which man develops his highest natural characteristic reason. For this very reason the civil society is also artificial.

### **End of the State**

Burke's conception of the end of the state differs, but little from that of Rousseau. The object of the state, said Burke in a speech in the House of Commons, is the promotion of the happiness of the commonwealth. He did not waver from this position throughout his life. Like the utilitarian's who had formulated their famous doctrine of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, Burke fully realized the importance of the happiness of the nation.

### **Burke's Conservatism**

Burke thought that all old things are valuable because they existed for a long time and attained maturity. The state evolved itself and arrived at its present position. It is to destroy, Creation is impossible. Any attempt to disturb the existing state of affairs is to open the flood gates of anarchy. Burke also said that religion is the foundation of the state. It is the basis of the civil society. It is the source of all good and comfort.

### **Social Order**

The position accorded to hereditary wealth and rank was justified by the services which these institutions rendered to society. Burke knew that in defending aristocracy he fought for an order of things which was both useless and worthless. He felt nonetheless that gentle birth normally insured the supply of the best men to govern the state for the good of society. More than that, the possession of that kind of property bred in aristocracy a temper which the surest guarantee of free just and stable social order.

### **The Principle of Legitimacy**

Burke says that our constitution is a prescriptive constitution. It is a constitution whose sole authority is that it existed for a long time. Government's title to authority is therefore prescriptive. It is the original and the soundest title. It is one principal cause for the formation of state. It is the most solid of all titles to property and to government.



### **Government a Trust**

The primacy of the rights of the people implies that political power is a trust which the people confer on government for their own benefit. The king is the representative of the people: so are the lords: so are the judges. They are the trustees for the people as well as for the commons. Though God is the source of power, governments originate from the people. Authority then is from god. But the determination of the form the people.

### **Conclusion**

Burke's political theory is not completely consistent. There are inconsistencies. At one time he said that changes should be made whenever necessary and at the same time he was opposed to the reform of representation in parliament.

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## UNIT - II UTILITARIANISM

**Utilitarianism - Jeremy Bentham - James Mill - John Stuart Mill - Idealist theory of state - Immanuel Kant - Individualism - Herbert Spencer.**

### **UTILITARIANISM - JEREMY BENTHAM (1748 -1832)**

#### **His Early Life**

Bentham was born in 1748 in of a wealthy and successful attorney family. He lost his mother at the age of 10. As a child, Bentham's major source of enjoyment was reading books with no inclination to play. After an Oxford education of Queen's college

#### **His Carrier**

Bentham began attending the London law courts in 1763 and was called to Bar in 1769. He never pleaded a single case and gave up the idea of practicing law in the conviction that the whole system of law needed over hauling. Like Hobbes, he has deeply interested in Science. The French Philosophers Claude Adrien Helvetius (1715- 1771) and Ceasre Bone Sana, Marquis of Beccaria (1738 1794) etc inspired and influenced him. It was generally believed that he came across the phrase" the greatest happiness of the greatest number" with which his name was closely associated in the 1767 English translation of Baccaria's Essay on Crimes and Punishment(1764).

#### **Utilitarianism Theory of Jeremy Bentham**

Bentham, the founder of Utilitarianism combined throughout his active life the careers of philosopher, a jurist and that of social reformer and an activist. Though trained to be a lawyer, he gave up the practice of law in order to examine the basis on the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number was aimed at rearing the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and law. He championed reforms of prison, legislation and parliament, and stressed the need for a new penal code for England. It was for this reason that some scholars particularly J S Mill, has regarded him as a progressive philosopher, an enemy of the statusquo. Utilitarianism is essentially a British school of political theory. It consisted of a group of writers, politicians, administrators and social reformers. The most famous members of the group are Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill. Their primary theoretical interest lay in conceiving a frame work of political rules leading to a science of politics.

### **PLEASURE PAIN THEORY**

#### **Right Action**

The basic principle of utilitarianism was that human beings sought happiness that pleasure alone was good and that the only right action was that which produced the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Greek thinker Epicures, who had stated that individuals sometimes pursued pleasure wisely and at other times unwisely. Man is pleasure seeking and pain avoiding animal. Pleasure versus pain is the mainspring of all human actions. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do as well as to determine what shall we do.

#### **Hedonists**

Bentham contended that human beings by nature are hedonists. Each of their action was motivated by a desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain. Every human action had a cause and a motive. As Bentham himself has pointed out "take away all pleasures and pain you have no



desire and without a desire there can be no action". Bentham viewed hedonism not only as a principle of motivation, but also as a principle of action.

### **Descriptive and Normative theory**

For Bentham, Utilitarianism was a descriptive and normative theory. It not only described how human beings act so as to maximise pleasure and minimize pain, but it also prescribed or advocated such action. According to the principle of greatest happiness of the greatest number the cause of all human action is a desire in terms of pleasure; a thing action is useful if it brings about happiness that is pleasure.

### **Property**

"By utility is meant that property in any object, whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness". A persons interest also has the same content – that of pleasure - something is in the interest of a person which tends to add to the sum total of his pleasures or diminish the sum total of his pains.

### **Individual and Governmental Action**

Bentham has, thus, provided a simple test for measuring every individual and governmental action. To him every action whether individual or collective if it increases the happiness of the party concerned is good, if not it is bad. All actions are, therefore, to be judged by their pleasure or pain value. Pleasure and pains are thus our sovereign masters. In the principles of Morals and Legislations Bentham listed fourteen kinds of simple pleasures that move human beings - including the pleasures of sense, wealth, skill, power, benevolence, good name, memory, imagination, expectation, association and relief etc.

### **Types of Sanctions of Pleasures and Pain**

He has prescribed four types of sanctions of pleasures and pain. They are (1) Physical sanctions (2) Political and legal sanction (3) Moral or popular sanction (4) Religious sanction. The Community, according to Bentham, is a fictitious body and its interests are the sum total of the interests of the several members who compose it.

### **The Principles of Pleasures Pain**

Bentham attaches some conditions to the principles of pleasures pain theory. They are 1) it must be clear and precise 2) it must be the single and sufficient account of motivations. 3) It must be applicable by means of moral calculus.

### **Balance between pleasure and pain**

Thus Bentham's doctrine of utility applied not only to morals but also legislation and politics. Bentham also provided a calculus for determining the balance between pleasure and pain from any action. According to the Felicific calculus , One must give a numerical value to the intensity, duration, certainty or uncertainty and propinquity or remoteness of the pleasures and pains of the persons affected by one's actions and one must undertake the action only if the value of the pleasure is higher than the value of the pain. Bentham was confident that a society in which the individual tried to maximize his own happiness would be far better than one in which he had to maximize the happiness of others.



### Criticisms

Bentham's pleasure pain theory has been criticized as mechanical, uninspiring and unimaginative. His theory lacked originality and was full of prejudices and speculation. He was very much confused and contradictory in his own theoretical adventures. Prof. Carlyle has branded Benthamism as the "Pig Philosophy" just to remind us that hedonism of the kind is not very satisfactory; the happiness is much more than pleasure.

Bentham's theory has been demanded for its materialism and for its neglect of the moral sense. What Bentham wanted to do was to establish a standard of right or wrong, good and evil related to calculable values. His psychological appreciation of human nature was inadequate. Many factors, besides pleasure and pain, motivate individual and communal action. Bentham distinguished pleasures and pains quantitatively rather than qualitatively. But pleasures and pains differ both quantitatively and qualitatively.

### Estimate

Bentham's main contribution to political thought was not that he offered a novel principle of political philosophy but he steadily applied an empirical and critical method of investigation to concrete problems of law and government. Bentham exercised a great influence upon theories of sovereignty and law. Law was not a mystic mandate of reason or nature, but simply the command of that authority to which the members of community render habitual obedience. As professor Sabine has rightly pointed out, Bentham's greatest contribution was in the field of jurisprudence and government.

## H. JAMES MILL

### His Early Life

James Mill was born in Northwester Bridge at Scotland 1773. He was a Scottish historian, Economist, Political Theorist and philosopher. He is counted among the founders of the Ricardian school of Economist. His son, John Stuart Mill was also a noted philosopher of liberalism, utilitarianism and the civilizing mission of the British Empire.

### Pleasure Theory of James Mill

#### Hard work

James Mill says that the means to happiness are not naturally abundant and men must work hard to produce them. But most work is unpleasant and men desire pleasure and avoid pain. Therefore, they try to seize the properties of others.

#### Human Nature

How to ensure that few use power for the sake of the many? It's the law of human nature that every man desires to make other men subservient to his pleasures. Therefore, there is constant danger that Governor may abuse power vested in them.

### The Radical

James Mill was not a radical. Therefore, he does not suggest radical changes in the constitutional structure of the country. He is careful not to offend too many prejudices. Mill does not attack Monarchy and House of lords. Nor does he advocate universal suffrage as Bentham had done.

## JOHN STUART MILL (1806- 1873)

### His Early Life



John Stuart Mill was the most influential political thinker of the nineteenth century. J.S Mill was the son of James Mill who was a disciple and close friend of Jeremy Bentham. John Stuart Mill was born in London on May 20, 1806. His father James Mill came from Scotland with the desire to become a writer. In his political theory, liberalism made a transition from laissezfaire to an active role for the state, from a negative to a positive conception of liberty and from an atomistic to a more social conception of individuality.

### **His Carrier**

Mill was a liberal, he could also be regarded at the same time as a democrat, a pluralist, cooperative socialist and a feminist. Initially his father tried journalism and then concentrated on writing history of British India, which took him 11 years to complete. It remained one of the important works on Indian History of the 18th century. Immediately after the publication of History of British India, James Mill was appointed as an Assistant Examiner at the East India house. John Stuart Mill was greatly influenced by the dialogues and dialectics of Plato and the cross questions of Socrates.

### **MODIFICATIONS OF BENTHAM'S THEORY.**

#### **Individual Character**

He asserted that the chief deficiency of Benthamite ethics was the neglect of individual character, and hence stressed on the cultivation of feelings and imagination as part of good life poetry, drama, music, paintings were essential ingredients both for human happiness and formation of character. They were instruments of human culture. He made happiness and the dignity of man, and not the principle of pleasure, the chief end of life. He defined happiness to mean perfection of human nature, cultivation of moral virtues and lofty aspirations, total control over one's appetites and desires, and recognition of individual and collective interests.

#### **Mill pointed out that every human action had three aspects:**

- a. The moral aspect of right or wrong
- b. The aesthetic aspect (or its beauty)
- c. The sympathetic aspect of its liveableness.

The first principle instructed one to approve or disapprove, the second taught one to admire or despise, and the third enabled one to love, pity or dislike.

#### **Individual and Society**

James Mill regarded individual self-development and diversity as the ultimate ends, important components of human happiness and the principal ingredients of individual and social progress. Bentham had not spoken about the social nature of morality that society itself has a moral end - the moral good of its members. He regarded utility as a noble sentiment associated with Christian religion. In addition to the above differences Mill also tried to reconcile the interests of the individual and society. He spoke of nobility of character a trait that was closely associated with altruism meaning that people did what was good for society rather than for themselves. Mill saw social feelings and consciences as part of the psychological attributes of a person. He characterised society as being natural and habitual for the individual was a social person.



### Objectively

Mill also stated that pleasures and pains could not be measured objectively. The felicific calculus was absurd; one had to rely upon the judgement of the competent and wise. He described the state as an instrument that would bring about transformation of the human being. In the opinion of Prof. Sabine, "Mill's ethics was important for liberalism because in effect it abandoned egoism, assumed that social welfare is a matter of concern to all men of good will, and regarded freedom, integrity, self-respect and personal distinction as intrinsic goods apart from their contribution to happiness".

### Liberty

Mill's ideas on liberty had a direct relationship with his theory of utility or happiness. Mill regarded liberty as a necessary means for the development of individuality which was to become the ultimate source of happiness. There was only one road for him to take and that was the road of the higher utility. In his well-known work, *On Liberty*, Mill thoroughly examines the problem of the relationship between the individual on the one side and the society and state on the other. According to J.S. Mill, Liberty means absence of restraints. J.S. Mill believes that an individual has two aspects to his life; an individual aspect and social aspects. The actions of the individual may be divided into two categories: (1) Self-regarding activities and (2) Other regarding activities. With regard to activities in which he alone is concerned, his liberty of action is complete and should not be regulated by the state.

### Representative Government

Mill began his views on Representative government by stating that we can only decide which the best form of government is by examining which form of government fulfils most adequately the purposes of government. For Mill, a good government performs two functions: it must use the existing qualities and skills of the citizens to best serve their interests and it must improve the moral, intellectual and active qualities of these citizens. A despotic government may be able to fulfil the first purpose, but fails in the second. Only a representative government is able to fulfil these two functions. It is a representative government that combines judiciously the two principles of participation and competence which is able to fulfil the two functions of protecting and educating the citizens.

## IDEALISTS GEORGE WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL (1770-1831)

### His Early Life

Hegel is the most methodologically self-conscious of all philosophers in the western tradition. He was born in Stuttgart on 27 August 1770, the eldest son of a middle class family. His father was a minor civil servant in the Duchy of Wurttemberg. The duchy was a protestant enclave surrounded by catholic territories. Several generations of Hegel's had been ministers in the protestant church, and Hegel's mother who died when he was only 11, probably envisaged a carrier in the clergy for her son. From his earliest years. Hegel developed a strong sense of his religious identity. After receiving his first Latin lessons from his mother, Hegel attended a Latin School from the ages of 5 to 7. He was then sent to the Gymnasium in Stuttgart which he attended for the next eleven years.

### His Carrier

In 1793 he got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Jens and later became a Professor. In 1816 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg and in 1818 he became professor of philosophy at the Berlin University. Along with





this assignment, Hegel also worked the official advisor of emperor of Prussia. By this time, Hegel became quite famous, and the Prussian minister of Education offered him the prestigious chair of philosophy at the University of Berlin, succeeding Fichte. Berlin was the intellectual centre of Germany and Hegel accepted the offer and taught at Berlin from 1818 till his death in 1831.

### **Source of His Thought**

The foundation of Hegel's thought had already been laid, and he had drawn his ideas from different sources. He had studied Greek literature and his political philosophy was influenced by the writings of Plato and Aristotle. The idea of Giest or of a Universal Mind, he had borrowed from Plato's idea of good as an ultimate reality. From Aristotle he borrowed the element of reason as the supreme governing principle of the world. He combines both Plato and Aristotle when he declares his stand in the very opening paragraph of his Phenomenology of Spirit, 'what is rational is real and what is real is rational'. Besides the Greek political theory, Hegel's thinking was also influenced by the French revolution in a very large measure. He fell under the spell of the French revolution and declared it 'a glorious mental Dawn' from Rousseau's doctrine of General will, he derives the doctrine of his Real will. Hegel's philosophy was also a reaction against David Hume.

### **Dialectics**

The distinctive feature of Hegel's philosophical system is his dialectical method which has been described as the logic of passion.' Hegel borrowed this method from Socrates who is the first exponent of Dialectic method. Dialectic simply means to discuss. Socrates believed that one can arrive at the truth only be costant questioning. It was the process of exposing contradictions through the method of discussion. Hegel's dialectic method played a crucial role in his political philosophy. It attempted to reconcile the many apparent contradictory positions and theorems developed by earlier thinkers. Hegel's own use of 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. Pleasure is best understood in opposition to pain, heat in opposition to cold, goodness in opposition to badness and so on Hegel has given several instances of thesis anti-thesis and synthesis. The following examples given by him are noteworthy.

1. Family is the thesis, civil society is its anti-thesis and state is the synthesis.
2. Despotism is thesis, democracy is its anti-thesis and constitutional monarchy is the ynthesis.
3. Inorganic world is the thesis, organic world is its anti-thesis and human beings are the synthesis.

### **The State**

Hegel is seen as the great modern spokesman for communitarians and as a pioneering critic of liberalism. Some historians regard his political philosophy as the major conceptual alterative to liberalism. According to Frederick Beiser', "Hegel's significance as a political thinker lies less in his defence of communitarianism or his critique of liberalism than in his attempt to synthesise communitarianism with liberalism in a single coherent conception of the modern state. The most important contribution of Hegel to political philosophy is his theory of the state. Hegel regarded the state as the embodiment of the Giest or the Universal mind. The sate was the representative of the Divine Idea or Divine Purpose. Hegel's theory of state is based on the basic premise about the gradual unfolding of Reasonor Spirit or Absolute Idea through a



dialectical process. Reason gets its perfect realisation only in the state. His theory of state is rooted in the axiom: 'what is rational is real and what is real is rational'. The state is rational, state is real; therefore what is rational is real. He considered the state as the 'March of God on Earth or the ultimate embodiment of reason.

### Freedom

All scholars agree there is no more important concept in Hegel's political theory than freedom. There are good reasons for such rare unanimity. Hegel regards freedom as the foundation of right as the essence of spirit and as the end of history. Hegel has several distinct but related concepts of freedom which appear in scattered places in his writings. First and foremost he understands freedom as autonomy i.e the power of self-government, the capacity to make and follow one's own laws. Hence he writes in the Philosophy of World History only that will which obeys that law is free; for it obeys itself and is self-sufficient and therefore free. 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. Hegel regards freedom as the very essence of man. To renounce freedom is to renounce humanity. Hegelian concept of freedom consists in rendering obedience to the real will or the reasonable will.

### Conclusion

Hegel is undoubtedly one of the greatest political thinkers of modern times. He is regarded as a pragmatic thinker because he tried to idealise and rationalise the actual existing Prussian state. In his Science of Logic and Encyclopaedia, Hegel gave as a systematic exposition of the method of dialectics and integrated it with his political philosophy as outlined in the Philosophy of Right. According to Prof. Sabine, Hegel's theory of freedom was a part to the widespread reaction against the violence of the French Revolution which Burke began. Hegel exerted considerable influence on subsequent political theory particularly Marxism and Existentialism.

## INDIVIDUALISM HERBERT SPENCER

### His Early Life

Herbert Spencer was born in 1820 at Derby, United Kingdom. He was an English philosopher, biologist, anthropologist, sociologist and prominent classical liberal political theorist of the Victorian era of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Spencer is best known for the expression "survival of the fittest".

### Method of Approach

Spencer adopted a distinctive method of approach to politics through natural sciences. But he is not consistent here. He did not really approach politics through natural sciences. On the contrary, he approached politics with pre-conceptions and sought to find in science examples and analogies to prove a moral already drawn and adorn a tale whose plot had already been sketched. His apriority conception of individual rights with which starts does not fit in with the organic and evolutionary conception of the state which he attains through the use of natural science.

### Individual Theory of Spencer

#### Individualism

Spencer was the chief philosopher of the 19<sup>th</sup> century individualism. Individualism presupposes the basic equality of man on the ground that every human being is endowed with reason. Rationalism stresses the value of the individual. The spirit of individualism permeated



all sphere of life and thought. Agnosticism in religion.

### **Rights**

Spencer believed that every individual has two aspects an outer and an inner. In the former he is a being with a faculty which demands freedom for his perfect development. In the later, he is endowed with an inherent sense of justice which induces him to clime for himself and respect in others the freedoms which they require. Spencer classified rights into two, private and public. Private rights are those which are concerned with family and property. Public rights are concerned with man's relation with the state.

### **Forms of Government**

Considering the state in evolutionary terms, Spencer is little interested in the form of government. State, according to Spencer is of two kinds, military and industrial. The military state is the early form of social organization, primitive barbarous ever ready to wage war. In this society, the individual is regarded as a means to an end victory in war. Society is rigidly organized. Every individual must occupy the place assigned to him by the state. Spencer believes that the military state gradually evolves itself into an industrial state.

### **Theory of Evolution**

Besides the theory of natural rights, Spencer also enunciated a number of other theories. Of them, two are most important. They were accepted practically by all later adherents of the theory of evolution, including those who were rated as etatists. In fact, after undergoing suitable transformation they became the corner stone of the etatist political philosophy.

### **Organic Theory**

Spencer asserted that society has many of the attributes of an organism. It is a special kind of organism. This idea that society is a social organism was hailed with joy by most of the etatists of his own and of the subsequent generations. The etatists pointed out that Spencer was only saying in biological language what fetch and Hegel had already said in metaphysical language. This is not true. Spencer was not statist. In fact, he was a violent enemy of etatism. For, Spencer said that though Society is a kind of organism, there are marked differences between the physical and social organisms.



### UNIT - III SOCIALISM

#### **Socialism - Definition - kinds of Socialism - Fabianism - Marxism - Karlmarx - Communism** **SOCIALISM**

##### **Socialism**

Socialism is a system in which every person in the community has an equal share of the various elements of production. Such a form of ownership is granted through a democratic system of governance. Socialism has also been demonstrated through a cooperative system in which each member of the society own share of communal resources.

##### **Kinds of Socialism**

###### **1. Democratic Socialism**

In democratic socialism, factors of production are under the management of an elected administration. Vital goods and services such as energy, housing and transit are distributed through centralized planning, while a free market system is used to distribute consumer products.

###### **2. Revolutionary Socialism**

The running philosophy of revolutionary socialism is that a socialist system can't emerge while capitalism is still in play. Revolutionaries believe that road to a purely socialist system requires a lot of struggle. In such a system, the factors of production are owned and run by workers through a well-developed and centralized structure.

###### **3. Libertarian socialism**

Libertarian socialism works on the assumption that people are always rational, self-determining and autonomous. If capitalism is taken away, people naturally turn to a socialistic system because it is able to meet their needs.

###### **4. Market socialism**

Under market socialism, the production process is under the control of ordinary workers. The workers decide how resources should be distributed. The workers sell off what is in excess or give it out to members of the society, who then distribute resources based on a free market system.

###### **5. Green socialism**

Green socialism is protective of natural resources. Large corporations in a green socialistic society are owned and run by the public. In addition, green socialism promotes the development and use of public transit, as well as the processing and sale of locally grown food. The production process is focused on ensuring that every member of the community has enough access to basic goods. Moreover, the public is guaranteed a sustainable wage.

##### **FABIANISM**

###### **Fabian Society**

Fabianism, socialist movement and theory that emerged from the activities of the Fabian Society, The socialist society founded in 1884 in London, having as its goal the establishment of a democratic socialist taste in Great Britain. The Fabians put their faith in evolutionary socialism rather than in revolution. The name of society is derived from the roman general Fabius



cunctator, whose patient and elusive tactics in avoiding pitched battles secured his ultimate victory over stronger forces.

### **Derived the word**

The name of the Fabianism is derived from the Roman general Fabius.

### **Leaders of the society**

Its founding is attributed to Thomas Davidson, a Scottish Philosopher and its early members included George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Annie Besant, Edward peas and Graham Walla. Shaw and Webb, later joined by Webb's wife Beatrice were the outstanding leaders of the society for many years. In 1889 the society published its best known tract Fabian essays in Socialism, edited by Shaw. It was followed in 1952 by new Fabian essays edited by Richard H.S.Crossman.

### **Growth of Fabian Society**

The Fabian at first attempted to permeate the liberal and Conservative parties with socialist ideas. But later they helped to organize the separate labour representation committee which became the labour party in 1906. The Fabian society has since been affiliated with the labour party.

### **Memberships**

The national membership of the Fabian society consists of 8400 members in 1946. A large number of labour members of parliament in the House of Commons, as well as many of the party leaders are Fabians.

### **The principles of society**

Its goal of society through the education of the public along socialist lines by means of meetings, discussion groups, Conferences and summer schools. Carry out research into political. Economics and Social problems by pamphlets, publishing books and periodicals.

## **KARL MARX (1818-1883)**

### **His Early Life**

Marx was born on March 5, 1818 in the predominantly Catholic city of Trier in the Rhineland in a Jewish family. He embraced Christianity during his childhood. Marx studied law at the University of Berlin 1836. He changed his course to philosophy under the influence of the young Hegelians. He completed his doctorate in philosophy in 1841. Marx married his childhood friend Jenny, six years older than Marx.

### **His Carrier**

In the beginning Marx has written extremely on various issues of Philosophy, Economics, Politics and society. During his student days Marx was attached to Hegelian Idealism but he soon shifted his interest to humanism and ultimately to scientific socialism. The books, articles, pamphlets of Marx were written during three decades from the early forties to the early seventies. The important works of Marx include Critique of Political Economy the Communist Manifesto, Das Capital.



## BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM:

### A Critical Appraisal

In the entire history of political thought both on influence in criticism, few political theorists can match Karl Marx. He was truly the last of the great critics in the western intellectual tradition. His ideas exerted a decisive influence on all aspects of human endeavour and transformed the study of history and society. He was the first thinker to bring together the various strands of socialist thought into both a coherent world view and an impassioned doctrine of struggle. Along with Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), with whom he shared an unparalleled partnership, Marx dissected 19th century capitalism as scientific socialism or communism. Marxism is not only a critical appraisal of capitalism but also a viable or credible alternative to it. Marxism is at once an orientation, programme of action and a working class movement. He applied his method with a view to bringing about large-scale change within the industrialized capitalist economy of which England was the classical model in the 19th century. He used the English classical economists to understand the dynamics of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution.

The basic principles of Marxism can be summarized as follows:

1. Dialectical Materialism
2. Historical Materialism
3. Theory of Alienation
4. Theory of surplus value
5. Class struggle
6. Dictatorship of the proletariat
7. Vision of a communist society

### Dialectical Materialism

Karl Marx is indebted to both Hegel and Hobbes for his theory of Dialectical materialism. Marx borrowed the dialectical method from Hegel but modified it in a fundamental way. While Hegel had applied the dialectics to explain the material conditions of life, Marx applied the dialectics to explain the material conditions of life. In the process of doing so he denounced the Hegelian philosophy of dialectical idealism on the one hand and the theory of mechanistic materialism on the other. 'My dialectic method' wrote Marx, 'is not only different from the Hegelian but is its direct opposite.'

To Hegel, life is the process of human brain. Process of thinking which under the name of 'the idea' he even transforms into an independent subject is the demiurgos of the real world and the real world is only the external phenomenal form of the idea. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought. Thus Marx contrasted his materialistic to Hegel's idealistic interpretation of history.

In the dialectical materialism of Marx, evolution is the development of matter from within environment helping or hindering but neither originating the evolutionary process nor capable of preventing it from reaching its inevitable goal. Matter is active and not passive, and moves by an inner necessity of its nature.

1. The law of transformation of quantity into quality. It means that qualitative changes lead to qualitative revolutionary situation.
2. The law of unity of opposites and
3. The law of negation of negation



### **Historical Materialism**

Historical materialism is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the development of society. Marx applied dialectical materialism to the social world consisting of economic production and exchange. In his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels has defined historical materialism as a theory which holds that the ultimate cause which determines the whole course of human history is the economic development of society. The whole course of human history is explained in terms of changes occurring in the mode of production and exchange. Starting from primitive communism, the mode of production has passed through three stages. Slavery, feudalism and capitalism and the consequent division of society into three distinct classes (Slave- master, self-baron and proletariat-capitalist) and the struggle of these classes against one another. The economic structure of society, constituted by its relations of production is the real foundation of society.

### **Theory of Surplus Value**

The theory of surplus value is discussed by Marx in detail in his well known work 'Das Capital' which was considered as the Gospel or Bible of socialism. The doctrine of surplus value is the most important theoretical contribution of Karl Marx. The theory of surplus value is rooted in the labour theory of value holds that labour spent by the labourer in the production of the commodity is the sole criterion for determining its value.

Marx admits that human labour cannot create value by itself alone. It uses instruments of production which are owned by the capitalists. The capitalist buys the labour power of the labourer and applies it to the raw material to produce commodities which have an exchange value of the commodity and the wages paid to the worker by the capitalist in producing that commodity is surplus value. Marx explains the whole process of exploitation with the help of his theory of surplus value. It is a distinct feature of capitalist mode of production.

### **Class Struggle**

The doctrine of class struggle is central to the understanding of Marxian political philosophy. The sole criterion on the basis of which the class of a person is determined is this ownership (or control) of means of production constitute the bourgeoisie (exploiters) and those who own labour power constitute the proletariat ( exploited).

It is clear that Marx defined classes on the basis of twin criteria of a person's place with mode of production and his consequent position in terms of relations of production. According to Marx class conflict is the real driving force of human history. In *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Marx and Engels wrote thus ; " The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles ' In the capitalist societies class differentiation is most clear, class consciousness is more developed and class conflict is more acute.

Thus capitalism is the culminating point in the historical feature of bourgeois epoch is that society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly falling each other - bourgeoisie and proletariat. Marx made a distinction between the objective fact of existence of a class and its subjective

### **Dictatorships of the Proletariat**

The concept of dictatorship of the proletariat held the key to the understanding of Marx's theory of the communist society and the role of the proletarian state. Marx did not write very clearly and systematically about the dictatorship of the proletariat and about the exact nature



and form of post-revolutionary communist society. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an intermediate point or transition phase on the path from capitalism to socialism and communism.

In the critique of the Gotha programme, he further clarified that between capitalism and communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism. In political sphere this transformation will take the form of dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the first step in the revolution of the working class which will raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class. In Marx's view, during the dictatorship of the proletariat there will be a regime in which the proletariat will control the state power.

### **Vision of A Communist Society**

During the period of dictatorship of the proletariat the state continues to be the repressive organ of the class controlling the means of production, but instead of the minority oppressing the majority, the minority will oppress the small group of former exploiters. Under the loving care of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism will blossom into communism.

Communism is explained by Marx as a form of society which the proletariat brings into existence through its revolutionary struggle. In Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels argued that the communists have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the proletariat as a whole. In his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, Marx defined communism as the positive abolition of private property. It also entailed the abolition of classes and abolition of division of labour.

### **Criticisms**

His ideas on Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Surplus Value, Class Struggle, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Alienation, communism etc have been extensively discussed, debated, modified and sometimes even rejected and criticized by his followers and adversaries. Marxism has been subjected to severe criticisms from various corners. Along with Plato and Hegel, Marx was seen as an enemy of the open society.

Marxism claimed to have studied the laws of history on the basis of which it advocated total sweeping and radical changes, but Karl Popper also rejected Marx's social engineering as dangerous for it treated individuals as subservient to the interests of the whole. Popper rejected the historicism, holism and utopian social engineering of Marxism. In contrast, he advocated piecemeal social engineering, where change would be gradual and modest, allowing rectification of lapses and errors for it was not possible to conceive of everything. He wrote thus: Marx misled corners of intelligent people by saying that the historic method is the scientific way of approaching social problems" Further Marx made the economy all important, ignoring factors like nationality, friendship, religion, sex etc.

## **COMMUNISM**

### **LENIN (1870-1924)**

#### **His Early Life**

Lenin was born on April 10, 1870 in the town of Simbrisk in a middle class family. His father and mother had been teachers and as such they were persons of progressive views. Their five surviving children became revolutionaries and their eldest son, Alexander, was hanged at the age of 19 for complicity in an abortive plot against Czar Alexander III. Elder brother's execution was a stunning blow to Lenin, and strengthened him in his resolve to





dedicate his life to the cause of revolution.

### **His Career**

Lenin attended the university of St. Petersburg and was admitted to the bar in 1892. Lenin became an active organizer of radical working class groups in the city of St. Petersburg. In 1895 he was arrested in Petersburg and spent 14 months in prison. He guided a revolutionary organization from his prison cell.

Lenin later edited a Labor's work and Iskar (The spark) both underground journals aimed at for mentoring revolution among the urban working classes. From 1903 onwards he fought against moderate socialist element. He missed the revolution of 1905, arriving late from Switzerland where he had been in exile. The revolution was brutally suppressed by the Tsarist government He Spent a lot of his time studying the works of Marx and Engels and contributing himself to the theory of revolution. With the establishment of the dictatorship in November 1917, Lenin became the acknowledged leader of the Bolsheviks.

### **His Work**

As a theorist, Lenin is best known for his analysis of revolutionary tactics and for his theory of imperialism. Lenin's most important work is 'What is To Be Done'. In this book Lenin drew a distinction between an organization of workers and an organization of revolutionaries. His most influential political work is 'State and Revolution' written in 1917. Lenin's 'Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism' was written in 1916.

Lenin's life-long passion was to serve the people. He showed an unceasing care for the people's welfare, a passionate devotion to the cause of the party and working class and a supreme conviction of the justice of this cause. Besides being one of the dogmatic disciples of Marx, Lenin is also regarded as one of the greatest political geniuses of modern history. In this work, Lenin expanded on the economic aspects of Marxism.

### **His Theory of Imperialism**

Lenin's views on imperialism are contained in his well-known work Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism. He completed this work in the summer of 1916 which is regarded by the Marxists as an outstanding contribution to the treasure store of creative Marxism. In this book, Lenin made a comprehensive and detailed investigation of imperialism.

He traces the development of world capitalism over the course of half a century after the publication of Marx's Das Capital. The outbreak of the First World War turned Lenin's attention more definitely towards international affairs and led to the formulation of his theory of imperialist war and of communism in the imperialist stage of capitalism.

Basing himself on the laws of the emergence, development and decline of capitalism, Lenin was the first to give a profound and scientific analysis of the economic and political substance of imperialism all the contradictions of capitalist society inevitably become aggravated

### **Role of Communist Party**

Lenin's views on the role of the communist party, its organization etc. are contained in his book entitled 'What is to be done' published in 1902. The organization of the communist



party on the basis of democratic centralism was an important contribution of Lenin to Marxism. Lenin described the communist party “as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, an organisation consisting chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession”. According to him, a political party that intends to carry out a revolution successfully must be thoroughly disciplined, alert and ably led like an army.

It was an elite organisation, consisting of outstanding individuals who combined the thorough understanding of the theoretical issues and the general aspects of the situation confronting with them, with a relentless will and capacity for deceive action. These individuals formed the core of revolutionary party, combining theory and practice, independence of mind with the strict discipline, freedom of discussion with a firm adherence to party line. Lenin's most important theoretical contribution to the theory of Marxism is the doctrine of professional revolutionary. He drew a distinction between an organisation of workers, and an organization of revolutionaries.

### **Types of Unions**

Lenin has made two types of unions:

1. Ideal union through the principles of Marxism
2. Material Union which was to be achieved through rigid organization and discipline.

As he wrote in his ' One step forward, Two steps Backward' the proletariat has no weapon in the struggle for power except organization. According to Lenin, the communist party is a part of the working class; its most progressive, most class conscious and therefore, most revolutionary part. The communist party is created by means of selection of the best, most class-conscious, most self-sacrificing and foresighted worker.

### **Estimate**

Lenin was a great leader of practical wisdom. As a great organizer, agitator and revolutionary, Lenin occupies a very important place in the theory and practice of socialism. He made Marxism up to date in the light of certain needs and developments which Marx had not anticipated. It will not be wrong to say that without the services to Marxism it must have died a natural and inevitable death. Lenin's formulas remained the formulas of Marx, the meaning of Leninism departed widely, from the meaning of Marxism.



## UNIT - IV DEMOCRACY

### **Democracy**

#### **Definition**

The definition of democracy is a form of government in which the common people hold political power and can rule either directly or through elected representatives. An example of democracy at work is in the United States, where people have political freedom and equality.

### **Liberalism**

#### **Definition**

Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the government and equality before the law.

### **Classical Liberalism**

#### **General Characteristics**

Liberalism is derived from two related features of western culture. The first is the west's preoccupation with individuality, as compared to the emphasis in other civilizations on status, caste and tradition. Throughout much of history, the individual has been submerged in and subordinate to his clan, tribe, ethnic group or kingdom.

#### **Political foundation**

Although liberal ideas were not noticeable in European politics until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, liberalism has a considerable "prehistory" reaching back to the Middle Ages and even earlier. Liberty means absence of restraints. J.S. Mill believes that an individual has two aspects to his life; an individual aspect and social aspects. The actions of the individual may be divided into two categories. (1) Self regarding activities and (2) Other regarding activities. With regard to activities in which he alone is concerned, his liberty of action is complete and should not be regulated by the state.

#### **Periodic Election**

The second part of the solution lay in using staggered periodic elections to make the decisions of any given majority subject to the concurrence of other majorities distributed over time. In the United States, for example, presidents are elected every four years and members of the house of Representatives every two years and one third of the Senate is elected every two years to terms of six years.

#### **Rights**

Right to Property is intimately connected with right to life and liberty as its necessary consequence. Man creates property by mixing his labour with the objects of nature. In the beginning all things were held in common. But common ownership is not sufficient to provide men with means of life and satisfy their needs. Man must mix his labour with resources provided by nature to enable him to make use of them in a more efficient and profitable way. Since man owns his own person his body and limbs, the object with which he mixes his labour becomes his own property by right. This is the origin of the famous labour theory of value common to both the classical and Marxian economics.



## THE NATIONALISM

### Meaning

Nationalism is the belief that your own country is better than all others.

## THE INTERNATIONALISM

### Meaning

Internationalism is a political principle which transcends nationalism and advocates a greater political or economic cooperation among nations and people. Supporters of this principle are referred to as internationalists and generally believe that the people of the world should unite across national, political, cultural and racial or class boundaries to advance their common interests.

### Important of Internationalism

Internationalism is an important component of socialist political theory, based on the principle that working-class people of all countries must unite across national boundaries and actively oppose nationalism and war in order to overthrow capitalism.

### Hegemonic Internationalism

Hegemonic Internationalism by definition is a paradox within itself. Internationalism suggests cooperation among nations for common good, while hegemony is an instance when one nation has power over another nation. Hitler ultimately wanted to establish a New Order of absolute Nazi German hegemony in Europe.

### Revolutionary Internationalism

#### Liberal Internationalism

Liberal internationalism is a foreign policy doctrine that argues that liberal State should intervene in other sovereign State in order to pursue liberal objectives. Such intervention can include both military invasion and humanitarian aid.

## THE IMPERIALISM

### Meaning

The definition of the substance of imperialism: Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed'. Imperialism is the last or final stage of capitalism.

### History of Imperialism

#### Lenin's views on imperialism

Lenin's views on imperialism are contained in his well-known work Imperialism: "The Highest Stage of Capitalism". He completed this work in the summer of 1916 which is regarded by the Marxists as an outstanding contribution to the treasure store of creative Marxism. In this book, Lenin made a comprehensive and detailed investigation of imperialism. He traces the development of world capitalism over the course of half a century after the publication of Marx's Das Capital. The outbreak of the First World War turned Lenin's attention more definitely towards international affairs and led to the formulation of his theory of imperialist war and of communism in the imperialist stage of capitalism.



### **Characterizes Imperialism**

Characterizes imperialism as monopoly imperialism and at the same time as parasitical, decaying and dying capitalism, disclosing the conditions that will bring or its end and demonstrating that capitalism will inevitably and necessarily be superseded by socialism. As capitalism develops, units of industrial production grow bigger and combine in trusts and cartels to produce monopoly capitalism. Its characteristic export is capital, and its consequences are threefold. It results in the exploitation of colonial peoples, whom it subjects to the capitalist law of increasing misery and whose liberty it destroys.

### **Transition capitalism to socialism**

The transition from capitalism to socialism was in through imperialism. According to Lenin, imperialism is moribund capitalism, containing a number of contradictions which ultimately destroys capitalism itself. There is firstly contradiction between capital and labour. Capital exploits labour and brings the exploited workers to revolution. Secondly, there is the contradiction between various imperialist powers and industrial combines for new territories, new markets and sources of raw materials. Finally, there is also the contradiction between the colonial powers and the dependent colonial people which arouses revolutionary outlook and spirit among the later.

## **THE FASCISM**

### **Main Elements of Fascism**

The main elements of Fascism are the distrust of reason, denial of basic human equality, violence as the basis of State activity, government by elite, totalitarianism, racialism, imperialism and opposition to international law and order. Let us take the first, The distrust of reason perhaps the most significant trait of Fascism. Second element of Fascism is the denial of the basic human quality. The third element of Fascism is violence.

### **Origin of Fascism**

Fascism as an organised movement to control the policy of Italy originated at Milan on March 23, in 1919. In Italy Mussolini was the acknowledged leader of the Fascist movement. In its early years, Fascism had no ideological basis. The Fascist Party was exceedingly opportunistic. It embraced and abandoned doctrines frequently. For instance, in 1919, when the Fascist party was officially organized, Mussolini was still in favour of a republican form of government. In 1927, he supported Monarchy.

### **Liberty**

The Fascists do not recognise individual liberty sacred. Dealing with the conception of liberty, the Fascists said at one time that Italy needed law and order and efficiency rather than liberty. At other times they said that real liberty is possible only under a political system which rigidly enforces law and order and efficiency. By liberty the Fascists meant not a right but a duty.

### **Place of Violence**

Fascists have been explicit in defence of violence as a means of achieving political aims. In other words a man who is willing or unable to be a ruthless despot is not fit to be the head of the State. The use of violence was also justified for insurrection against the existing authority when it was applied for national ends.



### **Etatism**

Fascism declared whole heartedly for radical etatism. Again, after some wavering between democracy and authoritarianism, it declared wholeheartedly in favour of through going authoritarianism. In this regard fascism drew inspiration from the store of ideas supplied by the purely speculative philosophies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Racialism**

Fascism was not greatly influenced by Eugenists and racialists. But the Fascists and the Eugenists agree with one another on two points. First, men are innately and fundamentally unequal. Second, authority must be aristocratic and not democratic. Though the Fascists agree with the Eugenists in these two essential respect, they did not emphasise the idea that superior stocks, or that inferior stocks tend to breed inferior stocks.

### **THE NAZISM**

#### **German Nazism**

Fascism and Nazism had much in common which we had already noted. We shall now consider Nazism in some detail.

#### **State**

To the Fascists, the State is the supreme unit in human existence, To them, the state is an end in itself and not the means to an end. To them it is not only more important than the individual but also important than the so called nation. It is not the nation that creates the State. It is the State that create the nation.

#### **Traditionalism**

The Nazis were animated by strong traditional feelings. Hitler despised the Habsburgs and disliked the Hohenzollerns. Therefore, he did not like to make use of monarchical traditionalism which existed in some part of Germany. Similarly, he did not like to make use of the traditional reverence for the church. In Germany Church was a source of discord and division. If Germany was to become strong and unified the Germans must practice tolerance and concentrate on purely national ideals.

#### **The Individual**

Thus, the Nazis did not glorify the State to the extent to which the Fascists of Italy had done. But both of them demeaned the individual fully. They agreed completely with Kant and Fichete that the individual possesses not rights but duties. One of their axiom was that true freedom of the individual consists in subordinating himself to the nation and working for its welfare.

#### **Racialism**

The most prominent feature of Nazism was its emphasis on race. The Nazis believed in the Darwinian theory of evolution. They believed that the struggle for fundamental law of life. They agreed with Spencer that this law operates in social as well as in biological life.

#### **Irrationalism**

The Nazism took over irrationalism which received great impetus in the nineteenth century. They declared that most human beings even the literate and educated are stupid and irrational, seldom guided by intelligent self-interest in matters in which they are directly concerned.



### **Idealism**

Another foundation of Nazism is Idealism. But it is a peculiar one. It is not of the Hegalian type. Hegel is seldom mentioned and whenever referred to it is with a sneer for obvious reasons. First, Hegelianism was not popular because Hegel was not very popular in Germany. Second, to Hegel, Mind is everything and matter is nothing but product of mind. Mind creates the body and not the body soul. The Nazis did not accept this philosophy because they accepted theory of racialism.

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## UNIT – V PLURALISM

### **PLURALISM HEROLD J. LASKI**

#### **His Early Life and Carrier**

Laski was born in 1893 at Manchester, United Kingdom. He was an English Political theorist and Economist. He was active in Politics and served as the chairman of British Labour Party during 1945 to 1946 and was a Professor at the London School of Economics from 1926 to 1950 His Notable work's "A Grammar of Politics" in 1925, "The State in Theory and Practice, "Authority in the Modern State".  
Ideology and Political Convictions

#### **State of Nature**

Laski work argued that the state should not be considered supreme, because people could and should have loyalties to local organisations, clubs, labour unions and societies. The state should respect these allegiances and promote pluralism and decentralisation. Laski became a proponent of Marxism and believed economy based on the public ownership of the means of production. Instead of as he saw it, a coercive state, Laski believed that since the capitalist class would not acquiesce in its own liquidation, the cooperative commonwealth was not likely to be attained without violence. But he also had a commitment to civil liberties, free speech and association and representative democracy.

#### **Freedom**

There are good reasons for such rare unanimity. Laski regards freedom as the foundation of right as the essence of spirit and as the end of history. Laski has several distinct but related concepts of freedom which appear in scattered places in his writings. First and foremost he understands freedom as autonomy i.e the power of self-government, the capacity to make and follow one's own laws. Hence he writes in the Philosophy of World History only that will which obeys that law is free; for it obys itself and is self-sufficient and therefore free. Laski concept of freedom was based on the old Geek idea of an individual finding his true self freedom and personality in and through the state. Hegel regards freedom as the very essence of man.

#### **The Social Contract**

The social contract of Laski was social and not governmental. According to Laski, the social contract was the total surrender of the whole community. The state is not something external to the individual , but the essence of his being. There could be no conflict between authority vested in the people as a whole and their liberty as individuals. Viewed in this way , the social contract is not a contract which men make with their future ruler. According to Laski, government is their mere agent. The Sovereign cannot " impose upon its subjects any fetters that are useless to the community , nor can it even wish to do so " The sovereign here means the community in its collective and legislative capacity.

#### **Liberty**

Mill asserted that society could limit individual liberty to prevent harm to other people. He regarded liberty of conscience, liberty to express and publish one's opinions, liberty to live as one pleased and freedom of association as essential for a meaningful life and for the pursuit of one's own good. His defence of freedom of thought and expression was one of the most powerful and eloquent exposition in the western intellectual tradition. The early liberals





defended liberty for the sake of efficient government whereas for Mill liberty was good in itself for it helped in the development of a humane, civilized, moral person. In the opinion of Prof. Sabine, liberty was “beneficial both to society that permits them and to the individual that enjoys them”.

### **Estimate**

Laski is undoubtedly one of the greatest political thinkers of modern times. He is regarded as pragmatic thinker because he tried to idealise and rationalise the actual existing Prussian state. In his Science of Logic and Encyclopaedia, Laski gave as a systematic exposition of the method of dialectics and integrated it with his political philosophy as outlined in the Philosophy of Right. According to Prof. Sabine, Laski's theory of freedom was a part to the widespread reaction against the violence of the French Revolution which Burke began. Laski exerted considerable influence on subsequent political theory particularly Marxism and Existentialism.

## **BERTRAND RUSSELL**

### **His Early Life**

Bertrand Arthur William Russell was the greatest philosopher of the twentieth century and was born in 1872 at Ravenscroft, Trellech and Monmouthshire into an influential and liberal family of the British aristocracy. His parents Viscount and Vicountees Amberley were radical for their times.

### **His Carrier**

Russell was a idealist, British Philosopher, Writer, essayist, Social critic, Political activist and Nobel laureate. At various points in his life, Russell considered himself a liberal, a socialist and a pacifist. The philosopher John Stuart Mill to act as Russell's secular godfather. Mill died the year after Russell's birth but writings had a great effect on Russell's life.

### **State of Nature**

Human condition in the state of nature is derived from the nature of man, his basic physical character, his sensations, emotions appetites and behaviour. Russell's believes, that like all other things in nature man is primarily a body governed by law of motion which permeates the entire physical world. Men in the state of nature possessed some natural instincts like competition, diffidence and glory. Men are naturally equal in mind and body. Basic equality of man, according to Russell is a principal source of trouble and misery. Men have in general equal faculties, they also cherish like hopes and desires. If two men desire the same thing, which they cannot both obtain, they become enemies and seek to destroy each other. According to Russell's, passions of desire and aversion are the root cause of conflict in the state of nature.

### **The Value of Philosophy**

The Value of Philosophy is one of the most important chapters of Bertrand Russell's magnum Opus, The Problems of Philosophy. As a whole, Russell focuses on problems he believes will provoke positive and constructive discussion, Russell concentrates on knowledge rather than metaphysics: If it is uncertain that external objects exist, how can we then have knowledge of them but by probability. There is no reason to doubt the existence of external objects simply because of sense data.



### Right to Property

It is intimately connected with the right to life and liberty as its necessary consequence. Sometimes Locke sums up all natural rights in the right to property. Life and liberty are more important than property. Man creates property by mixing his labour with the objects of nature. In the beginning all things were held in common. But common ownership is not sufficient to provide men with means of life and satisfy their needs. Man must mix his labour with resources provided by nature to enable him to make use of them in a more efficient and profitable way. Since man owns his own person his body and limbs, the object with which he mixes his labour becomes his own property by right. This is the origin of the famous labour theory of value common to both the classical and Marxian economics. Locke does not believe that man has an unlimited right of appropriation.

### General Will

Russell's theory of General will has been criticized as incomplete and vague. In actual practice it is very difficult to distinguish the general will from the will of all. The general will is not the will of everybody in the community because that will merely be the will of all. Further, Russell's theory of General will is rather abstract and narrow. Prof Vaughan criticized Russell's General will as Hobbes' Leviathan with its head chopped off. Further, Russell's doctrine of General will is too abstract and there was difficulty with regard to its location or identification. Prof Sabine, C.L Wayper and others made scathing attack on Russell's theory of General will. Notwithstanding such criticisms, the significance of Russell cannot be ever diminished. As Prof Willam Ebenstein has rightly pointed out, Russell was the first modern writer to have attempted, though not always successfully, to synthesis good government with self-government in the key concept of the general will.

### Individual Liberty

Russell was clearer than the conventional liberal doctrines that the end of government is not confined to the protection of individual liberty but also includes equality because "liberty cannot exist without equality" Mill has laid down the grounds for justifying interference. An activity that pertained to the individual alone represented the space over which no coercive interference either from the government or from other people was permissible. The realm which pertained to the society or the public was the space in which coercion could be used to make the individual conform to some standard of conduct. Mill in his On Liberty wrote thus: "the only part of the conduct of any one, for which is amenable to society is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind the individual is sovereign."

### Humanist Critique

The philosophical writings of Russell indicate a breakaway from his Marxian affiliations. As a person, Marx evokes great praise from Russell. He regards Marx as a merciless critic of social injustice. He considers Marx as a humanist and a lover of freedom. Hence, Russell wanted to restate the humanist, libertarian, moralist principals of Marxian after freeing it from the dogmas of economic determinism. According to Russell, the materialism of Marxism is dogmatic and scientific. Russell is critical of the empirical account of knowledge that Marxism provides thus neglecting the creative role of the human beings. Russell believes that the dialectical materialism of Marx is materialist only in nature. According to Russell, the Marxian interpretation of history is defective because it allows slender role to mental activity in the social process. History cannot be interpreted solely in the reference to materialistic objectivism.



## INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

### GANDHIJI (1869-1948)

#### His Early Life

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was undoubtedly the most authentic celebrated representative of the wisdom and culture of India in our times. Gandhiji was born on October 2, 1869 in the small state of Porbandar where his grandfather, father and elder brother were prime ministers. His father later became Prime Minister of the Kathiawar state of Rajkot. Following the custom of his day, he was betrothed when he was seven years and was married at 13. Being a member of Vaishanava family he was strictly vegetarian.

#### His Career

He was a political philosopher, social reformer, and economist and a seeker of truth. The contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the Indian national movement was unparalleled. He made the Indian National Congress a people's congress and the national movement a mass. Movement. He was a man of action who reacted with vigor to every critical situation of social, political, religious or cultural conflict that he was faced with and tried to resolve it by truthful and non-violent means. He had a passion for individual liberty which was closely bound with his understanding of truth and self-realization. His philosophy was profound engagement with modernity and its pitfalls.

#### Philosophical Foundation of Gandhian Thought

Gandhiji was basically a religious man. Among the sources which moulded the Gandhian outlook, 'Gita' ranks the foremost. Gita had always been his spiritual reference book his daily and never failing guide. As he himself says, 'When doubt stares me, when disappointment satyagrahas me in the face, and I see not even one ray of light on the horizon, I turn to Bhagavad-Gita'. This religious prospective shaped his politics, his economic ideas and his view on society. However, the religious approach that he imbibed was markedly different from other religious men. He accepts the inner oneness of all existence in the cosmic spirit, and saw and living beings as representatives of the eternal divine reality. Gandhiji believed that man's ultimate goal in life was self-realization. According to him, self-realisation means seeing God face to face i.e, realizing the absolute truth or knowing oneself. He believed that it could not be achieved unless man identified himself with the whole of mankind. Gandhiji further states that truth could not be attained by merely retiring to the Himalayas or being bogged down with rituals but in actively engaging with the world. Man's ultimate aim is the realization of god, and all his activities, social, political and religious have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God.

#### Gandhiji five moral principles for the achievement of moral disciplines to the individuals

- a. Truth
- b. non-violence
- c. non-stealing
- d. non-possession
- e. celibacy

#### Relationship Between Religion and Politics

For Gandhiji politics was but a part of man's life. Political activity of man is closely associated with other activities of man and all these activities influence each other. He formulated the relationship between politics and religion as an intimate one. Religion cannot be divorced from politics. He says that 'politics devoid of religion is meaningless'. Politics creates



the conditions for pursuits which members of a polity feel are basis to the making of their selves. He felt, ' For me there is no politics without religion- not the religion of the superstitions and the bind, religion that hates and fights, but the universal religion of toleration'

### **Gandhian Doctrine of Satyagraha**

Satyagraha was a formidable weapon in the hands of Gandhiji. It is a natural outcome from the supreme concept of truth. Satyagraha is literally holding on to truth, and it means, therefore, Truth force. Satyagraha means the exercise of the purest soul-force against all injustice, oppression and exploitation. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul-force. Truth is soul or spirit, it is there for e known as soul force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth. Truth or satya, for Gandhiji, is go himself. He, therefore, changed the statement,' God is truth' later in his life into ' Truth is God ' and suggested that it was one of the fundamental discoveries of his life's experiments. The life of man, for Gandhiji, is a march of his pursuit in search of Truth or God. Satyagraha is not merely the insistence on truth, it is, in fact, holding on to truth through ways which are moral and non-isolent; it is not the imposition of one's will over others, but it is appealing to the reasoning of the opponent, it is not coercion but is persuasion It means urge for satya or Truth. Gandhi highlights several attributes to satyagraha. it is a moral weapon.

### **Non - Violence**

Gandhiji cannot be regarded as the inventor and propounder of this principle. He discovered the principle of non-violence from the pages of history and his greatness lies in the fact that he made it on the basis of his life and adopted to serve the needs of time. He transformed it into social and political technique. He regards it as the supreme concept for the reformation of politics. According to Gandhiji, Non-violence or Ahimsa is the heart of all religions. Non- violence is truth itself; it's very soul, and its fruit. Truth and non-violence are two sides of a smooth unstamped metallic disc and are so intervened that it is very difficult to separate them. Gandhiji put more emphasis on truth than non –violence because he believed that truth existed beyond and unconditioned by space and time, but non –violence existed only on the part of all finite beings. Non-violence is, in fact, the acceptance of spiritual metaphysics.

### **Rama Raya**

This form of polity was identified by Gandhiji as Rama Rajya or Kingdom of God. The other level of polity was conceived as the sub-ideal level which would have a government that would permit maximum freedom to the individuals. Rama Rajya relates to Lord Rama's rule. It is a reference to the ideal conditions that upheld and nurtured the qualities of honesty, truthfulness, trust, respect co-operation, sacrifice and service at the time when Rama ruled his kingdom. This ideal Hindu society was projected sharply by Gandhiji during Indian's struggle for freedom According to Gandiji, Rama Rajya was that stage of development where ethical considerations would govern the life of the individuals.

### **As a Critique of Modern State:**

Gandhiji's critique of the modern state emanated from its coercive aspect and its anti-

- i. It must be consistent with full employment.
- ii. it must produce low priced consumer goods which satisfy the needs of the people
- iii. all those industries with sophisticated economy must be in the public sector
- iv. No mass production without equal distribution



### **Sarvodaya: The Rise of All**

Gandhiji was highly critical of the path both capitalist and socialist economies had taken. America harbours massive poverty amidst abundant wealth. As Gandhiji has rightly pointed out, America is the most industrialised country in the world, and yet it has not banished poverty and degradation. That is because it neglects the universal manpower and concentrates power in the hands of the few who amass fortunes at the expense of the many' He felt socialist economies put the cart before the horse. Socialism has only one aim that is material progress. Against capitalism and socialism, Gandhiji proposed the concept of Sarvodaya, which was based on three basic principles.

- i. That good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
- ii. That the life of labour, i.e, the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.
- iii. That the lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

### **Trusteeship**

One of the most original contribution of Gandhiji in the area of economics is the concept of Trusteeship. It is, in fact, an economic extension of his political philosophy. The main trust is on treating resources, as a public trust with man being the trustee, so that the riches of nature and society are equitably used. The theory was intended to combine the advantages of both capitalism and communism, and to socialise property without nationalising it.

Gandhiji had a view that all material property was a social trust. The owner and the rest of the people were to regard themselves as trustees of the property. The Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order or society into an egalitarian one. It does not recognise any right of private ownership of property except so far as it may be permitted by society.