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JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV  
PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

(Established by Act No. 19 of 2019 of the Legislature of State of Punjab)

**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**

**CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**(BLAB33504T) POLITICAL THOUGHT**

**SEMESTER V**

**Head Quarter: C/28, The Lower Mall, Patiala-147001**

**WEBSITE: [www.psou.ac.in](http://www.psou.ac.in)**

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**PREFACE**

Jagat Guru Nanak Dev Punjab State Open University, Patiala was established in December 2019 by Act 19 of the Legislature of State of Punjab. It is the first and only Open University of the State, entrusted with the responsibility of making higher education accessible to all, especially to those sections of society who do not have the means, time or opportunity to pursue regular education.

In keeping with the nature of an Open University, this University provides a flexible education system to suit every need. The time given to complete a programme is double the duration of a regular mode programme. Well-designed study material has been prepared in consultation with experts in their respective fields.

The University offers programmes which have been designed to provide relevant, skill-based and employability-enhancing education. The study material provided in this booklet is self-instructional, with self-assessment exercises, and recommendations for further readings. The syllabus has been divided in sections, and provided as units for simplification.

The University has a network of 110 Learner Support Centres/Study Centres, to enable students to make use of reading facilities, and for curriculum-based counseling and practicals. We, at the University, welcome you to be a part of this institution of knowledge.

Dr. G.S. Batra  
Dean Academic Affairs



**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)  
CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE  
SEMESTER – IV  
(BLAB33504T) POLITICAL THOUGHT**

MAX. MARKS: 100  
EXTERNAL: 70  
INTERNAL: 30  
PASS: 40%  
Credits: 6

**Objective:**

The aim of this course is to provide an introduction to the students about different concepts and ideas of various Western and Indian philosophers.

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PAPER SETTER/EXAMINER:**

1. The syllabus prescribed should be strictly adhered to.
2. The question paper will consist of three sections: A, B, and C. Sections A and B will have four questions each from the respective sections of the syllabus and will carry 10 marks each. The candidates will attempt two questions from each section.
3. Section C will have fifteen short answer questions covering the entire syllabus. Each question will carry 3 marks. Candidates will attempt any 10 questions from this section.
4. The examiner shall give a clear instruction to the candidates to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.
5. The duration of each paper will be three hours.

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATES:**

Candidates are required to attempt any two questions each from the sections A, and B of the question paper, and any ten short answer questions from Section C. They have to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.

**SECTION – A**

1. Plato: Concept of an Ideal State, Concept of Justice
2. Aristotle: Concept of State and its classification, Concept of Revolution.
3. Machiavelli: Statecraft, Relationship between Ethics and Politics.
4. J. S. Mill: Revision of Utilitarianism, Concept of Liberty.
5. Karl Marx: Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Concept of Class Struggle.

**SECTION – B**

1. Kautilya: Views on State, Kingship and Inter-state Relations.
2. Guru Nanak Dev: Concept of State, Concept of Social Justice.
3. M N Roy: Concept of Radical Humanism, Concept of Democracy.
4. M. K. Gandhi: Views on State, Concept of Satyagraha, Theory of Ends and Means.

5. B. R. Ambedkar: Views on Caste System, Safeguards for Minorities.

**Suggested Readings:**

1. William Ebenstein: Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present, Delhi, Oxford and IBM Publishing Co. 1973.
2. George H Sabine: A History of Political Theory, New Delhi. Oxford and IBM Publishing Co. 1973.
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6. Ashutosh Lahiry: Gandhi in Indian Politics, Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1976.
7. V.P. Verma: Modern Indian Political Thought Agra, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers), 1971.
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10. K. John Pularampil (ed): Indian Political System –A Reader in Continuity and Change, N.V. Publications, New Delhi, 1976.
11. K.P. Karunakaran: Indian Political Thought (1832-1921), The Peacock Press, New Delhi, 1976.



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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**

**CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**COURSE (BLAB33504T): POLITICAL**  
**THOUGHT**

**COURSE COORDINATOR- DR. SUKHPAL KAUR**  
**SEMESTER - IV**

**SECTION A**

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Unit 4	J. S. Mill: Revision of Utilitarianism, Concept of Liberty.
Unit 5	Karl Marx: Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Concept of Class Struggle.

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Unit 7	Guru Nanak Dev: Concept of State, Concept of Social Justice.
Unit 8	M N Roy: Concept of Radical Humanism, Concept of Democracy.
Unit 9	M. K. Gandhi: Views on State, Concept of Satyagraha, Theory of Ends and Means.
Unit 10	B. R. Ambedkar: Views on Caste System, Safeguards for Minorities.

**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**  
**SEMESTER V**  
**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 1 PLATO: CONCEPT OF IDEAL STATE, CONCEPT OF JUSTICE**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 1.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2 Key Words
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- 1.4 Early life and Career
- 1.5 Works
  - 1.5.1 Check your Progress I
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  - 1.9.1 Long Answer Questions
  - 1.9.2 Short Answer Questions
- 1.10 Suggested Readings

**1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce the readers to Plato's concept of Ideal State and concept of Justice through his works and ideas. After reading it, the readers would be able -

- To understand Plato's concept of ideal state and concept of justice
- To analyze the features of justice and his ideal state



- To examine the practicability of Plato's Ideal state and the Implementation of his concept of Justice in it.

## **1.2 KEYWORDS**

Justice, Totalitarianism, Philosopher King, Deductive

## **1.3 INTRODUCTION**

In the development of Ancient Greece Political Thought, Sophists and Socrates had played the role in the dissemination of political ideas, but no one of them can be described as a systematic political thinker. This title applies very appropriately to Plato. He is the first Greek writer to have written systematic treatises dealing with political problems. Socrates (469-399 BC), his mentor did not produce any writing; the main source of understanding his political thoughts are Plato's works. So, for all practical purposes, Plato is the pioneer of Western Political Thought.

## **1.4 EARLY LIFE AND CAREER**

Plato, the philosopher, politician, poet, reformer, mathematician, and Kingsman of Solon was born at Athens in 427 B.C and died in 347 B.C. He was born in an Aristocratic family of Athens. His early name was Aristocles, later it was supplanted by the nickname 'Plato'. His life covers one of the most troubled periods of Greek history as he witnessed the defeat of Athens in her war against Sparta, the tyrannical rule of reactionary oligarchs, the restoration of democracy which executed his beloved master Socrates and then the decline of city states. These all events had left their mark on every phase of thought which ultimately had led to change the course of his life. From the very beginning, he had decided to embrace a political career at Athens but the execution of his beloved Guru, Socrates shocked him and produced in him a repulsion from this career. It filled Plato's mind with a scorn for democracy. He realized that when incompetent people had become rulers merely through the skills of orators, they did not hesitate to execute the wisest man of their land only to save their ill earned position. It led him to a firm resolve that democracy must be destroyed. It must be replaced by the rule of the wisest and the best. Soon he left Athens and proceeded to see the world for himself. He went to Egypt, Sicily, Italy, and many other countries. He returned to Athens and set up the Academy for the systematic pursuit of philosophy and scientific research. It might be regarded as the first university of the ancient world, which has produced many brilliant philosophers including Aristotle. By this time, he had turned to be a great philosopher and started writing his monumental work *The Republic* which is regarded to be masterpiece on philosophy.

In 387 BC Plato received an invitation from King Dionysius of Syracuse, capital of Sicily to convert his kingdom into the ideal state. Plato accepted this invitation but his efforts to train a tyrant to become a genuine Philosopher failed. Plato devoted himself to philosophical study and writings until he died at the age of 80 after leaving a number of philosophical works at his credit.

## **1.5 WORKS**

Plato was a prolific writer and left several philosophical works. Most famous among them were *Apology*, *Crito*, *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *The Republic*, *The Statesman*, *The Law* etc.

### **1.5.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I**

1. Describe the major influences on Plato's life.

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2. Discuss the major writings of Plato.

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## **1.6 CONCEPT OF IDEAL STATE**

Plato, who is also known as a father of idealism, portrays an ideal state in his *Republic*. He depicts the model of the best state- "The state as a type". He was not worried about the practicability of the institutions he proposed for his ideal state. He was interested to show what in principle and in theory the state ought to be. He conceptualize an ideal state in order to understand the nature of the state. In fact, Plato found the contemporary politics of his day dominated by ignorance and political selfishness. He wanted to construct an ideal state in which justice would prevail. There will be three class polity based on the scheme of separation of functions and specialization of the job under perfect rulers having their souls subjectively refined by means of a very long course of education and practical training and objectively purified by a stern order of communistic life. He admitted many times that his ideal state based on Rule of philosophy is difficult to realize. In fact he was trying to show what in principle a state must be, if the facts are not like the principles, so much the worse for the facts. Like an artist, Plato depicted the picture of his ideal state. He made complete break away from the existing Greek institution. It is the literary manifestation of the Socratic doctrine that reality inheres in idea of a thing. His ideal state is an idea which according to Plato can exist without being realized in the concrete actual states.

### **1.6.1 FEATURES OF IDEAL STATE**

The following are the characteristics features of Plato's ideal state

1. **Rule of Philosopher** - Political power and philosophical knowledge should go hand in hand. When these two will get united in same hands, the cities will have rest from afflictions. Ideal

state will be governed by philosophy. Rulers who is lover of truth and always has passion for reality. His mind is not to be influenced by fear, greed or personal passion. His philosopher is not the devoted seeker for wisdom but its proud possessor. By the rule of philosophy, he infact means the rule of intellect where Socratic doctrine of 'Knowledge is Virtue', is fully realized in its institutional form Plato said. "Until philosopher are Kings or Kings and Princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy- Cities will never have rest from evils". Thus, Ideal state will be governed by Rule of Intellect.

2. **Justice-** Ideal state's foundation is based on justice. It is simply the will to fulfil the duties of one's station and not to interfere with the duties of another station. It is the original principle laid down at the foundation of state. Justice in Plato means very nearly what we mean by morality. It is another name of the 'Whole duty of man'.
3. **Three classes in the state** - There are three classes in the Plato's state. Human soul according to Plato, contains three elements- Reason, Spirit and appetite. Corresponding to these three elements in human nature, there are three classes in social organism- Philosopher class which is the representative of reason, auxiliaries, 'a class of warriors and defenders of the country and producers who consist of farmers and artisans at the lowest rung of the ladder.
4. **State controlled education** - For Plato, education is the positive means by which the ruler moulds the character of individual and generate in them unselfish devotion to their specific duties so it must be controlled by the state. Plato sees in education the only true way to the permanent stability of state. It is an essential instrument to realize justice. It is through this system of education that classification of society takes place by ascertaining the abilities and capabilities of individuals and allot them to their respective stations of life.
5. **Based on Communism** - Plato's communism applies only to the Guardian class, that is for rulers and soldiers. His communism has taken two forms. The first is abolition of private property which includes everything- Houses, land and money and the second in abolition of family. Plato had an excessive distrust of human nature. Despite of so much of education and training, Plato was not convinced that education had accomplished its task. For this remaining task, he advocated communism as a sure remedy.
6. **Principle of functional Specialization** - It is prevailed in the ideal state. Each individual has some special endowment and aptitude in virtue of which he has a specific contribution to make to the life of the community. He should discharge that function with single minded devotion. Since the sphere of activity for all classes are demarcated. So, no class is supposed to interfere with the sphere of other class.
7. **Control over Art and Literature** - In his state, there is censorship on all literary and artistic works in order that "nothing of bad moral influence might fall into the hands of the young".

The youth should not be allowed to be mis-led by the wrong literature. Rulers themselves will decide which kind of literature is good for the development of society.

- 8. Equality between Males and Females** - There is equality among men and women, \and women are given equal status with men. Women will not be confined to four walls of the house. They have full liberty to get education and also allowed to hold public offices along with men. Plato wanted to realize the idea of good in his ideal state. His state is literary manifestation of Socrates doctrine that reality inheres in idea of thing and it is an idea which according to Plato can exist without being realized in concrete actual states.

### **1.6.2 CRITICISM**

His theory of ideal state may be criticized on following grounds:

1. **It is Utopian** - It is a city of no-where, a city laid up in the heavens and not on this earth. It all makes Plato's visionary philosopher fondly endeavoring to actualize the ideal picture of a super state possible for the divines only. It is an idea that cannot be applied.
2. **State is to serve the human beings.** But Plato's state demands sacrifice only. Plato's classes in the social life on the basis of functions are impracticable. These classes are the result of education system learning capabilities get change from time to time. He reserves ruling chains for the philosophers. He prefers intelligence but ignores characters. It is not necessary that a philosopher being intelligent person will be definitely a man of good moral character. He also bans arts and literature in his ideal states which can play a significant role in character building.
  - His concept of rule of philosophy is against the democracy, equality, freedom etc. His concept of philosopher king is the most utopian idea of Plato. At no time in the history of the world such a philosopher king has ever been in power. Hence Plato's ideal state with its philosopher king cannot and does not exist on the earth
  - Plato gives the ruling power to the one or few and not to law. It leads to tyrannical government which runs counter to Athenian democracy. Tyranny was the most despised of all forms of government state is for serving people and its rulers must be representatives of the ruled.
  - He is silent to reject slavery and fails to provide any Constitution. There is not systematic structure of legislature, executive, local government, human Rights etc.

### **CONCLUSION-**

When all is said, one must admit that Plato is correct when he says that Politics is an art and the Person who is well versed in the art of ruling, means only competent person should rule. A person who possesses scientific knowledge is competent. Above all he has ethicized the politics.

He emphasized the state is a moral institution. He has also established his Academy to train his rulers. He said that his ideal state is utopia whose pattern was laid perhaps in heaven. He wanted to set a pattern as to what 'a state should be'.

### **1.6.3 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II**

1. Explain the concept of Ideal state.

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2. Discuss the Features of Plato's Ideal State

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### **1.7 CONCEPT OF JUSTICE**

Justice, having its like meaning in the term, 'righteousness' is the hinge of Plato's political thought contained in *the Republic*. The subtitle of this work "Concerning Justice" is the very sign of the extraordinary importance that Plato attaches to the end of Ideal state-Justice. It has ethical and philosophic character and not merely the quality displayed in legal acts commonly described as just. It simply means that one individual should perform only one function and the function that is best suited to his natural attitude without meddling with the function of another.

Plato's Justice is the true principle of social life in Republic. The central question of the Republic was the meaning of Justice or right conduct of morality. In his contemporary world, Plato saw 'Stasis' everywhere. He saw unrighteousness rampant and injustice enthroned. He observed supreme ignorance was parading in the guise of knowledge. He held Athenian democracy responsible for the death of Socrates. He was also aware of the political selfishness which had generated chaos and tensions in the body-politic of the day. He found in justice, the remedy for curing these evils.

#### **1.7.1 EXISTING THEORIES OF JUSTICE**

Before Plato, many theories of justice were prevalent. He tries to review a number of traditional theories to justice which represented successive stages in the growth of notions about morality and justice. He rejects all these theories one by one and propounds his own theory of justice. These are the followings:

**1. The Traditional theory of Justice:** - This theory was developed by Cephalus, a metic living in the peiraeus and the father of the orator (ysian). A changed position of defense was taken by his son Polemarchus, Cephalus define justice as “speaking truth and paying debt”. Carrying the point further, Polemarchus adds that justice being an art means “doing good to friends and bad to enemies”. But Plato refutes the argument on the ground that justice is not an art or a technique but a quality of soul and habit of mind connoting an idea of service to the whole society. To make real distinction between a friend and a foe cannot be possible. Moreover, doing evil to anybody, including our enemies is inconsistent with the conception of morality.

**2. Radical concept of Justice:** - This was represented by Thrasymachus who defines justice as ‘the interest of the stronger’. It identifies justice with Potentia, means Might is Right. Taking a changed position Thrasymachus holds that ‘Injustice is better than Justice as it brings wisdom, power and happiness’. Rejecting all such contentions on the ground Plato said that they represent ethical nihilism and that they would create division and hatred. The ruler who presides over the destiny of the government is an artist and the object of every art is well being of its material. So ruler acts in accordance will his art and in doing so, he is absolutely unselfish, secondly justice is always believe than injustice.

**3. The Pragmatic Concept of Justice:** - Plato takes up the pragmatism of Glaucon who regards justice as ’the interest of the weaker”. It is the child of fear. But rejects it on the ground of being based on fear and having an artificial or conventional character. Instead, he contends justice is nothing but internal, natural and resides in human soul.

### 1.7.2 PLATO’S THEORY OF JUSTICE

Justice is the very foundation of Plato’s Political Philosophy. He strikes an analogy between Human organism and social organism. Human organism contains three elements- Reason, Spirit and Appetite. Corresponding to these three elements in human nature, three classes are to be seen in social organism-Philosopher or Ruler class which represents reason; auxiliaries, a class of warriors and defenders of Country, representative of courage and produce, consists of farmers and artisans at the lowest rung of the ladder, also representative of appetite.

<b>Human organism</b>	<b>Social organism</b>
Reason	Ruling class
Courage	Soldiers
Appetite	Producers

The ruling class earmarked for ruling over the people are supposed to acquire more knowledge and wisdom and to command the authority for the betterment of society. Likewise, defenders, who are concerned with the defence of the state, should always be prepared to assist the ruling class in

the discharge of their duties. Similarly producing class should whole heartily devote themselves to the task of production. Socially justice is a political consciousness that makes a state internally harmonious and good. Plato's conception of justice was a thesis against the individualism, preached by contemporary thinker which had created almost anarchic conditions in the Greek society of that day. It is another name of the "whole duty of man".

Justice is a sort of specialization. It is simply the will to fulfil the duties of one's station and not to meddle with the duties of another station. True justice consists in principle of non-interference. It channelizes the energy of each of members and each of its classes in such a way that they do not come into conflict with each other. Through justice, Plato wanted to establish a harmoniousness society here there is unity but not uniformity. According to Plato, state is individual writ large.

### **1.7.3 CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF PLATO'S JUSTICE**

Plato's justice is based on the principle of non-interference. It means that each one is to do one's own business and not to meddle in the affairs of others.

1. Plato's justice is not artificial or external but internal as well as eternal foundation which is based on the spirit of self-restraint.
2. Plato's concept of justice is not legal but moral and universal in nature.
3. It is based on the principle of specialization of functions.
4. It is based on the principle of harmony. Human virtue is divided into wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice. The first three he assigns one to each class. These remains justice. The task of justice is to harmonize the three virtues.

### **1.7.4 CRITICISM OF PLATO'S THEORY OF JUSTICE**

1. Plato's theory of justice is not legal but moral. It fails to establish peace and order in the society as it does not deal with the clash of interests. It is not enforceable. It is too subjective and hence it is no justice at all.
2. It is system of duties and not of rights individual rights are sacrifice at the alter of duties. It expects excessive devotion from the individuals towards state.
3. All round development of individual is not possible as Plato's justice is based on the principle "one man, one work" when the individual possesses all the three element- Reason, Courage and Appetite. He should develop all these faculties but Plato would confine one class of the individuals to one faculty only. This attitude amounts to reducing the individual to 1/3 of his personality.
4. Plato's theory of justice gives monopoly of power to the philosopher king. It is inappropriate to give absolute power to the rulers. Concentration of unlimited power in the hands one class

is bound to demoralize that class sooner or later and thus corrupt the state, it leads to totalitarianism.

5. It is not possible to apply Plato's justice on modern states as population runs in crores in modern times. It is not possible to divide the whole population in three classes and then assign their roles in the society.

### **1.7.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III**

1. Discuss the Plato's Concept of Justice and discuss three existing theory of Justice.

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2. Explain the characteristic of Plato's theory of justice.

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### **1.8 CONCLUSION**

Despite of all the criticism, one should not forget that justice is the fundamental principle lying at the root of a well-ordered society. It is an ultimate answer to an extreme individualism. It is another name of 'whole duty of man'. His theory of justice has given birth to organic theory of state which later received its fullest exposition at the hands of Herbert Spencer.

### **1.9 QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE**

#### **1.9.1 LONG QUESTIONS**

1. Write a detail note on Plato Theory of justice?
2. Elaborate the concept and features of Ideal State?
3. Discuss traditional and radical theory of Justice?
4. Discuss the criticism of Plato's theory of Justice?

#### **1.9.2 SHORT QUESTIONS**



1. How does Plato define three elements of ideal state?
2. What is rule of Philosopher King in Plato's Ideal state?
3. Define three classes in the Plato's Ideal state?
4. Define the Pragmatic concept of Justice?

### **1.10 SUGGESTED READINGS**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**  
**SEMESTER V**  
**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 2: ARISTOTLE: CONCEPT OF STATE AND ITS CLASSIFICATION,  
CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION**

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**STRUCTURE**

- 2.1 Learning objectives
- 2.2 Keywords
- 2.3 Introduction
- 2.4 Early life and career
- 2.5 Works
- 2.6 Methodology
  - 2.6.1 Check your progress I
- 2.7 Concept of state
  - 2.7.1 Origin of state
  - 2.7.2 Nature of state
  - 2.7.3 Organic nature of state
  - 2.7.4 End of state
  - 2.7.5 Function of state
  - 2.7.6 Classification of state,
  - 2.7.7 Criticism of Aristotle's classification
  - 2.7.8 Check your progress II
- 2.8 Concept of revolution
  - 2.8.1 Different forms of Revolution
  - 2.8.2 General Causes of Revolution
  - 2.8.3 Particular Causes of Revolution
  - 2.8.4 Causes of Revolution in different types of states
  - 2.8.5 Remedies for Revolution
  - 2.8.6 Conclusion
- 2.9 Questions for practice
  - 2.9.1 Long Questions
  - 2.9.2 Short Questions

## 2.10 Suggested Readings

### **2.1. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce the readers to Aristotle's concept of state, its classification, and his concept of Revolution through his works and ideas. After studying this chapter, the readers would be able -

- To learn about Aristotle's concept of state, its origin, its nature as well as its purpose of state.
- To understand classification of states and its various forms of government.
- To analyze the concept of Revolution, causes of Revolution and safeguards from revolution.

### **2.2. KEYWORDS:**

Inductive, Teleological, Monarchy, Tyranny, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Polity, Democracy

### **2.3. INTRODUCTION:**

Aristotle who is called father of Realism, was an ancient Greek Philosopher. He was the first political scientist of great importance. The significance of Aristotle in the realm of western political thought is due to his great works on the science of state called politics. He was illustrious disciple of Plato and the tutor of Alexander the great. He made pioneering contributions to --all- fields of philosophy and science. He was also a teacher and founded his own school in Athens, known as the Lyceum. Aristotle's own thought shares many concerns with Plato, but Aristotle sought to build his philosophy on scientific foundation while Plato had relied on largely speculative method.

### **2.4. EARLY LIFE AND CAREER:**

Aristotle who was not an Athenian, was born in the year 384 BC at Stagira on the Macedonian Coast, on the fringe of Greek world where his father was a court Physician to the King of Macedon. The culture of Stagira which was scientific was different from that Greece proper. The environment of his home city greatly influenced him and he imbibed the spirit of scientific and realistic investigation. After spending eighteen years at Stagira, he migrated to Athens in order to study philosophy under Plato. Till the death of Plato in 347 B.C, he remained with Platonic Academy for twenty years. After Plato's death, Aristotle expected to be elevated to the

leadership of Academy. But because he was not native Athenian, so he was deprived of the position. This has left him in extreme disappointment.

In the year 342 B.C, on the invitation of King Philip, he went to Macedonian Court to take up the tutorship of the crown Prince Alexander who was only Thirteen years of age at that time. He remained there till Alexander, after the murder of his father was called to ascend the throne of Macedonia. He returned to Athens and set up his own philosophical school known as Lyceum. During this period, Aristotle devoted himself to the pursuit of a programme of investigation, speculation and teaching in almost every branch of knowledge. He died in 322 B.C. Contemporary political environment in the times of Aristotle was not much different that of Plato. It was a state of anarchy and war in the Greek city state. Like Plato, Aristotle also believed in the unity and stability of political life. His *Politics* seems clearly to have been intended primarily as a statesman's manual, a textbook for constitution makers. He is commonly called the father of political science.

### **2.5. WORKS:**

Aristotle dedicated the whole of his life to the cause of learning. There is no branch of knowledge which he had not touched. He wrote on almost every branch of human endeavour with equal mastery of his works in the field of political science. Aristotle's *Politics* stands out as his paramount and profoundly influential contribution. It has consistently illuminated the path for subsequent generations. Its content isn't confined to the realm of theory; it possesses significant practical applicability as well. Within this body of work, Aristotle meticulously dissects the prevailing maladies in Greek city-states and shortcomings in their political systems, offering concrete recommendations for averting impending perils. Later works of Aristotle, includes on *Monarchy*, *Constitutions*, *on Colonies* and *on Philosophy*.

### **2.6 METHODOLOGY:**

Aristotle's method for investigation is scientific, inductive, analytical observational as well as comparative. He was the first one to use comparative method. He also adopted teleological method. Aristotle thesis is that everything has its own essential substance or reality and it is through a careful method of observation and comparison that the reality may be discovered. His method is scientific in the sense that it goes from particular to general instead of general to particular. He starts with the 'things as they are, not with 'the things as they ought to be'. He is

one of the most realistic and empirical thinkers in the history of political thought. Aristotle's method is inductive. A true scientific method should always be inductive. Its conclusion should not be deduced from the abstract notions but on the existing conditions. It is also teleological which tries to explain the final cause of things. According to Aristotle, a thing's end is its nature. To understand the real nature of a thing it is essential to examine it in the stage of its fullest development.

**2.6.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I :**

Q1. What are the main works of Aristotle

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Q2. What is the methodology of Aristotle

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**2.7 CONCEPT OF STATE:**

In book *I* of the *Politics*, Aristotle deals with nature, origin and end of the state. Like his master Plato, Aristotle's aim was similar viz, the refutation of the theory of sophist that state exists by convention, i.e., that it exists simply because men had agreed by a contract that it should be and has no abiding claim upon the allegiance of its members. As against this view, he seeks to prove that state is a natural association.

**2.7.1 ORIGIN OF STATE:**

Aristotle's conception of the origin of the state is a unique contribution to political thought. He explains that origin of the state is to be found in the evolution of human society and state is a natural institution. He says that "Man by nature is a political animal and he who by nature and not by mere accident, is without a state, is either above humanity or below it. The state is man's

natural destination. He identifies the nature of a thing with the end towards which it is developing and this evolution takes place through stages.

In this growth of the state, family presents the first stage. The family is prior in time but the state is prior by nature. The family automatically comes into existence for the satisfaction of only biological needs and material wants but not able to satisfy all the needs.

Man's social instinct, his desire for community led to the natural extension of the family and the village came into existence. This is the second stage in this course of development of state. Being a wider society, the village is able to satisfy something more than supply of daily needs, meetings at least some primitive culture wants that the family is unable to satisfy. But still is not complete development because the self-sufficiency which men want to achieve is not yet ensured. Therefore, the evolution process still does not stop.

The last and final stage of evolution appears when several villages are united in a single community which is perfect and large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, then the state comes into existence. It originates in the bare needs of life and continuing in existence for the sake of good life, because it ensures self-sufficiency and promotes a good life. Thus, state is the highest form of association. It is a supreme association because it aims at the highest good which is more than the "best possible moral life of the citizens." The good at which every association aims is of an inferior nature, it is some particular good life includes moral and intellectual activities. The same point is also indicated in these words, "The state originated in the needs of bare life, it continues for the sake of good life".

### **2.7.2. NATURE OF STATE:**

For Aristotle, state is necessary as well as natural for human beings. He argues that a man cannot live alone. Man by nature is a social animal and his gregariousness always forces him to live in society. Because he is not self-sufficient, so he looks towards the society for support. State is natural, since nature always works for the best or what is best is the product of nature. State provides all the conditions and environment necessary for the development of the moral nature of the individual. One gets the best possible life to which an individual can aspire in the state. Since state is best, therefore it is product of nature. Since it is product of nature, therefore it is natural.

### **2.7.3. ORGANIC NATURE OF STATE:**

Aristotle regards the state is an organism. As an organism consists of different parts, in the same way state is the whole of which associations and individuals are the parts. By logic, the

whole is prior to the part. As in human organism, its various parts have significance and importance so long as they are parts of organism. In the same way, individuals are important as long as they are parts of the state. a hand is called a hand as long as it is part of the body but if it not a part of the body it cannot rightly be called a hand. Through his organic view of the state, Aristotle like Plato aims at unity.

#### **2.7.4. END OF THE STATE:**

According to Aristotle, the state does not exist merely to satisfy the material requisites of its citizens. It exists to promote a life of virtue and morality among its citizens. It comes into existence for the sake of good life. Good life includes three types of goods - external, physical and spiritual. External good includes wealth, slave, leisure etc. In the physical goods, he includes physical attainments, the development of health. In the spiritual goods, he includes the attainment of virtue and the development of morality.

#### **2.7.5. FUNCTIONS OF STATE:**

For Aristotle, the state is the supreme association. He refuses to regard the state as an association merely for the sake of alliance and security from injustice. He rejects the theory that function of state is merely to give protection to its individuals and maintain law and order in the society. Such a concept of negative functions of the state is unacceptable to him. He accepts that man is essentially good. The major function of the state is to bring out that goodness which is prevalent in him. The state has the most positive functions of promoting good. Its main role is to develop man's good faculties into a habit of good action. If the state does not perform this function, it is no longer a state. Hence like Plato, Aristotle also considers the state mainly an educational institution. Its aim is to prepare the citizens for the "life of leisure, in which man's highest good will be found". Fundamentally, it is a partnership of men for a life of virtue and not a society for the prevention of the mutual crime.

#### **2.7.6. CLASSIFICATION OF STATE:**

Aristotle's classification of states combines both quantitative and qualitative elements. It's quantitative because it considers the number of individuals wielding political power within a state, whether it's governed by one person, a few, or many. Simultaneously, it's qualitative because it takes into account the purpose and ethos of the government. These two factors form the basis of Aristotle's categorization of states, with the latter factor distinguishing between pure and corrupted forms of states and governance. Aristotle contends that a state's existence is not self-serving; rather, it exists for the collective well-being of the entire community. A state is considered normal when it pursues this common good, but it is deemed perverted when it

fails to do so. Hence, Aristotle's classification of states encompasses both normal and perverted forms.

Based on the classification mentioned above, states can be categorized into six types, encompassing both normal and perverted forms:

Number	Normal	Perverted
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

According to Aristotle's classification, he considers polity as the most favorable form of government because it represents the rule of many for the common good. Conversely, in this classification, democracy is viewed as the least desirable form of government. In this aspect, Aristotle's views closely align with those of his teacher, Plato. In Plato's own classification scheme, he also deems democracy as the worst form of government, seeing it as fundamentally opposed to his ideal of rule by intellectual elites (aristocracy of intellect).

**2.7.7. APPRECIATION AND CRITICISM OF THE THEORY:**

Aristotle's theory about the origin of the state is multifaceted. It is primarily a historical theory, positing that the state's emergence is linked to an evolutionary process inherent in human nature. However, this theory overlooks several factors that contribute to state formation. It is not solely historical; it also possesses economic dimensions, as it traces the state's beginnings to the fulfillment of economic needs. Aristotle himself states that "the state comes into existence for the sake of life," meaning that initially, the state arises to meet the material necessities of human existence. But as the state endures, its purpose shifts towards the promotion of a good life, making the theory also ethical in nature. Furthermore, it encompasses elements of psychology since it is rooted in the social and gregarious nature of human beings. Aristotle's theory also delves into physiology, explaining the state's origin and development as connected to the human drive for propagation and the perpetuation of the human race. Lastly, his theory is teleological, as it asserts that the state is designed for a purpose — the preservation of life and the pursuit of a good life.

His organic concept of the state depicts it as a powerful entity that often disregards the concerns of individual citizens. This perspective falls short of providing a fully satisfactory explanation



for the nature of the state and cannot be relied upon as a trustworthy guide for state activities. Interestingly, this organic view has found more favor among conservatives and anti-democratic thinkers than among proponents of democratic ideologies.

Nevertheless, this concept isn't entirely devoid of merit. It fosters a collective awareness among citizens, encouraging them to collaborate toward a common goal. It promotes socialization among citizens, encouraging them to set aside their personal interests for the greater good. There's a growing recognition, even among inheritors of 18th and 19th-century liberal traditions, that the state should not merely function as a mechanism but should aspire to become a community built on both legal principles and fellowship.

Beneath the modern development of the welfare state lies the idea that society should have no marginalized individuals, that inequalities should be diminished, and that essential civilized amenities should be accessible to all. Aristotle's vision of the state, where its purpose is the comprehensive development of its citizens' personalities, has garnered acceptance from advocates of democratic principles.

In contemporary times, there is a growing recognition of the validity of Aristotle's vision for the purpose of the state. Modern states have expanded their roles beyond merely addressing basic material needs. Similar to Aristotle's philosophy, they now strive to achieve loftier objectives, such as fostering virtue and justice. This underscores the remarkable insight of Aristotle and deserves our utmost admiration.

While many political philosophers have drawn inspiration from Aristotle's classification of states, it's important to note that this framework, with some minor adjustments, has been embraced by scholars addressing this issue. Nevertheless, it's worth acknowledging that Aristotle's classification, although influential, is not all-encompassing and lacks provisions for mixed constitutions.

### **2.7.8. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II**

1. Explain Aristotle's concept of state.

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2. Explain Aristotle's classification of state.

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**2.8. CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION:**

Book no V of the *Politics* is developed to the discussions of causes and preventions of the Revolution. Aristotle had studied 158 Constitutions of Greek city states. Frequent changes had been taken place due to political instability. This instability of Greek city states was the outcomes of frequent revolutions. So, he proceeded to inquire into the causes and preventions of the Revolutions.

**2.8.1. DIFFERENT FORMS OF REVOLUTION:**

Aristotle defines a revolution as occurring when four types of changes take place in the system of government. Firstly, it happens when the change affects the constitution itself, such as transitioning from democracy to oligarchy, or vice versa, or moving towards constitutional government or aristocracy. Secondly, a revolution occurs without altering the constitution when individuals attempt to gain control of the administration, irrespective of the existing form of government, whether oligarchy, monarchy, or any other. Thirdly, a change may result in a difference of degree, like an oligarchy becoming more or less oligarchical or a democracy becoming more or less democratical, while maintaining characteristics of the respective government forms. Fourthly, a revolution may be directed against a portion of the constitution only, e.g., the establishment or overthrow of a particular office.

**2.8.2. GENERAL CAUSES OF REVOLUTIONS:**

After discussing the various forms of revolution, Aristotle proceeds to describe their general causes. According to him, these causes become evident when we trace the source of a revolution. In this context, three aspects need consideration: understanding the feelings of those who initiate the revolution, comprehending the motives driving them, and identifying the origins of political disturbances and quarrels. The universal and predominant cause of

revolutionary sentiment is the desire for equality. For instance, democracy arises from the belief that those equal in any aspect are equal in all respects, demanding absolute equality due to equal freedom. Conversely, oligarchy is based on the notion that those unequal in one aspect are unequal in all respects, considering themselves unequal in property. When people feel their share in governance doesn't align with their preconceived notions, revolutions ensue. The inferior members revolt to achieve equality, while equals aim to become superiors, fueling the impulse to create revolutions. Additionally, motives like the desire for gain and honor or the fear of dishonor and loss, compel individuals to initiate revolutions. Authors of revolutions seek to divert punishment or dishonor from themselves or their associates. Aristotle identifies seven specific causes as the motives and dispositions responsible for such revolutionary acts. These are considered by him as the particular causes of revolutions.

### **2.8.3. PARTICULAR CAUSES OF REVOLUTIONS:**

Aristotle identifies several specific causes that can lead to revolutions.

- **Insolence and Avarice:** When magistrates become arrogant and greedy, conspiring against each other and the constitution, seeking personal gains at the expense of individuals or the public, it creates discontent and rebellion. Men who feel dishonored, witnessing others receiving honors unjustly or undeservedly, may also rise in revolt.
- **Love of Superiority:** When one or more individuals wield excessive power, surpassing the capacity of the state and government, it can result in the establishment of a monarchy or oligarchy within a family. Such situations lead to resentment among the public and trigger revolutions.
- **Fear:** Fear can cause revolutions when people commit wrongdoings and anticipate punishment, prompting them to initiate a revolution to divert attention from their misdeeds. It can also arise from the fear of aggression by others, leading individuals to start a revolution preemptively.
- **Contempt:** In oligarchies, where political power rests in the hands of a few, the majority may revolt due to their belief that they are stronger. In democracies, the rich may despise disorder and anarchy, leading to revolutionary actions.
- **Disproportionate Increase:** If any class, such as the rich or poor, experiences disproportionate growth within the state, it can lead to dissension and revolutions as they try to offset each other's dominance.

- **Election Intrigues:** Revolutions can be triggered by contests in the election process, leading to resentment among those who feel deprived of their usual means of selecting their favored candidates.
- **Carelessness and Neglect:** Negligence in allowing disloyal individuals to hold high offices or neglecting seemingly trivial matters can contribute to revolution.
- **Dissimilarity of Elements:** When races or groups with diverse interests and beliefs are unable to find common ground, it may result in unrest and revolutionary tendencies.
- **Trifling Matters:** Sometimes, seemingly insignificant issues concerning rulers or influential figures can escalate into major problems and lead to revolutions.

Aristotle advises that vigilance should be exercised to prevent the initial sparks of such issues from growing into substantial causes of revolution. Minor errors and disputes should be addressed early on to avoid larger conflicts. Ultimately, Aristotle believes that an equitable social and economic order, avoiding extreme class rule, leads to the best political community and contributes to stability in the state.

#### **2.8.4. CAUSES OF REVOLUTIONS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF STATES:**

Aristotle applies his doctrines regarding the causes of revolutions to each specific form of constitution, namely democracy, oligarchy, polity, and aristocracy. Through a thorough examination, he reveals the manner in which these forms of government can be undone. This approach exemplifies the observational and comparative methods used in the study of political science, making Aristotle the pioneer in this field. His investigation draws upon historical sources, providing valuable insights into Greek politics.

Although Aristotle's analysis is rooted in the conditions of Hellenic politics, some of the causes of revolutions he identified remain pertinent today. For instance, in democracies, revolutions often occur due to the intemperance of demagogues who exploit the populace by stirring up public sentiment against the wealthy. The overthrow of oligarchies is driven by both their tyrannical rule and internal personal rivalries that push them to behave like demagogues.

In aristocracies, revolutions arise when only a select few individuals hold power and honors within the state. If the majority of the people are high-spirited and believe themselves to be equal in worth to their rulers, revolutions are more likely to happen. In monarchies, revolutions can be sparked by the tyrannical behavior of the monarch towards the people or personal insults inflicted on notable figures, leading them to conspire and revolt against the ruler.

### **2.8.5. REMEDIES FOR PREVENTING REVOLUTIONS:**

According to Aristotle, there are several essential measures to prevent revolutions. First and foremost, it is crucial to be vigilant and prevent any beginnings of significant changes that may disrupt the existing order. Secondly, relying on political devices meant to deceive the people should be avoided, as they have proven ineffective through experience.

Thirdly, the governing classes should refrain from mistreating those excluded from the government and instead foster a sense of unity and leadership among them. Treating all citizens, whether ambitious or common, with fairness and equality is paramount. For large governing classes, restricting the tenure of office to six months is beneficial, ensuring equal opportunities for participation in the government.

Fourthly, fostering patriotism and a sense of alertness among the citizens is essential. The ruler should raise awareness of distant dangers to keep the people vigilant, like sentinels in a night-watch.

The fifth remedy involves preventing the disproportionate rise of any individual's power by offering moderate and sustained honors instead of sudden, excessive recognition. Laws should also guard against any individual amassing too much power, whether through friendships or wealth.

Sixthly, measures must be in place to prevent bribery among government officials. The state should be regulated in such a way that magistrates cannot profit from their positions.

Lastly, a well-adapted system of education is vital for the stability of the state. Citizens should receive education that aligns with the spirit of the state's constitution, creating harmony and understanding among the people.

### **2.8.6 CONCLUSION:**

By diagnosing the causes of revolutions and proposing these remedies, Aristotle has provided invaluable guidance to humanity. His pragmatic approach sheds light on the issue of revolutions and seditions in the state. Failure to heed his insights can lead to destruction and disaster, as seen in historical examples like the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917. The pages dedicated to this problem in the Politics serve as a handbook for statesmen for generations to come.

Upon explaining the various causes of revolution, Aristotle proceeds to offer remedies for preventing such upheavals.

## **2.9. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTISE:**

### **2.9.1 LONG QUESTIONS:**

1. Explain Aristotle theory of state?
2. Examine Aristotle's views on the origin of state and its functions?
3. Critically analyze Aristotle's theory of Revolution?

### **2.9.2 SHORT QUESTIONS:**

1. Describe Aristotle Early Life sketch and its works?
2. Describe Aristotle's organic nature of state?
3. Write a short note on Aristotle's classification of state?
4. Describe Aristotle's General causes of Revolution?

### **2.10 SUGGESTED READINGS:**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**  
**SEMESTER V**  
**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 3: MACHIAVELLI: STATECRAFT AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHICS  
AND POLITICS**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 3.0. Learning objectives
- 3.1. Key Words
- 3.2. Introduction
- 3.3. Early life and Career
- 3.4. Writings
- 3.5. Influences on Machiavelli
  - 3.5.1. Check your Progress I
- 3.6. Concept of Statecraft
  - 3.6.1. Check Your Progress II
- 3.7. Relationship between Ethics and Politics
  - 3.7.1 Check Your Progress III
- 3.8. Conclusion
- 3.9. Questions for Practice
  - 3.9.1. Long Answer questions
  - 3.9.2. Short Answer Questions
- 3.10. Suggested Readings

### **3.0. Learning objectives**

After reading this unit, you will be able to understand:

1. Influences on Machiavelli
2. Concept of Statecraft
3. Relationship between Ethics and Politics

### **3.1. Key Words**

Power, Ethics, Religion, Monarchy, Ruler, Government

**3.2. Introduction-** Niccolo Machiavelli was the first thinker to liberate political science or theory from the constraints of morality and religion. He had little interest in religious or morally upright values. Power and the practical or political interests of the state were his principal concerns. As a young boy who was unable to acquire a thorough education, Machiavelli was guided by his father to study the Latin classics, particularly those on Roman history. Machiavelli's political theories tended to encourage persons to become more methodical and rational in their political scheming. He therefore made a concerted effort to separate politics from all moral principles, with the exception of success in the formation and expansion of governmental power. His moral philosophy comments were made with the express purpose of paving the way for a wider acceptance of the statecraft he was required to teach. He receives a lot of harassment because of his sympathies towards evil. He is well renowned for this throughout the entire world.

**3.3. Early life and Career -** Niccolo Machiavelli was born in a low-income household in Florence, Italy, around 1469. His father practised law. Contrary to many other well-known individuals of the Italian Renaissance, nothing is known about Machiavelli's early years. His father Bernado was a lawyer with connections to the well-known humanist groups in the city. He began studying Latin and Cicero's humanistic works at a young age. These works concentrated on many moral dilemmas, such as the sacrifice of personal interests for the welfare of the community, and offered guidance on how to choose a virtuous course in order to achieve glory. The period from 1498 to 1512 accurately captures Machiavelli's existence. He entered public life when he joined the front-line diplomatic service after completing his schooling at the University of Florence. Later, he was chosen as the Republic of Florence's second chancellor and worked tirelessly to further Florence's interests in international relations, the military, and government.



He visited France, Siena, the Papal Court, the German ruler, and Cesare Borgia on diplomatic business. Machiavelli admired Borgia for his ruthless and audacious leadership. In addition, Machiavelli advised Piero Soderini, who succeeded the Medici family as gonafaloniere. He had plenty of opportunities to learn about and understand how actual politics functioned as a result. Machiavelli's political career came to an end in 1512 when the Republic of Florence undertook a coup d'état under the leadership of Medici. On the grounds of conspiracy, Machiavelli was demoted from his position and given the order to be jailed and tortured. After receiving amnesty later, he dedicated *The Prince* to Lorenzo II de' Medici as a sign of appreciation. He remained there up until his dying on June 22, 1527.

**3.4. Writings:** Machiavelli's main writings are as follows:

*The Prince* (1513)

*The Discourses* (1516)

*The Art of War* (1521)

*The History of Florence* (1525)

**3.5. Influences on Machiavelli-** Machiavelli since his early life has been influenced by number of factors which can be seen in his philosophy. Some of the factors which influenced the thinking and philosophy of Machiavelli deserve mention under the following headings-

- (a) The political climate in Italy at the time of Machiavelli's writing:** The Italian peninsula was at war constantly between a number of tiny but autonomous states. These states had various types of governments; some of them were republics, while others were headed by despots. These nations had undoubtedly been more consolidated by the beginning of the sixteenth century, but they were still broken up into five groupings, including the kingdom of Naples, Catholic Church, Milan Duchy, Republic of Venice, and Republic of Florence territory. In addition to the internal strife among these republics, the proximity of powerful nations like France and Spain to their borders posed a severe threat to their continued existence. Machiavelli fervently sought to bring these warring republics together and make them powerful enough to properly cope with the foreign power. Machiavelli authored works like *The Art of War*, *The Discourse on Livy*, and *The Prince* with this goal in mind, outlining the rules he wanted these states to abide by in order to thrive. Despite coming from Florence, a Republic, Machiavelli argued for a

strong leader who could unify the nation and drive out the foreign invaders. He favoured the gradual movement of authority away from the monarch's church and in particular saw the papacy as a major barrier to secularization.

- (b) Impact of Republic:** Machiavelli was significantly influenced from the Renaissance Movement, which promoted the restoration of traditional values and cultural practices. This movement not only brought back to life what had been ancient and lost during the Middle Ages, but it also sparked a new awareness of life, a new sense of freedom, and new standards of living. God was moved to the periphery of all research and made the focus of attention. This amounted to a form of uprising against the power of the Church. Machiavelli made a strong argument for the gradual transfer of authority from the church to the state, which makes the influence of the Renaissance on him clear.
- (c) Emergency of Strong Monarchies:** Machiavelli was profoundly influenced by the emergency of strong monarchs who had centralised all political power in their own hands, which had previously been held by businesses and feudatories. Although the mediaeval institutions of representation were doomed by the concentration of absolute power in the hands of the kings, Machiavelli found in it the sole solution for the unification of Italy.
- (d) Influences of contemporary writers:** Apart from these contemporary influences, Machiavelli was also influenced by the writings of Aristotle and Marsiglio. He learnt the idea of separation of ethics and politics from Aristotle. The other important things which he borrowed from Aristotle were the idea that the state was the highest organization of human beings. Likewise, he felt the influence of Marsiglio in so far, the idea of secularism and the political utility of religion are concerned.
- (e) Impact of Renaissance-** To comprehend the full importance of Machiavelli's writings and their context, it is important to understand the series of cultural, economic, social and political changes that began in the fourteenth century called the Renaissance. Its immediate impact was in Italy, which gradually spread to the rest of Europe by the late fifteenth century. The Renaissance signified a rebirth of the human spirit in the attainment of liberty, self- confidence and optimism. More than anybody else, it is Machiavelli who could understand the dynamics of this Renaissance.

### **3.5.1 Check your Progress I**

**1. Name some of the important works of Machiavelli?**

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**2. What were the key determinants that influenced Machiavelli's political philosophy?**

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**3.6. Concept of Statecraft**

Machiavelli has been a controversial figure for his ideas. Indeed, Machiavelli's advice to the "Prince"(Ruler) on the subject of Statecraft has been a matter of debate and discussion. For understanding, Statecraft can be referred to as an art, methods or strategies that are employed to regulate affairs of the state. According to the Oxford Dictionary, statecraft is the skilful management of state affairs. The definition of statecraft in its broadest sense takes into account not only the administration of state affairs but also how such affairs are managed in light of the external dangers that a state encounters on a global scale. The two novels that deal with statecraft the most in Machiavelli's writings are "The Prince," which was released posthumously, and "The Art of War," which is also extensively read to comprehend his concept of statecraft. "The Prince" is a handbook on the "State craft". It is a book on the art of governance. It is in the form of advice and addressed to any ruler in the form of a manual book. Some significant aspects of the advice to the ruler are as follows:

- **End justifies the Means:** It is a very famous statement of Machiavelli. He believed that the highest level of human relationship is the state. Even when an individual is sacrificed, the state is to be venerated as a deity. A monarch must keep in mind that anything that leads to success and power is honourable, even cunning and shrewdness.
- **The state is sovereign, independent, and nonreligious:** According to Machiavelli, the state is superior to all groups in human society. Since it is sovereign and independent,

the prince cannot be bound by moral or religious principles. He is outside of morality and above it. He can achieve his goals by utilising religion. Politics cannot be influenced by religion, and the church cannot rule the government. In actuality, a sovereign state has complete authority over all people and organisations. Of all institutions, the state is the most essential. It is evaluated using entirely different criteria because it is on a whole different basis. Religion serves both the means and the instrument of state power. He claimed that politics is a separate endeavour with own rules and laws.

- **Use a two-tiered political system:** He used a two-tiered political system with one standard for the monarch and another for his subjects. He claimed that a ruler need not be moral. Because he created morality and law, his price is more than theirs. The basic responsibility of a ruler is to uphold the state. He may employ deception, conspiracies, assassinations, massacres, etc. to achieve this. As a result, Machiavelli advocates a dual morality.
- **A prince must combine both the qualities of a lion and a fox:** A prince must possess both the traits of a lion and a fox. Machiavelli counseled the ruler to emulate both traits. He will be able to see his goal and the means to get there by adopting the fox's cunning and foresight. He will have the necessary strength and force to accomplish that aim as the lion. A fox may be cunning and foresighted, but without the required force of a lion, he is helpless. Similar to how a lion would behave recklessly without the cunning and wisdom of a fox. Therefore, a monarch who wishes to be extremely successful must possess traits from both the lion and the fox. He must possess bravery of lion and cunningness of fox and physical force is necessary when there is anarchy and indiscipline.
- **Favoured tyrannical ruler:** Machiavelli did not advocate the republican system of government since it calls for moral, upstanding, and patriotic citizenry. Additionally, he suggested that the prince change his monarchy into a republic. If his heirs are dishonest and abuse their position of authority. According to Machiavelli, the state's foundation for governance is the idea that God did not create the state to punish people for their sins. According to Machiavelli, the foundation of the government is the frailty and inadequacy of men. Normal administration is not conceivable at all in a society where men are dishonest and selfish and the law has no power. To restore order to society, a superior force is required. The supremely powerful government curtails the excessive desires.

- **The prince must think about Human nature:** Machiavelli examined human activities with particular attention and described human nature, contending that a reasonable study of politics must start with a description of human nature. He believed that all men are terrible and that all men are a combination of weakness, ungraciousness, fear, and hunger for power. (1) One of the most notable characteristics of human nature is that human desires have no bounds. He is violent and egotistical. As a result, there is conflict and rivalry. (2) Security is a concern for the general public. Since they are aware that only the state's laws can provide security, they work with the government and follow the law. Therefore, a monarch who wishes to succeed must ensure that people are safe and protected. (3) People must be restrained by force because force breeds fear. The wicked tendencies in man can only be restrained and checked by force and repression. Therefore, force should be used to establish governance instead of persuasion. (4) Everyone is ambitious by nature and never really content. Nobody is happy with their place in life. He constantly seeks dominance. This urge results in the hostilities and wars. Therefore, human nature is egotistical, power-hungry, argumentative, and motivated by materialistic concerns. The only thing that ever works as a strong tie is fear of punishment.
- **Maintain a robust army:** He advised ongoing military readiness for state preservation. To counter any threat to his authority from both within and beyond, the prince should gather a powerful army. For a state to be able to defend itself, a strong, regular army was required. The government ought to make an effort to create a reliable, independent, and independent army. Such an army should be made up of its own people and be equipped to protect its boundaries as well as expand them. All capable individuals should be required to complete military training in order to serve in the armed forces.
- **Prince must make an effort to win his people's favour:** Prince should make an effort to win his people's favour, goodwill, and affection. By not taxing them, he should keep his subjects materially satisfied. Because people are conservative by nature, the prince should refrain from interfering with his people's long-standing customs and traditions. He shouldn't have a desire for money or for the women who are his own subjects. He needs to keep a close eye on his rebels.
- **A Prince must have a council of wise men:** Any state needed a strong central administration and internal cohesion. The prince must appoint competent members to his

council and should grant them complete freedom to advise him honestly. They must be questioned about everything, given their opinions, and then allowed to think things over on their own.

- **A prince must have council of wise men:** The prince should use the feelings of his subjects for the good of the state. He ought to be logical, opportunistic, and cool. He suggests that a prince should be able to behave like a beast.
- **Ordered state:** Machiavelli promoted absolute rule and a strong state in "The Prince". He supported absolutism because he had seen the disorder, lawlessness, corruption, and misgovernment that were prevalent in Italy at the time. He had seen how Florence had been taken by French King Charles VIII without any struggle. Machiavelli therefore favoured a well-run, well-organized, and militarily powerful state. Any country had no chance of surviving in world politics without a powerful state. He thought that the only defence against forces of both internal instability and external attack was an orderly state.

### 3.6.1. Check Your Progress II

1. Examine Machiavelli's advice to the Prince for maintaining a state?

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### 3.7. Relationship between Ethics and Politics

In order to determine the causes of the growth of Rome's imperial authority and its demise, Machiavelli examined the history of the Roman Empire. He had a strong desire to ensure the unification of the peninsula. After reading the works of the Roman historian Titus Livy, he became convinced that Florence might emulate Rome and achieve the same greatness. He also deduced that governance is an art and has nothing to do with morals from his study of the past. He believed that politics should be used to maintain and grow the political authority of the State. For that reason, he was always interested in the policies through which the problems of statecraft can be solved and subsequently can increase their power.

A clear line between politics and ethics was drawn by Machiavelli, and as a result, the latter was given a lesser status. He disregards the state's moral mandate. His view is that the state

is an end in and of itself, having its own interests. Everything is justified by the state's interests. The state lacks morals. Individual ethics should not be used to evaluate government activities. Machiavelli suggests that when exercising political authority, a ruler should put the interests of the state before moral or immoral considerations. Even in the use of violence, brutality, and bad faith, a ruler should not lag behind. While acknowledging the positive traits of a ruler, Machiavelli emphasised that he must also have the negative traits in order to be a successful leader. He claims that because public and private morality's goals may differ, it is not necessary for them to be the same for public morality to be the same as for private morality. As a result, Machiavelli advised using different standards of behaviour for the monarch and for each individual citizen.

Moral virtue is advantageous to the person but may or may not be advantageous to the prince. For instance, lying is never acceptable for an individual to do, but it is occasionally essential and beneficial for the ruler to do so for the benefit of the state, particularly when addressing issues with the state's internal and exterior security. The state, which has higher claim to a man's commitment, is the highest form of human connection. Although the state's acts are not moral or immoral, they are also just. Politics and ethics are completely separated under Machiavelli. Thus, Machiavelli gives greatest importance to political power and political expediency. He holds that religious and ethical principles have only a secondary role and in no way, they should be a hindrance to the exercise of political power.

One of Machiavelli's justifications for separating politics from ethics and religion was his claim that doing so is more accurate to the truths of human existence. He seeks to understand how a real political life, not an ideal one, actually functions. Instead, then focusing on how men should live, his goal is to look into how they actually do. He does not view the government as a tool for a decent life. He views the state as a dynamic force. The prince's job is to control this force in order to maintain and grow his authority. He takes the idea of separation of politics and ethics from his conception of human nature. His conception of human nature is as follows:

### **Machiavelli's conception of Human Nature**

Machiavelli's concept of Human Nature was identical to John Calvin and Thomas Hobbes. He shared their disbelief in the goodness of people and human nature. Machiavelli claimed that the person was evil, self-centered, and egoistic. He lacked underlying strength, was unappreciative, conceited, artificial, fearful of danger, and was very greedy. He was prepared to

act in a way that was harmful to the community because he lacked justice and honesty. An individual was only willing to do good when under duress or when there was a chance for personal gain. The person, who is fundamentally antisocial, anarchic, egocentric, greedy, and sensual, would gladly pardon his father's murder but never the taking of property. He aspires to wealth, fame, and power. In other places, Machiavelli noted that human behaviour was determined by the need for novelty, fear, and love. In order to ensure their own safety and the protection of their goods, individuals organise a government, with the strongest and most daring individuals serving as legislators and leaders. He shared Aristotle's view that justice and fairness were created by the state. Machiavelli conceived human beings as being basically restless, ambitious, aggressive and acquisitive, in a state of constant strife and anarchy. They were discontented and dissatisfied, for human needs were unlimited, but fortune limited their possessions and capacity for enjoyment. It's interesting to note that Machiavelli believed human nature was unchanging since history progressed cyclically, alternating between growth and degeneration. This made it possible to identify general rules of political behaviour with the aim of maximising gain. He noticed that there was little difference between how people lived and how they should have lived since, often, sacrificing what was to be done in favour of what should have been done sowed the seeds of destruction rather than preservation. To overcome this attitude of Human beings, Machiavelli suggested the separation between politics and ethics. He asserts that the monarch and the people are fundamentally different. Morality, he said, is crucial for humans. Only moral citizens voluntarily obey the law and give their life in defence of their country. Morality, however, is not essential for the monarch. He is superior to both because he established morality and law. The basic responsibility of a ruler is to uphold the state. He could employ deceit, a plot, murder, etc. for the benefit of the state. He claimed that in politics, absolute morality is neither achievable nor desirable. Without using a lot of force, a corrupt state cannot be transformed. Shock therapy is necessary to revitalise the most corrupt and degraded individuals.

### **3.7.1 Check Your Progress III**

1. Describe Machiavelli's conception of the Human Nature?

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2. Analyze Machiavelli's thought on ethics and politics.  
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### **Criticism**

First, Machiavelli argued that autocratic absolute rule is the Goal and power politics are the Means. Machiavelli's philosophy promotes absolutism and constrictive nationalism. Power politics cannot be stopped since they bring about despotism and war. This Machiavellian idea leads to absolutism and restricted nationalism. As long as power politics continue, despotism and war will result. Machiavelli ignored individualism i.e. individual liberty, equality, justice etc. He sacrificed individual at the alter of the state.

Second, Individualism, such as individual liberty, equality, and fairness, was ignored by Machiavelli. He sacrificed the individual for the state.

Third, according to Machiavelli, all men are deplorable. This portrayal of human nature is extremely biassed. He disregards the reality that men's social and cooperative inclinations form a large part of the foundation of civilization. One-sided perceptions of human nature, in Machiavelli's opinion, are always negative.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

Before Machiavelli, political power was only thought to be useful for achieving a few higher goals, such as justice, the rule of law, a happy life, and freedom, etc. He disapproved of the State's moral, religious, and cultural goals. He treated acquiring, retaining, and expanding political power as an aim in and of itself, focusing his research only on the appropriate techniques of doing so. He distinguished between the concepts of morality and religion and power. He distinguished clearly between political and religious values and viewed religion as a tool for advancing State objectives. By shaking the foundation of politics based on moral values,

Machiavelli set the tone for one of the main themes of contemporary times that accepted both secularization and amoralization of politics. Machiavelli's political theories tended to encourage persons to become more methodical and rational in their political scheming. He therefore made a concerted effort to separate politics from all moral principles, with the exception of success in the formation and expansion of governmental power. His moral philosophy comments were made with the express purpose of paving the way for a wider acceptance of the statecraft he was required to teach. He receives a lot of harassment because of his sympathies towards evil. He is well renowned for this throughout the entire world.

### **3.9 Questions for Practice**

#### **3.9.1 Long- Answer Questions**

1. Examine Machiavelli's concept of Human nature.
2. Analyse Machiavelli's thought on ethics and religion.
3. Machiavelli wanted to establish a strong "Monarch" comment?
4. Discuss Machiavelli as a modern political thinker.

#### **3.9.2 Short-Answer Question**

1. When was Machiavelli's "The Discourses" written?
2. Why is Machiavelli considered as the father of modern political theory?
3. What is the similarity between Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli's concept of Human Nature?
4. Why according to Machiavelli state as an apex institution?

### **3.10 Suggested Readings**

- Arora Prem, Grover Brij (2005). Selected Western and Indian Political Thinkers. Gurgaon: cosmos Bookhive
- Burckhardt, J. (1921): The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, S. middle more (Trans.), London, Allen & Unwin.

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- Mukherjee Subrata, Ramaswamy Sushila (2015). *A History of Political Thought Plato to Marx*. New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited.
- Sabine, GH. (1973): *A history of Political Theory*, 4 th ed., revised by T.L Thorson, New Delhi, oxford and IBH, First Published in 1937.
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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**  
**SEMESTER V**  
**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 4: J.S. MILL: REVISION OF UTILITARIANISM, CONCEPT OF LIBERTY**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 4.0. Learning objectives
- 4.1. Key Words
- 4.2. Introduction
- 4.3. Early life and Career
- 4.4. Writings
  - 4.4.1. Check your Progress I
- 4.5. Concept of Utilitarianism
  - 4.5.1. Revision of Bentham's Utilitarianism
  - 4.5.2. Criticism of Utilitarianism
  - 4.5.3. Check Your Progress II
- 4.6. Concept of Liberty
  - 1.6.1 Types of Liberty
  - 1.6.2 Criticism
  - 1.6.3 Check Your Progress III
- 4.7. Conclusion
- 4.8. Questions for Practice
  - 4.8.1. Long Answer questions
  - 4.8.2. Short Answer Questions
- 4.9. Suggested Readings

**4.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce readers to J.S. Mill's ideas on utilitarianism and liberty through his works and thinking. You ought to be able after studying this chapter:

- Learn about J.S. Mill's disagreements with Jeremy Bentham regarding utilitarianism
- His opinions on liberty
- Learn to critically evaluate his arguments.

#### **4.1. KEY WORDS**

Liberalism, Liberty, Utilitarianism, Individualism, Freedom, Equality, Natural Rights

#### **4.2 INTRODUCTION**

This section examines J. S. Mill's political philosophy, which was based on classical liberalism and promoted respect for and protection of individual rights. The utilitarian theory was amended by Mill since he also valued the type of pleasure that people can experience. According to Mill, utility must also be measured in terms of quality in addition to quantity. Mill united romanticism's historical and psychological insights with enlightened reason. According to Mill, the enlightenment philosophers reduced mankind to a far simpler state than it actually was, one that was also devoid of any emotion. He gave human happiness a qualitative component and gave enlightened ideals a dose of personality and culture. In Mill's opinion, women's voting rights would eventually make it possible to address more specialized forms of injustice, such as female work rights, property rights, or marital equality. He was the first to bring the public ideals of equality and fairness into the personal sphere of the family. According to Mill, a more just and responsible society would result from equality within the family. He held that the only way to attain utilitarian aims was for the government to create a civil society and support the spread of liberal ideas. J.S. Mill's views on individualism and liberty expressed in his famous work 'On Liberty' remains a contribution of interminable importance. Any contemporary political debate on the question of individual liberty with its connection to the larger society is incomplete without Mill. Mill's defence of individualism and liberty is an embodiment of his form of Utilitarianism. His emphasis upon the need to assess the idea of happiness both in quantitative and qualitative is one of his remarkable contributions in political thought.

#### **4.3 EARLY LIFE AND CAREER**

James Mill, a British historian, economist, and philosopher, had his firstborn son on May 20, 1806, in his Pentonville, London home. He only received an education from his severe disciplinarian father. By his eighth year, he had read the entirety of the historian Herodotus, Xenophon's Anabasis, and Aesop's Fables in the original Greek. He was familiar with the satire Lucian, the philosopher's historian Diogenes Laertius, the writer and educational theorist Isocrates from Athens, as well as six of Plato's dialogues. He had also read a lot of English-language

history. At the age of eight, he began studying Latin, Euclidean geometry, and algebra while also starting to tutor the younger members of the household. He continued to read primarily history, but he also read all the Latin and Greek literature that were taught in schools and universities. By the time he was ten, he was able to read Plato and the Athenian statesman Demosthenes easily. He started studying Scholastic logic thoroughly about the age of 12 and read Aristotle's logical treatises in their original language at the same time. The following year, he learned about political economy and studied the writings of English economist David Ricardo and Scottish political economist Adam Smith.

The younger Mill's education has drawn praise and criticism, but its most crucial component was the tight bond it created with his father's tenacious nature and sharp intellect. He frequently followed his father on his walks and spent a lot of time with him in the study from the time he was a young child. As a result, he unavoidably inherited many of his father's speculative beliefs and defence strategies. He didn't, however, take the impression in a robotic or passive manner. The youngster was constantly reminded that it was his responsibility to gather and evaluate the evidence for himself. He had a joyful upbringing, but it had put a burden on his body, and he suffered from the lack of a naturally occurring, spontaneous development.

The English Utilitarian philosopher, economist, and theoretical jurist Jeremy Bentham's brother, Sir Samuel Bentham, hosted Mill and his family in France from May 1820 until July 1821. Numerous excerpts from a notebook kept during the period demonstrate his rigorous approach to reading, writing, studying science and botany, solving complex mathematical problems, and taking notes on the environment, the locals, and their customs. He also had a solid command of the French language. His father had only partially resolved that the bar was the greatest career option for him, so when he returned in 1821, he added to his job the study of psychology and Roman law, which he read with John Austin. This plan was abandoned, though, and he instead entered the Indian House's examiner's office in 1823, right after finishing his 17th year. He was elevated to assistant examiner in 1828 after serving a brief probation. From 1836, the year his father passed away, to 1856, when he was appointed chief of the examiner's office, Mill was in control of the British East India Company's contacts with the Indian states for 20 years.

After reading explanation of Bentham's principles in the *Theory of Législation* in 1822, Mill was profoundly affected. The perception was supported by research on English psychologists as well as two French philosophers from the 18th century. Both placed a strong focus on physical

experiences. Soon after, in 1822–1833, Mill founded the Utilitarian Society with a selected group of friends, citing John Galt's novel *Annals of the Parish*, a work about rural life in Scotland, as his inspiration.

His contributions were appreciated by *The Traveller*, which was edited by a Bentham acquaintance, and *The Morning Chronicle*, which was edited by John Black, a close friend of his father's. One of his first efforts was a persuasive defence of free speech in a series of letters to the *Chronicle* regarding the prosecution of Richard Carlile, an English radical and freethinker from the 19th century. Mill utilised every opportunity to call attention to judicial and parliamentary deviations from solid principles. His options were expanded when the Westminster Review, the publication of the intellectual radicals, was established (in April 1824). He started work on a fifth volume of Bentham's *Rationale of Judicial Evidence* in 1825. He avidly participated in conversations with the numerous distinguished persons who visited his father's home. He also participated in structured discussions at a reading society established in 1825 at the home of English historian George Grote and in arguments at the London Debating Society, which was also established in that year.

Mill acknowledged that his collaborative endeavours with Harriet Hardy Taylor, whom he had first met in 1830, in *Liberia* and the 'Subjection of Women' were successful. The two unmarried individuals remained close friends for the following fifteen years. John Taylor, Harriet's husband, passed away in 1849. In 1851, John Mill wed Harriet, describing her as the greatest blessing in his life and the source of all his inspiration for his efforts to further human progress. He had a lot of self-assurance. When Harriet was alive, he was confident that women will lead a life with greater opportunities. Mill died in 1873 at Avignon, England.

#### **4. 4. WRITINGS:**

His main works:

- Principles of Political Economy (1848)
- On Liberty (1859)
- The Consideration on Representative Government (1861)
- Utilitarianism (1863)
- The Subjection of Women (1869)

#### **4.4.2 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I**

1. Describe the major influences on Mill.

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2. Discuss the major writings of J.S Mill.

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#### **4.5. CONCEPT OF UTILITARIANISM**

In the broader stream of liberalism, utilitarianism refers to a school of thought that flourished in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century in England. A group of writers, legislators, administrators, and social reformers made constituted the utilitarian movement. English philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) is considered as the leading exponent of utilitarianism. He was a late 18th century philosopher, jurist, and reformer of the economy. His publications cover a wide range of topics, including legal and judicial issues, education, logic, language, rhetoric, and religion in addition to the public economy. The foundation of Bentham's argument is hedonism, which relates to the philosophical school established by the ancient Greek philosopher Epicurus (341–270 BC). There are two types of hedonism: Psychological hedonism and Ethical hedonism. According to psychological hedonism, all human activities aim to bring the agent pleasure (i.e., achieving pleasure while averting suffering). Ethical hedonism suggests that every pleasure is valuable in and of itself. Bentham embraces both the psychological and ethical hedonism. According to Bentham, pain and pleasure serve as the two sovereign lords that nature has placed mankind under. He also thought that pleasure and pain were the main driving forces underlying all human behaviour. Men always tend to attain pleasure and avoid pain. He adheres to psychological hedonism in this regard. He continues by arguing that these sovereign lords (pleasure and pain) not only dictate what we will do but also give us advice on what we should do. Here, Bentham adopts the position of an ethical hedonist. Bentham contends that every public policy should be created to maximise benefits and minimise harm to people it affects. He characterises happiness as the ratio of pleasure to pain resulting from a certain activity or



inaction. The greatest happiness of the largest number, according to him, is the cornerstone of morality and law. Bentham claimed that political institutions or public policies shouldn't be judged as excellent or terrible based on their adherence to arbitrary or visionary conceptions like natural rights, but rather by the level of satisfaction they are able to elicit, which can be experimentally confirmed and precisely measured. Utilitarianism regards 'utility' as the criterion of acceptance of a proposed option and utility is the key note of utilitarianism. Utility refers to the amount of one's satisfaction or increase in one's welfare or happiness that is derived from the consumption of goods or the use of services. According to the 'law of diminishing utility' different things may be identical in terms of their 'usefulness,' but with the increase of their supply, their utility starts decreasing. Utilitarianism says that the Result or the Consequence of an Act is the real measure of whether it is good or bad. Happiness is estimated by the amount of pleasure derived from a thing minus the amount of pain caused by it. The individual's rational behaviour is considered in this context to suggest that he always attempts to maximise his pleasure and minimise his pain.

Bentham and other utilitarians believed that in order to provide the "greatest happiness of the greatest number," the state should only engage in minimal involvement in individual activity. This was designed to emphasise the contraction of the state's authority and the growth of the market economy. J.S. Mills attempted to modify this utilitarian stop-lead for an expansion of governmental activity for the purpose of promoting general welfare. He also advocated for the state to play a positive role in promoting individual liberty. J.S. Mill considered both quantity and quality of pleasure, but Jeremy Bentham exclusively emphasised quantity of pleasure. J.S. Mill divided between lower pleasures for example, bodily pleasure that both humans and animals could enjoy and higher pleasures such as those that required mental faculties that only educated humans could get. It is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied, according to Mills, than to be a human being who is satisfied. According to popular perception, greater joys are more valued than lesser ones due to their "intrinsic superiority." According to Mill, one greater pleasure is preferable to another provided it upholds human dignity.

#### **4.5.1 REVISION OF BENTHAM'S UTILITARIANISM**

1. **Distinction between higher and lower pleasures:** - Mill accepted Bentham's idea that ultimate aim of human life is to acquire maximum happiness. He also believes that the chief end of human life is to attain internal, mental and higher pleasures. Happiness means perfection of human nature, cultivation of moral virtues, total control over ones appetites and desires. According to him, physical and external happiness are lower form of happiness.

2. **Qualitative differences of happiness:** - Mill rejected Bentham's idea of quantitative happiness which believes in notion of 'maximum happiness of maximum numbers'. In the words of Bentham, 'Pushpin is as good as poetry', if we are getting same amount of pleasure. On the other hand Mill believes that pleasure was not only differ in quantity but also differ in quality. There is difference in what satisfies pig and what satisfies man. For Mill, pushpin will not be as good as poetry. "It is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than fool satisfied." Mill believes that higher, spiritual and a mental pleasure is more significant than lower, physical and material pleasures. He said that, 'a dissatisfied Socrates is better than satisfied fool.'

3. **The objective of happiness is self-realisation:-** Mill was influenced by ideal thinkers like Humboldt and Coleridge. Mill said that spiritual development is more important than material prosperity. Inner development in more significant than outer development. By development he means the capacity of self-realization and moral virtuous development of individual. Seeking pleasure became secondary to Mill and moral development became primary. That's why he destroyed the very base of utilitarianism considered as last utilitarian and first individualist.

#### **4.5.2 CRITICISM OF BENTHAM'S UTILITARIANISM:**

- He replaced the quantitative approach of Bentham by a qualitative one
- He distinguished between lower and higher pleasure. Only quantity of pleasure does not matter quality also matter.
- He insisted human beings were capable of intellectual and moral pleasures, which were superior to the physical ones.
- 'It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied, it is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied'

#### **4.5.3. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II**

1. What do you understand by 'utilitarianism'?

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2. Why is the distinction between Mill's and Bentham's utilitarianism significant?

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**4.6 CONCEPT OF LIBERTY:**

Civil liberties are more at risk in democratic regimes than they are in autocratic ones, according to Mill's opening statement in *On Liberty* (1859). In early absolutist states, the ruler's interests were prioritised over those of the subjects, who were particularly watchful of any encroachment on their existing freedoms. The people feel no threat from their own government in modern democracies because they are founded on the notion of self-government. In response to this laxness, Mill argued that people should be on the lookout for threats to their freedom from social morality and tradition in addition to the government.

How crucial is the preservation of individual liberty? People use many of their faculties when making their own decisions since "the human faculties of perception, judgement, discriminative feeling, mental activity, and even moral preferences are exercised only in making a choice."The only way to increase one's mental and moral faculties, like one's physical abilities, is to practise. He makes a strategy for himself and uses all of his faculties. He only needs to employ observation to perceive, reasoning and judgement to anticipate, action to acquire information for decision-making, discrimination to make that decision, and then firmness and self-control to uphold his moral judgement. People who only behave in a specific way because they are told to do so do not develop their own moral faculties.

In his essay 'On Liberty' he made detailed analysis of Liberty. Mill clarified and detailed his position on liberty by defend the specific liberties such as the liberty of thought and expression, the liberty of speaking and publishing, the liberty of action and that of association. Mill says every restraint is an evil. It means Liberty is absence of restraint. Further he said that Liberty

consists in what once desire and he advanced strong argument in favour of liberty. During 19th century for moral, spiritual, mental and human development, liberty is essential. Mill's liberty means 'absence of restraint' and believes that any kind of restriction on liberty is an evil.

#### **4.6.1 TWO TYPES OF LIBERTY:**

- 1) Freedom of speech and expression where no censorship is allowed.
- 2) Freedom of action: - He divided freedom of actions into two parts;
  - i. Self-regarding actions.
  - ii. Other regarding actions.

#### **1. Argument for freedom of speech/expression**

- A. **Each person is the subject of his own life:** Mill is a liberal, individualist, who considers each person to be in charge of his or her own body and mind. Liberty is therefore crucial for a person's development. The most crucial component of liberty is the freedom of speech and expression. Everyone should have the right to unrestricted speech. Liberty itself is a goal. It is not a tool for delivering any form of pleasure. Anybody is free to criticise a whole civilisation. It takes disagreement to find the truth.
- B. **No one is perfect:** According to Mill, if someone is attempting to silence the speech of others, it should be assumed that they have the sole authority on the truth. Nothing compares to perfect or unwavering truth. The truth is always multifaceted. Nobody can assert that their viewpoint is flawless. Mill is an advocate for diversity of thought and opinion. It needs a variety of viewpoints and engaging discussions to discover the truth. It is important to respect everyone's opinions because ultimately, the truth will win out.
- C. **Social Development:** In his belief in the freedom of speech and expression, Mill has applied Darwin's thesis of the survival of the fittest. After a fight between truth and lies, truth prevails. It undermines deception, conservatism, and superstition while promoting wealth. For people to grow morally, freedom is necessary. It is equally crucial for societal advancement.
- D. **Against moral policing:** But on the other side, the biggest threat to liberty is moral policing. Dissent and disagreement are always suppressed by the tyranny of the majority. On the basis of norms and traditions, the majority consistently tries to reject different viewpoints. Thus, the tyranny of the majority turns out to be more perilous for liberty than autocratic rule. According to Mill, Jesus was crucified. Because of the tyranny of the

majority, Socrates was administered the poison. D. Tocqueville, who claimed that liberty might be missing in democratic nations as well, was a major influence on Mill.

## **2. Freedom of Action:**

Mill also believes in the freedom of action in addition to freedom of speech and expression. Another aspect of liberty is the freedom to form unions and associations. However, unlike freedom of speech and expression, freedom of action is not unqualified. Individuals are not allowed to act in a way that interferes with another person's life in the name of liberty. Individual action was separated into two sections by Mill.

- A. **Self-regarding action:** Since it alone affects the individual's life, they are free to walk and smoke. It demonstrates once more that Mill is an individualist and that people's private lives should not be interfered with.
- B. **Other regarding actions:** Individual actions that have an impact on the actions of others are not allowed. Because everyone is entitled to the same level of freedom, the state will take action against anyone who endangers others. In addition to restrictions on action, people are also subject to additional restrictions. Other acts are so constrained in some way. The freedom of an individual may be restricted for the sake of societal and state security. A police officer is not permitted to consume alcohol while on duty. In times of emergency, freedom may be restricted.

### **4.6.2 CRITICISM:**

Since a person is not an atom. Since everyone's actions have an impact on others. It implies that every individual's activity is considered by others. It could be interfered with. Liberty is automatically destroyed by Mill's projection of the individual as an atom, which makes it abstract. According to Barkar, every person is actually a part of their community, family, and school. According to Barkar, Mill is a deeper proponent of sterile liberty and impersonal individualism. Sabine claims that Mill disagreed with both Locke's theory of natural rights and Bentham's theories of legal rights. Without rights, liberty loses all meaning and is therefore useless. The distinction between selfish and altruistic behaviour was criticised by Barker. He claimed that Mill did not comprehend how a person is a part of a civilization or community. Therefore, it was decided to disregard the difference between selfish and altruistic behaviour. Bridge was also used as an example by Mill. Police officers who are aware of a person attempting to cross a damaged bridge may forbid them from

doing so. Police officers are not restricting people's freedom; rather, they are defending it. Freedom entails following other people's wishes. If someone else understands our interests better than we do, then exercising freedom also means following other people's orders. According to critics, following someone else's instructions destroys one's freedom.

#### **4.6.3. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III**

1. What is Mill's defence of the right to individuality in self-regarding sphere of actions?

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2. Explain Mill's views on freedom of speech and expression.

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#### **4.7 CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, Mill's utilitarian philosophy served as a forerunner of individualism. While supporting the Benthamite maxim of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, Mill also suggested that this maxim might be supported by distinguishing between happiness and pleasure. This was a substantial divergence from the Benthamite presupposition. He kept utilitarianism's fundamental tenet but made a distinction between higher and lesser pleasures. In light of this, Mill suggested that utility should also be judged in terms of quality in addition to quantity. In this connection, Mill said that the moral aspect of right and wrong, the aesthetic aspect (connected to beauty), and third, the sympathetic aspect (loveability) were all aspects of all human action. Additionally, one of the key elements of pleasure and the general advancement of society is an individual's capacity for self-development. In addition, Mill respected every individual's opinion, whether it was correct or incorrect. He did not distinguish between it and the majority's suppression of an individual's opinion because, in both circumstances, Mill thought that the community would lose something worthwhile.

#### **4.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE**

#### 4.8.1. Long Answer questions

1. Discuss in detail the Utilitarian thought of JS Mill.
2. Elaborate the concept of liberty given by JS Mill.
3. Discuss the difference between the Utilitarianism thought of Jeremy Bentham and JS Mill.
4. Describe the contribution of JS Mill.

#### 4.8.2. Short Answer Questions

1. What is the subject of 'On Liberty'?
2. How does Mill define Happiness?
3. Define the 'other regarding actions' given by JS Mill.
4. Describe the Mill's argument in favour of Freedom of speech and expression.

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**

**SEMESTER III**

**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 5: KARL MARX: HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, DIALECTICAL  
MATERIALISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE**

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**STRUCTURE**

**5.1. Learning Objective**

**5.2. Introduction**

**5.3. Historical Materialism**

**5.3.1. Production**

**5.3.2. Forces of Production**

**5.3.3. Relations of Production**

**5.3.4. Mode of Production**

**5.3.5. Surplus Value**

**5.3.6. Alienation**

**5.3.7. Historical Materialism: From Primitive Communism to Communism**

**5.4. Dialectical Materialism**

**5.5. Class Struggle**

**5.5.1. Determinant of Class Position**

**5.5.2. Class in Itself**

**5.5.3. Class for Itself**

**5.5.4. Class in the Capitalist Society**

**5.5.5. Exploitation of Labour and Class Struggle**

**5.6. Summary**

**5.7. Questions for Practice**

**5.8. Suggested Readings**



## **5.1. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After the completion of this Unit, you should be able to:

- Understand and explain the major contribution of Karl Marx
- Describe the core idea behind Marx 's Philosophy
- Elaborate Marx 's concept of historical materialism and dialectical materialism
- Explain how Marx defined class and class struggle, also the major factor behind class struggle

## **5.2. INTRODUCTION**

Karl Marx Born in 1818, Trier (German) and grew up in Middle class Jewish household. His family converted to Protestantism to escape the social difficulty suffered by Jews in German society. In 1835, at age of 17, Marx Joined University of Bonn as Law Student. After some time, he shifted to University of Berlin, where he read Hegel, whose theoretical writings influenced him throughout his career. As unable to find academic employment, Marx began a journalistic career in 1841. Because of its critical tone, the journal was shut down by the government. In 1842, met Arnold Ruge (editor of periodical) and published his first work in the periodical. Soon, he became the editor of this periodical. In 1843, moved to Cologne where he studied works of Ludwig Feuerbach. During this period his writings were shaped by the criticism of Hegel (Coser, 2010). The writings were, *A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* and *On the Jewish Question*. Immediately following these critiques, developed an outline of a theory of history and economic life (Ritzer, 1988).

In 1843, he moved to Paris and started studying Adam Smith and David Ricardo's Political Economy. Political Economy was specialized subject at that time. In the same year, he married Jenny and later met Friedrich Engels (1820 – 1895), a wealthy textile manufacturer who became Marx's lifetime intellectual collaborator and financial supporter. Their first collaboration was 'The Holy Family'. Later, they collaborated on a work entitled 'The German Ideology'. In 1845, Marx shifted Brussels from Paris. In Brussels, involved in the worker's movement which took him further into economic questions. In 1848, communist league asked Marx and Engels to draw up a worker's character. In response to this they published 'The Communist Manifesto-1848'. This creation had great impact on worker 's movement throughout Europe. Next Ten years, devoted to writing and preparing his most famous work entitled 'Capital', which was published in 1867. Later, he written two more volume, which was published by Engels after his death at the age of 65 in 1883 (Ritzer, 1988).

Karl Marx has written so extensively on various issues of society and contributed many ideas therefore it is very difficult to elaborate his contribution on few pages. His ideas influenced many scholars and he has a huge chain of followers in all over the world (Cuff et al., 2009). The main concern Marx emphasized in his writings is the exploitation of have nots (Proletariats; those who don't have property) by the haves (Bourgeois; those who have property). The conditions which forced Marx to constitute communist league, to write communist manifesto and to shift his interest towards working class are; long working days and hours for workers, extremely low wages, involvement of children of workers in hazardous work infactories, poor working conditions and frequent deaths of workers in factories and many more (Turner,1987).

To highlight and put these issues in front of society, he wrote many essays and texts, individually and with his friend Fredrick Angels. Some of these are, The Holy Family, German Ideology, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Das Capital etc. Karl Marx wrote many ideas and theories in these texts amongst theory of historical materialism, dialectical materialism, surplus value, alienation, class conflict, class consciousness, class and class struggle etc. All these theories are still important and used by many scholars to elaborate the existing inequalities in society. In the present unit, we will mainly emphasis on the theory of historical materialism, dialectical materialism, class and class struggle.

### **5.3. THEORY OF HISTORICAL MATERIALISM**

Marx 's general ideas about society are known as his theory of historical materialism or theory of society. In this theory, the main emphasis of Marx was to understand how have nots (those who don't has property) are exploited by the haves (those who have property and hold on resources). As discussed above, Marx was interested to know how the capitalist system is against the workers and further how rich are becoming richer and poorer are becoming poorer. Marx born and brought up in capitalism, hence, he was more interested in exploitative relations in capitalism. Further to understand the exploitation of the workers, he went to the history and searched the patter of division of labor and tried to explore from when exactly this exploitative system started in society. Because of this, he adds the term historical in his theory (Morrison, 2006). Marx traced the evolution of human societies from one stage to another. The stages discussed by Marx in his theory are, primitive communism, ancient society, feudalism and capitalism. He further adds two more further stages in the form of solution. They are socialism and then communism.

For Marx, material conditions and economic factors effects the structure and development of society (Turner, 1987). It is known as materialism because Marx has interpreted the evolution of societies in terms of their material or economic basis. For Marx materialism meant that the material world, perceptible to the senses, has objective reality independent of mind or spirit. Marx does not deny the reality of mental or spiritual processes but affirmed that ideas could arise, therefore, only as products and reflections of material conditions (Turner, 1987). He wrote in the preface of an essay 'A contribution to Critique of Political Economy', *It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness*" (Coser, 2010). Thus, Marx understood materialism as the opposite of idealism of Hegal, by which they meant any theory that treats matter as dependent on mind or spirit, or mind or spirit as capable of existing independently of matter. For them, the materialist and idealist views were irreconcilably opposed throughout the historical development of philosophy. There is no doubt that Marx taken certain ideas form Hegal and he also appreciated his work too. At the same time, he opposed Hegal's idealism and stands him on his head by giving priority materialism. Thus, his theory of historical materialism also known as materialistic interpretation of history.

To understand the theory of historical materialism, we must have an understanding on certain ideas of Marx which are directly, indirectly related to Marx's theory of Historical Materialism. These ideas are; production, forces of production, relationships of production, mode of production, the concept of surplus value and alienation. The understanding on these ideas will help us to understand the thesis of Marx's theory of historical materialism. These concepts are also known as major pillars of his theory. The discussion on these concepts and ideas is as follows:

### **5.3.1. PRODUCTION**

For Marx, without production there is no society. People can't survive without basic needs. These basic needs (food, Clothing, shelter) cannot available ready-made. So, human being produces material goods from objects found in nature for their survival. According to Marx, the first historical act is the production of material life. Infact this is as historical act and a fundamental condition of all history (Bottomore, 2019). Thus, the production of material goods has always been and still in the basis of human existence.

### **5.3.2. FORCES OF PRODUCTION**

Forces of production are the ways in which material goods are produced. The forces of production include the means of production and labour power. Means of production are tools, machines, factories, equipment etc. and labour power is the skill, knowledge, experience and other human capacities used in work. The labour power is actual exercise of one's power to add values to commodities. The forces of production express the degree to which human beings control the nature. The more advanced the forces of production are, greater is their control over the nature and vice versa (Turner, 1987).

### **5.3.3. RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION**

According to Marx, in order to produce commodities for survival, people enter into definite relations with one another (Ritzer, 1988). In short, we can say relations of production are the social relations found among the people involved in the process of production. These relations are determined by the level and character of the development of productive forces. Further, there is close nexus between forces of production and relations of production. The development of one lead to contradiction with the other and this gives birth to new mode of production, new forces of production and also new relations of production.

### **5.3.4. MODE OF PRODUCTION**

Forces of production and relations of production are two aspects of mode of production. A particular stage in human history carries particular mode of production. Historical periods are founded and differentiated on the basis different modes of production (Turner, 1987). In his theory of historical materialism, Marx defined various modes of productions namely, Asiatic Mode of Production, Ancient Mode of Production, Feudal Mode of Production and Capitalist Mode of production (Gorden,1998). Except these, he also predicted the future mode of production such as socialist mode of production in socialism stage and communist mode of production in communism stage. Further, according to Marx, no mode of production remains static. The crucial element in defining mode of production is the way in which the surplus is produced and its use is controlled (Bottomore, 2019).

### **5.3.5. SURPLUS VALUE**

Surplus value is the value for which the worker is not paid. The value that a capitalist earned on the behalf of worker or the share of worker. In other sense, it is also defined as exploited money. In simple words, surplus value accrues because the commodity produced by the worker is sold by the capitalist for more than what the worker receives as wages. The surplus value can also be measure in the form of time as well as money (Gorden, M. 1998).

### **5.3.6. ALIENATION**

Alienation means separation from or start feeling stranger to themselves. Alienation is prevalent in those societies where the producer is separated from the means of production and in which dead labor, capital dominates over living labor, the worker. For Marx, Alienation is an action through which a person, an institution, or a society becomes alien to the results or products of its own activity, to the nature in which it lives, to other human being, to itself. The surplus value and alienation, later becomes a reason for class struggle and revolution (Turner, 1987).

### **5.3.7. HISTORICAL MATERIALISM: FROM PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM TO COMMUNISM AND END OF CAPITALISM**

After looking into all important concepts, now it will be easy for us to understand the main idea behind the theory of historical materialism. As discussed earlier, the main concern for Marx was to understand the exploitation of have nots by the haves in capitalism as he born and brought up in capitalism. To understand the exploitative relationships, he went to the history of society and tried to find out roots behind emergence of classes and the exploitative relationships among them. Marx explained the production of material life is the first historical act. He writes, in the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production (Marx, 1959)

Human beings have variety of needs. After meeting primary needs, human being remains dissatisfied. Secondary needs arise after fulfilling primary needs. To satisfy primary and secondary needs human beings enter into social relationships. By this, material life becomes more complex, and ultimately division of labor occur in society. This gives birth to different classes in society. The unequal division of labor further divided society into two classes namely, haves and have nots. And according to Marx, with the class formation there is a beginning of ancient society in which for the first-time classes and class system was found. Before ancient society, there was primitive communism which was characterized by the notion of equality. Marx argued that in primitive communism, people were used to work according to their capacity and they were used to spend according to their need. He wrote the idea of each according to their ability and each according to their need was prevalent (Ritzer, 1988). As discussed above, due to hording and unequal division of labor the Asiatic mode of production turned into ancient mode of production through which class formation begins. In ancient society there were two classes namely, masters and slaves. The masters were haves, who had control over resources and property and slaves were have nots who don't had property. With the passage of time there comes crises in the existing mode of production which led society to another mode of production i.e., feudal mode of production. The name of this stage was feudalism in which masters were replaced by feudal lords and slaves were replaced by serfdoms. Feudal mode of production was characterized by agricultural economy. Due to clash in forces of production and relations of production, the feudalism turned into capitalism and new mode of production emerged called capitalist mode of production (Cuff et al., 2009). Marx writes it in clearly as follows; *“At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or*

later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure” (Marx, 1959) In capitalism, the feudal lords were replaced by bourgeois (Haves) and serfdoms were replaced by proletariats (Have nots). The exploitation of have nots reached on its peak in capitalism and it was very high as compare to earlier stages. Marx predicted, this was a high time for a revolution and achieving the rights of worker. The profit making and exploitation reached at peak, and also this is responsive for alienation of workers. Marx argued continuous exploitation will turn the class in itself to class for itself. The workers of the world will unite and they will revolt against the bourgeois (Coser, 2010). According to Marx, this will be the end of capitalism and the new society and new mode of production will emerge i.e., socialism. In socialism, state will be there for redistribution of resources. Once the state will complete its responsibly, it will go away and socialism will turn intocommunism, the final stage in the history of human beings. In communism again, the notion of equality will exist. Each will work according to their capacity and each will consume according to their need. No class will exist in this stage (Turner, 1987).

**5.4. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM**

Dialectical Materialism is an approach and principle that Marx used in his theory historical materialism. The idea of dialectics, he has taken from Hegel and the idea of materialism from Feuerbach. Dialectics means discussion and a debate between two opposites which further leads third. There is a thesis and also opposite to it there is anti-thesis. The dialectics between two leads to synthesis (Coser, 2010). Further, the synthesis turns into thesis and this process happens continuously. Thus, dialectics is a study of contradicts, which lie at the very heart of existence. Hegel was taking about dialectical idealism, whereas Marx adds word materialism at the place of idealism. As discussed above he criticise Hegel for being idealist and given priority to materialism because the very first act of humans was the production of material. Marx used the ideas of dialectics as method in his all concepts. He explained the contraction between classes, different stages, different mode of productions with the help of dialectical method. Overall, the dialectical materialism was the base of his all-major ideas. His theory of historical materialism, class and class struggle etc. were based on dialectics method.

**5.4.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I**

**5.4.1.1.** What are the main problems with Marx’s theory and are such theories appropriate for studying human societies?

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**5.4.1.2.** Each according to the ability and each according to the need. What was the core idea behind the above statement of Karl Marx?

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**5.4.1.3.** Explain dialectical materialism in brief.

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**5.5. THEORY OF CLASS AND CLASS STRUGGLE**

Marx characterizes the human history as the history of class struggles. He wrote the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles’ (Marx, 1859). He says that except in the period of primitive communism, in all other periods of history, society has classes and class struggle remained the part of it. In the period of primitive communism, the economic resources belonged to the community and they were controlled by the community. So, there was no class distinction existing at that time. When man left the stage of primitive communism, the distribution became unequal and class distinction made its appearance (Coser, 2010). Thus. during all periods of history, there was a difference in distribution and society was divided into classes, the privileged and dispossessed. In the ancient society, there were masters and slaves, the hold on resources was in the hands of masters. In the next phase of society, which Marx called feudalism, the masters were replaced by feudal lords and slaves were replaced by serfdoms. In the capitalism the feudal lords were replaced by bourgeois (Haves; Capitalist) and serfdoms were replaced by proletariat (Have nots; workers). Though, Marx has emphasized on two classes, however he also mentioned about other middle classes too. He argued there are seven types of classes existing in capitalism, however among them only two are important as, when there will be time of revolution the other classes will either merge into haves and some with the have nots (Ritzer, 1988). Therefore, as according to Marx they are irrelevant.

**5.5.1. DETERMINANT OF CLASS POSITION**

Marx holds the economic factor to be the key factor in determining class differentiation. Classes are formed and differentiated with reference to the ownership of means of material production. Those who own the means of production constitute one class and those who have no means of production form a different class. Thus, with reference to the ownership of means of production, two classes- namely, *Haves* (the propertied class) and *Have Nots* (the property less class)- are formed. These two classes exist through ages in the human history, though their names are different. So, according to Marx, a person’s class position is determined by his relation to the means of production. His occupation or income has nothing to do with it. A person may be a carpenter by profession. It only depends on whether he owns a shop or works for wages, that his class placement is determined. If he owns a shop, he becomes the member of the propertied class and if he works for wages, he becomes a member of the property less class (Morrison, 2006).

**5.5.2. CLASS IN ITSELF**

Thus, Marx considers the relation of the individuals to the means of material production as the key factor in determining a class. People who share the same relationship to the means of production form a class. However, according to Marx, this relation to the means of production is not sufficient to determine the class, as in his view. It is not sufficient for a class to be merely a class in itself, but it should also be a class for itself.

**5.5.3. CLASS FOR ITSELF**

When the people form a class by having the same relation to the means of the production, it is only in such objective condition, they constitute a class. At that stage, they constitute mere

a class in itself. But, they will constitute a real class-class for itself only when they constitute a class in subjective consciousness, that is, when they share similar consciousness that they all belong to the same class. The small peasants form a vast mass and live in identical conditions. They share the same relationships to land. But they are not conscious of the fact that they live under the economic conditions that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of other classes. Hence, they do not constitute a class.

Thus, according to Marx's theory though some relation to the means of production is a necessary condition for people to constitute a class, it is insufficient. For them, to constitute a class, there must be a feeling of separation from other social classes. Even here, Marx emphasizes that the feeling of separation must be a feeling of hostility towards other social classes. Separate individuals form a class only to the extent that they must carry on a struggle against another class (Morrison, 2006).

#### **5.5.4. CLASS IN THE CAPITALIST SOCIETY**

All the features which Marx adds with class are found particularly in the modern capitalist system. Though classes are formed in different stages of history. Marx recognizes only the classes of the modern capitalist society. The reason is that only in the capitalist society, class lines are clearly drawn. With reference to the means of material production, the society is clearly divided into two classes- *Haves (the propertied bourgeoisie) and Have Notes (the property less proletariat)*. It is around these two classes that the history revolves.

By taking then means of the production in their exclusive possession, *the capitalists become the Haves (propertied class)*. The rest the majority of the people are deprived of the means of production. The latter own nothing but labour. It is the only marketable asset they have. As they have no other asset which required for economic needs, they sell it and become the workers under the owners of the means of production which provide increasingly means of employment for the free labourers. The relationship between the propertied class and property less class is divided into two class such as, *the capitalists and the workers*.

Marx emphasizes that in the final stage of capitalism, there will be only two classes in the society i.e. the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, of the two classes, only the proletariat remains a solid class. They individually possess the capability for organizing themselves into a class (Inkeles, 1987). The conditions of work and inaccessibility to the means of production facilitate the emergence of solidarity and prevent competitiveness. When a large chunk of the population are reduced to the level of wage labour and the capitalistic exploitation of the labour becomes intense, the working class becomes conscious of their common interests and placement and gets united. They also get motivated by an appropriate system of ideas that enables them to confront the bourgeoisie oppressors (Turner, 1987).

On the other hand, there is no similar capability for the bourgeoisie to get united. They are kept divided by the competition in the market and the market forces. They can get united on political issues and other issues but they will not be united on economic issues. The political power and ideology can substitute class consciousness and unite the bourgeoisie.

#### **5.5.5. EXPLOITATION OF LABOUR AND CLASS STRUGGLE**

Having control over the forces of production including the labour process, the bourgeoisie could easily exploit the proletariat. The only aim of the bourgeoisie is to obtain maximum

profit in the market. As Stalin writes that the fundamental law of capitalism is maximum profit. If someone is bent on earning maximum profit in the business, he has to raise the price of his products. Any commodity produced by the labour is result of his own labour. He should be given adequate labour for the efforts he has rendered. But in result he is paid very less labour. The capitalists exploit the worker by expropriating half of the value of human labour and pays for the remaining value of labour (Lemert, 2009).

The capitalists exploit the workers by asking him to work for more than the stipulated duration. They are forced to work for more hours but are not paid adequate wages. The capitalists use their wealth and man power to control the courts and manage the political system. Their political power enables them to exploit the workers without any obstacle. As the legal and political systems are subservient to the capitalists, they carry on the exploitation of workers with any challenge. The capitalists are not contented here. They are bent on maximizing their profit. In order to quench their thirst for money, they set up more factories. These activities require a large number of people to run the factories. In the factories, the workers are able to work unitedly and they communicate with each other and share their feelings and ideas. The capitalists also dominate the market by raising their economic activities. They try to monopolize their share in the market and throw away the small businessmen from the market. When these small businessmen are cornered, the capitalists enjoy full authority in the market and exercise their monopoly in the market(Lemert, 2009).

The poor businessmen who are thrown out of the market are reduced to the status of proletariat. The poor businessmen, the labour and self-employed people, master craftsmen and skilled persons also join them and come to level of proletariat. These people are left stranded without land, usable skills or marketable cheap goods as industrialisation transforms the economy. All these developments lead to division of social relations into polarization of the society into two hostile classes: *the bourgeoisie and proletariat* (Lemert, 2009) The capitalist enjoy their monopoly status in the market.

The working class after being exploited by the capitalist, becomes conscious of their rights and organize themselves into a working-class movement. They form trade unions for themselves and fight for better wages and good working condition for the labour. But they may be stuck to their interests and will not be associated with other shop keepers' associations and other trade unions. But gradually they develop a consciousness that all the workers belong to the same class with common interests and turn hostile against the capitalists. In other words, they evolve as "*class for itself*". The working class organize themselves and start a struggle against the capitalists.

**5.5.6. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II**

1. Write down any difference between class in itself and class for itself?

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2. Discuss about the determinant of class position.

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3. Explain the relationship between exploitation of Labour and Class Struggle.

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**5.6. SUMMARY**

In this unit, we have introduced you with some of the major theories and ideas of world-renowned philosopher Karl Marx. Though, his status as philosopher and social scientist is under debate as many scholars consider him sociologist and many give him a tag of philosopher, political scientist, economist etc. His ideas influenced many political scientists which has given birth to Marxian school of thought. His ideas were critically evaluated and extended by many scholars namely, Ralf Dehrendorf, Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci, Jurgen Habermas and many others. There are two main reasons for us to study Karl Marx. The first reason is his emphasis on working and marginalised class. And the second reason is his contribution for new school of thought in political science. Through his theory of historical materialism, dialectical materialism and theory of class struggle, he highlighted the inequalities and exploitation faced by working class in society. He has not only elaborated the problems of working class but also provided a solution for it.

**5.7. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE**

**5.7.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS**

- According to Karl Marx the very first act of all societies was always economic because human beings had to satisfy their everyday material needs before anything else. While giving this statement, to whom Karl Marx stands on his head? Further, how they both differ in their ideas?
- It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. Keeping in mind the above statement of Karl Marx, explain how Marx differs from Hegel?
- Elaborate the theory of historical materialism. Also write about the main cause behind this theory.

**5.7.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS**

- Write a short note on relations of production.
- Explain the concept of class struggle.
- Discuss any two features of class as defined by Karl Marx.

**7.8. SUGGESTED READINGS**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)  
SEMESTER V  
COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 6: KAUTILYA (VIEWS ON STATE, KINGSHIP AND INTER-STATE  
RELATIONS)**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 6.0. Learning objectives
- 6.1. Key Words
- 6.2. Introduction
- 6.3. Views on State
  - 6.3.1 Nature of the State
  - 6.3.2 Objectives and Functions of Kautilya's State
  - 6.3.3 Check your Progress I
- 6.4. Views on Kingship
  - 6.4.1. Qualities of the king
  - 6.4.2. Duties and Powers of the King
  - 6.4.3. Checks on King's Power
  - 6.4.4. Check Your Progress II
- 6.5. Kautilya Views on Inter State Relations
  - 6.5.1. Mandala Siddhant or Concept of Mandala
  - 6.5.2. Sadgunya Niti or Sixfold policy
  - 6.5.3. Four Upayas (Fourfold measures)
  - 6.5.4. Check Your Progress III
- 6.6. Conclusion
- 6.7. Questions for Practice
  - 6.7.1. Long Answer questions
  - 6.7.2. Short Answer Questions
- 6.8. Suggested Readings

## **6.0. Learning objectives**

After studying this lesson, you ought to be able to:

- Explain Kautilya's political ideas
- Analyze Kautilya's contribution to the development of Ancient Indian Political thought.
- Understand Kautilya's views on state, kingship and inter-state relations

## **6.1. Key Words**

State, Arthashastra, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Kingship, Welfare

## **6.2. INTRODUCTION**

Kautilya was a multifaceted individual. His famous work is studied in fields such as political science, international relations, diplomacy, security studies, economics, management, and public administration. Kautilya was the minister in the Kingdom of Chandragupta Maurya during 317 – 293 B.C. He is regarded as one of the most astute ministers of all time, and in his work *Arthashastra*, he makes clear his opinions on state, war, kingship, social structures, diplomacy, ethics, politics, and statecraft. Compared to the later British India, which covered an area from the Indian Ocean to the Himalayas and westward all the way to Iran, the Mauryan Empire was far larger. This was the most powerful empire in India after Alexander left, and Kautilya served as the king's minister. The Shastras were written by various Indian thinkers before Kautilya, but his work was comprehensive and included all of the preceding treaties. It is, therefore, necessary that Kautilya's work is studied to understand its contemporary importance for India.

## **6.3 VIEWS ON STATE**

In Kautilya's philosophy, the state is the main subject. At that time, the monarchy system was in place. Kautilya had talked on the history, makeup, and operations of the state. He embraced the social cohesiveness theory in regards to the origin of states. Kautilya made no assumptions about the state's genesis. He was interested in the State of his own times, just like Machiavelli. He was more concerned with the immediate issue of how to turn the state into a powerful and robust state than he was with the subject of how the State, which had come into Chandragupta Maurya's possession, had been brought into being. There is no mention of the beginning or development of

the State in Kautilya writings, despite the fact that he chronicled the construction of villages and the various features of village and town life in great detail.

### **6.3.1 Nature of the state**

Kautilya had discussed about organism of state. He considered seven organs of the state. It is known as *Saptanga* Theory of state. The term "*Saptang*" denotes seven limbs, parts, or components. Together, they make up the State as a whole, "like a chariot composed of seven parts fitted and subservient to one another". In certain ways, the Ancient Greek Political Philosophy elaborates on the *Saptanga* notion of state. For instance, Plato had suggested that when comparing the State to the human body, a damage to one organ produces issues for the other organs much as a cut on the finger causes discomfort in the body. Kautilya listed and explained seven *Angas*, *Prakritis*, or elements to describe the nature of the State as a whole. These are-

1. Master or king or *Swami*
2. *Amatya* or ministers
3. *Janpad* or country
4. *Durg* or fort
5. *Kosh* or treasury
6. *Dand* or Punishments
7. *Mitra* or Friend

1. **Master or king or *Swami***- Kautilya, who believed that monarchy was the best type of government, gave the king the highest place in the state. The Swami is above all other elements because he is the state's chief executive. The word "*Swami*" comes from the Sanskrit word "*swayam*," which means "self-determined." As a result, the Swami transforms into a live, animate incarnation that is not subject to any sort of rule. He represents power and authority in both the legal and political spheres. Kautilya provides a thorough enumeration of the following four broad kinds of characteristics that make up a Swami's ideals: (i) Attractive qualities; (ii) Intellectual and intuitive qualities; (iii) Enthusiastic qualities; and (iv) Spirit and self-control qualities. This classification of characteristics adds to the conventional view that kingship is marked by compulsion and subjection of subjects. Thus, the king was not to be a despot who ruled his subjects through ruthless military force but rather through love. As a result, he is required to complete two different types of tasks and duties:

**(i) Protective Functions-** Kautilya expects the king to carry out the following protective functions because he is the natural protector and savior of his subjects. He should put an end to violence and uphold law and order, he should prevent threats and command the army, he should address people's complaints, he should punish wrongdoers, and he should administer justice impartially and in accordance with the sacred law, evidence, history, and enacted laws.

**(ii) Promotive Functions-** On the other hand, he should promote the moral and material happiness and welfare of his people, as in their happiness lies his happiness and in their welfare his welfare, to enable them to pursue their independent life endeavours freely, to maintain unity and solidarity, to reward virtue, to promote agriculture, industry, and the arts, to regulate the means of subsistence, especially for labourers. In the exercise of these functions, Kautilya's king was all- powerful. The limits of his authority were imposed by the social and religious customs of his state.

2. **Amatya or Minister-** The minister of the high grade is referred to as Amatya or Mantrin in its strictest sense. Kautilya outlines a complex system for selecting Amatyas and other officials who must be morally and ethically upright, truthful in business dealings, and of excellent character. The Amatyas were supposed to be men of infallible memory, amiable character, knowledge, patience, and endurance who were natural born citizens, people of noble origin, free from all vices, and persons of noble lineage. Only wise people were to be chosen by the king to fill these positions since they would serve as his trusted advisors. Not only were these ministers expected to advise the monarch whenever he requested it, but they also had to keep their discussions private.
3. **Janpad or country-** This distinctive Saptanga component is the State's emblem, which denotes a territorial society. Here, "Jana" stands for people, while "Pada" represents the area in which these individuals have a permanent home. Kautilya's Janapada encompasses both people and territory. In terms of territory, Kautilya lists the following requirements for a prosperous Janapada: (i) provide housing and support for people; (ii) protect the state from enemies; (iii) find employment for people; (iv) have manageable neighbours; (v) provide pastures; (vi) have arable land, mines, and forest; and (vii) provide good internal communication, i.e., rivers, roads, and outlet to sea.
4. **Durg or fort-** Fortification was important to Kautilya in order to safeguard and defend the state. He intended the state to completely encircle the areas with defences. He identified four different types of fortification: *Audak*, *Paarvat*, *Dhannvana*, and *Vana*. The first two of these categories are employed to safeguard the territory, and the final two are meant to protect the farmers. Thus, these

fortifications would serve as a means of both defensive and offensive defense while also serving as a means of protecting the populace and the city.

5. **Kosh or treasury-** In all eras and conditions, the State's continued existence depends on a thriving economy. That is perhaps the reason why ancient Indian philosophers considered the treasury to be a crucial part of the state. Although Kautilya desired a rich treasury, he gave the king precise instructions to obtain the nation's wealth only through lawful and moral means and under no circumstances by dishonest or immoral means. Kautilya offered the following legal sources for the collection of funds: (i) several types of land taxes; (ii) duty levied on the sale of goods in the market; (iii) tax on imports and exports; and (iv) other taxes.
6. **Dand or Punishments-** Kautilya acknowledged that the most crucial requirement for the kingdom was a powerful, hereditary Kshatriya army. He insisted on the hereditary army because it would be trustworthy and free from deceit in addition to being talented, well-contended, and faithful to the king's wishes. Such an army would help the king's offensive and defensive objectives. It was therefore apparent that Kautilya would pay close attention to the upkeep and management of the army. For instance, in the *Arthashastra*, he lists up to six heads of departments, including those in charge of the infantry, cavalry, elephants, chariots, and marine forces.
7. **Mitra or Friend-** After realising that "political isolation means death, Kautilya went on to think about the Mitra or ally as a crucial element. *Sahaja* and *Kritrima* are the two types of allies that Kautilya recognises. The *Sahaja*, or natural, ally, is the one who has been a friend since the king's father or grandparents lived nearby and who is geographically close to the enemy's immediate neighbour. In contrast, the *Kritrima*, or acquired ally, is the buddy who is specifically sought out for the defense of property and life. However, Kautilya favoured a partner who is steadfast, disciplined, eager, and from whom there is little chance of disagreement or mutiny.  
However, Kautilya's description of *angas*, or constituents of the state, is a vivid reflection of his conception of "State." He did not define the word "State" in any particular way because he was more of a doer than a theorist. He stressed both the internal and external security of the state. Kautilya's deeper knowledge of both the political essence of man and the operation of his political institutions, particularly the state, is vividly expressed in the *Saptanga* theory.

### 6.3.2 Objectives and Functions of Kautilya's State

The focal point of Kautilya's economic theory is the state. A state's goal is to ensure people's welfare in addition to security. He combined several institutions to achieve his goals. The goals are

to protect people from natural disasters, secure them, and murder any enemy detectives who could pose a threat to the state. According to Kautilya, the state is everything to a monarch without it. The state, in Kautilya's opinion, is both materialistic and spiritual. The goal of a state is to establish circumstances in which people can live without regard to race, creed, or caste in addition to managing people's religious, material, and labour needs. He places emphasis on the state's scope for a complete purpose. Kautilya says that the state should do work in following way: -

**Agriculture** - The foundation of a state's economy is agriculture. A region with arable land that can supply all of its food needs. It is time to start the plantation. It may also be controlled for transport.

**Administrative Appointments**- For a good administration there should be essential appointments. It is the king's responsibility.

**Diplomatic Function**- Kautilya didn't have a good reputation for internal management. The behaviour of the neighbour should be considered while choosing an ambassador.

**Military Function** - The state's safety is also a major concern. For it an integrated and powerful military is essential which may be able to face outsider's attack.

**Spiritual Function**- Kautilya anticipates the king to appoint Brahman, run the government in accordance with *Dharmasastra*, and defend *Dharma*/religious. According to him, it is the responsibility of the state to advance human spirituality rather than the materialistic world.

**Social Welfare**- According to Kautilya, the goal of the state should not only be prosperity but also social welfare because a prosperous individual may create a thriving society. "A king checks the famine at all," says Kautilya. Whoever serves the grain, even during times of hunger, is truly a king. Widows, handicapped people, and others should all have jobs provided by the state.

### 6.3.3 Check your Progress I

(i) What is the nature of State according to Kautilya.

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(ii) What are the functions performed by State according to Kautilya?

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## 6.4 VIEWS ON KINGSHIP

According to Kautilya the king is the first and foremost organ of the state. Without him the state is nothing. This type of state is harmful for its people. Kautilya's thoughts on kingship are comparable to those of Plato's philosopher king. The ideal characteristics for a monarch should be heart and mind. The king is addressed throughout the entire *Arthashastra*. According to Kautilya, the *Matsyayana*, or law of fishes, which states that the larger fish swallows the smaller fish, oppresses the populace. God created the first king of his type at this time and gave him the name Manu.

### 6.4.1 Qualities of the king: -

1. A monarch should be ideal in every way, including mental, intellectual, and physical.
2. He should be punctual.
3. He should have the control own senses.
4. He should accomplish his work, economic, and religious goals.

### 6.4.2 Duties and Powers of the King- A king having following works:-

- The three pillars of religion, economy, and work are the foundation of Kautilya's economy. The king begins his day by performing his religious duties. Kautilya advises him to work with religion. Such tasks ought to be assigned to a purohit or saint. Honouring him (the saint) as pupilguru, son-father, and servant-master is appropriate.
- He needs to schedule appointments in order to do his task. Ministers, saints, commanders, and various department heads ought to be chosen in accordance with their qualifications.
- People who created states through social cohesion did so for the sake of their security and well-being. The king places a high priority on citizen welfare. He should make every effort to provide for wellbeing. He should encourage his followers to follow this route while also walking it himself. It can be used to provide labour, as well as economic.
- The importance of agriculture is emphasised by Kautilya. He advises to the monarch that the nation be founded in a location where farming is possible. The state's land needs to be planted.
- The king should do justice according to religious. For it he should select judges and establish courts.

- The king should constantly enhance the treasury, and to do so, he should issue instructions. Economics are important for both job and religion. Kautilya gave his epic the name *Arthashastra* because he believed that a strong economy is the foundation of a strong state.
- A ruler should appoint ambassadors to observe how other nations behave. Kautilya also makes recommendations for diplomatic action in opposition to friendly and hostile states.
- A king should preserve his citizens from natural calamities. Kautilya says, “The king checks the famine at all, whenever the citizens would not eat, he should not eat the food himself.”

**6.4.3 Checks on King’s Power:** The king of Kautilya was not absolute monarch. For checking absolute monarchy Kautilya had put some checks on him;

- **Religious Check-** He has been scrutinized for money collection, a luxurious lifestyle, and personal safety by Religion. He worked according to the religious sentiments and religious institution for political expending and for the noble ends of the state.
- **The king is not supreme-** He must submit to religious duties. He is drawn to saints and purohits. As a son to his father and a servant to his master, he should be respected in the same way as a student respects his teacher. He is inferior to the Saint.
- **Equal objectives of People, King and State-** He has not to fulfill the objectives for himself but also for the citizens. When there are equal rights between king and people there is no question of absolutism.
- **Succession is based on Merit-**Merit-based succession is used by Kautilya to distinguish it from hereditary succession. According to him, a monarch should be physically fit, cognitively sharp, intellectually curious, reliable, courageous, etc., and full of qualities. Such a virtual ruler wouldn't be unchallengeable.
- **Pressure of Ministers-** The king cannot be autocratic since he follows the advice of his ministers when carrying out his duties. In *Arthashastra*, he has the authority to make decisions on his own after consulting with the ministers.
- **The king's powers are limited-** He has the authority to enact laws, but they must adhere to Dharmashastra and local customs. Although he has the right to punish, he should do so in accordance with religious laws. A king so only has certain authority. He is not absolute as a result.

King's authority has been verified. Kautilya does not support his tyrannical attitude towards the populace. All of the king's works are for the good of the people. For fulfilling his responsibilities he has comprehensive rights. Thus, his throne is the symbol of proud and importance. It was highly challenging for any king to establish himself in an absolute position of unbridled autocratic control with these limitations on the governmental structure in place.

**6.4.4. Check Your Progress II**

(i) What are the duties of King according to Kautilya?

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(ii) Describe the checks on the power of King.

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**6.5. Kautilya’s Views on Inter State Relations**

In his writings on interstate relations and diplomacy, Kautilya outlined some fundamental principles, including the following: a) No state can exist in isolation; b) there are no permanent allies or enemies in interstate relations; c) any kingdom is an ally or enemy depending on its geographical location in relation to the intending conqueror; and d) A wise king with political training, even if he only controls a small territory, can conquer the outside world with the aid of the best. The main ideas in *Arthashastra* that deal with inter-state relations and foreign policy are *Mandala Siddhant*, *Sadgunya Niti* (Sixfold policy), the four *Upayas* (Fourfold measures).

**6.5.1 Mandala Siddhant or Concept of Mandala**

Sanskrit's term for "mandala" means "circle." The universe has been given graphic features by the Indians, who have rendered it in its purest form. Mandala is a geometric projection of the globe. Kautilya created a political geometry that takes into account many political circumstances using the mandala's design. He compared the structure of international relations to a mandala system in the seventh book of the *Arthashastra*. It wasn't a brand-new idea that Kautilya introduced because Manu had already talked about it and the Rigveda made oblique allusions to it.

However, it was Kautilya who gave a comprehensive theory of mandala for security and survival of state. He holds that the king should increase the number of his friends in proportion to the number of his enemy states in order to be able to maintain control over them. This is because the monarch wants to extend his state by subduing and conquering other states. Conversely, the weaker powers need to be wary of their strong neighbours. In order to defend themselves against the super powers and pursue their expansionist programme, they should continue to have friendly connections with states that have an equal standing and establish a Mandala or circle of these states. The central premise of the Mandala theory lies in locating the position of a kingdom as an enemy or ally with respect to the intending conqueror and the kingdom's spatial placement in the mandala.

- *Vijigishu*: The king who aspires to be the conqueror
- *Ari*: Shares border with Vijigishu, an enemy
- *Mitra*: Friend or an ally of Vijigishu, shares border with ari
- *Ari-Mitra*: Friend of ari, shares border with mitra
- *Mitra-Mitra* : Friend or an ally of friend
- *Ari Mitra-Mitra*: Friend of enemy's friend
- *Parshnigraha*: Enemy in the rear of the Vijigishu
- *Aakranda*: Friend in the rear behind Parshnigraha
- *Parshnigraha-asara*: Friend of Parshnigraha behind Aakranda
- *Aakranda-asara*: Friend of Aakranda behind Parshnigrahasara
- *Madhyama*: Indifferent kingdom
- *Udasina*: Neutral Kingdom

Kautilya promotes four fundamental rings and uses the Vijigishu as the mandala theory's point of reference. The *Vijigishu*, his friend, and his friend's friend are the three principal kings who make up the first circle. They each have the *amatya*, *janapada*, *durga*, *kosha*, and *danda*, which are the five components of sovereignty. Consequently, a circle of states would have 18 elements i.e. 3 primary kings plus 5 elements of each, for a total of 15. This likewise holds true for the other three rings of states: *ari* (the *vijigishu's* antagonist), *madhyama* (the indifferent monarch), and *udasina* (the neutral king), each with a king at its centre. The mandala hypothesis would also include 12 kings, 60 aspects of sovereignty, and 72 elements of states, in addition to four main rings of states. The statement may thus be analyzed:

Circle i- Comprising of the *Vijigishu*, his friend and his friend's friend

Circle ii-Comprising of the *Ari*, his friend and his friend's friend.

Circle iii- Comprising of the *Madhyama* king, his friend and his friend's friend

Circle iv- Comprising of the *Udasina* king, his friend and his friend's friend

The *Vijigishu* king, an aspirant to absolute sovereignty, is enjoined by Kautilya to embark on a career of conquest, seduce the surrounding states, and shine forth as the supreme, undisputed monarch. Striking at the right moment, the conqueror attains his objectives and, at the same time, sees to it that the balance of power is maintained amongst the kings of a circle. The five monarchs in front of the conqueror are *Ari*, *Mitra*, *Arimitra*, *Mitramitra*, and *Arimitromitra*, spelling out the invader's intricate relationships in *Kautilyan* terms. Some kings had no desire to participate in the rivalries that surrounded them. The term "*Madhyama*" or "indifferent" refers to a monarch who was both close to the conqueror and his antagonist and who was capable of aiding both rulers, whether they were united or not, or of opposing each one separately. *Udasina* was a monarch who had similar potential but who did not rule over the invader, his enemy, or *Madhyama*. The twelve kings mentioned above were regarded as constituting the mandala of kings. Kautilya's explanation of the Mandala theory of interstate politics is a lesson in contemporary practical politics. The monarch was motivated by Kautilya to make his foreign policy decisions only after carefully evaluating the capacities and accomplishments of his allies and adversaries.

**6.5.2 Sadgunya Niti or Sixfold policy-** According to Kautilya's argument in Book 7 of the *Arthashastra*, a state has six possibilities for implementing its foreign policy, each of which is appropriate in a particular set of circumstances. Kautilya mentions six types of system or qualities of foreign policy which is known as six-fold policy. The six-fold policy includes:

1. *Sandhis* (Peace)
2. *Vigraha* (War)
3. *Asana* (Neutrality)
4. *Yana* (preparing for war)
5. *Samasraya* (Alliance)
6. *Dvaidhibhava* (Dual Policy)

1) ***Sandhis* (peace)-** The *Sandhi*, according to Kautilya, is a type of conditional wealth transfer between two monarchs. This distribution is typically determined by financial, geographic, and

punishment factors. In reality, the term "*Sandhi*" is used broadly to refer to the security that comes with productive work. Kautilya primarily emphasised the value of maintaining peace.

**2) *Vigraha* (war)-** *Vigraha*, or war, is the term used to describe the king's aggressiveness against the foe. In the seventh and tenth chapters of his work *Arthashastra*, Kautilya explains and examines numerous facets of war. He referred to *Vigraha* as a war term. War is unavoidable, but not intentionally.

**3) *Asana* (neutrality)-** The king must, under certain circumstances, follow a policy of neutrality towards the enemy, according to Kautilya. If the king realizes that, neither he nor his adversary can defeat the other, then he should avoid war and alliance.

**4) *Yana* (preparing for war)-** The king's preparation for war against the enemy is called *Yana*. One should move forward in accordance with the strength and capabilities of opponent.

**5) *Samsraya* (Alliance)-** The meaning of *Samsraya* is alliance for self-preservation and join hands with those who have similar objectives.

**6) *Dvaidhibhava* (dual policy)-** Diplomacy takes the form of dual policy. Ambivalent behaviour is referred to as *Dvaidhibhava*. Through the use of this strategy, the monarch chooses an open pact when the rival is more powerful, but he secretly plots to destroy the rival.

### **6.5.3 Four *Upayas* (Fourfold measures)**

There are four *upayas* – *Sama* (conciliation), *Dama* (concession or gift), *Danda* (punishment) and *Bheda* (dissension). These *upayas* were to be used in times of peace by the king in his foreign relations. It is important to note that there is a hierarchy in the use of these *upayas*, with *danda* or the use of force being the last option. The four *upayas* given by Kautilya are explained below-

***Sama* (conciliation)-** Concession and compromise is promised to the opponent irrespective of the fact whether it would really materialize or not. Giving a high rank or awarding an honor is also a method of conciliation with a potential enemy.

***Dama* (concession or gift)-** In case conciliation does not work out, one has to take recourse to *dana* or gifts. It may include cash payments, valuables, making territorial concessions or even handing over hostages.

***Danda* (punishment)-** The third *upaya*, often known as divide and conquer, entails fostering strife. By isolating actors from one another and sowing the seeds of disagreement in their minds, procedures like discrimination and selective preference are used. State alliances that jeopardize the safety of one's own state should be diminished or destroyed.

**Bheda (dissension)**- In interstate relations, it refers to war and involves the use of force or punishment. Due to the danger and expense of war, Kautilya favoured clandestine operations, or *tusnim-yuddha*. Effective ways to advance one's own state interests include sabotage and the murder of the leaders of competitor states. Covert actions are inexpensive but can yield greater rewards.

#### 6.5.4. Check Your Progress III

(i) What is the concept of *Mandala*?

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(ii) What do you know about *Sadgunya* Niti or Six-fold policy of Kautilya?

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#### 6.6. CONCLUSION

Kautilya is the father of Indian political science; however, his works have not been given due importance and analysis has not been done not only in India, but also outside India as well. The *Arthashastra* by Kautilya is a groundbreaking text in diplomatic and strategic studies. He hasn't gotten the recognition he deserves for his contributions to the theory of international relations. In formulating a state's foreign policy, Kautilya emphasized the importance of that state's geographical and economic basis. He defined the idea of "*Yogakshema*," which is a union of security, prosperity, and tranquilly that may be attained through dharma, *danda*, and family. Kautilya proposed a multi-pronged approach to national security that addressed both conventional and atypical security challenges, which was uncommon in his era. The four *upayas* and the *shadgunya* precepts were crucial in implementing a nation's foreign policy. Despite being regarded as a realist philosopher, Kautilya regularly brings up dharma in *Arthashastra*. *Kautilyan's* thinking was a blend of idealism and realism, as seen by a comprehensive reading of his writing. Even in the twenty-first century, India's foreign policy is still governed by his vision.

## **6.7. Questions for Practice**

### **6.7.1. Long Answer questions**

- I. Discuss the political ideas of Kautilya.
- II. Explain the Kautilya's views on State.
- III. Describe the inter-state relations discussed by Kautilya.
- IV. Discuss Kautilya's views on Kingship.

### **6.7.2. Short Answer Questions**

- I. Describe the functions of state according to Kautilya.
- II. Discuss the six-fold policy of Kautilya.
- III. Discuss the four-fold measures described by Kautilya.
- IV. What are the qualities of king according to Kautilya?

## **6.8 Suggested Readings-**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**

**SEMESTER V**

**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 7 GURU NANAK DEV G: CONCEPT OF STATE AND CONCEPT OF JUSTICE**

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**STRUCTURE**

- 7.0. Learning Objectives
- 7.1. Key Words
- 7.2. Introduction
- 7.3. Historical Background
- 7.4. Political Circumstances Under Lodhi Emperors
- 7.5. Babur's Invasion on Punjab
- 7.6. Guru Nanak's Response to The Contemporary Circumstances
- 7.7. Guru Nanak's Concept of Justice, Concept of Social Justice.
- 7.8. Conclusion
- 7.9. Suggested Readings

**7.0.LEARNING OBJECTIVES:** After the completion of this unit students will be able to learn:

1. To understand the ideology of Guru Nanak Dev g
2. To analyse the concept of state in the context of Guru Nanak dev g
3. To analyse the concept of Justice in the context of Guru Nanak dev g

**7.1. KEY WORDS:** State, Justice, religion,

**7.2. INTRODUCTION**

State is a core concept of political science. Theoretically, an organisation which has four essential elements like territory, population, government and sovereignty can be called state. From ancient times to till present most of the political thinkers develop their theories related the nature and origin of the state.

Like political thinkers many other renowned personalities of civil society like religious preachers, etc express their views about the nature of state and raise their voices against improper working of ruling class. India has the proud privilege of giving birth to numerous saints, philosophers, religious preachers and prophets who

were raise their voice against the atrocities of ruling class without any fear. Guru Nanak dev g founder of Sikhism is also one of those who fearlessly stood against their contemporary rulers to protect the rights of citizens. Sikhism is a monumental religion originated in Punjab around the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He is a prophet of peace and was born in Punjab, who proved a great saint.

### **7.3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Guru Nanak, a great reformer and revolutionary had very sharp intellect, a wide-awake mind, deep insight and a spiritually developed personality. He was keen observer of the socio-political happenings of his period. Guru Nanak was a religious and social reformer not a professional political thinker. But there were same ideas expressed by Guru Nanak which may be called his political views because of their direct or indirect affinity to modern ideas of the political pattern. Guru Nanak's life period (1469-1539) was politically dominated by the Muslim rule over India. He preached certain ideas based on his experience and learning which may categorised as his political ideas or political philosophy. Guru Nanak was born at the time when India faced a great crisis. The hour of Guru Nanak's birth "was an hour of crisis for the calmly flowing stream of the Indian culture which has never been subjected to such a several stress and storm. The political system was a challenge to any self-respecting man which any individual like Guru Nanak could not bear.

### **7.4. POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER LODHI EMPERORS**

Guru Nanak was the contemporary of five Kings. Bahlol Lodhi (1451-1489), Sikander Lodhi (1489-1577), Ibrahim Lodhi (1577-1526), Babar (1526-1530) and Humayun (1530-1540). During the Lodhi period lawless elements had begun to raise their heads in defiance. Much of the time of Lodhi Sultans was spent in warfare and these repeated waves of depredation and violence had rendered the life very hard and miserable for the people of Northern India. There was hardly any security of like, honour or prosperity. During that period Hinduism and Islam were the two dominant religions in the Punjab. The rulers of the country were Muslims while Hindus were subjects. Deep hatred and bitter antagonism existed between these two religions. The Hindus suffers multiple oppressions— by foreign rulers by invaders, and by alien settlers. The Hindus and Muslims were completely sparked from each other religiously, socially, economically, culturally and politically chaos and oppression. All spheres of life were affected by corruption and high-handedness.

Sikander Lodhi proved the worst rule. He was infidel completely destroyed diverse places of faith and left not a single vestige. He ruined the shrines of Mathura entirely the mines of hetaerism, and turned the principal places of worship of the Hindus in Caravan *Sarais* and *Madarases*.

Ibrahim Lodhi was a weak, worthless and dissolute king. The whole of Delhi kingdom that time was in utter confusion and disorder under him. On the one hand Ibrahim failed to understand the character and sentiments of his own race, and on the other hand the vast majority of the Hindus of the country had little faith in his sense of justice. The Hindus remained dissatisfied and discontented as ever before under Sikander, Feroz and Ala-ud-Din Khilji.

The reigning dynasty at the time were the Lodhies, who according to Nanak had 'squandered away the priceless heritage' that was Hindustan and allowed it to be ravaged by Babar's Mughal holders. The tumult of hate and falsehood had made the songs of love of the Sufis and the Bhaktas almost inaudible.<sup>1</sup> Guru Nanak dev g criticised Lodhi's for not making sufficient arrangements for protecting their subjects. He holds them responsible for the suffering of the people at the hands of the Mughals.<sup>2</sup>

#### **7.5. BABUR'S INVASION ON PUNJAB**

In 1521 Emperor Babur attacked India, massacred the people in a village called Eminabad and imprisoned the people of the next village. The attack of Babur on Hindustan was a sinful venture. Guru Nanak Dev Ji pointed out all the evils which prevailing that time. Guru Nanak Dev Ji openly raised his voice against their activities. The general political conditions of India during the Lodhi and Mugal periods were bad enough because of utter lack of justice and fair play. There were inner conflicts among the neighbouring states and all the princely states fought the foreigners individually. The provincial governs themselves had no concern with the religious persecution of the Hindu and the administration in the provinces remains worst. The governors were always busy in wordily pleasures and had lost all sense of duty towards the people.

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<sup>1</sup> Khuswant singh, "A history of Sikh- volume -1:1469-1839", Oxford University Press, New Delhi,1999, p 27

<sup>2</sup> [www.sikhinet.com](http://www.sikhinet.com), Surjit Hans, "Parmapra ate Pragatiwad", 1981, p 360

There was a wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled. The sole sanction behind the throne was the coercive powers of the rulers. The popular base was totally absent. Thus, the kings, courtiers, and the whole administration had been corrupt. Political oppression of the Hindus by the alien Muslim rulers left them with no political rights. They were not only treated as second-class citizens but also as slaves. Muslim rulers' first and foremost duty was to prerogative Islam and convert Hindus to Islam even at the point of the sword. Hindus were denied the liberty of conscience, expression and worship. Muslim rulers imposed heavy taxes on the Hindu trading community. Judicial officers denied justice in the case in which Hindus were involved on the instructions of the ruling Muslim rulers. Political degeneracy, administrative decadence and disgruntled elements prevailed in all spheres of title.

#### **7.6.GURU NANAK'S RESPONSE TO THE CONTEMPORARY CIRCUMSTANCES**

Guru Nanak often denounced the political rule of his time in general terms. Guru Nanak did not turn a blind eye to political suppression or consider it outside the realm of religion, but undertook political protest through his writings, speaking out against the cruelty of rulers. Guru Nanak wrote a number of passages about the Mughal invasions of India by Babur and the brutalities that he eye witnessed firsthand.<sup>3</sup> However, as is evident from his verses, his criticism was very much balanced and scholastic. He said:

Kings are like Butchers  
Religion hath taken wings and flown.  
In the dark night of falsehood,  
I cannot see where the moon of truth is rising'. (*Majh ki Var*)<sup>4</sup>

Guru Nanak's reaction to the political and social conditions of his time in his hymns was directly intended to condemn Lodhis' as tyrants and it was also against all those blinded by political power. Guru Nanak rebuked the Master of the head for not having offered still resistance to the enemy in the defence of their subjects and

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<sup>3</sup> [www.sikhiwiki.org](http://www.sikhiwiki.org) visited on 07-09-2019

<sup>4</sup> Khuswant singh *opcit*

allowing the foreigners to snatch way such a precious gem so easily. To quote the Guru:

The dogs (Lodhis) have thrown away the priceless inheritance.

When they are dead and gone, no will remember them with regard.

This showed Guru Nanak's anguish over political conditions and the nature of the rulers of the time. However, he made it clear that to a very great extent, the people had only themselves to blame for their lot. He was very sensitively aware of political abuses and consequent miseries of the people.

Guru Nanak Dev ji talked about the kings, government etc, not about the state. The Guru called upon the rulers to stand for reason and to rule in the interest of the people. He said that the king had not right to exercise absolute powers. The divine origin of the kingship is stated in the Mahabharata and the state is believed to have come into being due to the inspiration from God. During those days the people also believed in the Divine Right of King. It was held that the King was ordained by God to rule over the people. The Guru challenged this idea. He even went one step further and made kingship conditional. Like Plato's philosopher king, Guru Nanak declared that, "The king rules by the strength of his virtues and of the accordance with the will of the representatives of the people." This was a very democratic and progressive principle which Guru Nanak enunciated and advocated caked in 15<sup>th</sup> century. He emphasized that only a person who was virtuous and moral, fair and just had right to rule.

He desires God fearing rulers and asks him to imbibe virtues and refrain from revetments and sensual pleasure. Guru Nanak instructs a ruler to work for the welfare of his subjects and abstains from self motivation. He wishes harmony and peace in a kingdom and craves to eradicate discrimination and exploitation at all levels. He enjoins upon the rulers to defend the country and the people from the foreign aggression.<sup>5</sup>

The state in traditional political theory western and eastern has been founded on a utopian world view of the Greek philosophers, Roman Jurists, the Vedantic and the Buddhist thinker. Modern political theory, on the other hand moves dramatically

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<sup>5</sup> [www.sikhnet.com](http://www.sikhnet.com), Balwant Singh Dhillon, "Political Attitude of Guru Nanak" Journal of Sikh Studies,

apart from these classical nations by generally relying on pragmatic expediency. The Sikh formulations with regard to the state fall in between those two extreme positions. Theorising about a state which is neither a totally spiritualised entity nor a thoroughly.

Guru Nanak Dev Ji wanted to establish a new society which based on democratic principles in the widest sense. The aim of Guru Nanak was to save society from slavery, tyranny and in justice. The newly created society was based on health and rational principles of politics and social relationship. He says that state should create that conditions which may help the individual to nurture his personality.

He believes that state is based on justice and equality. On the contrary, it had always been stressed that kings should always be dispensers of justice and equality. Guru Nanak criticised the Northern Indian rulers for their ignoring salient principle of good rule. He felt that bowing down to oppression was cowardice and if encouraged, the prolongation of injustice and cruelty towards the weak and helpless. Guru Nanak was an advocate monarchical democracy. He never accepted the idea that the king was independent to act according to their wishes regardless of their responsibilities to their subjects.

Guru Nanak Dev talked about the duties of the rules that an unjust king disturbed equilibrium of society and created all round chaos, while his injustice, great and avaricious resulted in calamities like famine, scarcity of rainfall, economic and political crises and shedding of innocent blood. So, king would be just and aware for his responsibilities. The administrative duties of the rules were as multifarious as the necessities of the state. According to Guru Nanak, monarchy was God ordained. In his opinion, the monarch exercises the powers as a mandate from God in order that may continue to enjoy this boon. He must always act in consonance with God's dictates, which resides in the will of the people. In one of his couplets Guru Nanak says that for a ruler, the public opinion is like a pointer of God's will, and one who submits before the democratic ideals has no fear for leasing his crown or throne. Although Guru Nanak makes no mention of a separate department of army under the king, yet he is conscious of the importance of army to the monarch of his times because it is necessary to maintain law and order. According to him rules should be well versed in military and the chief quality of a soldier should be to die on the battlefield facing the enemy's army in defence of the oppressed.

Guru Nanak says that the judicial department was the most ill-organised during that period. Justice hath taken wings and flown. He is critic of the excising nature of the judiciary and boldly writes that the sin of taking bribe cannot be washed away by reciting the Quran and posing as God-fearing men. Guru Nanak regrets that the Qazies live on bribe and tell lies and the Brahmins who pretend to be pious and just are not better than the Qazies.

The Qazies uttereth flashed and so earth direct,  
The Brahmin stayeth life and then bathes at the pilgrim stations.

He says real judge should have full faith in God.

Guru Nanak denounced slavery and stood for its abolition. To him practice of slavery in any form was inhuman and against the will of the Supreme Lord. He was opposed that type of ruler which believes in slavery. He said that rule must be stood for equality of all human beings.

Guru Nanak was a strong antagonist of imperialism. He condemned the practice of imperialism in all fields, political, religious, social and economic. In political field he openly challenged the Lodhi rulers and denounced the invasion Babur, as previously discussed. He does not only condemn imperialism in various fields but also gives out his own scheme of national emancipation. He stressed certain points to encourage national integration in an ideal state and educated the citizens to do their best for the state. Guru Nanak advocated a secular state, endorsing equality of all religions. But secular state he meant *Sarva-Dhrma-Sambhava*- the traditional Hindu concept envisaging equal respect for all religions, freedom of worship and conscience and non-discrimination on the part of state for any religion.

Guru Nanak upheld various democratic principles like the equality of human beings, Gender equality, supremacy of masses, concept of *Sangat* and *Pangat*, which brought before the people a classless democratic society where all could claim equal status at a time when Brahminical autocracy and social division based on caste and class had disunited and wakened the Indian society. Thus, Guru Nanak explores democratic principles. Any hereditary claim to office or profession was challenged, as it limited competition for securing the best man for the job.

### **7.7. GURU NANAK'S CONCEPT OF JUSTICE**

Guru Nanak Dev g is not only a spiritual leader but also a social activist. Guru Nanak was a born revolutionary. He revolted against the established religious and

social practices at a very young age. He always opposed the socio-cultural and religious practices which was the root cause of injustice.

1. **GENDER EQUALITY:** He always interrogated and condemned those religious beliefs and social customs which were responsible for the discrimination against women and held the custodians of society responsible for the degradation of women:

ਭੰਡਿ ਜੰਮੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਡੰਮੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਮੰਗਣ ਵੀਆਹ॥

ਭੰਿਹ ਹੋਵੈ ਦੇਸਤੀ ਭੰਿਹ ਚਲੈ ਰਾਹੁ॥

ਭੰਿ ਮੁਆ ਭੰਿੁ ਭਾਲੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਹੋਵੈ

ਬੰਧਾ॥ ਸੇ ਡਿਉ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਡਜਤ ਜੰਮਡਹ

ਰਜਾ॥

ਭੰਿਹੁ ਹੀ ਭੰਿੁ ਉਪਜੈ ਭੰਿੈ ਬਾਝੁ ॥

ਿੋਇ॥ ॥ ॥ ਭੰਿੈ ਬਾਹਰਾ

ਇ ਸਚਾ ਸੇਇ॥

ਡਜਤੁ ਮੁਡਖ ਸਦਾ ਸਾਲਾਹੀਐ ਭਾਗਾ ਰਤੀ ਚਾਡਰ॥

॥ ਭੰਿ ਤੇ ਮੁਖ ਉਜਲੇ ਡਤਤੁ ਸਚੈ

ਦਰਬਾਡਰ॥

It is only woman who gives birth to a child. It is she who conceives and nourishes the fetus inside her womb. It is woman whom man betroths and marries. It is woman whose company he seeks. It is she who nurtures and sustains the human race. When wife dies, man seeks another one. It is she through whom relations are established. How could she who gives birth to kings/great men be considered inferior? It is she who gives birth to another woman. No one could be born without woman. O Nanak, only the “True One” is independent of woman. Whosoever, whether man or woman sings the glory of God is blessed with joy and beauty. Nanak, such faces will be radiant in the court of the True One. (SGGS, M 1, p. 473)

This hymn criticized the patriarchal culture, as it is addressed to men, especially rulers/leaders who were the guardians of socio-religious order. Further, Guru Nanak



declares that woman is the hub and the lifeline of humanity. It is woman who conceives and nurtures humanity from birth to death. Besides, he puts woman at the top of “human evolution” by declaring that only God is independent of woman. Guru Nanak observed that Indian elite started playing a subservient role to gain

power and pelf from the ruling class. He urges the elite of Hindu society not to abandon their religious practices, language and culture to appease their rulers.

Guru Nanak's views about women were far advanced for his time. He formed a democratic congregation where single, married and widowed women were welcomed and treated as equal partners of the community.

## 2. SOCIAL EQUALITY:

Indian society was a sort of rigmarole of customs, creeds and restrictions but Guru Nanak wanted to overthrow all the impediments. Women were treated as Sudras or untouchables in Indian society. Sudras or untouchables are considered lower in the Indian Society. Guru Nanak raised voice against the social discrimination and expressed out his concern and sympathy for the pathetic condition of downtrodden (Sudras and Untouchables) in the society and openly declaring his solidarity with the lowest of the low in society:

ਵੀਚ ਅੰਦਰ ਵੀਚ ਜਾਤ ਵੀਚੀ ਹੂ ਅਡਤ ਵੀਚੁ॥

ਵਾਠਿੰਡਤ ਵੀਚੇ ਸੰਡਗ ਸਾਡਿ ਵਡਿਆ ਡਸਉ ਡਿਆ

ਰੀਸ॥ ਡਜੈ ਵੀਚ ਸਮਾਲੀਅਡ ਵਡੈ ਵਡਦਰ ਤੇਰੀ

ਬਖਸੀਸ॥

Those who are lowest of the low class, the very lowest of the low; Nanak will stand by the lowest of lowest, not with the elite. Societies that take care of the downtrodden have the blessing of God. (SGGS, M 1, p. 15)

Guru Nanak spoke for universal brotherhood and harmony among communities and nations. He advocated abolition of all distinctions based on caste and creed. He declared:

ਸਭੁ ਠਿੰਠੇ ਉਚਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਵੀਚੁ ਵ ਦੀਸੈ

ਠਿੰਠੇਇ॥ ਇਵੈ ਭਾਂਠਿੰਠੇ ਸਾਡਜਐ ਇੰਦੁ

ਚਾਣੁ ਡਤਹੁ ਲੇਇ॥

Call every one high, none is low, the only potter (One Lord) had fashioned all alike. And his light pervades all creation. (SGGS, M 1, p. 62)

ਜਾਣਹੁ ਜੇਡਤ ਵ ਪੁਛਹੁ ਜਾਤੀ ਆਗੈ ਜਾਡਤ ਵ ਹੇ॥

Recognize the Lord's Light within all, and do not consider social class or status;  
there are no classes or castes in the world hereafter (SGGS, M 1, p. 349)

In this regard, to give practical shape to his teachings, he introduced the system of *langar* (community kitchen) and *Pangat* (persons sitting together in rows to eat) at Kartarpur now in Pakistan. Guru Nanak Dev himself dined all the distinctions based on castes and classes, high and low. Tradition of *langar* became a symbol of equality, fraternity and brotherhood.

### **3. EQUAL RIGHTS:**

The philosophy of Guru Nanak Dev and its relevance today in equity, social justice and environment' here. Guru Nanak and his philosophy do not belong only to Punjab or the Sikh religion but his persona and his teachings have gifted pearls of sanity and wisdom to whole world that could transcend all man-made boundaries irrespective of the race, caste creed or religion.

Guru Nanak's was a rationalist, and he challenged superstitions and dogmas in simple and thoughtful words that were well understood and accepted by members of the clergy and commoners alike. Guru Nanak demonstrated that all religions are equal and deserved to be equally respected by all. The ideas behind equality of all human beings as well as universal brotherhood formed the philosophy of the holy Guru Granth sahib (Sikh holy book) which we know the collection of poetic hymns through which Guru Nanak delivered his divine guidance.

He (Guru Nanak) termed such *sewa* (service) as 'Sacha Sauda' or true business of life. Guru Nanak Dev championed the cause of equality and justice and his teachings transcend all man-made boundaries irrespective of race, caste, creed or religion.

Recalling the first Sikh Guru's ideology of "ਪਵੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਪਾਣੀ ਡਪਤਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਧਰਤ ਮਹਤੁ॥ (air the guru, water the father and earth mother)". If the people followed this message sincerely, the country would not have faced the terrible environment crisis as being witnessed today. Extensive travels of Guru Nanak helped him acquire deep knowledge and appreciation of diversity of flora and fauna.

### **7.8. CONCLUSION:**

It can be concluded that although Guru Nanak lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but his teachings have much relevance in modern society too. Guru Nanak was a keen observer of the political scene and had deep feelings and involvement in the problem of his times. He was not indifferent to political problems. He expresses his concern

about the socio-political evils in most unambiguous and forceful language. He pointed out the traits and virtues of the rulers in the country that they should have honesty, liberal mindedness, just and sympathetic nature. On the other hand, the Guru pointed out that if a ruler commits tyrannies, it is the duty of a man to fight against him. Guru Nanak's role in the politics of his times is radical and as well as progressive. The Bani of Guru Nanak guides the humanity to lead a successful and good life. He is not a political philosopher but his ideology is more authentic and relevant to solve the problems of present time. Guru Nanak pushed away the bounds of race, creed caste and religion and championed the cause of equality and justice both for men and women. At the end it can be sum up that Guru Nanak's Bani motivates us to creates a society which promotes justice, equality, fraternity, faith, secularism and democratic values and it leads to *SARBAT DA BHALA*.

#### **7.9. SUGGESTED READINGS:**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**  
**SEMESTER V**  
**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 8: M.N ROY: CONCEPT OF RADICAL HUMANISM AND CONCEPT OF  
DEMOCRACY**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 8.0. Learning objectives
- 8.1. Key Words
- 8.2. Introduction
- 8.3. Early life and Career
- 8.4. Writings
  - 8.4.1. Check Your Progress I
- 8.5. Concept of Radical Humanism
  - 8.5.1. Check Your Progress II
- 8.6. Concept of Democracy
  - 8.6.1. Check Your Progress III
- 8.7. Conclusion
- 8.8. Questions for Practice
  - 8.8.1. Long Answer questions
  - 8.8.2. Short Answer Questions
- 8.9. Suggested Readings

**8.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able:

- .To know about the personality of M.N Roy
- To know about the concept of Radical Humanism
- To know about M.N Roy's views regarding Democracy

**8.1. KEY WORDS**

State, Democracy, Marxism, Radical Humanism, Decentralization

**8.2. INTRODUCTION-** M.N. Roy was born in Bengal in 1887. He was India's first theorist who attempted to apply Marxism to achieve liberation from foreign rule. He enjoys a special

distinction, because he collaborated with Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. He transitioned from a nationalist revolutionary to an enthusiastic Marxist, then from a Marxist to a radical humanist as his opinions changed. He began his political career as a fervent nationalist, similar to Aurobindo Ghosh. Three stages are included in Roy's mental process. He was a patriot and revolutionary during the first phase, which lasted until 1919. Roy transitioned towards communism in the second phase, and in the third and last stage, he turned as radical humanist. He coupled a strong dedication to the fundamental principles of freedom and truth with a remarkable openness that allowed him to be receptive to new ideas and learn from new experiences. Roy made an effort to explain philosophy in a scientific way and set it apart from religion. He asserted that the presence of religious doctrine and theological dogmas prevents philosophical progress. He recognised the need for a fresh and reviving ethical perspective as well as the true character of man, as well as the need for a new and really revolutionary social and political philosophy. Roy made an effort in this direction when he founded the Radical Humanism concept. He was the founder of the Mexican Communist Party and Communist Party of India.

**8.3. EARLY LIFE AND CAREER-** Manabendra Nath Roy's life story may never be fully revealed; at the very least, the endeavor appears to be considerably beyond the capabilities of any one person. It is regrettable that he was unable to finish writing his memoirs because there are details of this tale that only he could reveal. The damage is done and cannot be undone. Roy had a huge initial hesitation to start this writing, which all of Ellen, his wife, and his friends and followers had to use their persuasive and argumentative skills to overcome. Those of us who had the luxury of knowing and working with Roy still remember this reluctance. His life had been fully integrated with his career.

As a fourteen-year-old schoolboy, Narendra Bhattacharya joined the revolutionary struggle in Bengal. He was born in the Bengal village of Urbalia, to a priestly family. He quickly gained recognition as one of its fearless and valiant members and soon after the First World War began, he fled the nation in disguise to obtain weapons for toppling the foreign rule. In order to complete his mission, Narendra journeyed via Burma, Indonesia, China, Japan, and the Philippines before arriving in the USA. With America's entry into the war, circumstances in the USA altered, and he was detained.

In the United States, Narendra Bhattacharya adopted the name Manabendra Nath Roy, which he retained all the way to the end. Roy escaped from jail and went to Mexico. While he was in



Mexico, he began to turn away from violent nationalism and convert to Marxism, which resulted in the establishment of the Communist Party of Mexico, the first Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union. After meeting Michael Borodin in Mexico, Lenin extended an invitation to Roy to visit the Soviet Union. He arrived in Moscow just in time for the Second Congress of the Communist International, and Lenin quickly came to trust and admire him, referring to him as "the symbol of revolution in the East." He was appointed to the Communist International's Praesidium and served as the Eastern Section's Head for a number of years. He travelled to China in 1926 as the International's lone representative to assist the revolution there. After a brief stay in Germany due to the breach with the International in 1928, Roy returned to India in 1930—nearly sixteen years after leaving the land in quest of guns. With new arms of a different type, he turned around. He had arrived in India with a mission, ideas, and a commitment to freedom and justice that would inspire the Indian people to rise up against their native oppressors as well as British Imperialism. He had outgrown colonial nationalism's naive inspiration. Marxism opened him a whole new world of concepts and ideals for him, and he insisted that for freedom to mean something to millions of his fellow countrymen, it had to take on more than just nationalist aspects. But less than a year after his return, Roy was detained and given a five-year prison term. When he was freed, he joined the Indian National Congress, but shortly after the Second World War began, he parted ways with the Congress over the topic of India's response to the problems the war had brought about. For him, the conflict represented a global struggle between democracy and fascism, with the emancipation of the colonies dependent on the success of the former.

In 1940, he resigned from Congress and started the Radical Democratic Party. His split from communism and the development of his beliefs away from Marxism began with his separation with the Congress. The man of action and the man of thought soon combined to form a system-builder who, more than anyone else, was aware of the constraints and challenges of any such attempt and never tired of highlighting them. His theories quickly took shape and became the New Humanism social philosophy, which he continued to develop and spread until the end. This result had the parallel effect of dissolving the Radical Democratic Party in 1948. On June 1952, he met a serious accident. After that, he faces paralysis attacks. On January 1954, he died due to heart attack.

#### 8.4. WRITINGS:

1. India in Transition- 1922
2. The Future of Indian Politics- 1929
3. Historical Role of Islam- 1939
4. From Savagery to Civilization 1940
5. Poverty and Plenty 1944
6. Revolution and Counter Revolution in China- 1946
7. New Orientation- 1946
8. Beyond Communism- 1947
9. New Humanism- A Manifesto (1947)
10. Reason Romanticism and Revolution- 1952

##### 8.4.1. Check Your Progress I

1. Describe the early life of M.N Roy.

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2. Write down the writings of M.N Roy.

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**8.5 CONCEPT OF RADICAL HUMANISM-** Manbendra Nath Roy' is a Marxist-learning political thinker who helped shape modern India. He considers himself as a radical humanist and not an orthodox Marxist, adhering to the social philosophy of radical humanism. He incorporated Radicalism in conjunction with New Humanism or Scientific Humanism. The word "humanism" is derived from the Latin word "Humanus," which refers to a way of thinking that is primarily focused on human behaviour and on broad human problems. Numerous humanistic schools, particularly those in France and Germany, have made significant contributions to the development of this movement throughout history. However, they all have the same viewpoint in

that they prioritise the needs of people. The humanists contend that because of his inherent goodness, man is capable of unending progress towards perfection. His political views are based on reason and morality, not on any particular ideology, and he believes that the lack of an integrated view of human nature is the cause of the current crisis in civilization. According to M.N. Roy, sovereignty of man must be recognised. Man must be considered as a moral being, not only a biological one. Roy was critique of the Marxist ideas of surplus value, dialectical materialism, proletarian dictatorship, and economic determinism. He believed that society's economic structure should be planned to support each person's independence and overall wellbeing. He claims that the goal of every advocate for a new, humanistic society is to raise each person's awareness of their own inherent rationality. Roy emphasizes that neither capitalism nor a parliamentary system alone can address humanity's problems. There is no other option than New Humanism.

Roy discussed "New Humanism" or "radical humanism" in his essay titled "New Humanism, Reason Romanticism, and Revolution." The Renaissance is responsible for the development of scientific or radical humanism. Because Marxism is rejected, it is radical. Since radical humanism differs from liberalism and Vedantic philosophy, it is often referred to as a new humanism. A scientific integral humanism is one that embraces radical humanism. Roy wants to transform society with science because he has a scientific temperament. The radical or new humanism of M. N. Roy is the reflection of Marxist revolution against capitalism. Marx made the wishful decision to replace capitalism with socialism. Roy contends that a historical philosophy that ignores moral issues and other aspects of human existence outside the forces of production cannot serve as a trustworthy model for effective social change. The new humanism of Roy offers a new historical philosophy that is comprehensive in character and will ultimately demonstrate civilized humanity as the mark of the exit from the crisis. Roy's brand-new humanism seeks to reestablish morality in social reform or social order. Any social revolution would be fruitless for the community without morals. Roy actually detects morals among the communist movement. Marx was highly regarded by him since he saw him as a great humanist. In reality, Marx claimed to have created a science of socialism by labeling his forerunners as utopians. Roy believed that a socialist society based on Marxist principles would not be founded by men but would instead result through the forces of historical evolution. In actuality, it gives birth to the new humanism, which is the socialist new order. Between 1940 and 1947, M.N. Roy

regarded himself a radical rather than an orthodox. Later, he transitioned from radicalism to integral scientific humanism, also known as new humanism. In the New Humanism manifesto, Roy said that his political stances were not based on any dogma but rather on knowledge and reason. Most revolutionary political practices adhere to the maxim "End Justifies the Means," according to Roy. His new humanism is against the following variety of ideologies.

- **Opposition to Marxism-** He criticises Marxist theory in the third phase. He criticised Marxism's theoretical foundation. Who holds to the theory of economic determinism? 'Economic determination' and 'surplus value,' he claimed, are useless principles. He made the argument that as all kinds of human awareness are products of the human mind, the means of production cannot dictate them all. He claimed that the idea of "dictatorship of the proletariat" suppresses liberty. He contends that all forms of dictatures will result in the 'political domination', 'regimentation', and 'economic enslavement' of the populace.
- **Against the Gandhian Model-** M. N. Roy develops into a radical humanist. Gandhi and his moral and spiritualistic views drew criticism from him. He contends that Gandhi's popularity was a result of the general populace's ignorance and conventional, illogical thinking. Gandhi's economic theory, which is centred on decentralisation, small-scale, cottage, and village businesses, is criticised by M.N. Roy.
- **Negation of Parliamentary Democracy-** He was critical of parliamentary democracy which was not true democracy because it represented party and not people. He supported party less democracy. He said that power of people is essence of democracy which is suppressed under the power of party and bureaucracy.
- **Criticism of Vedantic Philosophy-** Vedantic philosophy, according to him, glorifies India's historically conservative middle ages. Additionally, he emphasised that spiritualism has no place in India. He claimed that the same sort of spiritual thought existed throughout mediaeval Europe.
- **Criticism of fascism-** According to M.N. Roy, ultranationalism poses a threat to liberty. Being a rationalist, he was opposed to fascism because it is built on anti-rationalism. That which caused the Second World War was fascism. At the same time, he said that Marxism harmed liberty by supporting a proletariat dictatorship.

#### **Basic Elements of Radical Humanism-**

- **Liberty**

The growth of human life depends on liberty. After eating, it is of utmost importance. No person in society may fully flourish without liberty. He seeks information because he believes that freedom is the most important value. Roy's radical humanism declares that man is a moral and spiritual being. Roy is against the state's use of coercion. Because it restricts man's freedom, he suggests a "minimal state."

- **Morality**

Radical humanism's two guiding concepts are liberty and morality. Roy believes that the individual comes before any nation or class. He gave mankind the ability to reason and is the "Measure of everything." He supports a pluralistic society that guarantees the peaceful coexistence of all castes, classes, and religions.

- **Scientific Temperament**

Humans have a scientific temperament, which permits them to probe and question instead of accepting things at face value. He never acknowledged the significance of religion. He opposed social norms and conventions. He thinks that through using scientific means, society may be changed. As a result, he was in favour of industrialisation in general and agricultural industrialization in particular.

- **Decentralize Government**

Roy is opposed to the traditional style of democracy, which concentrates power in a small number of individuals. He advocated for decentralised democracy. Roy rejects fascism because, in the name of ultranationalism, it stifles individual freedom. Roy is in favour of agriculture becoming more industrialised. According to Roy, revolution should be sparked by teaching rather than by using force. He promoted party-free democracy as a means of "rationalising politics." What distinguishes it from conventional "Power Politics." A democracy without parties will sustain moral and ethical standards in the political sphere.

- **Plural Society**

Society should not be categorised according to social class. A monolithic approach to define society is through nationalism. He was in favour of various groups and associations existing in society. It is beneficial for maintaining individual freedom and advancing democratic forms of government.

- **Party less democracy**

Roy was a proponent of extreme democracy, which goes beyond ensuring that each citizen is informed about and involved in governmental processes. The risk of any class or elite establishing a tyranny is diminished under such a democracy. This democracy's fundamental requirement is that citizens have access to the tools they need to successfully execute their sovereign authority. According to M. N. Roy's book Party Less Democracy, there would be the most power at the bottom and the least power at the top.

### **8.5.1 Check Your Progress II**

1. What is the concept of Radical Humanism?

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2. Discuss the main elements of Radical Humanism.

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### **8.6. VIEWS ABOUT DEMOCRACY**

According to M.N. Roy, history cannot be reduced to a list of occurrences. It contains documentation of humankind's fight for freedom. In the past, people either submitted to supernatural forces or to blind faith. He desired relief and pictured God for complete dependence and submission since he felt powerless against the forces of nature in the presence of a superhuman agency like God. After a few hundred years of wrangling, man finally succeeded in letting go of the illusion of his relationship with God. The Renaissance was a human uprising against the totalitarianism of religion in Europe. Humanity advanced towards what we now refer to as modern civilisation after being freed from the tyranny of religion and the prejudices of supernaturalism. In such a situation, Roy felt the need for a new philosophy to usher in the age of man. This philosophy needed to be primarily concerned with human life, one that would free the human spirit, one that would explain all natural phenomena and human experiences without using supernatural forces, and one that had a social purpose.

Roy's New Humanism has a global perspective with respect to democracy. It could only think in terms of a single human being, not a nation or a class. Such an idea could serve as the basis for New Humanism, which is Humanism that has been strengthened, developed, and expanded by scientific knowledge and social experience gathered through the centuries of modern civilization. His New Humanism is dedicated to the goal of a freemen's brotherhood and commonwealth. He held that the foundational prerequisite for the realisation of a fairer and more equitable society is a community of morally and spiritually liberated people. Such a humanistic society would be a spiritual group that was not constrained by national state borders or by capitalism, fascism, or any other system. The individual should not lose his identity in the collective ego of the nation or of the class. According to Roy, the current era's clash is between totalitarianism and democracy, as well as between the individual's struggle for freedom and the nation or class's all-devouring collective ego. Roy said that Marxism's emphasis on revolution and the Proletariat's dictatorship would result in totalitarianism. Miracles could not be produced by revolutions. Roy did not completely reject the so-called "revolution." As a Radical Humanist, Roy grew to feel that education should be used to spark a revolution rather than a class war or violent conflict. Education, as opposed to education in the traditional sense of reading and writing, refers to a high level of all-around human development. The constitutional technique that the early moderates and liberals of India had favoured was quite similar to the educational strategy that Roy, who was a major force behind the Radical Humanist revolution, emphasised. Roy's revolution didn't involve any abrupt changes. He intended for his radical humanistic revolution to be carried out gradually through teaching rather than by force or military insurrection.

According to Roy, the new society's economic structure would be carefully designed to support each person's independence and well-being. He opposed the government owning the means of production. According to Roy's Radical Democracy, reorganising society's economy is necessary to prevent man from being exploited by man. It sought to "economically liberate the masses and create the necessary conditions for their progress towards the objectives of freedom." He advocated cooperative ownership as an alternative to state ownership. The foundation of the economic system will be the cooperative principle, which stays away from the extremes of capitalism and socialism. Roy will distinguish between the cooperative economy and the capitalist and socialist economies. Roy advocated for the formation of cooperatives at various

levels of social life because he believed in the viability of economic planning based on voluntary cooperation.

The political component of M.N. Roy's "New Humanism" is distinguished by the idea of "organised democracy. Despite being a staunch democrat, Roy detested the traditional parliamentary type of democracy that predominated in the West. He believed that a democratic political system was necessary to enable a country's citizens to participate in politics, as the liberal parliamentary democracy appeared to have failed horribly in this regard. At the same time, Roy called for the destruction of communist democratic systems that are defined by the idea of democratic centralism. According to "New Humanism," humanist politics have worth as well. To put it simply, this means that politics should not be conducted for the sake of gaining power but rather for the purification and rationalisation of citizens' political lives. Decentralisation and partyless democracy served as the foundation for M.N. Roy's idea of an ordered democracy. He shared Jaya Prakash Narayan's opposition to party politics. MN Roy asserts that the creation of political parties has brought about all the negative aspects of party politics. The concept of popular sovereignty was made into a constitutional fiction with the development of the party system. Political parties promote hollowness and insincerity, which damages the system and moral standards. In fact, a party that represents a very small portion of the population rules over the majority in today's democratic states. Roy claims that the structure of party politics encourages corruption and bribery. Political parties' principal goal is to obtain political power at all costs. They have no qualms about using dishonest and corrupt methods to maintain their position of power. Politics is a fiercely competitive field, and money is king. Political parties disregard morals and the common good in the pursuit of power. Roy believed that those who are above corruption should remain out of the race for power since even the most honourable persons could get corrupted by it. He believed that the party in power was limiting people's freedom in the name of the welfare state. Therefore, he recommended an organised democracy structure to establish true individual freedom. Political parties had no place in his structured democracy; instead, the people themselves were to hold the reins of power. In this new social structure, the people held absolute power. Roy desired the implementation of his organised democracy concept. Roy felt that direct democracy, in the form of a network of local cooperative commonwealths, would be viable even in the enormous political units and highly complex social organisations of the modern world, replacing the powerless, atomized voter of



conventional parliamentary democracy. The concept of people sovereignty would be genuine and practical under this new government. Local democracies would serve as the foundation for the system's whole architecture. However, Roy outlined a few fundamental requirements for his organised democracy to succeed. One of these requirements was that the population's general cultural level must be high enough. Only individuals with strong moral principles and high intellectual standards should be given authority. Otherwise, the cunning demagogues will trick them. According to Roy, elections by themselves cannot possibly bring the best aspects of a community to the fore, and democracy cannot emerge on its own unless the available intellectual level and moral integrity are brought to bear on the situation. He also noted that people had not yet acquired high moral standards, so he argued that in the beginning, there should be both elective and selective democracy. Roy based his structured democracy on the draught of the Indian Constitution. The Declaration of Rights and Fundamental Principles, which made up Part 1 of the Constitution, stated that the people alone had the supreme power and had the exclusive authority to alter or modify any political entity. The Constitution also included a bill of rights that covered economic rights in addition to political and social ones. All of India's provinces, according to Roy, will be created based on linguistic and cultural uniformity. In addition to advocating for institutions of referendum, initiative, and recall, he proposed a federal form of governance. In his draught Constitution for a free India, Roy recommended the following institutions:

a) **People's Committees:** M.N. Roy proposed a direct democracy system in which the people would hold the power. Local people's committees would be used by the populace to exert their sovereign authority. He asserted, "Political goals can be attained without seizing control. Politics can be conducted without a formal party structure. In each community, he said, there would be a people's committee. a city or town that is chosen yearly using the adult franchise (18 years or older). Each people's committee will have a total of one fifth (1/5) of the total number of voters in the area. Roy urged giving these committees ever more authority over how local issues are managed. These committees' other duties include proposing candidates for Provincial Council and Federal Assembly seats, recommending the recall of elected officials from the relevant constituency from either the Federal Assembly or the Provincial People's Council, and proposing the removal of the Governor General or the appropriate provincial governor. The people's committees will also propose legislation and have the authority to request a referendum on any

executive or legislative action. In other words, the people's committees will serve as the political institutions that educate the populace about responsible citizenship.

b) **Provincial People's Council:** - Each province shall have a Provincial People's Council consisting of the Governor and Deputies of the people. The Governor shall be elected directly by the people of the province for a term of five years. The Deputies of the people will also be directly elected by the people of the province for a period of four years. This council shall meet once in three months to legislate on all matters except those reserved for the Federal Assembly. It will also form a Provincial Council of Ministers to perform the executive functions of the province. The Council of Ministers will be collectively responsible to the council. The Provincial People's Council shall also supervise and control the working of various departments in the province.

c) **Supreme People's Council:** - Roy proposed a federal union for a free India that would incorporate both British India and Indian provinces. He believed that the formation of India's provinces would be based on linguistic and cultural uniformity. The provinces will be able to leave the Federal Union at any time. Additionally, he proposed that the Federation of India join the British Commonwealth. He also advocated using a referendum method. The Governor-General, Council of State, and Federal Assembly will make up the Supreme People's Council at the national level. The entire voters will choose the Governor-General, who would serve for five years. He will serve as the chairman of the Council of the State and Federal Assembly during its joint sessions.

d) **Federal Assembly:** - It will be made up of elected Federal Union delegates, one for every five lakh citizens. They will be chosen in a method specifically designed for the election based on adult franchise. It will hold at least quarterly meetings and, on the Prime Minister's recommendation, the Governor-General may disband it before the term's end. Any issues not delegated to the Provincial Councils will be governed by the Federal Assembly. To handle the administrative tasks, a Federal Council of Ministers will be established. The Supreme People's Council will be held accountable by the Council of Ministers. Additionally, the Federal Assembly would oversee and regulate how various departments operated Council of State: The Council of State will be composed of wise individuals nominated by the Provincial Government

for a term of six years, with an equal number of members from each Province. Engineers, economists, physicists, physicians, historians, jurists, and other professionals who have made remarkable contributions to philosophy or the social sciences will be nominated as members. Three government employees from each province would also be included. The Council of State will serve as a consultative body to the assembly. Additionally, it will oversee planning in the social and economic, medical, educational, and cultural domains. Roy added that the judiciary should be set up to handle cases that are brought to it by both citizens and provinces. He also highlighted other organisations that carry out local self-government duties in their particular regions. These organisations would be in charge of maintaining public health, basic and secondary education, building upkeep, roads, public parks, and sanitation.

### **8.6.1. Check Your Progress III**

1. Discuss M.N Roy's views regarding Democracy.

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**8.7. CONCLUSION-** Roy disagrees with the Western Democratic model. He considers the Western Democracy to be similarly unsatisfactory. He emphasises the need for Western democracy to be reoriented towards the needs of people. He contends that democracy in all of its manifestations must return to human tradition rather than being governed by a select group of politicians. He criticises formal democracy and has supported actual democratic practise in which a party's character is judged on the merits of its declared ideals and stated programme rather than on how well it can win over voters. Individual liberty is guaranteed by democracy, but the capitalist system uses this democracy to exploit the masses and maintain a monopoly on the human race. The introduction of socialism was intended to end exploitation, but it instead trampled on freedom, dignity, and uniqueness. The words "Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality" have been included into our Constitution. We cannot compromise other people's freedom and fraternity in the name of achieving equality. In the absence of fraternity or liberty, equality is worthless. The residents of our nation can gain access to the three without harming one another thanks to radical humanism. Up until this point, none of the world's systems has brought all three

together. Radical humanism, according to M. N. Roy's political ideology, may resolve this impasse and realise all three—Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

## **8.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE**

### 8.8.1. Long Answer questions

- 1 Discuss the political ideas of M.N Roy.
- 2 Write down the up and down in the political life of M.N Roy.
- 3 Discuss the concept of Radical Humanism.
- 4 Discuss the concept of Democracy given by M.N Roy.

### 8.8.2. Short Answer Questions

- 1 Write down the major writings of M.N Roy.
- 2 Discuss in brief the political parties formed by M.N Roy.
- 3 Discuss the MN Roy's view of party less democracy.
- 4 Discuss the MN Roy's views about Marxism.

## **8.9. SUGGESTED READINGS:**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)  
SEMESTER V  
COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 9: M. K. GANDHI: VIEWS ON STATE, CONCEPT OF SATYAGRAHA,  
THEORY OF ENDS AND MEANS**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 9.0. Learning objectives
- 9.1. Key Words
- 9.2. Introduction
- 9.3. Early life and Career
- 9.4. Views on State
  - 9.4.1. Check Your Progress I
- 9.5. Concept of Satyagraha
  - 9.5.1. Forms and Methods of Satyagraha
  - 9.5.2. Check Your Progress II
- 9.6. Theory of End and Means
  - 9.6.1 Check Your Progress III
- 9.7. Conclusion
- 9.8. Questions for Practice
  - 9.8.1. Long Answer questions
  - 9.8.2. Short Answer Questions
- 9.9. Suggested Readings

**9.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Examine Gandhi's views on the state.
- Satyagraha as an attempt to achieve a silent, non-violent revolution.
- Understand the meaning of the concept of ends and means.

**9.1. KEY WORDS**

State, Non-Violence, Satyagraha, Non-cooperation, Swadeshi movement

## **9.2. INTRODUCTION:**

Mohandas Gandhi was an Indian revolutionary and religious figure who employed the power of his religion for societal and political change. Despite not holding any official positions, he was the driving force behind the independence movement of the second-largest country in the world. Following Great Britain's triumph in the First World War, the colonial state had reached its pinnacle during the time that Gandhi led the nationalist movement in India. Over the course of the following three decades, he experienced and responded to this state. He steered India in a new direction by limiting governmental action and emphasising grassroots development in line with his anarchistic leanings and complete rejection of the contemporary industrialised civilisation of the West. Thus, his ideal was very different from the many state conceptions offered by Western political traditions.

## **9.3. Early life and Career**

On October 2, 1869, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar, India, a coastal city on the Kathiawar Peninsula to the north of Bombay. His wealthy family came from a superior caste. He was the fourth child of *Putlibai*, the fourth wife of Karamchand Gandhi. When he was younger, Mohandas wanted to become a doctor, but his father pushed him to choose law school instead because medicine was regarded as being beneath his caste. Mohandas tutored his wife and completed high school after getting married. Gandhi travelled to England to study in September 1888. He studied law in England, but he never quite fit in with the culture. In 1891, he graduated from law school and sailed for Bombay. He established his own firm in Rajkot after becoming a qualified barrister. Gandhiji's older brother was able to secure him a case right then. A wealthy businessman from South Africa named Mr. Abdulla asked him to speak on his behalf. Gandhiji decided to take the case after considerable thought. In 1895, he departed his country and sailed for Africa. Even though there were many Indians living in Africa at the time, the British had absolute sovereignty. When his job in Africa was finished, he had made the decision to go back to India, but he was deeply troubled by the situation of the Indians there. He made up his mind to remain and resist the harsh laws that had been placed upon them. There was bigotry everywhere. For the locals and Indians, there was one set of rules, while for the British, there was another. Gandhiji gave the issue a lot of thought. He came to understand how crucial it was for the populace to stand together in the battle against injustice. He made a lot of effort to

achieve this harmony. He set up numerous gatherings and informed the populace about the problem. In response, the populace chose him as their leader and consented to follow his instructions. Gandhiji knew that in order to combat the English, a whole different strategy was required because they held all the power. At that moment, he had the original notion for "*Satyagraha*." *Satyagraha* is a non-violent form of protest against injustice that insists on the truth. His campaign attempted to overthrow the numerous unfair laws that were forced on them, and in order for it to succeed, he was ready to confront all challenges. It wasn't a simple task. He went through a lot of humiliation and difficulties, yet he never gave up. Between the British and the Dutch settlers in Africa, a war broke out about this period. It had the moniker "Boer War." Gandhiji and other Indians assisted the British in whatever way they could. Gandhiji's assistance to the British helped them win the war, and as a result, the British granted the Indians more privileges. They also consented to the repeal of the unfair laws that had been imposed upon them. Gandhiji was happy that his time in Africa had accomplished something worthwhile. He made the decision to go back to his motherland, believing that his job was now finished. He was very resisted from returning by the populace. They were adamant that he should relocate to Africa. Gandhiji finally assured them that he would leave for India but would return to Africa whenever they asked. The people didn't agree to let him go till that point. They said him farewell in style and showered him with a bevy of pricey presents. Gandhiji, however, refused to accept anything. He gave everything to the neighbourhood charities. Gandhiji occasionally travelled to India during his protracted stay in Africa, where he met many notable figures and sought their counsel. One of these leaders, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, helped Gandhiji in numerous ways. Gandhiji held him in the highest regard and regarded him as his mentor. He played a significant role in Gandhiji's ascension to the centre of Indian politics. It was 1914 that all of these changes in Africa were made. Gandhiji lived there for over 20 years. He returned to India because he was determined to fight for India's independence. He made the decision to take advantage of any chance that would allow him to serve his nation and fellow citizens. As a result, he travelled the entire country of India and awakened the inhabitants of towns and villages. Champaranya is the name of a tiny town that is located close to Nepal's border, north of the Ganges. It was renowned for its indigo dye cultivation. Unfortunately, the local employees in Champaranya were mistreated to the furthest degree by the British planters. Even worse, the government paid little attention to the protests of the workers. They were therefore completely upset with their



employers. When Gandhiji learned of this, he travelled to Champaranya to help the people there. He could not stand their sad situation. He started a satyagraha to protest the mistreatment of the workers. The British were finally forced to stop treating the labourers cruelly. The "*Champaranya Satyagraha*" is the name given to this protest. After the "*Champaranya Satyagraha*" was a success, Gandhiji believed that he ought to establish himself in one location. He chose a location in Gujarat close to the banks of the Sabarmati river, and there he founded his Ashram. He made the decision that going forward, he would devote his entire time to serving humanity and helping the underprivileged. What he practised, he preached. He took up the cause of the Harijans, who received the worst treatment nationwide. He screamed in protest of the cruel and unfair treatment they were receiving. Through the two journals he founded, "Harijan" and "Young India," he communicated his opinions and raised social consciousness among the populace. Agitations and uprisings against British rule were growing throughout India at the same time. Following the passing of Lokmanya Tilak in 1920, Gandhiji assumed control of the Freedom Movement. The populace engaged in Satyagraha to combat injustice under his leadership. Numerous times he was detained and locked up, but it did not stop him and his devoted supporters. They were even more fervent in their pursuit of freedom. India finally won independence on August 15, 1947, and the Red Fort in Delhi flew the Indian tricolour national flag for the first time. India, however, had to endure great hardship in its struggle for independence. Two new countries, India and Pakistan, have been added to what was formerly a sizable single geographic area. Hindu-Muslim riots broke out all over the nation during this time. Both communities' members were mercilessly murdered, and there was widespread violence everywhere. Gandhiji risked his life, begged the populace, and worked nonstop to put an end to this senseless carnage. Gandhiji focused his efforts after India gained its independence on helping the oppressed people. He travelled from village to village telling the populace that cooperation and harmony were essential for the success of the nation. He aimed for equality of status and opportunity. Despite Gandhiji's tireless efforts to promote harmony, some people believed that he had a bias in favour of Muslims. Gandhiji was assassinated on January 30, 1948, in Delhi as he was leaving for a prayer meeting. Hey Ram was his last phrase. Globally, Gandhiji received lavish tributes from people. The long life of the great Mahatma was ended. All were surprised by the news. The great man, a true Mahatma who had devoted his entire life to serving humanity and had preached the value of truth, fraternity, peace, non-violence, equality, and

simplicity, was mourned not only in India but throughout the entire world. The most appropriate homage we can give him is to continue down the path he has paved for us.

### **Writings**

1. Hind Swaraj-1909
2. The Story of My Experiments with Truth-1929
3. Key to Health-1948

### **9.4 VIEWS ON STATE:**

Gandhi saw the state as a concentrated kind of violence, but one that is necessary since people are morally incapable of acting in a way that is socially responsible because they are social beings by nature. He sought a state that would use the least amount of force and coercion possible, and he wanted as much of the control over people's behaviour as possible to come through voluntary efforts. He rejects the idea of total state sovereignty in the Austinian sense by distinguishing between the state and society. He supports limited state sovereignty because there are duties that go beyond simple political considerations. His assertion that "If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society" demonstrates his belief in the inherent worth of each person, which supports his perspective. Given this impression, Gandhi is often sceptical of any expansion of governmental power since, despite appearing to benefit society by reducing exploitation, it actually harms people the most by diminishing the individuality that is the foundation of all advancement. He promotes independent action and selfless endeavours. He wants to create a society in which the state doesn't interfere with the ordinary person's life. A decentralised society with lots of room for personal growth would be wonderful. It is comparable to the nineteenth-century British society that he observed and admired. Gandhi developed the idea of a totally non-violent state made up of self-sufficient village communities based on majority rule as a result of his belief in the primacy of the person. District representatives would be chosen, and they would choose representatives for the province and the country. There would be two restrictions on majority rule: first, the majority could not trample on a topic when the minority has strong opinions. Second, because a human being is fundamentally a moral being, he or she should not act against the dictates of his or her conscience. As a result, everyone has the freedom to carry out civil disobedience against laws that go against their moral convictions.

Gandhi defined political power as "the ability to control material life through national representatives." No representation is required if national life is so ideal that it can function independently. The result is anarchy that is enlightened. Each person in such a state is in charge of himself. He controls himself so that he never gets in the way of his neighbour. Because there is no state in the perfect state, there is no political authority. The welfare and advancement of its population must be the goal of a state. In such a situation, the police would act as social workers prepared to deal with anti-social groups by appealing to morality and public opinion. The idea would be to view crime as a disease that calls for treatment rather than punishment. It would be a state devoid of oppression and disputes between the city and the village, between capital and labour in industry, and between tenant and landlord in agriculture. Passive resistance and trusteeship would be employed to resolve these disputes. Property would also be seen as wicked in such a state since it supports other evils like exploitation, sensual pleasure, and disdain for other people. He suggests a system of trusteeship and opposes the forcible expropriation of private property. Contrary to his generally minimalist views on the state, he advocates for a bigger state role in economic matters. He supports inheritance restrictions, state control over land and large enterprises, nationalisation without just compensation, and high taxes. Swaraj, nationalism, socialism, industrialization, individualism, and the state are important notions that would make this vision a reality. Among all of these, Swaraj is particularly important. Swaraj, a term borrowed from the Vedas to replace the confusing term "independence," refers to self-rule and self-control as opposed to independence, which denotes freedom from all constraints. Swaraj, which is Sanskrit for "self-rule" or "self-control," signified three things: first, freedom was essentially a personal attribute rather than a shared trait. The traditional civic liberties of the press, expression, association, and religion were also included. Thirdly, it made a distinction between inner and outer kinds of freedom, with inner freedom serving as the foundation for and supporter of outer freedom. Gandhi uses the term "swaraj" to indicate "positive freedom," or the freedom to engage in politics in any way one may, as opposed to thinking of the state as a bad institution that severely limits one's freedoms. It does not imply that the state has unlimited authority, but rather that there should be a close bond between it and its people. Swaraj alluded to democratic participation. Real swaraj won't be achieved by a select few gaining power, but rather by everyone developing the ability to challenge power when it is mishandled. In other words, swaraj is attained through instilling in the populace a sense of their ability to check and

balance authority. Gandhi and Green had similar ideas about how to realise each person's full potential within a society framework. Gandhi, like Green, does not exalt the state. For both, the goal was to provide everyone a morally significant life, and they both saw the society as being held together not by coercion but rather by a sense of a shared interest in doing good. Gandhi explains the necessity to eliminate the divide between white-collar and blue-collar workers by making manual labour a must for everyone. Expanding on the principle of consent, he declares that real swaraj will not be attained by a select few acquiring power but rather by everyone developing the ability to challenge power when it is misused. People must be taught to be able to manage and control authority in order to do this. He lays a great deal of emphasis on education as a requirement for the enjoyment of democratic freedom and the capacity to fulfil commitments, just like Plato, Paine, and J.S. Mill. He lists what he terms the "three pillars of Swaraj" as being (a) harmony between Hindus and Muslims, (b) the elimination of untouchability, and (c) the improvement of Indian villages. In his criticism of Tilak, he unequivocally states that social injustices are a barrier to Swaraj and underscores the significance of social reforms.

#### **9.4.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I**

1. Explain Gandhi's views on the State and Swaraj.

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#### **9.5. VIEWS ON SATYAGRAHA:**

Satyagraha is a mode of living as well as a concept. It is a common weapon employed by both individuals and groups and the people to combat imperialism, exploitation, corruption, and other forms of social, economic, and political injustice. It is founded on morals, spirituality, nonviolence, and the truth. The utmost act of self-effacement, satyagraha is replete with kindness, patience, tolerance for all religions, and a strong belief in living truthfully. Since violence is a response to fear, satyagraha views the use of physical force as a sign of weakness. The mantra of Satyagraha was to "resist evil with good," and it would always urge people to be strong in spirit since only that strength can grant one the power to overwhelm the adversary

through love and self-suffering. Gandhi holds that the foundation of social interaction and human advancement is love, mutual aid, and cooperation. Gandhi firmly believes that hatred cannot be vanquished by more hatred and that evil cannot be remedied by more evil. Gandhi was a firm believer in the saying, "With Satya combined with Ahimsa as you can bring the world to your feet." In reality, Satyagraha operates on the tenets of the moral force effect created by one human being upon the mind and deeds of another, not via worry of punishment or expectation of reward, but rather through the latter's intuitive recognition of inherent superiority. Gandhi used mass-scale satyagraha to address all societal issues and disputes.

### **9.5.1 FORMS AND METHODS OF SATYAGRAHA**

Gandhi argued that there are as many different types of Satyagraha as there are different kinds of injustice. While genuine persuasions and negotiations constitute the foundation of satyagraha, non-cooperation and civil disobedience are, in a sense, its radical expressions. However, the final tool of Satyagraha is fasting, particularly fasting till death.

- 1. Persuasion and Negotiations:** A Satyagrahi must constantly be willing to listen to others' opinions, be open to dialogue, be equally hungry for peace, and should embrace any just agreement. Gandhi said that, in his heart, he was a compromiser because he was never certain that he was right.
- 2. Strike:** Gandhi used this strategy to battle management and meet workers' demands. It is a nonviolent protest against the government for treating the workforce unfairly. Gandhi claims that the right to strike is one that all working men have by nature in order to achieve justice. Gandhi places a strong emphasis on the need for some leisure time during working hours, facilities for the workers' own education, a sufficient supply of milk, wholesome food, clothing, and the opportunity for their children to receive the necessary education, as well as sanitary housing and the ability for the workers to save enough money to support themselves in old age.
- 3. Hartal (Temporary Strike):** Hartal is yet another variation on Gandhi's Satyagraha strategy. It resembles a brief work stoppage or commercial halt. It is a means of expressing opposition to the government or the alleged enemy. According to Gandhi, the goal of a *hartal* is to shock the public and the government's sense of imagination. The hartal should be voluntary rather than being coerced.

4. **Peace Marches:** A peaceful march or raid is referred to as a peace march. Peace marches could be made more effective in order to raise awareness and foster a favourable public perception.
5. **Hijrat (Migration):** According to Gandhi, *Hijrat* refers to a people's voluntary departure from the land they had previously thought to be theirs when they are gravely oppressed and terrorised and when they have no other choice. On the other hand, *Hijrat* is not necessary in everyday circumstances.
6. **Picketing (Dharnas):** Another tactic that often supports and supports the strike is picketing. Gandhi encouraged non-violent picketing, which shouldn't be hostile. A legitimate and effective type of satyagraha is nonviolent picketing.
7. **Boycott:** Gandhi encompasses a boycott of the political, social, economic, and educational systems. boycotting on the economic front. In the economic domain, boycott refers to the avoidance of domestic and imported goods produced by those industries that depend on the exploitation of the general public. Civil disobedience is a sort of boycott in the political sphere. Parents of scholars who are boycotting government schools and colleges and law courts as a first step. Social boycott indicates against law enforcement, the military, or anti-nationalists.
8. **Non-Cooperation:** Gandhi asserted that refusing to cooperate is fundamentally a purging process. It is a movement to define social relationships on a foundation that is congruent with our sense of self-respect and dignity. In its dynamic settings, non-violence is the only option besides non-cooperation. Gandhi makes it clear that when there is complete freedom of opinion, the majority's opinion must triumph. This is done by cultivating the force of public opinion through nonviolent non-cooperation. Gandhi's unwavering conviction that cooperation is the basis of all exploitation. If people choose not to follow the exploiter, there would be no exploitation. According to Gandhi, "Non-cooperation is a protest against unintentional and reluctant involvement in evil. It is just as important to avoid working with evil as it is to work with good.
9. **Civil-Disobedience:** Civil disobedience was first practised in opposition to an unfair law. It is a kind of peaceful uprising. Gandhi asserts that when the state is lawless or corrupt, civil disobedience turns into a sacred responsibility. Gandhi thinks that both collective and individual acts of civil disobedience put an end to productive work and are a

complete replacement for military uprisings. Gandhi, however, cautioned that civil disobedience should only be employed under certain circumstances and for predetermined goals. Gandhi is adamant that the truest form of constitutional protest is civil disobedience. It is the repository of power, infect.

**10. Fasting:** Fasting is the next stage of the Satyagraha. Fasting is a traditional way to purify oneself and others. Like Muhammad, Gandhi would start to fast whenever he experienced a moral crisis. He firmly believed that through fasting and prayer, great instructors from around the world gained incredible strength for the benefit of humanity and obtained clarity of thought. Gandhi fasted for 21 days in 1924 in an effort to bring Hindus and Muslims together. He started a "Fast unto Death" in 1932 to reverse Ramsay MacDonald's "Communal Award." He undertook a 21-day fast for purification at Agakhan's palace in 1933. He also observed "the ill-Fasted Rajkot fast" in 1939. He fasted only for his own cleansing while in South Africa. Gandhi claimed that the finest and most potent weapon in the Satyagraha movement's arsenal under the circumstances is the practise of fasting till one dies. Fasting is a prerequisite for prayer. When all other options have failed and one is completely certain that their position is correct, they should consider fasting as a last resort. They should never do so for their own benefit. It should take the form of a prayer asking God for power, strength, and purity.

**11. Agitation:** The Satyagrahi moves on to the next non-violent direct action tactic, agitation, after exhausting all viable avenues for discussion and failing to find resolution through arbitration. A Satyagrahi uses books, pamphlets, lectures, and slogan invention as mass channels of communication to accomplish the main goal.

Gandhi gave the notion of Satyagraha include truth, nonviolence, belief in God as the ultimate reality, human brotherhood, the primacy of morality, and the purity of means. The appeal of Satyagraha is that it is always founded on moral force, such as the force of justice and truth, the force of self-purification and self-suffering, the force of love and service, the force of courage, and the force of discipline. The Satyagraha teaches us the art of both living and dying. Gandhi believed that non-violence is always preferable to aggression, hence if Satyagraha were to be implemented, there might not be any intergroup conflict. Gandhi was certain that before introducing change to society and its institutions, it should first start with the individual.

## 9.5.2 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Describe the concept of 'Satyagraha'.

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2. Discuss different methods of Satyagraha.

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## 9.6 THEORY OF ENDS AND MEANS:

Gandhi's discourse on the link between objectives and means addresses a number of important issues, and because it is at the heart of his entire structure, it goes beyond the issue of an instrument. An interesting postulate of social action is the ultimate elimination of conflict which means eliminating the factors that create a conflict situation. This framework offers the road map for long-lasting peace because there are no winners or losers in the conflict resolution process, unlike in a war or a settlement reached via the use of ruthless force. This also implies that peace is inextricably related to nonviolent action and a commitment to only using peaceful measures to resolve conflict. As a result, the idea of non-violence loses its negative connotation and becomes a positive connotation in the context of the peaceful development of society. This sets up the discussion of the creation of a compassionate person who seeks to reconcile the differences between two critical components: compassion and nonviolence. This synthesis renders unnecessary any requirement for revolutionary violence and establishes an ongoing symbiotic relationship between means and aims.

### 9.6.1. CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION

The foundation of Gandhi's social philosophy and approach to conflict resolution is the idea of an ends-means relationship. Gandhi believed that means and ends are intricately intertwined, and that "an end which requires unjust means is not a just end" (an end which justifies the means).



The means could be compared to the seed at the top of a tree; the connection between the means and the end is just as unbreakable as it is between the seed and the tree. By prostrating myself before Satan, I am not likely to receive the outcome resulting from my worship of God. We reap what we sow. Impure beginnings would lead to impure endings. Injustice could not be used to achieve justice, unfairness could not be used to achieve freedom, and war could not be used to achieve peace. Gandhi also emphasizes the connection between the concepts of justice and duty, arguing that it is superfluous to emphasize one while ignoring the other. Gandhi disagrees with the maxim that "the ends justify the means," which Kautilya and Machiavelli defended in the context of "self-preservation" and "the raison d'etat" Gandhi would not tolerate limiting the use of force on the basis of expediency rather than principle. Machiavelli makes the claim that any means are acceptable for gaining power, which is then used for higher ends. However, he neglects to mention the fact that gaining and maintaining power becomes an end in and of itself. For Gandhi, the goal is satya, or truth, which doesn't need to be justified, and the strategy is ahimsa, or nonviolence, which needs to be justified both in relation to the goal and on its own. Every action needs to be justified in light of satya and ahimsa.

#### **9.6.2. PURITY OF ENDS AND MEANS:**

Iyer points out that Gandhi rejects the distinction between means and ends in its entirety and also focuses on using moral and/or legal means to the point where they become the norm rather than the means themselves. The relationship between means and ends is not a technical one, but rather an ethical one, one that involves choice and necessitates making a choice regarding the desired aim and obediently accepting whatever measures are required to achieve it or are most likely to succeed in doing so. He is always emphasising that good aims could never be achieved through wicked means. Evil and/or immoral measures could never be used to achieve noble and virtuous goals. He emphasises how means and objectives are organically interdependent, guided by his faith in the law of Karma. He also emphasises that although people can control the means, they cannot control the end. Gandhi insisted that everyone is a bearer of relative truth and that no one can claim to know sat or absolute truth, thus it is important to understand how he views ends and means in this perspective. As stewards of relative truth, we are aware of our version, and satya, or truth, would seem differently to various individuals in a similar way to the five blind individuals who each held a different part of an elephant; each knew his version but was a long

way from the full truth. Because humans are creatures of relative reality, there may be conflicts about the ends. Gandhi insisted on ahimsa, or non-violence towards one another, because of the connection between the concept of relative truth and the factual, which both share a concern for truth. Ahimsa, or practising non-violence, is a trait of a seeker of truth, or satya. Gandhi's doctrine of satyagraha, or active resistance to authority, was governed by his conception of satya with ahimsa as the means, while his conception of sarvodaya, or nonviolent socialism, was facilitated by his conception of ahimsa with satya as the common aim. Iyer's additional justification merits the following quotation: Gandhi writes in the introduction to Ruskin's *Unto This Last* that "the polis is nothing more or less than the domain in which all men are free to acquire skill in the art of action and learn to exemplify satya and ahimsa; the means by which both the individual quest could be advanced and social virtues displayed among the masses of citizens in a climate of tolerance and civility; a morally progressive society where it is forbidden for the State or any other social organisation to openly violate the sacred principle that each person has the freedom to speak his own truth and that no one has the authority to use coercion or treat another person as a tool for their own ends. Gandhi's perspective on the tight connection between means and objectives is also informed by the Bhagavad Gita's proponents of dispassionate conduct. Without a certain amount of detachment, one cannot act without worrying about the results in the future. "If we are sure of the 'purity' of the means we employ," he claims, "we shall be led on by the faith, before which any fear and trembling melt away." Non-attachment does not imply a lack of clarity regarding one's goals.

Gandhi's discourse on the link between means and ends has a big focus because it is at the heart of his entire structure, therefore it goes beyond a simple instrument issue. The ultimate elimination of conflict, which refers to eradicating the elements that lead to a conflict situation, is an intriguing concept of social activity. This paradigm offers a roadmap for long-lasting peace because, unlike in a war or a settlement reached via the use of harsh force, there are no winners or losers in the process of resolving a problem. This also implies that peace is inextricably related to nonviolent action and a commitment to only using peaceful measures to resolve conflict. As a result, the idea of non-violence loses its negative connotation and becomes a positive connotation in the context of the peaceful development of society. Gandhi believed that means and ends were indissolubly connected. Gandhi argued that everyone carries relative truth and that no one has a right to claim to know the absolute truth. This assertion should be taken

into consideration while analysing Gandhi's view of aims and means. Gandhi identifies the goal of swaraj and emphasises that it will only be achieved if the correct methods, such as ahimsa, are adopted. Gandhi believes that non-violence is an enduring and universal ideal, and that it requires moral restraint to restrain emotions and impulses. He underlines the need for moral discipline in order to become a non-violent satyagrahi and suggests that voluntary suffering, voluntary poverty, and voluntary simplicity are the best ways to develop this discipline. He also emphasizes using pure means to achieve the purpose.

### 9.6.3. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. Why does Gandhi insist on purity of means for realising the end?

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2. Define the relationship between Ends and Means.

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### 9.7. CONCLUSION:

Gandhi is still revered more than seventy years after his passing for his illustrious Satyagraha campaigns and his nonviolent resistance doctrine. Gandhi believed that political independence without economic prosperity is useless. Gandhi's prescription for social progress and transformation is contained in what he describes as the constructive programme. The state is a 'soulless machine' and the individual is endowed with dharma that encompasses both satya and ahimsa. Since each person is endowed with moral power, it is their primary responsibility to question and even rebel against the government. Gandhi's philosophy served as an inspiration for many of the most well-known resistance movements of the 20th century, including those led by Dr. Martin Luther King in the United States, Aung San Suu Kyi's pro-democracy movement

against the Myanmar military junta, and Nelson Mandela's campaign to end apartheid in South Africa.

## **9.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE**

### **9.8.1. Long Answer questions**

1. Discuss Gandhi's views on the importance of ends and means.
2. Discuss Gandhi's views on the concept of state.
3. Elaborate the concept of Satyagraha given by M. K. Gandhi.
4. Discuss the contribution of M. K. Gandhi.

### **9.8.2. Short Answer Questions**

1. Describe the early life of MK Gandhi.
2. Discuss the main writings of Mk Gandhi.
3. What are the different methods of *Satyagraha*?
4. Discuss Gandhi's views on Non-Violence.

## **9.9. Suggested Readings**

1. Bandyopadhyaya, J., Social and Political Thought of Gandhi, Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1969.
2. Bhattacharya, B., Evolution of the Political Philosophy of Gandhi, Calcutta, Calcutta Book House, 1969.
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6. Heater, D., Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education, London, Orient Longman, 1990.
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9. Parekh, B., Gandhi's Political Philosophy, Notre Dame, Notre Dame University Press, 1989.

**BACHELOR OF ARTS (LIBERAL ARTS)**  
**SEMESTER V**  
**COURSE: POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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**UNIT 10: B.R. AMBEDKAR: VIEWS ON CASTE SYSTEM, SAFEGUARDS FOR  
MINORITIES**

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**STRUCTURE:**

10.0. Learning objectives

10.1. Key Words

10.2. Introduction

10.3. Writings

10.4. Check Your Progress I

10.5. Views on Caste System

10.5.1. B R Ambedkar's Role to Eradicate Caste System in India

10.5.2. Check Your Progress II

10.6. Safeguards for Minorities

10.6.1.

Check Your Progress III

10.7. Conclusion

10.8. Questions for Practice

10.8.2. Long Answer questions

10.8.3. Short Answer Questions

10.9. Suggested Readings

**10.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Understand the life journey and writings of Ambedkar
- Understand the Ambedkar ideas on religion, caste and untouchability.
- Know the Ambedkar views of social justice and supportive polity.

**10.1. KEY WORDS**

Caste, Varna, Dalit, Untouchability, Hinduism, Equality, Society.

## 10.2 INTRODUCTION

Bhart Ratna Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, a distinguished Indian jurist, economist, politician, social reformer, and educator. He is s regarded as the architect of the Indian Constitution. He was born on April 14, 1891, into a Marathi lower class family (at the time, treated as untouchable) in Mhow, Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh), a town that was founded by the British. He was Ramji Maloji Sakpal and Bhimabai Murbadkar's fourteenth and final child. His father, Ramji Maloji Sakpal, served in the British Indian Army at the Mhow cantonment, rising to the rank of Subedar, and as a result, his father was able to insist that his sons should be educated so Ambedkar was permitted to attend school. Ambedkar's ancestors had long worked for the army of the British East India Company. Ambedkar went to school, but he was separated from other students, and his teachers paid him little attention or assistance. He was not permitted to take a seat in the classroom. Someone from a higher caste had to pour the water he needed to drink from a height because they were not allowed to touch the water or the container containing it. He had to go without water if the school peon was not present to complete this work; he later wrote about this experience in his books under the heading "No Peon, No Water." He had to use a gunnysack that he had to take home with him in order to sit down. Ambedkar experienced the stigmas of caste prejudice, and these things profoundly influenced him. The family relocated to Satara two years after his father's retirement in 1894. Ambedkar's mother passed away shortly after they relocated. Ambedkar's paternal aunt took care of him and his two brothers and two sisters (the others had passed away) when they lived in poor conditions. He graduated from high school first in his neighbourhood and then attended Bombay University to pursue a BA in Economics and Politics. It was there that he first met Sayaji Rao III, the Maharajah of the princely state of Baroda. The Maharajah actively supported social reforms, such as the abolition of untouchability. He paid for Ambedkar to continue his studies abroad, first at the LSE in London and then at Columbia University in New York, where he earned a PhD and a Masters' degree. Ambedkar drew inspiration from John Dewey and his writings on democracy. He has done three Ph.D. Dr. Ambedkar had knowledge of 9 languages like Hindi, Pali, Sanskrit, English, French, German, Marathi, Persian and Gujarati. His scholastic record demonstrates that he was a brilliant student. After arriving in India in 1917, he served as the Military Secretary in Baroda before joining the faculty at Sydenham College, the Government Law College, where he ultimately rose to the position of principal. He was a fellow at the University of Bombay as well.

He has authored numerous works, including. Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis, and Development; The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and Solution; The Abolition of Caste, Shudras, Untouchables, Waiting for a Visa, The Annihilation of Caste, The Buddha and his Dhamma, Hindu philosophy, caste in India, Pakistan or India's Partition, the Indian Constitution, and many more topics. His two weekly papers, "Mook Nayak" and "Janta," aimed to increase Dalit sociopolitical consciousness. He founded the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha in 1924 to develop socio-political awareness among the *Dalits* with his slogan "Educate, Unite, Agitate" in order to deepen this drive for social transformation. Ramabai Ambedkar passed away in 1935 after a protracted illness, and Ambedkar also underwent a Buddhist conversion in same year. Ambedkar accepted an invitation from the new Congress-led government to become the country's first Law Minister after India gained independence on August 15, 1947. He was chosen by the Assembly to design India's new Constitution and was given the title of Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee on August 29. The Constituent Assembly ratified the Constitution on November 26, 1949. On December 6, 1956, in his Delhi home, he passed away in his sleep from diabetes, neuropathic pain in his legs, and a lack of sleep after finishing the draught of India's constitution.

### **1.3. WRITINGS**

1. Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development-1916
2. Mook Nayak (weekly)-1920
3. The Problem of the Rupee: its origin and its solution-1923
4. Bahishkrut Bharat (India Ostracized)-1927
5. Janta (weekly)- 1930
6. The Annihilation of Caste-1936
7. Federation Versus Freedom-1939
8. Thoughts on Pakistan-1940
9. Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah- 1943
10. Mr. Gandhi and Emancipation of Untouchables-1943
11. What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables-1945
12. Pakistan or Partition of India- 1945
13. State and Minorities- 1947



- 14. Who were the Shudras- 1948
- 15. Maharashtra as a Linguistic Province- 1948
- 16. The Untouchables- 1948
- 17. Buddha or Karl Marx- 1956
- 18. The Buddha and his Dhamma- 1957

#### **10.4. Check Your Progress I**

##### **1. Discuss Ambedkar’s early life and his writings.**

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#### **10.5. VIEWS ON CASTE SYSTEM**

B. R. Ambedkar graduated from a liberal arts college. He was a complex individual with many talents, including intellect, revolt, philosophy, patriotism, scholarship, writing, and constitution-making. He was more gifted than the typical educated Indian. Outside of India, he was treated with respect and love, but among Hindus in India, he was constantly reminded that he is an outcast from Hindu society. Hinduism positions Brahmin at the top of the social scale. The second rank is allotted to Kshatriya. The third and fourth ranks have been given to Vaishya and Shudra, respectively. It goes beyond simple gradation and establishes a declining scale of contempt and an ascending scale of adoration in order to introduce the ideas of graded inequality. Given the socioeconomic realities of India, caste has consistently been one of the most obvious and active violators of human rights. The caste system in India and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's efforts to abolish it are the main topics of this essay. After Jotiba Phule, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar made a very significant contribution to the modern abolition of the caste system. His perspective was formed through both his education and his life's experiences. He used the viewpoints on human rights and actions for human development to communicate his opinions. He made a brave effort to abolish untouchability and promote freedom and equality.

The castes are organised hierarchically so that they are connected to one another and that the privileges and rights of the higher castes become the limitations of the lower castes. The

Portuguese word *castas*, which means "pure," is where the word "caste" originates. This Portuguese phrase conveys the notion of ritual cleanliness, one of Indian society's most fundamental ideals. However, in India, the term "varna," or "colour," refers to the four divisions of Indian society. It's possible that the term "varna" was employed because each of the four castes was given a particular colour to represent it. The four well-known groups (the *varnas*)—Brahmins (scholars, teachers, fire priests), Kshatriyas (kings, warriors, law enforcers, administrators), Vaishyas (agriculturists, cattle raisers, traders, bankers), and Shudras (artisans, craftsmen, service providers)—were used by the Brahminical texts to formally classify the Jatis. Certain groups were completely ostracised and classified as untouchables, including foreigners, nomads, forest tribes, and the chandalas (who dealt with the disposition of the deceased). The relationships between these numerous castes are controlled by complex laws. Each person is well conscious of their position and responsibilities in relation to the others.

A mix of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians, and Scythians make up the population of India. When India was still a tribal state, all these different stocks of people arrived from different directions and with different traditions infallible like the Vedas, Varna. A certain amount of freedom is required to preserve a free, democratic social order. He talks about the right to life and limb as well as the right to freedom of movement. He defends the right of an individual to select their own profession. The *Hindu Manusmiriti*, a sacred text from between 200 and 100 B.C., can be used to date the origins of the caste system, which is likely the oldest hierarchical structure still in use in the world today. There are numerous caste distinctions among the *Dalit* people. Leather workers, street sweepers, cobblers, agricultural workers, and manual "scavengers" are some of the *Dalits'* subgroups.

B.R. Ambedkar was born in one of the major hotspots of colonial oppression throughout the post-industrial era of the world. He was born into an exclusive group, which is both the curse and the scourge of a divided society. He has evolved into an uplifting icon, representing the dreams and aspirations of India's *dalits*, the oppressed, underprivileged, and destitute. In India, the caste system of gradated inequity is still in place. Caste has an impact on everyone of Indian descent who is born in India. The caste system is ingrained in both Hindu society and Hindu religion. Human rights are violated and widespread discrimination among people as a result of the caste system. Due to its anti-equal practises, B.R. Ambedkar decried the *Hindu* faith and *Hindu* Social Order. He fundamentally rejected *Hinduism* on humanist-rationalist grounds. Casteism was

created by a *Hindu* social structure that is inherently unhuman. For millions of individuals, *Manusmriti* represents evil, stupidity, and inhumanity; it also serves to uphold casteism's untouchability and shackles. He said that the untouchables were destroyed by *Hindu Varna Dharma*. This would finally destroy India and the Hindus themselves. The only solution to the problems of casteism and untouchability is a shift in religion. As he holds that while religion is necessary for both man and society, its value may be assessed using the criteria of "justice" and "utility." The castes that made up the series were ranked hierarchically, with each caste deemed superior to those below it and inferior to those above it. The place a caste held in the system dictated the status of a man born into that caste. His caste rank was predetermined and unchangeable once he was born into it. Therefore, a person's standing was determined by birth and could not be changed by any talent or fortune they may possess. "The study of the origin of caste must provide us with an answer to the question What is the class that raised this "enclosure" around itself," B.R. Ambedkar said in reference to the origin of caste. The relevant customs were still practised in Hindu culture. The Brahmin caste, which holds the highest position in the social hierarchy of Hindu civilization, is the only caste where these rituals can be observed with any degree of strictness. As a result, non-Brahmin castes' observance of these customs is neither strict nor complete. There is no need for a defense to show which caste is the originator of the institution of caste if similar customs are prevalent in non-Brahmin castes. The tight adherence to these traditions and the social superiority assumed by the priestly class in every ancient culture suffice to establish their responsibility for creating and upholding this "unnatural institution" in this manner.

Untouchability, according to B. R. Ambedkar, originated around 400 A.D. as a result of the fight for dominance between Buddhism and Brahmanism, which has been so thoroughly shaped by Indian history. The act of consuming beef is the source of untouchability, therefore the prohibition on the killing of cows and the consumption of beef must be linked to the beginning of untouchability. Hindu society's caste system fosters a sense of superiority and inferiority in relationships between men. Politics is not the main cause of the issue facing the oppressed classes. Ambedkar's interpretation of the class struggle is based on the principles of self-respect and independence. In the Indian state of Maharashtra, B.R. Ambedkar was born into the "untouchable" caste of the *Mahars*. The caste system was Ambedkar's major opponent. Hindu society had become stagnant due to caste. Hindu society cannot accept outsiders because of the

caste structure. This flaw presents ongoing integration issues. Hindu society does not meet the criteria for being homogeneous even internally. It is merely an amalgam of many castes. Caste is a barrier to the development of national spirit. Most crucially, the lower castes suffer injustice as a result of the caste system. It prevents the lower castes from advancing. It prevents the lower castes from advancing. All that is shown to lower castes is contempt. The lower castes have suffered moral decline and demoralisation as a result of this. In particular, the untouchables are the persistent targets of injustice. They are denied access to education, decent employment, and human dignity. They have been completely dehumanised by the caste system. Caste is a major factor in Indian society. Hindu society's system of castes and subcastes is anti-democratic and anti-human. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar wrote an essay titled "Philosophy of Hinduism" in which he discussed brotherhood. He responded, "I'm their keeper, why should I do right by them? I and my neighbours are we all brothers, are we even fifteenth cousins."

Ambedkar claimed that the concept of ethics and morals was destroyed by caste. He said, and I quote, "The effect of caste on the ethics of the Hindus is beyond abhorrent. Public spirit has been slain by caste. Public charity has been rendered meaningless by caste. Public opinion is impossible because of caste. Caste is a Hindu's public. He has an obligation to his caste. His caste is the only group to whom he is committed. Morality has become caste-bound and virtue has become caste-ridden. Gandhi ji and B.R. Ambedkar held opposing viewpoints on India's lower caste population. Both guys understood the value of giving up the label "untouchable". Gandhi suggested Harijans, or "people of God," as an alternative. Harijan was rejected by B.R. Ambedkar as being patronising; he preferred the term dalit (oppressed). Gandhi wished to ameliorate the life of the Untouchables by pleading with Hindus of the caste system to give up the concept of untouchability. B.R. Ambedkar understood that altering legislation was simpler than altering people's minds and hearts. He chose to lead *dalits* in efforts to increase educational access and defend fundamental civic and religious rights, such as the right to access temples and utilise the public water system. One of the most influential architects of contemporary India was B.R. Ambedkar. He was the principal architect of India's Constitution, the saviour of the oppressed, and the most important figure in the country's Buddhist renaissance. It is unfortunate that caste still has supporters today. It is justified on the grounds that the division of labour, often known as the caste system, is a vital component of every civilised society. The caste system is then said to be in perfect order. The caste system, however, goes beyond simple labour division.

Additionally, it is a division of labour. Divided employment is unquestionably necessary in a civilised society. But this abnormal division of labour into watertight compartments is not a component of civilised society's division of labour. The caste system is just a hierarchy in which the divisions of labourers are graded one above the other, which is very distinct from division of labour. This level of labourer gradation is unique to this country and the division of labour. This interpretation of the caste system is subject to criticism as well.

#### **10.5.1. B R Ambedkar's Role to Eradicate Caste System in India**

Throughout his life, B.R. Ambedkar employed a variety of tactics to abolish caste and, more specifically, to free the Dalit people from these oppressive societal structures. One of India's most well-known social reformers throughout the nineteenth century was Jyotiba Phule. He served as the movement's leader against India's pervasive caste system. In an effort to organise the untouchables and secure their inclusion in Hinduism, B.R. Ambedkar adopted the temple entry campaign. However, all of his efforts were brutally put down by Hindu upper caste individuals. He also understood the significance of education as a driving force for both personal growth and social development. According to Ambedkar, education should be used to moralise and enlighten the populace. In 1928, B.R. Ambedkar presented a memorandum to the Simon Commission on behalf of his organisation, the *Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha*. Instead of having two electorates, he called for the granting of a universal franchise and a certain number of seats for the Untouchables. In his speech delivered in front of a Simon Commission group in Poona, he explained that if *Dalits* were denied universal franchise, he would advocate for separate electorates. B.R. Ambedkar spent his entire life waging a battle against the wrongs of the caste system in an effort to eradicate caste. Being a Dalit himself, he made every attempt to alter the social hierarchies in India and restore equality and justice for the oppressed. In order to solve the social problems, he chose to use legal and nonviolent means. He was a key figure in creating the constitution of independent India. B.R. Ambedkar was a brilliant liberal crusader who saw through the Dalit movement's lack of ideology and gave it the required ideology. He raised awareness about living a gracious life among the downtrodden classes. On Chandan Tank, he began a Satyagraha for the advancement of the marginalised. He was therefore successful in obtaining the permission to draw water from the tank. It was his significant triumph. He toiled valiantly to integrate 14 untouchables and people from low castes into our society. He promoted

the cause of the untouchables through his writings, lectures, mass contacts, and meetings with the British bureaucracy in order to ameliorate their socioeconomic situation. He repeatedly posed severe challenges to the guardians of Hindu society while also appealing for the sympathies and support of the educated class. Indeed, it is to B.R. Ambedkar's credit that he was able to create the idea of reservation or affirmative action to grant the oppressed communities equal representation. In Hyderabad's Osmania University, *Dalits* had hailed Raavan as their hero for opposing the "tyranny" of Shri Ram, a symbol of the "upper caste," without realising that Raavan was fundamentally a brahmin until he became an Asur via his deeds. The same Dalit students are now leaving for the university to celebrate the beef festival. This merely demonstrates the way in which *Dalits* have been persuaded to dislike Hindus, and how systemic changes (in terms of socialistic economy, economic planning, and active role and engagement of the state in economic and social governance) have been made in addition. Dinners amongst different castes will mark the beginning of the campaign to abolish caste. This is likewise a subpar solution. Many castes permit dining with other castes. However, it is a well-known fact that inter-dining has failed to eradicate caste's spirit and consciousness. Intermarriage is the only effective treatment. The sense of kinship can only be created by the fusion of blood, and unless this sense of kinship, of being kindred, takes precedence, the separatist sense of alienation caused by caste will persist. He personified the ceaseless fights of the dalit masses for freedom, dignity, and human rights. He argued that the caste system was at the root of the untouchability issue. The history of India was successfully given a fresh perspective by B.R. Ambedkar. However, the removal of caste is still only a pipe dream. The negative effects of the caste system are still present and still have an impact on people's lives.

### **10.5.2. Check Your Progress II**

#### **1. Describe Ambedkar views on Caste System.**

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#### **2. Describe Ambedkar's role to eradicate Caste System.**

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## **10.6. SAFEGUARDS FOR MINORITIES**

The text of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, 'States and Minorities', was submitted to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation on March 15, 1947. He was a member of the Fundamental Rights Committee, which received this presentation. The memo was written in the format of the Constitution's Articles because, in Ambedkar's view, it preserved accuracy and point-by-point discussion. For easier understanding, the articles have been divided into sections and parts. For the benefit of the Working Committee of The Scheduled Castes Federation, Ambedkar has also created explanation notes and other statistical data. A total of 64 pages makes up the memo, including the Preface to the text that was written by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. In States and Minorities, Ambedkar argues whether one can hold the view of the scheduled castes being a minority. Anyone understanding it as a general premise would be justified in claiming that it is capable of double interpretation, according to Ambedkar. It means, in my interpretation, that whatever protection provided to citizens and minorities will not be sufficient for the Scheduled Castes, who are more than a minority. By these words, he was implying that the socioeconomic standing of the Scheduled Castes was extremely poor in comparison to that of the majority of Hindu citizens and other minorities, and that in order to resuscitate it, specific protections against the oppression and discrimination of the majority would be needed. Dr. Ambedkar later provided safeguards for the Scheduled Castes, sanction for safeguards, adjustment of safeguards, and protection of Scheduled Castes in Indian States in Part III and Part IV of the memorandum. According to Ambedkar, to claim that members of the Scheduled Castes are not a minority is to misunderstand what the term "minority" means. He claims that "religious separation is not the only test of a minority" in this context. It also isn't a reliable test. The true litmus test for evaluating whether a social group is a minority or not is social discrimination. Even Mr. Gandhi believed that adopting this test above the requirement of religious separation was rational and useful. After this examination, He has also shed attention on minority rights and fundamental rights. He briefly mentions that minorities and Indian States are problems that India faces.

The Fundamental Rights outlined by Dr. Ambedkar in the Draft Constitution were upholdable in a court of law. Ambedkar believed that, of all the rights, "Equality of Opportunity" was the most crucial. Fundamental rights referred to the establishment of equality and freedom to change India's social order. However, they were rife with disparities and discriminations that go against our fundamental rights. He believed that if social and economic inequality persisted, political democracy would also be dormant. According to Dr. Ambedkar, complete democracy is feasible in areas with a reasonable amount of equitable opportunity, a high standard of living, and literacy. The importance of "gender equality" is yet another principle espoused by Dr. Ambedkar. According to him, the community won't become progressive as a whole until its women are forced to advancement. In his proposed "The Hindu Code Bill" that promotes gender equality, he has expressed his significant concern for women in society, including *Dalits* and elites, in areas relating inheritance and divorce. Ambedkar placed social and economic equality alongside political and civic equality in contrast to the use of these principles in the French and American declarations though equality and non-discrimination are clearly at the centre of his conceptual framework of human rights.

With these suggestions, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, Anglo-Indians, and the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes are the groups covered by the specific provisions in Part XVI of the Indian Constitution.

- According to Article 330, seats in the House of the People must be set aside for members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- If the Anglo-Indian community is not sufficiently represented in the House of the People, Article 331 allows for representation by nomination by the President.
- Article 332 provides that seats shall be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States.
- If the Anglo-Indian community is not sufficiently represented in the Lower Houses of the States, Article 333 allows for representation by nomination by the Governor.
- Article 336 deals with special provisions for appointments in certain services for the Anglo-Indian community.
- Article 337 deals with educational grants for the Anglo-Indian community.
- According to Article 340 (1), the President may appoint a commission to look into the conditions of economically and socially disadvantaged groups on Indian territory, as



well as the challenges they face, and to make recommendations about the actions the Union or any State should take to improve these groups' circumstances.

### 10.6.2. Check Your Progress III

#### 1. Discuss the safeguards suggested by Ambedkar for minorities.

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## 10.7 SUMMARY

Ambedkar has frequently been presented as a leader who supported the untouchables' political cause. Naturally partisan, he supported the cause of the untouchables, the most marginalised and despised group in Indian culture. However, his advocacy and partisanship were based on a body of thought and concepts that were supported by strong arguments, which he used with great skill and efficiency. He endeavoured to develop his own evaluations and judgements of the concepts and ideologies prevalent in his period by critically engaging with them. As we've seen, Ambedkar staunchly upheld the ideal of a society devoid of oppression and injustice. As a result, he frequently declared that liberty, equality, and fraternity shall be the cornerstones of the perfect society. What are the opposing forces to these three tenets? On the one hand, casteism and communalism, and on the other, economic exploitation, continue to strengthen the pervasive disparity in Indian society. Ambedkar worked for an egalitarian society free from caste prejudice and class oppression. Ambedkar's ideas are still significant as an inspiration in the struggle against these two exploitation mechanisms, class and caste, as long as they still exist.

## 10.8. Questions for Practice

### 10.8.1 Long Answer questions

1. Discuss the ideological thought of Dr. B.R Ambedkar.
2. Describe Ambedkar's views regarding Caste System.
3. What was the role played by Dr. Ambedkar to eradicate Caste System?
4. Describe Ambedkar's views regarding safeguards for minorities.

### 10.8.2. Short Answer Questions

1. Describe early life of Dr. Ambedkar.
2. Write down the main writings of Dr. Ambedkar.
3. Describe some provisions of Constitution to eradicate inequality.

### 10.9. Suggested Readings

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