

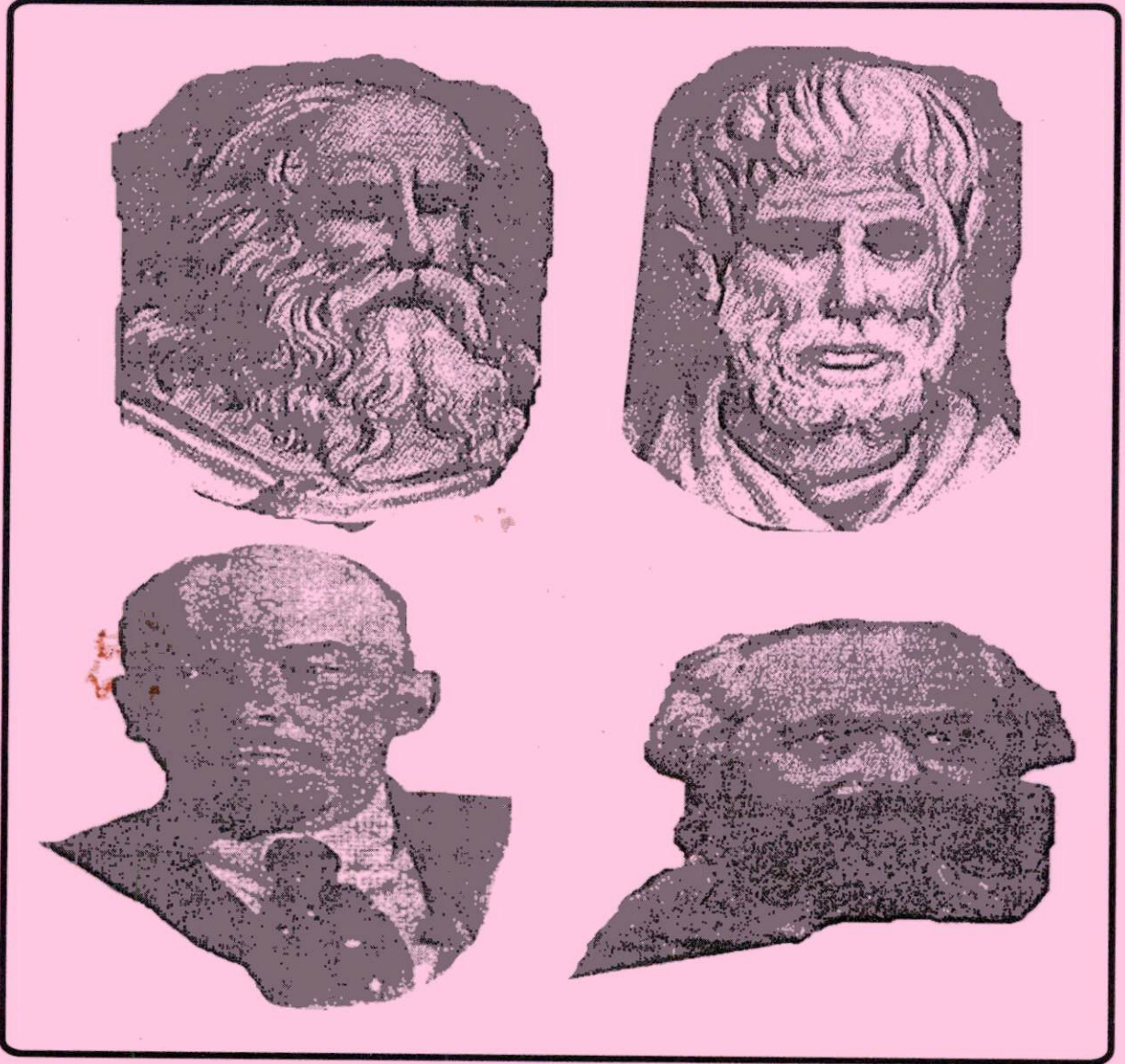
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ
ಮಾನಸಗಂಗೋತ್ರಿ, ಮೈಸೂರು - ೫೭೦ ೦೦೬



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]

1937



Course - I
Paper - Western Political Thought

Block - VI

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as instrument of democratizing education.

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ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು 'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು 'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಷ್ಯ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಷ್ಯ ಮತ. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂತರಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these *five mantras* should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu



**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course I**

Block

VI

Introduction

Unit 23

**Jeremy Bentham-life works -state-Theory of Utilitarianism-
Reformation of prison and Criminals** **1 to 16**

Unit 24

**J.S.Mill-Life-Works-Liberty-Representative Government
and Individualism** **17 to 30**

Unit 25

**T.H.Green-Life-Works-Philosophy of Rights- Theory of
Rights-Political Obligation-Individualism** **31 to 41**

Unit 26

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State-Liberty-Sovereignty and Government** **43 to 59**

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Block - 6 Introduction

Block - 6 consists of 4 units from 23 to 26. Unit - 23 explains Jeremy Bentham-life works -state-Theory of Utilitarianism-Reformation of prison and Criminals. Unit 24 explains J.S.Mill-Life-Works-Liberty-Representative Government and Individualism. Unit 25 explains T.H.Green-Life-Works-Philosophy of Rights- Theory of Rights-Political Obligation-Individualism.Unit 26 explains J.W.F. Hegel-Life-Works-Dialectical method-Theory of State-Liberty-Sovereignty and Government.

Block VI

UTILITARIANISTS AND IDEALISTS

Unit-23 Jeremy Bentham- life-works- state- Theory of Utilitarianism-Reformation of prison and Criminals

Structure

- 23.0. Objectives
- 23.1. Introduction
- 23.2. Life
- 23.3. Works
- 23.4. State
- 23.5. Theory of utilitarianism
 - 23.5.1 Sources or Sanctions of Utility
 - 23.5.2 Measuring the Value of Pleasure or pain/
Felicific calculus
 - 23.5.3 How to bring the Transition
- 23.6. Reformation of prison and criminals
- 23.7. Let us sum up
- 23.8. Key words
- 23.9. Some useful Books
- 23.10. Answers to check your progress exercises

23.0 . Objectives

After going through this unit you should be able to know and understand.

- ♦ Jeremy Bentham his life and works
- ♦ Meaning of the principle of utility
- ♦ Jeremy Bentham's attempt to reform the prison and criminals

23.1 Introduction

Utilitarianism as an ethical and political theory is essentially a product of the English mind. Its psychological basis is the hedonism (seeking pleasure) of Epicurus, and it is essentially associated with Jeremy Bentham. The theory believes that man is social by nature and is always motivated in life chiefly by the desire to obtain happiness and avoid pain, and the happiness of each individual involves relations with other individuals which eventually necessitates state regulation of mutual relations of men by legislation.

The utilitarian philosophy is primarily an ethical theory and natural too according to Bentham . In his own words, he says "Nature has placed mankind under the government of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do as well as to determine what we shall do". This theory proved to be quite influential especially with respect to the concept of welfare state and individual freedom or liberty.

23.2. Life

Jeremy Bentham, the intellectual leader of utility principle, a sturdy common sense- thinker of the true British pattern was born on February 15, 1748 in London. He spent most of his life under king George III, who ruled from 1760-1820, the last British monarch of autocratic leanings. Bentham died the day before the Reform Bill of 1832 became law . His life thus spanned a long period of transition in British history.

Jeremy Bentham's father and grandfather were well-to-do attorneys and they expected him too to enter upon the same career. At a very early age of three he was found reading a big volume of Rapin's, History of England; he read Latin before he was four, French at six, and took to Voltaire for light reading at eight. After leaving Westminster school, he was admitted in Queen's College: Oxford on June 28, 1760 where he matriculated at the age of thirteen and received bachelor's degree at the age of fifteen and then studied law. He was a child prodigy. He was called to the bar in 1769, but he soon decided that he was more interested in reforming the law than in practicing it. A small annual income of a hundred pounds enabled him to live independently, though modestly : after his father's death in 1792 his financial position greatly improved and he was able to live comfortably in his house in London, called "Hermitage". There he spent his life, unmarried, completely devoted to his literary and political activities.

23.3 Works

Bentham was a prolific writer . He wrote many books. He first caught the attention of the public in England by publishing anonymously his "Fragment on Government" in 1776, Defense of Usury was published in 1787; and Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation in (1789) . It is in this book Bentham popularized his theory Utilitarianism, Essays on Political Tactics (1791), 'Discourse on Civil and Penal Legislation'(1802), 'A Theory of Punishment and Rewards' (1811), A Treatise on Judicial Evidence' (1813), 'The Book of Fallacies (1824), Catechism of Parliamentary Reforms"(1809), 'Radicalism not Dangerous (1819), Crestomathia (1816), Church of Englandism(1818). All these works in some form or the other, exercised a great influence on the life and thinking of Englishmen, and indeed upon the whole world of thinkers and governments.

23.4. State

Bentham had taken a stand regarding the role of the state in a given society quite opposite to the position held by French Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1787. Article II of that declaration states that “the end in view of every state is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression “. According to Bentham, this view of natural rights and the states responsibility of protecting them was mere confusion and nonsense. For him there are no natural rights but only legal rights; a man has no rights by virtue of his humanity but only by virtue of the law. Properly speaking rights are only concessions made by the state and which, being concessions, the state may withdraw at will. A person may be said to have a right only “ in proportion as it is----- advantageous to the society in question “and there is no right which when the abolition of it is advantageous to society should not be abolished”. Hence in the view of Bentham state becomes a powerful institution. But at the same time it is limited, in the sense that, the purpose of the state was confined to promote the principle of utility and apply it.

As for the state in England was concerned, Bentham was not satisfied . He considered the English constitution as far from perfect, he urged specially the need for universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, payment to members of parliament and vote by ballot . He advocated the abolition of the House of Lords and the Monarchy. He was in favour of a unicameral legislature elected for one year on the basis of an adult manhood suffrage . Bentham was not in favour of monarchy. He was a advocate of Republican form of government for economy, efficiency and supremacy of the people. As he has stated at one place, “I am trying to better this wicked world by covering it over with republics.”

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Give a brief sketch of Bentham's life.

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2) Which type of state Bentham advocates?

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23.5 Theory of Utilitarianism

In the opening paragraph of his masterpiece entitled "Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation" Bentham has stated clearly the pre-supposition upon which his ethical theory is based. "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point

out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think; every effort we can make to throw off our subjection, will serve but to demonstrate and confirm it. In other words a man may pretend to abjure their empire, but in reality he will remain subject to it all the while. The principle of utility recognises this subjection.”

Thus the principle of utility means that principle which approves the happiness of individuals and disapproves of every action which promotes pain. Here the principle of utility does not take into consideration the pleasure and pain of all individuals, rather it takes into consideration the maximum or majority of number. In simple terms it can be said the principle of utility means the principle which promotes the maximum happiness of the maximum number of people. Here Bentham discounts or enslaves the happiness of the minority number of people.

Bentham has advocated this principle not only for every private individual actions but for governmental actions too. As such we can understand utility means that quality or property in any object or action, whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness or to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered; if that party be the community in general, then the happiness of the community; if a particular individual, then the happiness of that individual.

Bentham argues when we speak of community inextricably reference is to individuals. Individuals are component parts of the community. As such happiness of the community means happiness of the individual. Hence the principle of utility acts as a measure or parameter to test the actions of a individual and the government.

23.5.1 Sources or Sanctions of utility.

Bentham while explaining the principle of utility discusses the sources from where utility i.e., happiness or pain flows. There are four sources from where utility flows.

- a) Physical
- b) Political
- c) Moral
- d) Religious.

The pleasure or pain will be in the present life and if it flows from the ordinary course of nature, not purposely modified by the interposition of the will of any human being then the source is called physical. For example temperance conserves health, while intemperance affects the health adversely. The result is pleasure in the first case and pain in the other.

If pleasure or pain flows according to the will of the sovereign or supreme ruling power in the state then the source is political. In other words the state or sovereign power passes a particular piece of legislation. The legislation may be intended to promote happiness or it may be consciously or unconsciously directed to cause pain. This source of utility is called political.

Under the moral source, Bentham has been concerned with public praise and blame, that is, to say, he discusses the pressure of public opinion. If the party concerned receives appreciation or approbation from the public, the result is pleasure and if it receives condemnation or if one in the eyes of the public stands rejected, it administers pain to the person concerned.

Pain and pleasure also proceeds from the religious source. Bentham writes, if from the immediate hand of a superior invisible being, either in the present life, or in a future, it may be said the flow is from the religious source. In other words it is the duties a man performs towards his creator (God). The performance and non-

performance of these duties towards the creator will bring pleasure or pain.

23.5.2 Measuring the value of pleasure or pain/Felicific Calculus

Bentham says providing pleasure and the avoidance of pains are the only ends which a moralist and a legislator should always have in view. The determination of goodness or badness of pleasure are left by Bentham to individual's choice and inclination. As such each individual or for that matter the state should understand the value of pleasure and pain in their actions or objects. The measurement of this value is called Felicific Calculus. Bentham's contention is that the pleasure and pain can be mathematically measured and that the decision as to the utility and hence, the rightness of an action can be reduced to a problem in Arithmetic. For example just like the output of a mechanical engine can be measured in terms of Horse Power and that of a water pump can be measured in terms of Head similarly every object or action has got in it its intrinsic value of providing pleasure or pain.

The question is how to measure the intrinsic value? Bentham answers while estimating the amount of pleasure and pain in any particular action we have to measure seven factors. They are

- a) Its intensity
- b) Its duration
- c) Its certainty or uncertainty
- d) Its propinquity or remoteness.
- e) Its fecundity
- f) Its purity
- g) . And finally its extent (i.e., the number of persons to whom it extends or who are affected by it): Explaining the above factors in brief . Intensity means, value of the pleasure or pain produced in the

first instance, duration refers to the time aspect, i.e., till what period the pleasure or pain exists. Certainty or uncertainty is nothing else but the surety of pleasure or pain derived. Propinquity means nearness, and remoteness means farness of pleasure and pain to be experienced. Fecundity is chance of the pleasure or pain derived being followed by similar sensations. Purity means the chance it has of not being followed by opposite sensations: that is pain if it be a pleasure: pleasures, if it be a pain and finally extent means the total number of persons whom it affects.

Hence the task of a legislator was simply to sum up all the values of all the pleasures on the one side and those of all the pains on the other. The balance, if it be on the side of pleasure, will give the good tendency of the act upon the whole, with respect to the interest of that individual person; if on the side of pain, the bad tendency of it upon the whole. Bentham thus formulated a scale of values for the various kinds of pleasures. His view was that the principles of morals were as certain as the principles of geometry. He thus admitted a calculus of pleasure and pain. He was in fact in search of a price list of pleasure. Accordingly he suggested that pleasures and pains could be measured by taking into consideration the above explained seven factors.

In fact what Bentham wants to emphasize is the fact that the correct utility of any political system or of any law or other public policies could be determined only by a scientific process of evaluation in which all of the factors entering into the situation were duly weighed and correlated. In such a computation factors of sensitivity would be important considerations in the weighing of pains and pleasures and might result in conclusions very different from what would appear on the surface.

23.5.3 HOW TO BRING THE TRANSITION?

As mentioned earlier Bentham has clearly differentiated

between an individual self interest and extra-regarding interest. The former relate to happiness or pleasure of oneself. The latter are an expression of benevolence and relate to happiness of others. Bentham further says, "the first law of nature is to wish our own happiness, and the united voices of benevolence add, 'seek the happiness of others, - seek your own happiness in the happiness of others.'

Now the big question is how to bridge the gulf between individual selfishness and communal good. Bentham answers, there are two means through which this transition can take place. A, Education and b. Institutional Environment. As far as, education as a means is concerned, he proposed a system of public education with a new syllabus. Through this men's mind can be elevated and they will understand that rationally conceived happiness of one's self includes benevolence for others. Because of his strong belief in education he started a small college with three hundred students which progressed rapidly into the present University of London, the largest University of the British Commonwealth. The second means i.e., Institutional environment, Bentham argued through creation of a right institutional environment it will be exposed that it is against to one's self interest, to harm others.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the theory of utilitarianism.

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2) Which are the sources of utility? Evaluate them.

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3) Can utility be measured? If so, which are the parameters to be used?

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23.6 REFORMATION OF PRISON AND CRIMINALS

The major intention of Bentham's political theory was his conviction that there is a need of extensive reforms in British society and state, and particularly in English Law and Judicial procedure. Being a strong critique of the existing Laws and the machinery and methods of executing them he proposed a detailed scheme of his own. Most of the legal reformation since Bentham's day can be traced to his influence. Sir Henry Maine has rightly said, "I do not know a single law reform effected since Bentham's day which cannot be traced to his influence". He attacked the chaotic system of the English Law of his day and placed great emphasis on the need of simplification in phraseology and procedure and on the value of codification. He

strongly condemned the English system of allowing country gentlemen to be administrators of justice.

The corruption of the law in 18th century Britain was greater than the corruption of any other system. A traditional and highly complicated procedure served to enrich the lawyers with exorbitant fees. Justice in fact, was not done but it could be purchased and could be purchased by those who could pay the highest price for it. Bentham in his pamphlet "Truth vs. Ashhurst", writes, "——— under English law, not to speak of other systems, the sort of commodity called Justice is not only sold, but, being like gun powder and spirits made of different degrees of strength, is sold at different prices, suited to the pockets of so many different classes of customers."

Coupled to this was the delay and denial of justice. The injustice and severity of punishment provided in the criminal law and the system of prison administration, was intolerable. Punishment was not awarded in proportion to the magnitude of the crime. In 1801, a boy of twelve years was hanged to death for stealing just a spoon. Bentham's argument for reformation was the aim of punishment has to be prevention of crime and should be in proportion to the magnitude of the offence.

He also aimed at the reformation of prisons. He urged a system of education and of useful labour for criminals and devoted many years to induce British parliament to accept his scheme of housing criminals, that is, the prisons, to be in a semi-circular building called "panopticon". The prison was to be so constructed that the office of governor of the prison, located in the centre, could keep the lives and actions of all the prisoners under his observation. The British government which was interested in the beginning later on withdrew its support. Partial efforts to reform the criminals and prison administration on the lines of Bentham's ideas were made outside Britain. Thus, we can say, the reform of prisons and the institution of

reformatories and industrial schools derived their impulse largely from Bentham's principles.

While celebrating the bicentennial of Bentham's birthday, the London Times (February 14, 1948) wrote that, "Bentham still exerts a posthumous despotism over English politics, and on the whole it is a benevolent despotism." There is hardly a major reform in Britain that does not trace its influence to Bentham. Besides reforming the field of law, reforms of antiquated procedures and methods of evidence, as well as changes in the law of marriage and divorce, property, business, trade unions, etc where the result of his agitation. In criminal law, the worst forms of cruel punishments, such as whipping of women, transportation of criminals from England to the colonies, and the Pillory, were eliminated and the ultimate punishment of death confined only to treason and murder, whereas before Bentham there had been over two hundred offenses punishable by death.

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the legal system of England earlier to Bentham.

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2) What reforms did Bentham suggest in the field of Prison Administration and criminals ?

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23.7 .Let us sum up

So far we have discussed the theory of utilitarianism and its founder Bentham, his life, his works and the theory of state, Utilitarianism and his attempts to reform the prison and criminals .

We have seen the meaning and importance of the theory of utilitarianism . This theory gained lot of importance at a time when the consequences of the Industrial revolution were felt in three fields, technological, Economical and Social . Because of this a new class was emerging demanding political and social rights . As such , the theory of Utilitarianism came as a boon to them and gained wide spread support and popularism.

The principle of utility defined as the principle seeking maximum happiness of the maximum number also gave a new turn to the concept of state. Earlier the state which was a police state came to attain a new look called as the welfare state.

With this theory of utility the actions of the state can also be Judged whether they are in the interest of the people at large or not. Not only this with the help of this utility principle we will also be in a position to understand the amount of happiness or pain people experience at the hands of the state.

23.8 Key words

Hedonism	Doctrine that pleasure is the chief good
Ethical	Relating to moral
Monarchy	Rule of king
Attorney	A person legally appointed to act for another, lawyer
Oppression	Govern with tyranny or suppression
Despotism	Autocratic governance
Natural rights	Human rights granted by nature
Universal	Applying to all human beings of the world
Suffrage	Right of voting
House of Lords	Upper House of British parliament
Subjection	Controlling or enslaving
Approbation	Sanction or approval
Creator	God
Horse power	Unit to scale the power of a mechanical engine
Intrinsic	Inherent or inside or within
Legislator	Law maker or law enacter, member of Parliament
Phraseology	Choice of words to express something
Posthumous	After death

23.9 Some useful Books

R.H. Murray	- Studies in the English social and Political thinkers of the 19 th century vol 1
C.C. Maxey	- Political philosophies
Villiam Ebenstein	- Great Political Thinkers –Plato to the present
W.T. Jones	- Masters of Political Thought
G.H Sabine	- A History of Political Theory

- W.L. Davidson - Political Thought in England –the Utilitarians from Bentham to Mill
- W.A. Dunning - A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spenser
- D.R. Bhandari - History of European Political Philosophy

23.10 Answers to check your progress exercises

Check your progress 1

- A. See section 23.2
- B. See section 23.4

Check your progress 2

- A. See section 23.5
- B. See sub section 23.5.1
- C. See sub section 23.5.2

Check your progress 3

- A. See section 23.6 para 1, 2 and 3
- B. See section 23.6 Para 4 and 5

**Unit -24 J.S. Mill –Life-Works –Liberty- Representative
Government and Individualism .**

Structure

- 24.0 Objectives
- 24.1. Introduction
- 24.2. Life
- 24.3 Works
- 24.4 Ideas on Liberty
 - 24.4.1 Areas of liberty
- 24.5 On Representative Government
- 24.6 Individualism in Mill
- 24.7 Let us sum up
- 24.8 Key words
- 24.9 Some useful Books
- 24.10 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises

24.0 Objectives

This unit deals with the concept of liberty, its meaning and importance. After going through this unit you should be able to know and understand

- J.S. Mill, his life and works
- J.S. Mill's arguments for individual's liberty, its necessity and the areas of liberty
- His views on Representative Government and Individualism.

24.1 Introduction

During the days of Mill the policy of free trade i.e. Laissez Faire was being abandoned in favour of greater regulation by the State of the actions of the individual. At the same time due to the growth of democracy, the individual was getting lost in the society. Mill thought these changes were wrong and harmful for human development. He advocated that every individual should develop on his own lines as far as possible. Mill believed that, by this approach the society would progress as well as the individual.

Though Mill was influenced by Bentham, Mill's transformative criticism of Benthamite utilitarianism was one of. He argued that principle of happiness of the greatest number was defensible only if a distinction was made between happiness and pleasure. He also replaced the quantitative approach of Bentham by a qualitative one. Mill also convincingly argued for a defence of basic freedoms by law. The purpose of law was to maximize liberty as it gave an opportunity for self realisation. He saw the need for a liberal society as a basic pre-condition of a liberal State and government. He defended free speech and the right of individuality. Mill unlike many contemporary liberals, championed women's rights, seeing gender inequality as ethically and legally untenable.

24.2 Life

John Stuart Mill was born on May 20, 1806 at Pentonville in London. His father James Mill came from Scotland. Mill received most of his education through his father. He began to study Greek at the age of three years. At the age of eight he began the study of Latin, Algebra and Geometry, and was also reading Philosophy, including Plato, Herodotus, Isocrates, Diogenes and Xenophon. At the age of 11, Mill began the study of logic and read Aristotle's treatise on logic in the original Greek. He also read some books on Experimental Science. At the age of 13, Mill's primary study was Political economy, particularly Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Next year, he was sent to France with Samuel Bentham, brother of Jeremy Bentham where he learned French language and studied Higher Mathematics, Chemistry and Botany. Returning to England after 2 years he took up the study of Psychology and attended a series of lectures delivered on Jurisprudence by John Austin. He decided to be a lawyer and began to study for the Bar. He lost interest in this, and at the age of 17, he joined the East India Company and in 1856 he became the chief of the examiners office. In 1865, he was elected as a member of House of Commons where he made learned speeches on unpopular subjects for three years. In the year 1873, at the age of 67, he breathed his last.

24.3 His works

With such a vast reading and practical experience in administration and, practical politics, J.S. Mill took to writing. He was a lucid and eloquent writer and he wrote on different branches of knowledge with equal mastery. Some of his important works are:

- a) "System of Logic" published in 1843. This book is an empirical view of logic as the Science of proof.

- b) "Principles of Political Economy" published in 1848 was the final expression of the old classical economies derived from Adam Smith, Malthus and Ricardo.
- c) "On Liberty" published in 1859 has brought him enduring fame. It is in this book Mill has argued for individual liberty
- d) "Considerations on Representative Government" (1861) contains his later views on politics
- e) "Utilitarianism" (1863)
- f) "Examination of Sir William Hamiltans Philosophy" (1865)
- g) "Subjection of Women " (1869)

24.4. Ideas on liberty

Mills 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. He was keen to promote the good of the society and as well as of the individuals. When Mill speaks of liberty, it is not liberty of the will, but civil or social liberty Mill writes, every individual is related to two institutions, one the society and the other the State. A individual's liberty should be protected in both the institutions. The society has the tendency of compelling the individual to conform to its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct. Society has the tendency to penetrate more deeply into the details of life and enslaving the soul itself. The effects of social interference would be much greater than the State interference. Mill says when individual liberty is repressed by law of a State, the evils of it may be contracted by the custom of the masses. But when the masses make the law of repression, custom unites with legislation to confound the evil. As far as the State is concerned, Mill says, over-regulation of the individual by the State leads to

tyranny. Hence he pleaded for individual liberty from society as well as from State.

Mill argued, man should have independence which would be in the interest of his own as well as the State and society. This is possible only in a democracy. As such he was in favour of democracy. Liberty of a individual is necessary because firstly, any task is done best by those whose rights and interests are immediately involved. Secondly, that the faculties of men , moral intellectual and practical – are most developed and improved when they are in active exercise.

With all these ideas of Mill on liberty a big question arises , if an individual has to have liberty both from society as well as the State ,then what is the necessity of these two institutions? The answer Mill provides is, there are two aspects of an individual's life. One, self regarding , and the other regarding . As far as self regarding actions are concerned, they are those actions which would be concerning him and him alone. Hence he is to have full liberty and should not be regulated by the State and society. Other regarding actions are those which a effect the society or other individuals in State/ society . In such cases, an individual's actions can justifiably be regulated by the State or society. As such, power can be used rightfully for the purpose of preventing harm to others.

24.4.1 Areas of liberty

Based upon the ideas Mill put forth for individual's liberty, he pleads for certain freedoms of the individual with which he can develop his personality. Following are the areas,

- a) Freedom of conscience
- b) Liberty of thought and Expression
- c) Liberty of pursuits and tastes
- d) Liberty of association
- e) Liberty to pursue his own vocation in life

f) Liberty of religion and morals.

Mill writes, ideas would develop best if there is freedom to think and express. It is illegitimate to suppress opinion and its expression, for such suppression robs the human race of the knowledge of it. Freedom of thought and expression leads to the development of personality on individual lines and a variety of characters which enriches society. It does not mean Mill concentrates only on freedom of thought and expression but he says, other freedoms are equally important for proper development of personality.

By now it is very clear that Mill's doctrine of the liberty of the individual is based on three essential elements viz.

- a. A strong advocacy of the importance of impulse and desire in the individual and letting the individual follow his own impulses in actions which concern him alone.
- b. Insistence on the view that spontaneity and individuality are essential elements in individual and social welfare.
- c. Revolt against the tyranny of custom, tradition or public opinion which might hinder the expression and development of individuality.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a note on the life and works of J.S.Mill

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2) Elaborate on Mill's arguments for Individual Liberty.

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24.5 J.S.Mill on Representative Government

Since a long time political thinkers have been debating the origin and growth of State and Government . One school argued political institutions are a natural growth and must be taken as they are found . Another school of thought held that these institutions are wholly an affair of invention and created by human beings (contractualists). Mill rejected both of these views and took his stand on the sensible middle ground that political institutions, though a natural growth do not resemble trees, which once planted, will be growing while men are sleeping . In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human beings.

In his work, "Representative Government" Mill discusses monarchy and other forms of Government. He argued, the best government is not that which is the most efficient, but that which serves as a training ground in the art of citizenship and imparts political education. As the whole world knows, such a government is democracy. Although Mill was a great champion of democracy, he was aware of the weaknesses and dangers of democracy. His mind was particularly upset by the inadequate representation of minorities

in parliament and the tyranny of the majority over the minority . In order to secure the just representation of minority, Mill supported the system of proportional representation.

It was not merely the danger of the tyranny of the majority over the minority that agitated the thoughts and feelings of J.S.Mill. There was another danger also it was the rule of rustic, rude, uncultured and illiterate people. Mill, therefore, strongly felt the need of the wise, educated and enlightened legislators, cultured men who have studied politics who can understand what legislation was. And such peoples opinion will be independent, mature and above any selfish consideration. It appears as if Mill was directly influenced by Plato's concept of Rule of Philosophers. For Mill, intelligence, education and superior virtue count for more than ignorance, stupidity and inferior character. Hence, he advocated plurality of votes to the higher educated. For this he advocated a classification of citizens according to their profession and training. Mental, cultural and moral qualities were made the basis of such a classification. As such, it is the superior intellect and high character that can best save the State and best promote the interests of the electors. Mill was doing all this, just to save the educated people from the class legislation of the uneducated . Mill also avocated a salary for members of parliament, vote by secret --ballot, and voting right.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a note on the type of government Mill preferred.

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2) Why did Mill support the system of proportional representation ?

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24.6 Individualism in Mill

Mill while arguing for individual's liberty said any activity that pertained to the individual alone represented the space over which no co-ercive 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. The distinction

between the two areas was stated by the distinction a distinction made originally by Bentham. The individualism in Mill's thought lies in his defending the right of individuality, which meant the right of choice. As far as self-regarding actions were concerned, he explained why coercion would be detrimental to self-development. First, the evils of coercion far outweighed the good achieved. Second, individuals were so diverse in their needs and capacities for happiness that coercion would be futile and unfair. Since the person was the best judge of his own interests, as he had the information and the incentive to achieve them.

The individualism in Mill's thought is so strong that while explaining about self-regarding and other-regarding actions, he writes, if there is a clash between the opinion of the individual and that of the community, it was the individual who was the ultimate judge, unless the community could convince him without resorting to threat and coercion. Mill contended 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 defense of freedom of thought and expression was one of the most powerful and eloquent expositions in the western intellectual tradition. Mill wrote; "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind". From this we can understand how strong the aspect of individualism is in Mill's thought.

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Do you find a place for Individualism in Mill's thought ?

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24.7 Let us sum up.

In this unit 24, we have discussed J.S Mill's thought on certain important aspects like Liberty, Representative Government, Individualism in his ideas, his life and works also have been explained.

In fact J.S. Mill is remembered today because of he championing the cause of individual's liberty . J.S.Mill occupies a very important place in the history of political thought. It is difficult for us to realize the dominating and widespread influence of Mill in the England of the middle of the 19th century. Writing about Mill's influence Lord Morley in 1873 wrote, " For twenty years no one at all, open to serious intellectual impressions, has left Oxford without having undergone the influence of Mill's teaching".

Mill's autobiography and the letters reveal that Mill had a sensitive nature and a complex mind . He was a modest and sincere personality, torn between loyalties, on the one hand to his father and Bentham, and on the other new truth from many other quarters. He showed always a love of knowledge, a search for truth, a willingness to learn, that are most admirable . He was inspired by magnificent

devotion to the welfare of humanity, and the elevation of character .

Mill developed what is known as the “philosophy of vote” casting one’s vote, to Mill, is as necessary to the political animal as is the air that it breathes. In the whole history of political thought there is no loftier conception of voting than his . His vote is not a thing in which he has an option; it has no more to do with his personal wishes than the verdict of a Juryman. It is strictly a matter of duty, he is bound to give it according to his best and most conscientious opinion of the public good. Infact, he was the first ot tell us how democracy can be made safe for the world against the tyranny of rude, rustic and uncultured individuals. He had immense faith in the power of intelligence and high character. People having these qualities were supremely fitted for governing democratic institutions. He was one of the first advocate of women’s suffrage . He was the first to speak for that in English Parliament. Women in England particularly should always feel grateful for the very services rendered by J.S. Mill to improve their lot and to redeem them from a State of slavery and subjection.

Commenting upon Mill’s contribution Prof. Maxey writes, “Mill made penetrating comments on such matters as election methods, second chamber, executive organization, local government , federal Government and the Government of dependencies. On each of these subjects he was deeply provocative, and made a contribution which modern student of government cannot afford to ignore” .

24.8 Key Words

Pentonville	Name of place where J.S. Mill was born
Laisse- faire	Principle of non- intervention by State in commercial affairs
Ethically	Related to morality
Compelling	Bring about by force, getting done by force

Interference	Meddling, coming in-between
Tyranny	Oppressive or cruel rule of king
Democracy	Government by the people
Liberty	Freedom, Non- interference
Conscience	Mental sense of right and wrong
Impulse	Doing by one's own sense, without a thought
Contractualists	Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and others who argued State is a artificial creation by men
Monarchy	One man rule
Detrimental	Harm done to one's interest
Juryman	Judge
Rude	Acting in a uncivilized manner

24.9 Some useful Books

1. William Ebenstein Great Political Thinkers –Plato to the present
2. G.H. Sabine A History of Political Theory
3. W.L. Davidson Political Thought in England-the utilitarians from Bentham to Mill
4. W.A. Dunning A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spenser
5. D.R. Bhandari History of European Political Philosophy
6. C.C. Maxey Political Philosophies
7. John.H.Halowell Main Currents in Modern Political Thought
8. Subrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy A History of Political Thought - Plato to Marx

24.10 Answers to check your progress exercises

Check your progress -1

- a) See Section 24.2 and 24.3.
- b) See section 24.4 and 24.4.1.

Check your progress -2

- a) See section 24.5 .
- b) See section 24.5 para 2 and 3.

Check your progress -3

- a) See section 24.6.

Idealists

Unit-25 T.H. Green-Life- Works-Philosophy of Rights- Theory of Rights-Political Obligation – Individualism

Structure

- 25.0. Objectives
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 Life
- 25.3 Works
- 25.4 Theory of Right
- 25.5 Political Obligation
- 25.6 Individualism
- 25.7 Let us sum up
- 25.8 Key words
- 25.9 Some Useful Books
- 25.10 Answers to check your progress exercises

25.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to understand

- the works of T.H. Green
- his theory of rights
- political obligation and
- his views on individualism

25.1 Introduction

The Laissez- faire theory made it difficult for men with small or middle sized resources to survive in competition with wealthy rivals. According to Watkins, "In practice the free markets were an obstacle to the economic self-expression of all but a limited number of its original devotees. For them no less than for the representatives of other social groups it failed to serve as a vehicle of natural harmony of interests". So as a reaction against it there started a middle class movement in favour of positive political action and State interference in the interests of many. Hegel in Germany had built a state philosophy which made a tremendous appeal; it held up the state as demigod. However Hegelianism could not be accepted in England as it went against English peoples inclination towards liberalism. The task of deleting those objectionable parts from Hegelian philosophy and tailoring it to the need of English tradition was done by T.H. Green, Bradley and Bosanquet. They made the new philosophy acceptable to the English people by making the State less absolute, accepting the individual as an end, making the rights of the individual more secure and recognizing the fact that under certain circumstances even resistance to the government was justified. It meant as a matter of fact a combination of idealism in philosophy and liberalism in politics. Now let us take up the study of T.H. Green in particular.

25.2 His life

Thomas Hill Green was born in Yorkshire in 1836. He was the son of a clergyman in the church of England. For a period of fourteen years he was educated at home, later he was sent to Rugby where he stayed for five years. In 1855 he entered Balliol college, Oxford. Neither at Rugby nor at Oxford was Green a prominent scholar. The regular studies did not appeal to him, but he had a wide reading in many fields of knowledge. At Balliol college he came under the influence of the great Benjamin Jowett. In 1860 he was elected a fellow of Balliol college till 1878. In 1878 he was chosen as Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy. Green's teaching at the University of Oxford covered a wide range of subjects including, history, ethics, logic, metaphysics, education and the history of philosophy. Green was not only a academician but a politician too. He was a member of the Oxford Town Council and a frequent campaign speaker for the liberal party. He died at a an early age of fortysix in the year 1882.

25.3 His Works

Green who was not prominent as a student, was most influential as a teacher. Green was a prolific writer, However, it was not until after his death that his most important works were published.

He wrote many books, of which, some of the important ones are

- a) "Lectures on the principles of Political Obligation"
- b) "Prolegomena to Ethics"
- c) "Lectures on Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract"
- d) "Lectures on the English Revolution"

Among all these works the most important one was his "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation" first delivered during his tenure of the chair of moral philosophy at Oxford in the winter of 1879-80 and published in 1882.

25.4 Theory of Rights

There are four important influences on Green's philosophy, the Greek tradition, Rousseau's thought, German idealism and non-conformism, in constructing his theory of rights. From Greeks he was influenced by the idea of State as a necessary institution for the welfare of individuals. From Rousseau he borrowed the idea of moral freedom of man. From German idealism he borrowed freely. From non-conformists he borrowed the idea that freedom was the most important thing in spiritual as well as political life.

Green's theory of rights consists of three related portions- human consciousness postulates liberty, liberty involves rights and rights demand the State. Green's doctrine of liberty is the Kantian (German idealist thinker) doctrine of the free moral will in virtue of which man always wills himself as an end. If freedom lies in self-realisation the State must come forward to help the individual in self-realisation by instituting and enforcing a system of universal and impartial rights. A right involves a certain Liberty of action claimed by an individual as necessary for pursuing ideal objects and developing his capacities of reason and will. Thus every individual has the supreme right of self-realization and all other rights flow from this fundamental right. The basis of rights is not mere legal recognition but common moral consciousness. So rights are relative to morality rather than to law. They are the conditions necessary to the fulfilment of man's moral end. Then an individual has rights only as a member of society. A right is a rational claim of an individual to the free exercise of some faculty and also a recognition by and concession of that claim by society.

Since rights are essentially a social product, Green rejects the theory of natural rights in the sense of pre-social rights existing in the State of nature. Without recognition there can be no right. But

Green had no hatred for the term, 'natural'. He considers rights as natural because they are a necessary and indispensable means to an end which is natural to man and which is self-perfection. They are the conditions under which the realization of the moral capacity of a man is made possible. For Green natural or ideal rights are both broader and deeper than the actual rights granted by any given society to its members at a given time. Thus the necessity of the right of resistance to the authority of the State arises on account of the fact that there is always a discrepancy between natural or ideal rights and the actual rights recognized by the law of any State. According to Green an individual has the right to disobey the command of the State if the legality of a given command is doubtful, and also when the system of government is tyrannical and opposed to public interest.

When there is no means of agitating for the repeal of a bad law, resistance becomes not only right but also a duty. As such the obligation to obey the State's action, however, is not absolute. Resistance to the State can be offered but it must be based on two considerations. These are that successful opposition to a particular law leads to a definite social good, and that this social good is recognized as such by his fellow-beings. Any resistance to the State must have popular support with it. Thus it may be said, there exists within the community an ethical system which is independent of the State and which gives the individual a standard whereby to criticize the State itself.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Give a brief account of the influences on Green and his works.

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2) Write a note on Green's ideas regarding individual's rights and right to resist.

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25.5 Political obligation

The reason why a man should obey the State and discharge his duties to it lies in the very nature of man, ie social nature (this is the influence of Greek philosophy on Green as mentioned earlier). Society is natural to man and therefore civic institutions and responsibilities are innate and natural to man for they are necessary

for his self-realization and perfection. It is only in the context of his duties and obligations to the State that he can claim his right. Rights and duties are civic in character and do not exist prior to or outside the society. They imply a common social life with a common interest or good which all members of society take to be their own ideal good. Membership of the State and the ordered life it ensures obligates the individual to civic responsibilities. If he demands from the society opportunities for self-realization without hindrances, he has to concede to the society regulative power over himself so that his pursuit of his own good is in conformity with common good and he concedes to others the opportunities or removal of hindrances which he claims for himself.

A citizen has the political obligation of obeying the laws of the State and respecting the civic institutions of the country. This is because the function of law and of civic institutions is to help the citizen to realise his self-perfection by the removal of hindrances. But this individual self-realization, promoted by law, must be in the context of and in conformity with the welfare of the social whole. Each individual has his vocation as an integral part of the social whole. The civic institutions are a concrete embodiment of a highly complex and interrelated social organism with its system of rights and duties. Duties to the State, therefore, are as important as rights of the individual. An individual obeys the State because it represents the General will of the community.

Green makes it very clear that it is not the existence of supreme coercive power that makes a State but, "supreme coercive power exercised in a certain way and for certain ends viz, exercised according to law written or customary, and for the maintenance of rights". The State maintains through a system of law the possibility of freedom that otherwise would not exist. To Green, the State is justified in using force to repel a force which is opposed to freedom.

Hence, it can be said that apart from the State, the individual can have no existence as a person. As such, a individual's obligation to the State is very much called for.

25.6 Individualism

Green, the most sober of idealists, is as a matter of fact, a mixture of Hegelianism and individualism. For him the State is not an end but a means and the end is the full moral development of the individuals. He regards functions of the State as negative and limits the authority of the State. He harps on the fact that institutions exist for men and men do not exist for the institutions. Under certain circumstances he allows the individual even to resist the dictates of the State. In fact as mentioned earlier, for Green Natural or Ideal rights are both broader and deeper than the actual rights granted by any given society to its members at a given time. Thus the necessity of the right of resistance to the authority of the State arises on account of the fact that there is always a discrepancy between natural or ideal rights and the actual rights recognized by the law of any State.

Green's support for representative government, wide franchise, views on property, war, punishment, so on are all indications of his sobriety and liberal outlook. His general principles are sound even today. He is responsible for reviving British liberalism by giving it a new and positive content. In the words of Sabine, "Green's philosophy attempted to State a moral platform so broad that all men of social goodwill could stand on it, and in a measure he succeeded". Green considering the State as a positive organ of social welfare placed individuals interests and rights on the top. Writing about the importance Green gave to individuals interests in his thought, Wayper wrote, "Here, then, is Greens achievement, that he gave Englishmen something more satisfying than Bethamism at a price they were prepared to pay, that he left Liberalism a faith instead of an

interest, that he made individualism moral and social, and idealism civilized and safe. Englishmen atleast will consider that achievements no inconsiderable one". Green and his disciples, especially Barker and Lindsay have restored liberalism to a respectable place by making it a kind of faith which can be a guide for positive political activity.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Elaborate Green's view on the obligation of individuals towards the State.

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2) Comment on the individualism aspect in Green's Thought.

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25.7 Let us sum up

If a micro analysis of Green's philosophy is made, one can understand that Green gave an English interpretation to the philosophy of ancient Greece and the German idealists. He did not idealize the majesty of the State and "is more of an Aristotelian than a Platonist, and more of a Kantian than a Hegelian". He puts emphasis on the individual and on the moral limitations of law. He puts limitations on the State in its dealings with individuals and other States. But despite those limitations, the State of Green has a moral value. It is a being with a moral end. Rights, which are a necessary condition of morality, emanate from the State.

Green was an Idealist but of a sober variety as shown by his regard for the Liberty of the individual and his refusal to exalt the State to a mystical height. Green has also played a very important part in moulding modern political mind. He revived British Liberalism by giving it a new and positive content. Before Green, Liberalism had looked askance at the State. After him it viewed the State as a positive organ of social welfare. Green was a liberal who struck a balance between the authoritarianism of Rousseau and Hegel and the individualism of the Utilitarian school. He combined the metaphysics of Hegel with British liberal thought. He took an organic view of the State and yet he did not think of the State as an end in itself. The State was a positive good but had a negative function of removing hindrances to good life. Thus it may be said Green gave a healthy direction to English Idealist thought.

25.8 Key Words

Self-sufficing	enough for one's self
Laissez-faire	principle or policy of non-intervention by government in commercial affairs
Clergy man	a man appointed to a body of ministers of

	christian church
Non- conformists	political thinkers who argued that freedom was the most important thing in spiritual as well as political life
Tyrannical	oppressive rule of the State
Innate	Inborn , inside one's body
Hindrances	obstacles ,restrictions
Vocation	one's own liking
Sobriety	Temperate, moderate quality
Mystical	taking anything beyond the real world
Askance	helplessness

25.9 Some useful Books

G.H. Sabine	A History of Political Theory
W.A. Dunning	A History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer
C.C. Maxey	Political Philosophies
R.L. Nettleship(ed)	Works of T.H. Green
T.H.Green	Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation
Barker .E	Political Thought in England
Bhandari D.R.	History of European Political Philosophy

25.10 Answers to check your progress exercises

Check your progress-1

- a) See Section 25.1 and 25.3
 b) See Section 25.4

Check your progress -2

- a) See section 25.5
 b) See section 25.6

**Unit-26 J.W.F Hegel- Life -Works -Dialectical method-
Theory of State-Liberty- Sovereignty and Government**

Structure

- 26.0 Objectives
- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Life
- 26.3 Works
- 26.4 Dialectical method
- 26.5 Theory of the State
 - 26.5.1 Origin of the State
 - 26.5.2 Nature of the State
- 26.6 Concept of Freedom
- 26.7 Sovereignty and Government
- 26.8 Let us sum up
- 26.9 Key words
- 26.10 Some useful Books
- 26.11 Answers to check your progress exercises

26.0 Objectives

This Unit deals with the Political thought of J.W.F Hegel. After going through this unit you should be able to know and understand.

- ♦ The Background of Hegel's thought, his life, his works and the influences on him
- ♦ Hegel's Dialectical method
- ♦ Hegel's theory of State, Ideas on Liberty, Sovereignty and Government

26.1 Introduction

In order to understand the political thought of Hegel, it is necessary to go through the background of Hegel and Germany's experience during the days of Hegel and earlier to it. The French Revolution of 1789 brought Napoleon to power in France. The Philosophy of French individualism and the Rights of Man, more than French power seemed to threaten the foundations of the established order in the European continent. Napoleons's armies brought to the masses of the continent deliverance from social and political oppression by native ruling classes. As time proceeded, however, the French struggle with England for world hegemony turned the whole continent into a base of operations the cost of which had to be borne by continental nations .

The German people first learned of democracy through the invasions of the French revolutionary armies. The enthusiasm for the French Revolution- and later for Napoleon -was sincere and exuberant in many parts of Germany, especially among the middle classes and peasants . If the victorious Napoleonic armies had followed up the annihilation of the feudal order in Germany with the creation of a free German Republic, the history of Europe would have taken a new turn .

As it was, the temporary destruction of feudalism and

absolutism in Germany was followed by a French regime of economic and military control in the service of Napoleon's drive for world empire. Whereas the French armies had entered Germany as the torch bearers of liberty and human brotherhood, they left it as the enemies of the German people. The German ruling class had no taste for the now discredited democracy, liberty, and self-government. Democracy was viewed as the symbol of Germany's national enemy. Later on Germany's position in both the world wars was seen as the leading opponent of the democratic world.

Because the political experience of Germany has been preponderantly authoritarian, its orthodox tradition of political theory has been chiefly, though not wholly, antidemocratic. In this tradition the philosophy of George Wilhelm Frederick Hegel towers over the rest in more than one way. Hegel's system encompasses philosophy, metaphysics, religion, art, ethics, history and politics. In its range alone his work is impressive and of a truly encyclopedic character. His position in Germany was so powerful that even the most ferocious attack against orthodox German philosophy, that of Karl Marx, sprang largely from Hegelian assumptions.

26.2 Life

George Wilhelm Frederick Hegel was born at Stuttgart in 1770. His father was an ordinary government official in the department of finances of the State of Wurtemberg. He grew up with the patient and methodical habits of those civil servants whose modest efficiency has given Germany the best governed cities in the world. Hegel as a student was highly industrious and hard working and he made full analyses of all the important books he read. He was sent to the grammar school at Stuttgart for his education. In 1788, at the age of 18 years, Hegel joined the University of Tubingen to study theology. After leaving the University of Tubingen, Hegel

went to Bern in Switzerland and accepted the job of a private tutor. In 1797, he took a similar job in Frankfurt. The small amount of money he got after the death of his father in 1799, he decided to use it as a ladder to a university appointment. In 1800, through the influence of his friend Schelling, Hegel got his appointment as an instructor at the University of Jena. When he was at Jena, in 1806 Napoleon's victory over the Prussians threw the scholarly little city into confusion and terror. The disastrous battle of Jena in 1806 disrupted the life of German universities and Hegel found himself forced by financial considerations to leave the university.

Later Hegel served for a brief period as a newspaper editor and eight years as head of a gymnasium in Nurnberg. In recognition of his work "Science of Logic" which appeared between 1812 and 1816, he received a call to a professorship at the University of Heidelberg in 1816. Two years later in 1818 he was appointed at the University of Berlin to the chair of philosophy. At the University of Berlin, he became very popular and a favourite of the Government and in a sense its official philosopher. In recognition of his contributions, he was honoured in many ways and his influence extended over the whole of Germany. In the last phase of his life he was a devout follower and admirer of the Prussian police State, as had previously admired Jacobinism and Napoleon. He died on November 14, 1831 suffering from cholera.

26.3 His works

It is generally said that most of the writings of Hegel, like Aristotle's, consisted of his lecture notes. Among them the principle works of Hegel are,

- a) The Phenomenology of Spirit (1807)
- b) Science of Logic (1812-1816)
- c) Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences (1817)

- d) Philosophy of Right (1821)
- e) Philosophy of History (1837) Published posthumously

26.4 Dialectical method

The most distinctive feature of Hegel's philosophical system is his dialectical method which in fact influenced another great Political thinker, Karl Marx. The dialectical method is as old as Socrates and Plato. In fact history records Plato borrowing from his teacher Socrates the Dialectical method. According to Plato, the Dialectic was the process of thinking by which the dramatic conflicts of ideas was resolved by definitions. It was a process by which the structure of a logical system was discovered. If one goes through "The Republic" of Plato, it can be found that it is full of dialogues, arguments, counter arguments. But in the hands of Hegel, the higher form. This whole process was given the name of Dialectical by Hegel. To him, Dialectic is not merely of process by which logical ideas developed. It is a process by which all ideas in the world have developed. Hegel explained the rational process of change involved in the Dialectic. What is distinctive in Hegel is his adoption of the term 'Dialectic' to describe the movement of Reason in human affairs as well as the strictly technical process by which truth is arrived at, although Reason being the final reality this is one process.

To Hegel, the Dialectic is the only way in which the human mind can arrive at the truth about anything. As human beings we formulate a doctrine or idea about something. That doctrine/ idea will contain elements of truth but also since human beings are passionate, fallible and limited by their particular historical perspective, elements of error - other individuals perceiving the error in that doctrine will formulate a doctrine which is precisely the opposite. Their doctrine will contain elements both of truth and error. We cannot say that one doctrine is right and the other wrong for

both contain elements of right and wrong. A third doctrine is necessary in order to preserve what is true in both, only a synthesis can reconcile the thesis and its antithesis. But when analyzed this third doctrine will be found to be less adequate from the complete Statement of the truth. The third doctrine then becomes a new thesis subject to self-contradiction and we are faced with the problem again of constructing a new synthesis out of this third doctrine and its antithesis. This process presumably continues indefinitely although each synthesis is thought to be closer to the absolute truth than each preceding synthesis. Thus the process continues in a cyclical order as mentioned earlier.

It is given a universal validity and application that is both moral and profound. For him, the movement of thought is dialectical. Every truth is the synthesis of two contradictory elements. Affirmation leads to dogmatism, negation to skepticism and only through the synthetic mediation of mysticism can the real truth emerge. In simple this method can be put into a formula form i.e Thesis –Antithesis – Synthesis. However one should keep in mind that this process is a cyclical process because the synthesis will, after, some time, takes the form of Thesis. Hence it is a cyclical and continuous process.

According to Hegel, human progress does not take place in a positive straight line. It is always a zigzag movement. Why does the human progress take place in a zig zag fashion, it is the business of philosophy to know the reason of it. World, to Hegel, is not static, but it is dynamic. The true concept of this world must be an active, moving process, a process of evolution. In evolution, something that is under developed, undifferentiated or homogenous, develops by differentiating or splitting up, assuming many different and opposing or contradictory forms. It then unites again in a new concrete object and becomes a unity in diversity. The lower is negated in the higher. It does not remain what it was, but it is preserved in the higher

form. This whole process was given the name of Dialectical by Hegel. To him, Dialectic is not merely of process by which logical ideas developed. It is a process by which all ideas in the world have developed. It is a process by which all ideas in the world have developed. Hegel explained the rational process of change involved in the Dialectic. What is distinctive in Hegel is his adoption of the term 'Dialectic' to describe the movement of Reason in human affairs as well as the strictly technical process by which truth is arrived at, although Reason being the final reality this is one process.

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Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a short note on the background of Hegel's thought and his life.

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2) Elaborate on the Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis method of Hegel.

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26.5.1 Hegel's Theory of the State, its origin

Hegel put too much emphasis on the State and regarded it as essentially divine in origin . As such it must be looked upon with great reverence. In a way Hegel revived the old dead doctrine of

Divine Right of Kings or Divine Origin of State. He rejected the contractualists theory of origin of state which considers state as an institution created by the people . He argued, the idea of free and equal men in the state of nature was absurd. According to Hegel, life in the state of nature was predominantly that of in gusto and violence, of untamed natural impulses, of inhuman deeds and feelings. He regarded state as the product of a long process of evolution. It marked the advancement from lower group life to higher and more perfect institutional life. The development was from family to tribe and from tribe to the state . At every stage of development he saw the working of universal mind, or the hand of spirit which was God. Thus the State was the work of God. In his own words ,”State is the divine will as a present spirit which unfolds itself in the actual shape of an organized world . It is the divine idea as it exists on earth “.

26.5.2 Nature of the State

As explained above in sub –section 26.5.1 the state was the work of God. It was the embodiment of all reason. It was the actualization of freedom and perfect rationality. It was the incarnation of the general will which was real will of all. Hegel’s state is omnipotent. It has its own will and personality , different and superior to the wills and personalities, of the individuals who formed it. Apparently that Hegel was influenced by Rousseau’s theory of general will. An individual had freedom only as a member of the state. Since the state is the creator of all rights, as such an individual has no rights against the State .The State represented the unity of the universal and individual will. Thus Hegel completely subordinated man to the state and left him simply a creature of it . The State was an end and individuals were simply the means to an end. The end was the glorification of the state by itself. Hobhouse calls Hegel’s State, “ as a greater being, a spirit, a super personal entity, in which

individuals with their private conscience or claims of right, their happiness or their misery, are merely subordinate elements “. Hegel’s state also represented and embodied the highest social morality and it laid down the standard of morality for the individual members.

For Hegel society is higher and more important than the family, but the state is higher and more important than society. McGovern writes, “The state, Hegel conceives, is a mystic transcendental entity, the mysterious union of all with all, the great whole which embraces, but is greater than, any or all of the individual selves. Compared with this supreme reality, the state, all other things, whether the individual, the family, the corporation, society as a whole sink into insignificance”. Thus the Hegelian state includes the entire hierarchy of institutions by which life is determined from the family to the trade, and from the trade to the church and the university. It includes all of them, not as a mere collection of the growth of the country but as the structure which gives life and meaning to the political whole. In Hegel’s exaltation of the state we find the elevation of the citizen spiritually, evoking in him a devotion that tends to enlarge his personality and purify his actions of selfishness and narrow mindedness. Wayper writes, “In all essentials his is the most complete organic view of the state. It is a natural growth. It is a whole ~~greater~~ than the parts which are intrinsically related to it and which have meaning only in so far as the whole gives them meaning. It is an end in itself. It develops from within. And this is true of existing states as well as of the state in idea “. From this it is very clear that Hegel has completely subordinated the individual to the authority of the state. Individuals personality has been reduced to a zero.

26.6 Concept of Freedom

Hegel’s concept of freedom was based on the old Greek idea of an individual finding his true self freedom and personality in

and thought the state. He considers freedom as the very essence of man. It is his distinctive quality. To renounce freedom is to renounce one's humanity. Not to be free, therefore, is to cease to be a human being. However, it is not the freedom of any and every casual will of which he talks. His freedom consists in rendering obedience to the real will or the reasonable will. In developing the concept of freedom Hegel is very much indebted to Kant and Rousseau. Kantian concept of freedom was negative, limited and subjective in meaning, which made his attitude to the state somewhat grudging and individualistic. Kant had interpreted freedom as the right to will a self-imposed imperative of duty, and he insisted that every man possessing in virtue of his reason such a will, existed, and ought to be treated, always as an end in himself and never as merely a means. To Hegel freedom of this kind is negative because it wears the face of duty, and it is limited because it isolates each man as an end in himself. Such freedom is again subjective because it resides in the inner world of intention and conscience, and does not find a free issue outwards into objective life. Hegel in opposition to Kant, sketches a more positive and objective conception of freedom, and a less individualistic conception of the state. Freedom, he holds, must be positive.

Hegel's freedom consists in obedience to the dictates of social morality, to the moral will of the community. Hegel would agree with Kant in saying that freedom consists in obedience to the dictates of universal reason but he would identify the dictates of universal reason with social morality, rather than with the isolated moral will of the individual. The state is the crystallization of this social morality, it is the embodiment of the community. As such, freedom, to Hegel, consists in willing to make my natural self (composed of my particular interests and passions) conform to my thinking self (my reason). I realize my freedom when I submit to the law, to the rules of social

morality and to the institutions of the State. The state is the highest and most perfect embodiment of social morality; it both sustains by personally as a being with freedom of will and transcends by compelling me to contemplate a good beyond by own personal interests. Freedom in this way, to Hegel is objective and creative, and it outwardly expresses itself in a series of outward manifestations- first the law, then the rules of inward morality, and finally the whole system of institutions and influences that make for righteousness in the state. The whole system of institutions and influences, Hegel has called as social ethics . The state must be envisaged in terms neither of law nor of the morality of individual conscience, but in terms of social ethics. The social morality is the product of a free will seeking to realize itself in a positive and objective form, and the state, as the highest expression and organ of social morality. Individual freedom, therefore, to Hegel was a social phenomenon. It consisted in participation in the moral life of the community. Freedom meant willing of what is rational of what the spirit would desire and the power to perform it. It consisted in total obedience to the state and performance of duties.

Commenting on Green's concept of freedom, Prof. G.H. Sabine writes,

“Hegel's theory infact implies two things. Firstly he continually implied that no genuine conflict of interest can arise between individuals and the society they belong to and secondly, the state is continually represented as standing for the highest possible ethical value. These two phases of Hegel's philosophy, though they are perfectly comprehensible when viewed in the light of the circumstances in which he wrote, are nevertheless the causes of very great confusion in his thought.

26.7 Sovereignty and Government

Hegel who considers state in high esteem and also considers state as the work of God, writes the sovereignty of the state lay not in the people representing an aggregate of individuals but in the state as a legal person. This personality must have an objective reality for practical purposes and, therefore, the king bears the personality of the state with the sovereignty of the hereditary monarch. Hegel insisted that the constitution of every state was the result of historical evolution and was the best for it for that particular time. (This aspect has been made clear while explaining his ideas on origin and nature of the state). Hegel divided the governments into three parts viz. a) Legislative b) Administrative, which included the Judiciary, and c) Monarchy. The monarchic element was very important as a co-ordinating force for the first two elements. These three elements also represented the democratic, the aristocratic and monarchical principles respectively. Hegel laid stress on constitutional monarchy (Going as per his dialectical method, the thesis, "despotism", for instance, will call into being, "democracy", the antithesis, and from the clash between them the synthesis, "constitutional monarchy", which contains the best of both, results). The monarch was the embodiment of the unity and sovereignty of the state. As such, Hegel opposed the theory of separation of powers on the score that the state was a moral organism functioning as a whole. The king, administrators and the people all must take part in legislation. Regarding the composition of the legislature, Hegel believed in the representation of estates and corporations and not of individuals. He believed in functional and not territorial representation. The reason for he opposing the theory of separation of powers, was, for to give independence to any power is to make it independent of the whole.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) How did the state originate according to Hegel? Explain its nature.

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2) Elaborate on Hegel's concept of freedom.

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26.8 Let us sum up

Till now we have understood the background or making of Hegel, his life, some of his important contributions like, the dialectical method, theory of state, concept of freedom, views on sovereignty and government. From all this one can gather, Hegel's political

philosophy reflected a phase of the reaction that followed the downfall of Napoleon. The idea of will, as the ultimate element in politics and law, was developed by Hegel to its utmost limits. The credit of creating a philosophy of will, in the real sense, goes to Hegel. The essential core of Marxian socialism /scientific socialism, is the dialectical materialism which Marx built upon the foundational ideology of Hegel. Hegel's formula of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis was precisely the tool that Marx needed.

Though garbed in high sounding philosophical terms, Hegel's political theory thus contains all essential elements of fascism, racialism, nationalism, the leadership principle, Government by authority rather than consent ,and above all the idealization of power as the supreme test of human values.

Hegel in his thought has turned the edge of the principle of freedom by identifying freedom with obedience. He turned the edge of the principle of equality by identifying equality with discipline. He turns the edge of individual personality by treating human beings as merely conduit pipes of the divine energy and merging them in the state.

To speak of the truth all that Hegel attempted in his thought as the core was, he had before his eyes the picture of Germany after the Battle of Jena, which was hopelessly miserable . He wanted Germany to stand and arise and become a world spirit. In other words, it should have its domination all over the world.

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Estimate Hegel as a important political thinker.

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26.9 Key words

Deliverance	Rescue from anything
Hegemony	Political Authority, Political domination Engendered Give rise to Peasants Farmers, Farming people
Orthodox	one who gives importance to his religious or personal views
Stuttgart	Place where Hegel was born
Theology	Science or subject which teaches God and divinity
Jacobinism	Extreme Democratic club of France in 1789
Scepticism	philosophy where doubt is the care
Mysticism	One who seeks direct communication with God, Taking any argument to a level above man to God.
Fallible	One who is liable to commit mistakes
Cyclical	Continuous
Omni-Potent	All powerful

Intrinsically	Inherent, inbuilt
Grudging	Unwilling to give or unwilling to allow
Manifestations	Revealing or expressing clearly without Doubt
Genuine	Original ,real
Garbed	outer cover, dressing something with a outer cover

26.10 Some useful books

William Ebenstein	Great Political Thinkers. Plato to the Present
G.H.Sabine	A History of Political Theory
John.H. Hallowell	Main Currents in Modern Political Thought
W.M.Mc Govern	From Luther to Hitler
R.G. Gettel	History of Political Thought
C.L Wayper	Political Thought
L.T. Hobhouse	The Metaphysical Theory of the State
C.E.M.Joad	Modern Political Theory
Subrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy	A History of Political Thought- Plato to Marx
R.P. Sharma	Modern Western Political Thought- From Hobbes to the Present Day.

26.11 Answers to check your Progress exercises

Check your Progress-1

- a) See section 26.1 and 26.2
- b) See section 26.4

Check your Progress-2

- a) See subsection 26.5.1 and 26.5.2
- b) See section 26.6

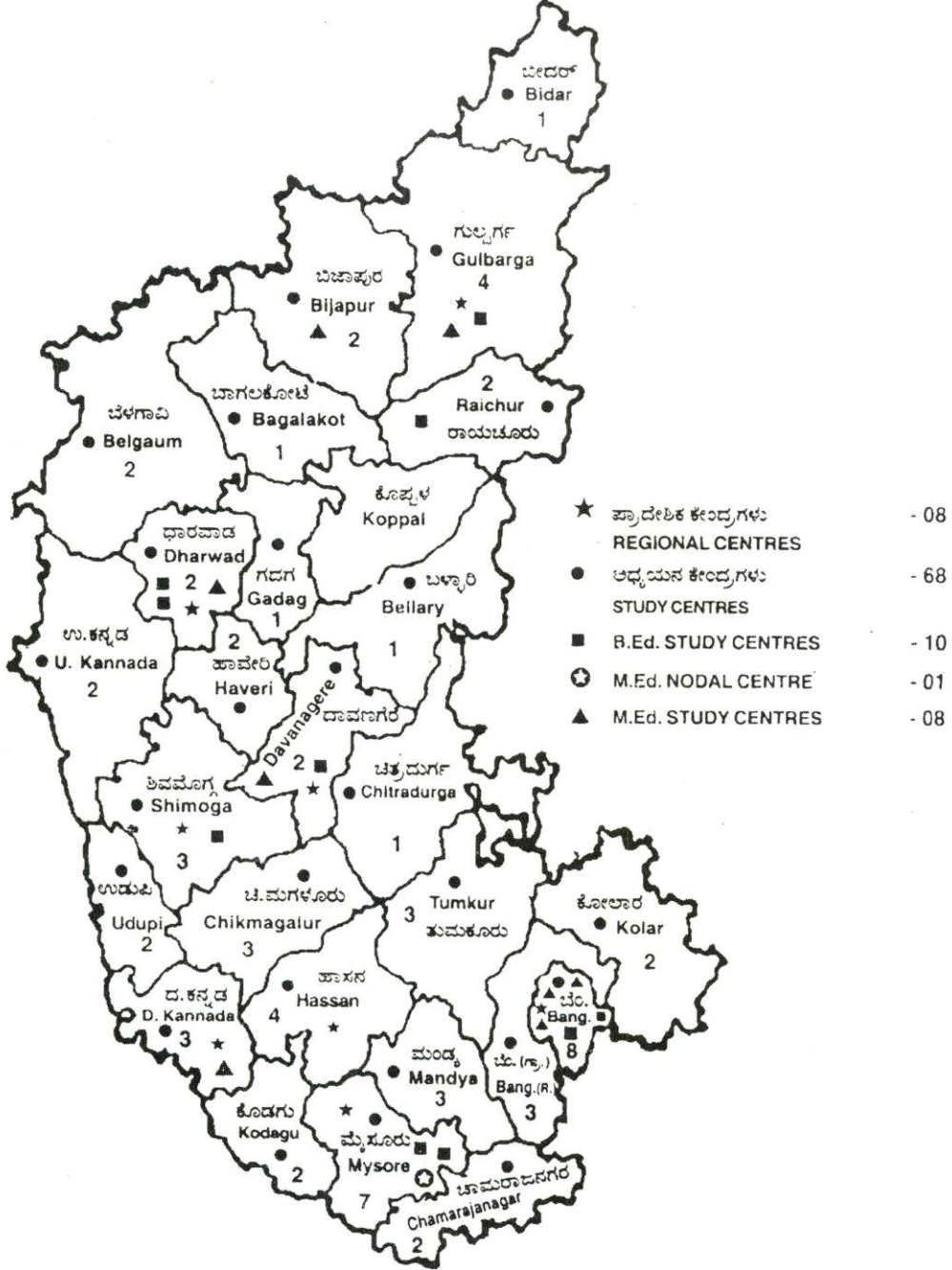
Check Your Progress-3

- a) See section 26.8

NOTES

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ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳು
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ನಮೂದಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
(The Number indicate the total number of study Centres existing in that districts.)



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