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Plato (427 to 347 BCE)

1. Plato – Life and Philosophy

Plato was born in Athens in 427 BC, at a time when ancient Greece was at the height of its glory and eminence. He came from an aristocratic family; on his mother's side, he was related to Solon, the great lawgiver. He sought to discover the eternal principles of human conduct—justice, temperance, and courage—believing that these virtues alone could bring happiness to individuals and stability to the state. A major turning point in Plato's life was the defeat of Athens by Sparta. This event, coupled with the execution of his teacher Socrates, made him despise democracy. He wandered abroad for twelve years in Persia, Egypt, Africa, Italy and Sicily in the hours of disillusionment, absorbing wisdom from every source and tasting every creed and dogma. Then he returned to Athens and opened an academy. He wrote about 36 treaties all in the form of dialogues. His academy became the best school in Athens. The philosophy of Plato has the curious property of being delivered almost entirely through the mouth of someone else. Nearly all his surviving works are 'dialogues': transcripts of real or imaginary conversations between groups of acquaintances, in which the chief protagonist is his teacher, Socrates. His 'dialectical' method consists in the clarification of concepts by a process of question and answer called elenchus

2. Works of Plato

"The Republic" is the most important and authentic work of Plato. It was about political philosophy, ethics, education and metaphysics. Other works of Plato include: "The Politicus", "The Apology", "The Meno", "The Protagoras", "The Gorgias", and "The Critias".

3. Metaphysical bases of Plato

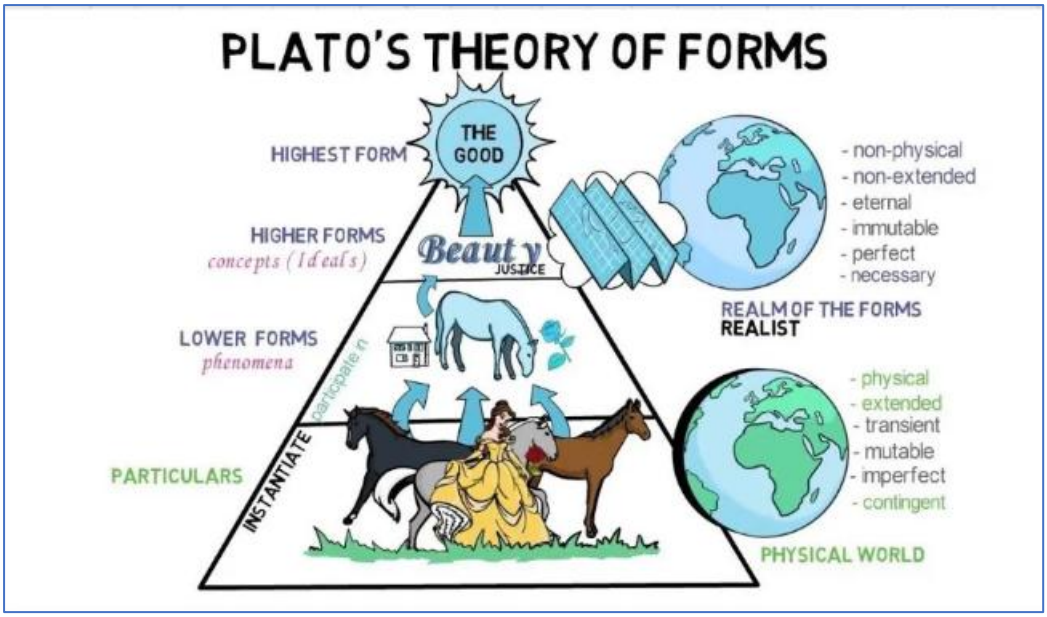
a) Theory of Forms:

Heraclitus, a pre-Socratic philosopher, claimed that we can never step into the same river twice. Socrates believed that world is uncertain and constantly changing. Plato argued that behind this unreliable world of appearances is a world of permanence and reliability. Plato calls this more real (because permanent) world, the world of 'Forms' or 'Ideas'.

b) Plato's Theory of Idea/Form:

According to Plato, for any conceivable thing or property there is a corresponding Form, a perfect example of that thing or property. The list is almost inexhaustible. Tree, House, Mountain, Man, Woman, Ship, Cloud, Horse, Dog, Table and Chair, would all be examples of putatively independently-existing abstract perfect Ideas.

For Plato, the ideas or forms are abstract representation of things around us which are timeless in nature as they are unchangeable, eternal, intelligible, divine, and incorporeal. On the other hand, physical things are existing things but are changeable, finite, perceptible, corporeal, and are caused by the forms. Plato says that true and reliable knowledge rests only with those who can comprehend the true reality behind the world of everyday experience. In order to perceive the world of the Forms, individuals must undergo a difficult education. This is also true of Plato's philosopher-kings, who are required to perceive the Form of Good(ness) in order to be well-informed rulers.



c) Allegory of Cave:

Plato's Allegory of the Cave, as told in the Republic, Book VII, is a fable related by Socrates to illustrate the gap Plato perceives between the transient world as it appears to us, and the unchanging world of the Forms, which exists behind or beyond appearances.

In an extended metaphor, Plato/Socrates considers dwellers in a cave. All their lives they've been chained up so that they cannot move their heads to look around. The entrance to the cave – the exit to the daylight of truth – is behind them, and so is a fire, with a walkway in front of it. People walk along this path, or things are paraded on it, and the shadows of these people and things are cast by the fire onto the wall in front of the prisoners. Because they have no experience which might suggest a different interpretation, the cave-dwellers assume that the shadows they see moving on the cave wall are the reality of the people and things.

This idea seems to be confirmed by the whispers of voices or other noises they hear echoing around the cave in time with the movements or gestures of the shadows. In an analogous way (the argument goes), we assume that the world we experience is absolute reality, never imagining that there might be a hidden reality which is the source of our flickering experiences, but which is quite different from them. He has Socrates say of this Form "Once [the Good] is perceived, the conclusion must follow that, for all things, this is the cause of whatever is right and good: in the visible world it gives birth to light and to the lord of light, while it is itself sovereign in the intelligible world [of Forms], and the parent of intelligence and truth. Without having had a vision of this Form no one can act with wisdom, either in his own life or in matters of the state."

4. Epistemological Foundations of Plato:

a) Rationalism and Innatism

Plato's epistemological foundations depend on the concept of rationalism which promotes the concept of innatism, the belief that we are born with certain ideas already in our minds. Rationalism is the position that regards reason has precedence over other ways of acquiring knowledge", often in contrast to other possible sources of knowledge such as faith, tradition, or sensory experience. Platonic epistemology holds that knowledge of Platonic Ideas is innate, so that learning is the development of ideas buried deep in the soul. In several dialogues by Plato, the character Socrates presents the view that each soul existed before birth with the Form of the Good and a perfect knowledge of Ideas. Thus, when an Idea is "learned" it is actually just "recalled".

b) The Doctrine of Recollection (Anamnesis)

The Platonic doctrine of recollection or anamnesis is the view that we are born possessing all knowledge and our realization of that knowledge is contingent on our discovery of it. The soul is trapped in the body. The soul was once directly acquainted with the Forms, but it is now embodied. It once knew all of the Forms, but forgot them. Recollection is the process of bringing to our attention this knowledge that we have forgotten. This doctrine implies that nothing is ever learned, it is simply recalled or remembered.

c) Opinion and Knowledge

Plato distinguished between opinion (doxa), which is based on sense experience and is unreliable, and knowledge (episteme), which is based on reason and is true and certain. In essence, Plato's epistemology emphasizes the importance of reason and the pursuit of true knowledge, which is not found in the changing world of sense perception but in the unchanging world of the Forms.

a) Stages of Knowledge for Plato:

Stages	Quantification of Society	Knowledge
First Stage	Ordinary People	Knowledge about world of appearances only
Second stage	Sophists	Express opinions about the objects in the world.
Third Stage	Scientists	Understanding of theoretical matters of the world.
Fourth	Philosopher King	Knows about the highest degree of knowledge: world of forms.

5. Plato's Political Theory

a) Plato's Hierarchical Division of Society and Functional Specialization

In The Republic the political structure of Plato's ideal Polis establishes a society in a hierarchy of three socio-political groupings: Hoi Polloi (the many - the agricultural, production and manufacturing class); Hoi Epikouroi (the Auxiliaries - the military, policing and administrative class); and Hoi Phylakes (the Guardians - the ruling class).

The two bases for the political tripartite division of society are (a) the principle of separate and specific function, based on the division of labour, and (b) an analogous tripartite division of the human psyche into the elements of appetite, passion and reason which mirror the three classes of the ideal society. Plato says that self-sufficiency consists in maintaining division of labour in a state. A successful political community has to perform three functions – production, protection (defence) and statesmanship (ruling).

Class	Aspect of the Soul	Qualities/Characteristics	Role and Responsibilities
Rulers (Philosopher-Kings)	Rational	Wisdom, intellect, love of truth, ability to grasp eternal Forms, impartial judgment	Govern the state, make laws, ensure justice, and guide society according to reason and knowledge rather than desires or impulses, possess an innate understanding of the eternal Forms, allowing them to make informed and just decisions for the state.
Guardians (Warrior Class)	Spirited	Courage, honor, valor, sense of duty, strength, disciplined emotions	Defend the state from external enemies, enforce the rulers' laws internally, uphold social order, and act as protectors of justice
Producers (Working Class)	Appetite	Moderation, industriousness, pursuit of material satisfaction (wealth, food, trade, agriculture, craftsmanship)	Provide for the economic needs of the state through labor, trade, farming, and craftsmanship. They sustain the material foundation of society. Moderation and self-discipline are emphasized within this class to ensure the harmonious functioning of the entire societal structure.

b) Plato's Theory of Education:

Plato once stated that the main function of education is not to put knowledge into the soul, but to bring out the latent talents in the soul by directing it towards the right objects. As Socrates said *"Education is the*

kindling of a flame, not the filling of vessel." For Plato,***" education consists of giving to the body and the soul all the perfection of which they are susceptible".***

According to Plato, education is a matter of conversion, i.e. a complete turnaround from the world of appearances to the world of reality. ***'The conversion of the souls',*** says Plato***, 'is not to put the power of sight in the soul's eye, which already has it, but to insure that, instead of looking in the wrong direction, it is turned the way it ought to be'.*** In Laws he says: "***Education is the first and the fairest thing that the best of men can ever have".*** According to Plato, the aim of education is the welfare of both the safety of the society and the food of individual.

Plato regards education as a means to achieve justice, both individual justice and social justice. According to Plato, individual justice can be obtained when each individual develops his or her ability to the fullest. In this sense, justice means excellence. For the Greeks and Plato, excellence is virtue. According to Socrates, virtue is knowledge. Thus, knowledge is required to be just. From this Plato concludes that virtue can be obtained through three stages of development of knowledge: knowledge of one's own job, self-knowledge, and knowledge of the Idea of the Good. According to Plato, social justice can be achieved when all social classes in a society, workers, warriors, and rulers are in a harmonious relationship.

Plato believes that all people can easily exist in harmony when society gives them equal educational opportunity from an early age to compete fairly with each other. Without equal educational opportunity, an unjust society appears since the political system is run by unqualified people; timocracy, oligarchy, defective democracy, or tyranny will result. The main purpose of Plato's theory of education was to ban individualism, abolish incompetence and immaturity, and establish the rule of the efficient. Promotion of common good was the primary objective of platonic education. Plato believed in a strong state-controlled education for both men and women. He was of the opinion that every citizen must be compulsorily trained to fit into any particular class, viz., ruling, fighting or the producing class.

Plato believed that the purpose of education was not just to impart knowledge and skills but also to instill moral values in individuals. He argued that the education system should be designed to foster the development of virtues such as courage, wisdom, justice, and moderation. In "The Republic," he proposed a specific curriculum that would enable individuals to achieve moral perfection over time.

Theory	Methodology
Theoretical Education	Education should begin with theoretical subjects such as mathematics, philosophy, and science that help individuals understand the world around them.
Moral Education	Plato believed that education should be a holistic process that fosters the development of virtue and moral character in individuals. He emphasized the importance of nurturing the emotional and intellectual sides of human nature.
Physical Education	Physical education was an integral part of Plato's educational philosophy. He believed that a healthy mind could only exist in a healthy body, and thus, physical fitness was a necessary condition for a well-rounded education.

Now that we have a clearer understanding of Plato's educational philosophy and its significance, it's time to explore how we can apply his ideas in modern learning environments. Here are some practical considerations:

- **Focus on moral education:** As we discussed earlier, Plato believed that education should be a holistic process that fosters the development of virtues and moral character in individuals. Therefore, educators should prioritize the cultivation of ethical values and character development in their teaching practices.
- **Emphasize theoretical and practical education:** In Plato's ideal education system, there is a balance between theoretical and practical education. Therefore, educators should aim to strike a similar

balance in their teaching practices. This could involve incorporating hands-on learning experiences and real-world applications of theoretical knowledge.

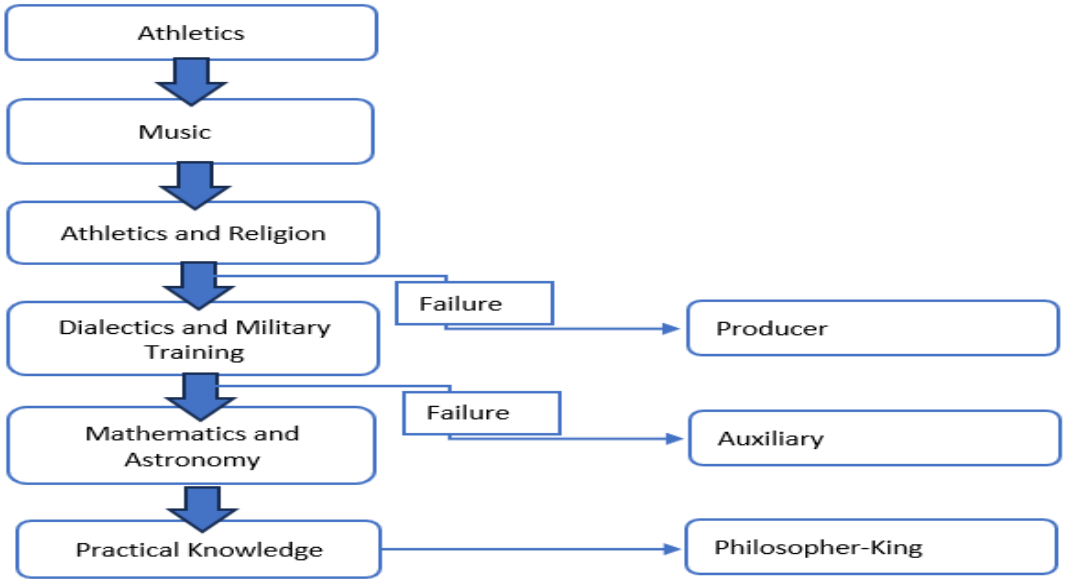
- **Encourage critical thinking:** Plato believed that education should focus on developing critical thinking skills. Therefore, educators should create opportunities for students to analyze, question, and evaluate information and ideas.
- **Develop individualized learning plans:** Plato's educational philosophy emphasizes the importance of individual development. Therefore, educators should aim to create individualized learning plans that cater to each student's unique needs, strengths, and interests.

Plato's System of Education:

According to Plato there are different stages of life and he has suggested proper education for these periods.

Stages of education:

- **First stage: (0-6)**
  Plato believed that education began from the age of seven and before these children should stay with their mothers for moral education and genders should be allowed to plays with each other.
- **Second stage (7-17)**
  This stage is till the age of seventeen. The content of education comprises Gymnastics, literature, music and elementary mathematics. Gymnastics is essential for the physical and mental growth. Music is chosen as the medium of education, an avenue for the spiritual growth, and ideas are the contents of education for this stage.
- **The third stage (18-20)**
  This stage is meant for cadetship and is related to physical and military training. The youth are bought into the stage of battle in this age.
- **The fourth stage (20-30)**
  This stage is from twenty to thirty where advance mathematics and their relation to reality are taught. Here students undergo mathematical training preparatory to dialectic. Plato has highlighted the qualities needed for an individual to enter higher education. He proclaimed that preference should be given to the surest, bravest, fairest and those who have the natural gifts to facilitate their education.
- **The fifth stage (30-35)**
  This age is from ages thirty to thirty-five. Plato restricted the study of dialectic to this age because he felt that an individual should be mature enough to carry on the study in dialectic, especially about ultimate principles of reality.
- **The six stage (35-50)**
  This age is from thirty five to fifty years, when according to Plato, an individual is ready as a philosopher or ruler, to return to practical life to take command in war and hold such offices of state as befits him.
  After reaching 50 one should spend the life in contemplation of "the Good" their chief pursuit should be philosophy and should participate in politics, and rule for the good of the people as a matter of their duty.

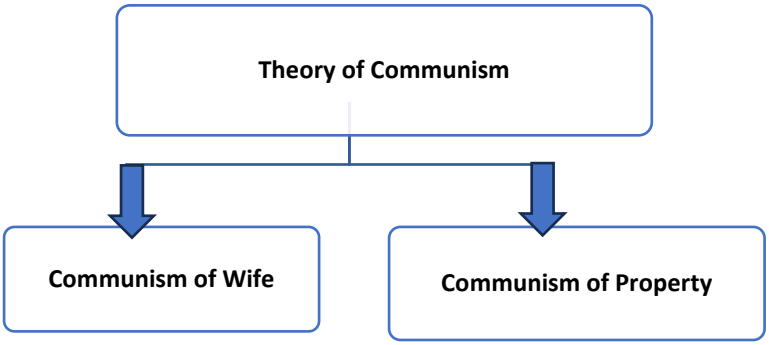


c) Plato's Concept of Communism:

In Plato's opinion if reason and spirit are to discharge their functions and to attain justice, then they must keep themselves away from appetite. Domination of appetite is a great hindrance to the purification and goodness of the soul.

Plato's theory of communism is based on his belief of corrupting influences of family and property over people holding the public offices that remains a historic fact and continuing norm. It is aimed at freeing the ruling classes, i.e. the philosophers and the warriors from the institutions of family and property. The vast producing masses are kept out of the realm of communism that applies to only ruling classes – the philosophers and the warriors.

The longings for family and property make the rulers self-seeking, indulgent, greedy and hence corrupt that is a diversion from and impediment to appropriate performance of their duty to rule not in their own but in public interest.



The Communism of Property:

The gist of Plato's communism is deprivation of all the members of the ruling classes, the guardians and soldiers from having any private property including private house, land or gold and silver (wealth). Their survival needs shall be taken care by the commodities collected from the producing classes in the form of taxes. They shall live in the state managed barracks and eat in the common mess.

The private ownership of property by ruling classes is to be replaced by their collective ownership of property and collective domination over the producing masses under the direction of philosopher king with the coercive apparatus of the armed auxiliaries. According to him those classes which have the qualities of gold and silver within, need not external silver or gold. They are the servants of the people and not the

masters, a contradiction in terms. This duality of theory and practice continues in modern democracies as the ruling parties and leaders despite their all kinds of uses and misuses of power claim to be servants of the people.

Plato's arguments in defense of abolition of the institution of property among the ruling classes are not economic in terms of the nature of ownership of means of production and exchange, but moral, political and psychological. According to his basic assumptions of human nature and the principle of functional specialization, he opines on the moral grounds that everyone must accomplish one's nature of achieving the requisite end by transcending self-interest.

The Communism of Wives:

"…if the difference consists only in women bearing and men begetting children, this does not amount to a proof that a woman differs from men in respect of the sort of education she should receive; and we shall therefore continue to maintain that our guardians [and] their wives ought to have the same pursuits." (**Plato).** In the book V of Republic, Socrates first convincingly proves the equality of women with men after considering all the possible objections and arguments and arrives at the conclusion of the need of abolition of family. If property is abolished and family remains as before, people will be encouraged to acquire it, since without property family cannot be maintained. Plato understood it fully and he strongly recommended the community of wives as well as children and his discussion on this subject in The Republic occupies much larger space.

In ancient Greek society the family life was private. Women were confined to home. Men met at market-places and assembled at other areas. The functions of women were to look after the domestic chores and to procreate children.

> ***"The wives of our guardians, then, must strip for exercise, since they will be clothed with virtue and they must take their share in war and in other social duties of guardianship. They are to have no other occupation; and in these duties, the lighter part must fall on the women because of the weakness of their sex..."(Plato)***

Plato argues the abolition of family on two counts. First argument Family, according to him is linked with property and is equally distractive and corrupting as property. The rulers must not waste time and energy in familial responsibility but devote themselves in the invention of the truth, i.e. in the comprehension of the Idea of Good. The emotive and impulsive attachment to the family fetters the absolute devotion to the state and concern for their offspring causes selfish tendencies detrimental to social unity and harmony. Family is hurdle for women's equal education and function as guardians and hence an obstruction in their emancipation. Abolition of the institutions of marriage and family is essential for the moral development of guardians. Due to marriage men and women carelessly indulge into sexual intercourse, whenever they wish to instead of controlled and disciplined sex to produce worthy children.

After critiquing the family, Plato proposes his new scheme,

> ***"…. A law that follows from that principle (male and female guardians having all occupations in common) and all that has gone before , namely that, of these guardians, no one man and one woman have to set up house together privately: wives have to be held in common by all; so too are the children. No parent is to know his own child or any child his parent."***

Plato recommends a state regulated sexual association of men and women on festive occasions for procreation and not for pleasure. "The worthy men and women, who have special accomplishments in the service of state must be coupled together more often for superior offspring's. Plato's this scheme is based on his genetic misconception, "bad crow lays bad eggs". "…..

> ***"As soon as children are born, they will be taken by officers appointed for the purpose, who may be men or women or both, because offices are to be shared by both the sexes. The children of the better***

parents they take to crèche to be reared in the care of nurses living apart in certain quarter of the city. The children of inferior parents and any children of the rest that are defective are hidden away in some appropriate manner that must be kept secret." It is to be noted that infanticide of defective children was practiced at Sparta. What a unique eugenic theory and family planning scheme! "They must be if the breed of our guardians is to be kept pure"

d) Plato's Concept of Philosopher King:

Philosopher king is the person who possess the wisdom and has the knowledge of ideas or forms. He has absolute power. In the words of Plato, no ordinance or law can be mightier than knowledge.

In theory, Philosopher king is the one who will establish an ideal state which will be free of corruption. It was derived from the conviction that the philosopher had the right knowledge, intellect and training to rule.

Plato first got the idea of the Philosopher King from Socrates. According to Socrates, a philosopher is a person who likes wisdom, has a strong thirst for knowledge, and is always busy learning something new. Also, Socrates defines a philosopher as someone who always yearns for the truth.

Plato saw democracy as an irresponsible form of government. He believed that a state governed well by the people was an impossible ideal due to their potential to be misled by skilled public speaker and their sensitivity to the tendency to rule their crowds. Plato viewed democracy as the 'rule of the unfit'. In his work The Republic Plato explained his thought by using what he referred as 'craft analogy'.

In Plato's work, the craft analogy posits that knowledge and skill are analogous to the expertise of a craftsman, suggesting that various disciplines, including philosophy, arts, and politics, are like crafts that require specialized knowledge and skill. This analogy emphasizes the importance of expertise and practical knowledge, arguing that effective rulers, for example, should possess the necessary skills to govern well.

Plato views the competence of a craftsman as a model for understanding knowledge in general. Craftsmen, like doctors or builders, have specific skills and knowledge that enable them to produce valuable goods or services. He argues that rulers should possess the necessary knowledge and skills to govern effectively, just as a skilled craftsman has the knowledge to make something well.

To Plato, it all boils down to what democracy means, literally. Democracy is 'the rule by the demos', where 'demos' can be understood as 'the people', and as "'the mob'…the unfit". The 'kallipolis', or the beautiful city, is a just city where political rule depends on knowledge, which philosopher kings possess, and not power.

Plato's idea of specialization is also linked to justice, which he considers to be structural, as political justice is a result of a structured city, where individual justice is a result of a structured soul, and where each member of the polis has a "specific craft for which he has a natural aptitude".

"Ruling … is a skill" which requires special training available to few. At the same time, philosophers must possess qualities that enable them to rule; for instance, they must be able to recognize the difference between friend and foe, good and bad.

Above all, philosophers must "love wisdom", as the rule of the wise leads to the reigning of justice, as philosophy becomes sovereign. Justice is a virtue, as is knowledge, which requires understanding. Understanding refers to goodness, and thus, knowledge and goodness are one. The philosopher kings have virtue as they have knowledge, and thus, according to Plato, their rule is justified.

Why Philosopher King Rule the Ideal State?

- A true guide of the people.
- The most enlightened man.
- Legitimacy to rule is driven by their rationality.
- Have the capability to differentiate between good and evil.
- The implementer of true justice.

- Plato's Scheme of Education ensures his rule.
- Plato's theory of forms ensures his rule.
- Plato's theory of knowledge and doctrine of recollection ensure his rule.
- Plato's theory of communism ensures his rule.
- Plato's epistemological bases ensure his rule.

Statements of Plato's on the rule of Philosopher King:

"mankind's troubles will never cease until either true and genuine philosophers achieve political power or, by some dispensation of providence, rulers of states become genuine philosophers." (Seventh Letter)

- *"Human behavior flows from three main sources: desire, emotion, and knowledge."*
- *"Ideas are the source of all things"*
- *"Ignorance, the root and steam of all evil".*
- *"No law or ordinance is mightier than understanding."*
- *"Those states are best governed where the ruler is least interested to govern"*
- *"It is foolish to limit an expert practitioner of medicine with the book of medicine".*

e) Plato's Concept of Justice:

"Justice means minding one's own business and not meddling with other men's concerns". Plato
"Justice in the life and conduct of the State is possible only as first it resides in the hearts and souls of the citizens." Plato

Plato in his philosophy gives very important place to the idea of justice. He used the Greek word "Dikaisyne" for justice which comes very near to the work 'morality' or 'righteousness', it properly includes within it the whole duty of man. It also covers the whole field of the individual's conduct in so far as it affects others. According to him, justice is not merely about external laws but about an individual's inner harmony—where reason governs desires, and each person performs their designated role in society.

Plato's Critique of Athenian Society: The Backdrop of His Theory of Justice

Plato's early adulthood coincided with the period of political dislocation following the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War of 431–404 BCE. An immediate consequence of defeat was the overthrow of the democratic constitution of Pericles and the establishment of a ruling council of thirty oligarchs. Plato had high hopes that this oligarchy might preside over a successful post-war reconstruction, but such optimism soon foundered.

The 'Thirty Tyrants' adopted methods of government so savage that they alienated many of those wealthy Athenians who had initially regarded their rule with favour. In 403 BCE, a counter-revolution under the leadership of Thrasybulus swept it away and reinstated the democratic constitution. It was under this new regime that Socrates perished, condemned on the curious and probably specious charge of 'not recognizing the gods which the city recognizes

In 399 BCE, Plato left Athens and remained in voluntary exile until 386 BCE. It is not difficult to imagine his feelings. He had seen the oligarchy of the Thirty, which he had hoped might 'lead men out of a bad way of life into a good one', turn into a sanguinary fiasco.

Concept of Justice Prevailing in Athens:

Traditional Theories of Justice (Cephalus and Polemarchus)

- **Cephalus's View:** Justice is honesty and fulfilling legal obligations. Plato rejected this as it focused only on external actions, not morality.
- **Polemarchus's View:** Justice means helping friends and harming enemies. Plato criticized this as subjective and unjust, arguing that true justice cannot involve harming others.

Radical Theory of Justice (Thrasymachus)

Defined justice as ***"the interest of the stronger. "***He argued that rulers make laws to serve their own power, not fairness. Plato opposed this, stating that justice should be based on virtue, not power dynamics.

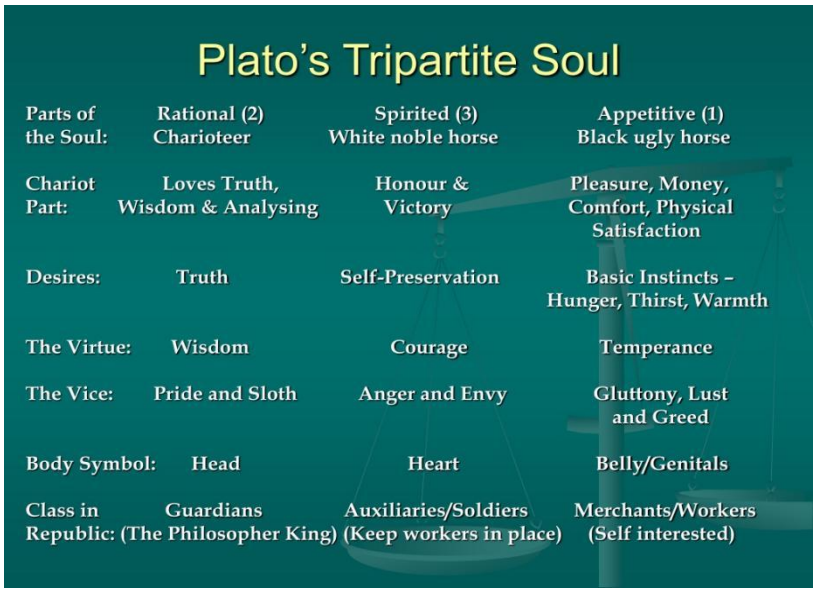
Plato's Concept of Justice:

"Justice is not mere strength, but is a harmonious strength. Justice is not the right of a stronger but the harmony of the whole." Plato

Plato's theory of justice centers on the idea that justice is both a characteristic of a well-ordered individual and a well-ordered society, achieved through a harmonious arrangement of its parts. He believed that a just society and just individual are interconnected, both built on the principle of each part fulfilling its proper function without interfering with others. Plato's concept of justice is closely tied to his understanding of the human soul, which he divides into three parts: reason, spirit, and appetite

- The rational part of the soul is responsible for seeking truth and making wise decisions, while the spirited part is associated with courage and honor
- The appetitive part of the soul is driven by basic desires and passions, such as hunger, thirst, and sexual desire
- In a just individual, reason rules over the other parts of the soul, ensuring that each part performs its proper function and does not interfere with the others

Plato argues that justice in the individual soul is analogous to justice in the ideal state, where each class performs its proper function under the guidance of the philosopher-kings



Types of Justice:

Justice at Individual Level:

For Plato, individual justice is achieved when each part of the soul – reason, spirit, and appetite – functions harmoniously and in the right order, with reason leading, spirit supporting, and appetite following.This mirrors the structure of a just state, where different classes perform their proper functions without encroaching on others. In essence, individual justice is about a well-ordered, harmonious soul, where each part fulfills its role properly.

The Three Parts of the Soul:

Plato believed the soul is composed of three parts: reason, spirit, and appetite.

- Reason: Concerned with logic, wisdom, and making rational decisions.

- Spirit: Related to courage, ambition, and emotions like anger and pride.
- Appetite: Driven by basic desires, such as hunger, thirst, and other bodily needs.

Individual justice, according to Plato, is achieved when reason governs, spirit supports, and appetite is kept in check, all working together in a harmonious way. Plato drew an analogy between the just individual and the just state. He argued that just as a person should have each part of their soul in its proper place, a just society should have its different classes (philosophers, warriors, and producers) fulfilling their roles without interfering with each other.

Justice, for Plato, is not just about avoiding wrongdoing or following the law. It's about achieving a state of inner harmony and well-being, both for the individual and for society. In Plato's Republic, the "noble lie" refers to a foundation myth, or a carefully crafted falsehood, that is propagated by the ruling class to maintain social harmony and obedience in the ideal state. This myth, while not literally true, is presented as a beneficial lie, designed to foster civic unity and acceptance of the established social order. The primary goal of the noble lie is to create a sense of shared identity and belonging among the citizens, encouraging them to prioritize the well-being of the city over their own individual interests.

Justice at Societal Level:

Plato's conception of societal justice centers on a harmonious and balanced structure where each class in society fulfills its designated role without interfering with others. He believed in a hierarchical society with philosopher-kings, who would govern based on wisdom and justice. This ideal state is achieved when reason (rulers), spirit (auxiliaries), and appetite (producers) function in sync, with each part upholding its unique responsibility.

Justice was achieved when each class performed its role effectively and without intruding on others, resulting in a harmonious and well-ordered society. Education played a vital role in Plato's vision, as he believed that it could instill the values and knowledge necessary for both individual and societal justice.

Morality and Justice: Theory of Morality

"Justice is virtue and Wisdom and injustice is vice and ignorance." Plato.

In Plato's philosophy, justice and morality are closely intertwined, forming the foundation of a well-ordered individual and society. Justice, according to Plato, is a virtue that promotes harmony and balance within the soul and the state. He believed that a just individual and a just society are achieved when each part functions properly and contributes to the overall good. Plato saw morality as inseparable from justice. He believed that justice is a fundamental virtue, and that living a just life is essential for achieving true happiness and a good life, both for the individual and for society.

To Plato, morality is an efficiency harmony of the whole achieved through the most effective use of the parts. Evil is nothing more than the parts of man or the parts of the state that are out of balance. Plato views all morality as being directly linked to the good of the whole. The communal nature of man mandates the individual resisting the tendency of all humans to go with their more animal instincts for self-gain as opposed to their more rational, intellectual ones relating to the good of the whole.

Modern Day Relevance of Plato's Theory of Justice:

- Establishment of free and modern institutions: Why Nations Fail
- Modern Justice System resembles the Plato's ideas of Justice: UN Charter of Human Rights: Justice for all.
- Justice provides harmony in the current chaotic world: French Judicial System.
- Freedom of fundamental rights and revolt against injustice.

f) Characteristics of Plato's Ideal State:

i. **An Organic Entity:** Plato views the state as an organic entity, analogous to a living organism, where each part functions for the good of the whole. The health of the state depends on the proper functioning and harmony of its various parts.

ii. **The Ideal State Reflects Justice:** For Plato, the state is the embodiment of justice. Justice in the state mirrors justice in the individual, achieved when each class performs its designated role without overstepping its bounds.

iii. **Structure:** The state consists of three classes: rulers (philosopher-kings), auxiliaries (warriors), and producers (farmers, artisans, merchants). Each class contributes to the stability and functionality of the state.

iv. **Philosopher-Kings as Rulers:** The state is governed by philosopher-kings, who possess the knowledge and wisdom to make decisions for the benefit of all. Their rule is based on rational insight and understanding of the Forms, particularly the Form of the Good.

v. **Role of Education:** Education is fundamental in shaping the ideal state. It ensures that each class is properly trained for its role. The philosopher-kings undergo extensive education to prepare them for governance.

vi. **Communal Living Among Guardians:** To prevent conflicts of interest, the guardians (rulers and auxiliaries) live communally, without private property or traditional family structures. This communal living ensures their loyalty to the state above personal interests.

vii. **The Noble Lie:** Plato introduces the concept of the "noble lie," a myth perpetuated to maintain social harmony and justify the class structure, suggesting that people are born with different types of souls suited to different roles.

viii. **Meritocracy:** In Plato's state, individuals are assigned roles based on their abilities and virtues rather than wealth or birthright. This meritocratic principle ensures that the most capable individuals occupy positions of responsibility.

ix. **Function Over Freedom:** Plato prioritizes the function and stability of the state over individual freedoms. Each person's primary duty is to fulfill their role, contributing to the overall harmony and order of the state.

x. **Harmony and Unity:** The state must achieve a harmonious balance where each class works together for the common good. Unity is essential, with the different classes cooperating and complementing each other's functions to maintain a just and stable society.

6. Conclusion

Aristotle (384- 322BCE)

1. Introduction:

"Aristotle was the unimpeachable authority on every science and art known to this day." Chester C. Maxey.

Aristotle was one of the greatest philosophers who ever lived and the first genuine scientist in history. He made pioneering contributions to all fields of philosophy and science; he invented the field of formal logic, and he identified the various scientific disciplines and explored their relationships to each other.

Aristotle was born at Stagira, a Greek colony of Thrace. He became a member of Plato's Academy in 367 BCE. It is said that he expected to be made head of the Academy when Plato died. Disappointed in this expectation, he left Athens. After three rather mysterious but decisively formative years spent in the court of Hermias at Assos, in 343 BCE, he accepted a post at the court of Philip of Macedon, as tutor to the future Alexander the Great. He returned to Athens in 335 BCE and opened his own school, the Lyceum. His connection with Alexander made him unpopular with Athenian patriots after Alexander's death in 323 BCE, and he again left the city. He died at Chalcis in Euboea. Of his numerous philosophical, logical and scientific works, the ones directly of interest to us are the Nicomachean Ethics and Politics. Like nearly all his extant works, these were posthumously assembled from literary remains by his family and students (the Nicomachus of the Nicomachean Ethics was Aristotle's son). This fact has given rise to serious textual complications.

During the Middle Ages, he was simply considered "the philosopher." The recovery of his manuscripts in the thirteenth century marks a turning point in the history of philosophy. According to Dunning, ***"the capital significance of Aristotle in the history of political theories lies in the fact that he gave to politics the character of an independent science."*** Eduard Zeller says, ***"Politics of Aristotle is the richest treasure that has come down to us from antiquity; it is the greatest contribution to the field of political science that we possess."***

2. Metaphysical Foundations of Aristotle:

Aristotle's metaphysical foundation, outlined in his Metaphysics, centers on the concept of substance as the fundamental reality, and explores the nature of being, causality, and the relationship between form and matter. Metaphysics, for Aristotle, was the study of nature and ourselves. In this sense he brings metaphysics to this world of sense experience–where we live, learn, know, think, and speak.

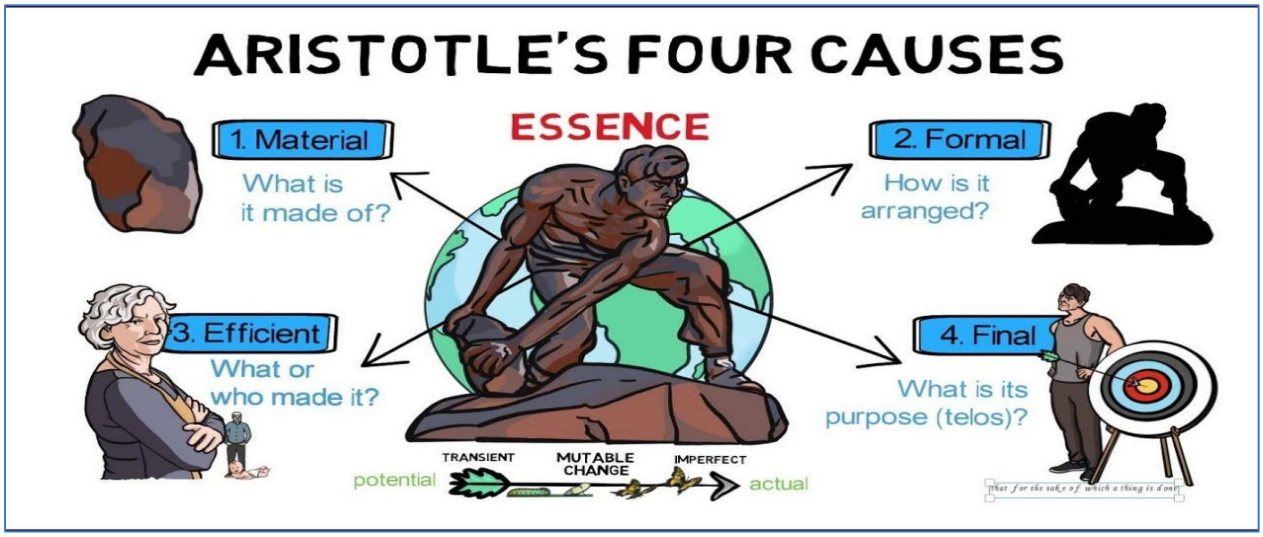
Metaphysics is the study of ***"BEING QUA BEING",*** which is, first, the study of the different ways the word "be" can be used."Being qua being" in philosophy, particularly in metaphysics, refers to the study of being itself, not just as a particular type of being, but as the most fundamental and general concept of existence.

The primary type of being is the "what," which indicates the substance of the thing. For example, when I say that a person is good or that a person is 6 feet tall, we are referring to that person. This is the substance. There are ten categories of being. They include substance, quality, quantity, and relation, among others. Of these categories of beings, it is the first, substance (ousia), to which Aristotle gives a privileged position.

Substances are unique in being independent things; the items in the other categories all depend somehow on substances. That is, qualities are the qualities of substances; quantities are the amounts and sizes that substances come in; relations are the way substances stand to one another. For Aristotle, a substance is a particular thing and its properties. The substance is the matter and the secondary categories or properties are form. A substance consists of matter and form. Form is not a separable realm as it was for Plato; it must exist with matter.

While Plato holds that the more abstract Forms are the most real, Aristotle thinks that the more concrete things are most real. For example, individuals are more real than species. Aristotle's theory of causation posits that every event or entity has four distinct types of causes: material, formal, efficient, and final. These causes, while distinct, are interconnected and explain both the existence and nature of things. Aristotle believed that understanding these four causes was essential for understanding the natural world and human action.

Cause	Definition	Example (Statue)
Material Cause	The substance or matter from which something is made.	Bronze (the material of the statue).
Formal Cause	The structure, shape, or form that defines an object or entity.	The shape and design of the statue.
Efficient Cause	The agent or force that brings about the change or production of something.	The sculptor who creates the statue.
Final Cause	The purpose or end for which something exists or is produced.	To serve as art, a memorial, or a decoration.



3. Epistemological Foundations of Aristotle:

Aristotle posits that it is a very noticeable and consuming feature of human beings to know and comprehend the Physical world, in which he lives, that is, ***"all humans by nature desire to know".*** Aristotle's epistemology, or theory of knowledge, emphasizes empirical observation and the acquisition of knowledge through experience, reason, and the identification of universal principles. Aristotle argues that knowledge is derived from a combination of sensory experience and rational inquiry, with the mind actively organizing and interpreting sensory data to form universal principles or essences. He posits that knowledge begins with sense perception, which serves as the foundation for higher forms of understanding.

Through the process of induction, individuals move from particular instances to general principles, thereby attaining scientific knowledge. Furthermore, Aristotle introduces the notion of the four causes—material, formal, efficient, and final—which are essential for understanding the essence and functioning of objects in the world. This emphasis on causality and teleology reflects Aristotle's belief in a purposeful universe governed by inherent principles and natural laws. Overall, Aristotle's epistemology provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the nature and acquisition of knowledge, emphasizing the role of both sensory experience and rational inquiry in attaining scientific understanding.

4. ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

Aristotle's theory of knowledge has several key components. These include:

Sense Perception	• According to Aristotle, all knowledge originates with the senses. It relates to the five senses. •Our senses provide us unprocessed information about the outside world, and it is through the processing of this information that knowledge is produced.
Abstraction	•The mind then analyses this information through an abstraction process after the senses have given it to us. •The process of abstraction involves isolating certain characteristics from an item and using those characteristics to build an understanding.
Generalization	•Once a concept has been developed, it can then be applied to other objects with related properties. •For instance, if we have the idea of a "chair," we may expand this idea to encompass additional things that have those qualities, such a stool or a bench.
Induction	•Induction is the process by which we draw conclusions based on the evidence we have. Aristotle believed that induction was a necessary component of knowledge, as it allowed us to move from the specific to the general.
Deduction	•Deduction is the process by which we draw conclusions based on the premises we already accept as true. •Deduction is used in logical reasoning, and it is a key component of Aristotle's theory of knowledge.

Furthermore, Aristotle argues that the goal of knowledge is to understand, to explain, to find out why things are the way they happen. In other word, to know their necessity.

a) Classification of Knowledge:

Aristotle's classification of knowledge identifies three main categories: Episteme (scientific knowledge), Techne (practical knowledge or skill), and Phronesis (practical wisdom).

- **Episteme (Scientific Knowledge):**

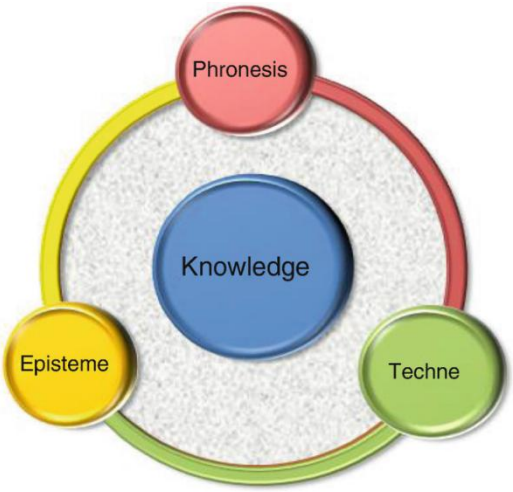
This refers to knowledge of unchanging and eternal truths, often achieved through observation and logical reasoning. It is knowledge that can be demonstrated with certainty, like scientific laws. Examples include physics, mathematics, and astronomy.

- **Techne (Practical Knowledge or Skill):**

This is the knowledge of how to do something, often acquired through practice and experience. It involves the ability to create or produce something, such as a craft or a tool. Examples include carpentry, medicine, and engineering.

- **Phronesis (Practical Wisdom):**

This is the ability to discern what is right and good in a specific situation, and to act accordingly.
It involves understanding the context and making sound judgments based on practical knowledge and experience. Examples include ethical decision-making, good governance, and sound business practices.



5. Method of Aristotle:

Aristotle agreed with the Plato the statesmen should be able to construct the ideal state. The rules, the principals and the laws that help to achieve the ideal are important. But since man, being what he is, will never be able to incorporate all the components of justice into his own community, the principal objective of the scholar of politics and the statesman is to establish the best practicable state, one which does not presume more virtue and ability than man actually possess. Aristotle and Plato agreed that the state is indispensable to man. A well performing state can be studied through historic process.

Aristotle's theory of history can be understood as a blend of practical observation, intellectual inquiry, and a focus on understanding the cyclical nature of political and social change. He saw history as a valuable tool for learning from the past and improving the present, particularly in political and social contexts. Aristotle's theory of history focuses on understanding the past through various methods, including empirical observation, analysis of texts, and the examination of historical events, rather than a specific "historical process" in the sense of a linear, predetermined evolution.

He emphasized the importance of practical experience and the "reasonable man of experience" in understanding historical events. Aristotle believed that history should be based on observable facts and the insights of those who have lived through historical events. He emphasized the importance of "experienced people" in providing insights into the past, much like he and his students collected information from various experts for his Historia Animalium. This approach aligns with his broader philosophy, which emphasizes the importance of empirical observation and deduction in understanding the world.

Aristotle's historical work, such as The Constitution of Athens, demonstrates his ability to analyze existing texts and documents to reconstruct historical events. Aristotle's Politics provides insights into his understanding of political history, focusing on the development of different forms of government and their respective strengths and weaknesses. He believed that understanding the causes and consequences of historical events could lead to a better understanding of political institutions and social structures. His analysis of constitutional forms, such as democracy, oligarchy, tyranny, and aristocracy, demonstrates his interest in the cyclical nature of historical development, where different forms of government might rise and fall.

Aristotle saw history as a process of cyclical change, influenced by factors like climate, geography, and the nature of human beings. He believed that different types of political and social systems would inevitably rise and fall, creating a pattern of historical change. He believed that understanding history could provide valuable lessons for political and social decision-making, helping to create more stable and just societies.

6. Aristotle as Father of Political Science:

In the words of Renan, "***Socrates gave philosophy to mankind and Aristotle gave science to it.***"

Political science is a social science that studies politics and power, examining how decisions are made, power is distributed, and the impact of government on society. It explores political ideas, ideologies, institutions, policies, and processes, as well as groups, classes, government, diplomacy, law, strategy, and war, both domestically, internationally, and comparatively.

Aristotle is widely considered the "father of political science" due to his systematic and comprehensive analysis of various forms of government, political philosophy, and the role of the individual in society. His contributions, particularly in his work "Politics," established a foundation for understanding and studying politics that continues to influence political thought today.

Aristotle meticulously examined different types of political systems, both good and corrupt, based on the nature of the ruler and the purpose of governance. He classified governments into monarchies, aristocracies, and republics, along with their corresponding corrupt forms, providing a framework for understanding political structures. Aristotle's approach to political science was grounded in empirical observation and analysis. He studied numerous city-state constitutions, seeking to understand the factors that contributed to their stability or instability, demonstrating a scientific approach to the study of politics.

Aristotle's work, including the "Politics," established the study of governance and political systems as a distinct field of inquiry. He believed that understanding politics was crucial for individuals to live a virtuous and fulfilling life, as political participation and engagement were essential for a well-ordered society. Aristotle's famous assertion that ***"man is by nature a political animal"*** highlights the inherent human capacity for social and political life. This concept underscores the importance of political participation and the role of government in facilitating human flourishing.

Aristotle's ideas have profoundly influenced political philosophy and continue to be debated and reinterpreted today. His concepts of virtue, justice, and the role of the state have shaped political discourse for centuries. In essence, Aristotle's systematic approach, empirical analysis, and emphasis on the importance of political participation and governance established him as a foundational figure in the field of political science.

The extensive writings by Aristotle on the Ideal State, slavery, revolution, education, citizenship, forms of government, the Golden Mean Theory, the Theory of Constitution, and other topics have earned him the title of father of political science.

7. The State: Origin and Purpose in Aristotle's philosophy:

a) Defining State

The family is natural and inborn instinct, similarly the state is also natural for individuals. Baker said, ***"The state is the natural home of the fully grown and natural man. It is an institution for the moral perfection of man to which his whole nature moves."***

Aristotle was of the view that state is a ***"Political Koinonia"***, an association which represents a functional unity of varied and reciprocal parts made by the pursuit of a common aim in which their nature, their habits and their training lead them all to join. Maclwain said, ***"The state is a kind of Koinonia which is a supreme over all others, and embraces them all."***

b) Origin of State:

"Man is a political animal, destined by nature for state life." Aristotle. "Whoever is outside the state is either greater than human or less than human." (Politics 1:2).

The state – the polis – is, he thinks, the only setting within which human beings can live the sort of lives appropriate to their kind. According to Aristotle, the state originates naturally as a consequence of human beings' natural inclination to form communities and achieve a good life.

Humans, being social and political animals, are driven to live together and satisfy their needs through various stages of development: households, villages, and finally, the state, which is capable of fulfilling all aspects of a good life. Aristotle's view on human nature centered on the idea that humans are "rational animals," possessing a unique capacity for reason and deliberation that distinguishes them from other beings.

Aristotle towed the biological belief that there are only two categories of livings things in the universe. These are plants and animals. Man does not have the features of plants but that of animals. However, he distinguished man from any other kind of animals. He opined that man has super perception and reasoning, and ability to decipher just and unjust, right or wrong, thus, man's survival is depending on the structure to be formed.

He made an analogy of Locke‟s state of nature and said in order to maintain a community; man tends to become unlike other animals that live together; a political animal. Aristotle believed that the purpose of human life is to achieve eudaimonia, often translated as "happiness" or "flourishing." This is not just a matter of pleasure, but rather a state of living well, or a flourishing life, achieved through virtuous activity. Aristotle believed that the state wasn't a contrived or artificial creation but a natural evolution. Humans begin by forming households for basic survival, then villages for community and cooperation, and ultimately, the state, which is a complete and perfect form of community, capable of supporting a flourishing life for its citizens.

He argued that virtue, or excellence in character, is necessary for achieving eudaimonia. Virtues are developed through habit and practice, and they involve finding the "golden mean" between excess and deficiency in our emotions and actions.

c) Telos of the State:

"State exists for the sake of good life and not for the sake of life only." (Aristotle) Aristotle's general view of the world is of the kind known as teleological. Everything in the universe has a telos – an 'end' or 'purpose' – peculiar to itself.What is the telos, and hence the good, of man? It is, Aristotle says, the achievement of a state of eudaimonia. The customary translation of eudaimonia is 'happiness', but 'happiness' means less than Aristotle does by eudaimonia.

Aristotle's concept of eudaimonia refers to living well and achieving a state of human flourishing. The state should create an environment where individuals can pursue their goals and achieve their full potential. According to Aristotle, all human functions contribute to eudaimonia, 'happiness'. Happiness is an exclusively human good; it exists in rational activity of soul conforming to virtue. This rational activity is viewed as the supreme end of action, and so as man's perfect and self-sufficient end.

Again, for Aristotle, the term episteme, 'science', indicates a special quality of knowledge, viz. truth as derived from premises priorly known, and with greater clarity than the conclusion. This thesis argues that scientific knowledge of man can be based on analysis of the exclusively human quality of eudaimonia. For Aristotle, the purpose of the state (polis) is to enable its citizens to live well, achieving a "perfect and self-sufficient life". This involves cultivating virtuous citizens, maintaining social order, and fostering an environment where individuals can flourish and achieve their highest potential. Essentially, the state should be a framework for promoting the good life for all its members.

"Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But, if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims at good in a greater degree than any other, and at the highest good." (Politics)

'The state comes into existence so that men may live; it remains in being so that they may live well' (Politics 1:2).

d) Aristotle's Concept of Golden Mean and State:

Aristotle's concept of the "golden mean" suggests that moral virtue lies in the balance between two extremes, one of excess and the other of deficiency. Aristotle believed that ethical behavior is not about rigidly adhering to rules but rather about finding the right balance in one's actions and emotions. He argued that virtues like courage, generosity, and temperance are found at the mean between two extremes, such as recklessness and cowardice for courage, extravagance and stinginess for generosity, and irascibility and apathy for temperance.

Polis applies the golden mean which creates laws that create a balance between virtue and evil. Good laws will create peace, order and develop good habits which will constitute the foundation of a good Polis.

e) Aristotle's concept of Community in a Polis:

According to Aristotle, a community is meant to serve a purpose; it is only when the purpose is served that it can be said to be a community. Aristotle says that a community is built through partnership and the partnership aims at achieving a general good. In Aristotle's view, building a better and stronger community depends on the strength of the existing partnership, thus, if the partnership is stronger, it tends to achieve a more tenacious rate of good for all.

According to Aristotle, citizens of a community ought to be partners and pursue a common good. The highest good of all is the happiness and virtue of all citizens. Thus, the community is to create a platform that would make it possible or feasible for the citizens to achieve this happiness and virtue. The first form of partnership which Aristotle considers as being the inception of community is the pair of a man and woman, with the concerned purpose to reproduce their kinds. He opined that when a man consummates with a woman, they tend to reproduce off-springs, and if the off-springs go on to follow the steps of the first man and woman, while still maintaining the same geographical spheres like, they reproduce their springs.

Furthermore, at each point, values are inculcated, and virtues and specific characters for common goals are passed from one generation of the off springs to another. Within time over a given period, though, usually long, a community is created by the initial pairing.

The other form of partnership or pairing, which Aristotle identified as being able to create a community is the relationship between the ruled and ruling class. By this, Aristotle was referring to Slave/Master relationship. Aristotle's perspective is that a dignified ruling master and ruled slave need each other for survival. To Aristotle, slavery is a kind of partnership which is of great benefits to both master and slave. He states that the relationship between master/slave caused them to come together to form a household, which helps them in meeting the needs of daily life. Aristotle classified slaves into two forms. To him, slaves can be acquired during war or inter-community clashes; upon the defeat of any person or group of persons, they automatically become inferior to the winners and were taken into captivity. Another form of slaves is hereditary slaves. These become slaves because their either or both of their parents are slaves, to wit, inferiority runs in their blood or lineage.

From Aristotle's point of view, the economies of the Greek city-states were built on slavery; since it is only when men have time to engage in intellectual activities, would the society be advanced; and men

would not afford such time unless the slaves are used to carry out the productive labour. To him, slave institution helps in the indoctrination, transformation, reformation and rehabilitation of a person to make him fit and proper for the community, lest, he become a virus to the community.

The family, according to Aristotle, should be large enough to provide for the necessities of life, sustenance of her members and increase via reproduction. The expansion of a family causes multiple families. The expansion infers that two or more families being in contact with other families. As such families come together; they form a village and thus, a community. A community is better than families because it is more self-sufficient. Because communities are more extensive than families, people can specialize in a series of tasks and can develop skills which they might not have developed if it were a smaller group.

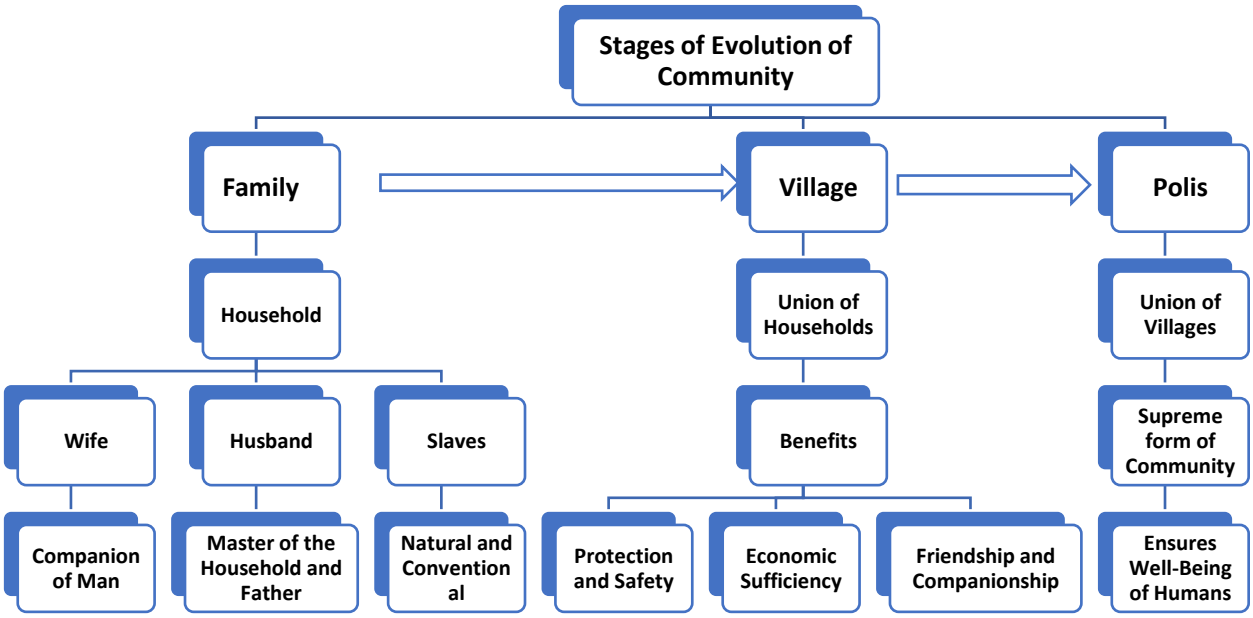
Aristotle opined that community life is relevant to make one a complete human. He argues that if anyone incapable of participating in community life or one needs nothing from others and is self-sufficient, thus, not being part of the community; the person is either a god or a beast. Though humans may not become gods, they may become beasts. One of his quotes states: ***"For just as man is the best of the animals when completed and when separated from law and adjudication he is the worst of all".***

To Aristotle, the community is likened to the human body while the individuals are the parts of the body. The whole body may function but not to its fullest if one or two parts are not in order, are removed or destroyed. He posits that except where a man is naturally subdued due to physical, mental or biological infirmities, it is always the natural structure that the man rules over the woman and the elder is more complete than the younger who are by nature incomplete.

Aristotle states that in an entire community, man is superior to a woman and man is the ruler while the woman is the ruled.

He makes a distinction between slaves and females; wherein he said that the slave lacks the deliberative element to rule; the female (if she is not a slave) has the element but lacks authority, and the child who is not a slave has the element, but his person is incomplete.

He said that women's role is to preserve acquisitions of men. However, it is clear that Aristotle believes that ***"as with the master's superiority to the slave, the man's superiority to a woman is dictated by nature and cannot be overcome by human laws, customs, or beliefs"***.



f) Aristotle's Concept of Justice in a State:

Aristotle's concept of justice centers around the idea of treating equals equally and unequal unequally, based on their merits and demerits. He argues that justice, at its core, is a form of proportional equality. According to Aristotle, justice is the cornerstone of a well-functioning society, and it applies both to individuals and to the structure of political institutions. His notion of justice can be broadly divided into two categories:

- **General justice:** This encompasses all virtues and is synonymous with lawfulness and fairness. Aristotle sees this as the collective pursuit of the common good, where individuals act in a manner that benefits society as a whole.
- **Particular justice:** This is divided further into two types:
  - **Distributive justice**: Concerned with the fair allocation of resources and honours based on merit, need, or contribution.
  - **Corrective (or rectification) justice:** Focuses on rectifying wrongs, ensuring that unjust losses or gains in voluntary or involuntary transactions are corrected.

Aristotle's theory of justice is teleological, meaning it is directed towards a purpose or goal. He believed that the aim of justice was to create a society where individuals could live the "good life," a life of moral and intellectual virtue. At the heart of Aristotle's theory of justice is the concept of equality. However, his notion of equality is not identical to modern egalitarian principles. Instead of absolute equality, Aristotle promotes proportional equality. For Aristotle, justice is not about giving everyone the same thing but about ensuring that individuals receive what is due to them based on their merit and circumstances.

General Justice: Lawfulness and the Common Good

Aristotle believed that general justice refers to a form of universal lawfulness, which embodies all the virtues and ensures that citizens act in the interest of the community. For Aristotle, laws are essential for achieving justice, as they serve to maintain social order and promote the well-being of the community. Just laws guide individuals toward virtuous actions and ensure that society operates harmoniously. Aristotle's general justice aligns with his broader view of politics, where the state plays a crucial role in shaping the moral character of individuals. He argues that the state's purpose is not just to maintain order but also to help citizens achieve their full potential through virtuous living. In this way, justice becomes a political virtue, essential for the health and prosperity of the polis (city-state).

Particular Justice: Distributive and Corrective Justice

Particular justice is more specific than general justice and deals with individual cases of fairness. Aristotle divides this form of justice into two categories: distributive justice and corrective justice.

Distributive Justice

Distributive justice concerns the fair allocation of goods, honours, and resources within a community. Aristotle believed that resources should be distributed based on merit, meaning that individuals should receive benefits in proportion to their contributions or virtues. For example, in the context of political offices, wealth, or social recognition, Aristotle would argue that those who contribute more to society or display greater virtue should receive more significant rewards. This form of justice supports the idea that society should not treat everyone equally, but rather proportionally based on their merits.

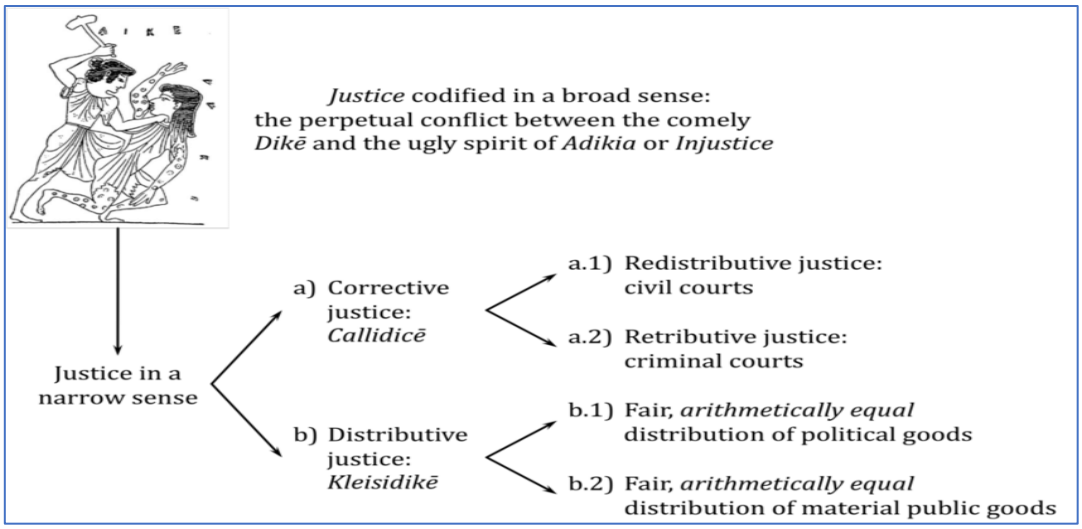
Corrective Justice

While distributive justice is concerned with fair allocation, corrective justice deals with rectifying wrongs. This form of justice applies in situations where individuals have suffered losses or gained unfair advantages due to unjust actions, such as theft, fraud, or injury. Corrective justice aims to restore balance by ensuring that the injured party is compensated for their losses, and the wrongdoer is held accountable. Aristotle distinguishes between voluntary and involuntary transactions in this context:

- **Voluntary transactions:** These include contracts and agreements, where parties enter into relationships by mutual consent. Corrective justice ensures fairness in these exchanges, so neither party gains an unfair advantage.
- **Involuntary transactions:** These involve wrongdoing, such as theft or assault. In these cases, corrective justice seeks to rectify the injustice by compensating the victim and punishing the wrongdoer.

Political Justice: The Pinnacle of Aristotle's Justice Theory

Political justice is the highest form of justice in Aristotle's view. It concerns the governance of the state and the laws that regulate relationships between citizens. Aristotle believed that justice is not just a personal virtue but a political one and that it is the foundation of any well-ordered society. Political justice involves creating laws and institutions that promote fairness, equality, and the common good.



g) Political Economy of the Polis:

The polis provides the economic prerequisites of morality. Economic and moral needs are intertwined. Neither the supremely happy life of contemplation nor the balanced, rational and moral life of the kind that Aristotle identifies with 'ordinary' happiness can be lived in conditions of want. Too plentiful a supply of external goods is bad for us: it encourages laziness and arrogance. We should engage in economic activity only to the extent necessary to meet our needs. Economic activity for profit alone is unnatural; as is usury, the use of money to create merely paper values. But a sufficient level of material prosperity is necessary if we are to live well. The processes of production and distribution that the polis makes possible therefore have moral as well as economic dimensions.

In his political philosophy, Aristotle did not specifically advocate for the polis to be a strict autarky (or complete self-sufficiency). While he valued the polis's ability to be self-sufficient in essential necessities, he also recognized that a perfectly autarkic polis was impractical. He acknowledged the importance of trade and external relations for the good life (eudaimonia). He also saw self-sufficiency as a key characteristic of the polis, meaning it could produce all its necessary goods and services within its own borders.

However, Aristotle also understood that a completely self-sufficient polis would be difficult to achieve in reality. He acknowledged the need for trade with other polises to acquire necessary goods or services that were not readily available within the city-state. In fact, he argued that engaging in trade and interacting with other polises was not just permissible but also necessary for the flourishing of the polis.

h) Role of Education in developing a sound polis:

In Aristotle's view, education is crucial for a well-functioning polis (city-state) because it prepares citizens for active participation in political life and fosters the development of virtuous individuals. By cultivating moral and intellectual virtues, education helps create a society that values justice, reason, and the common good. The polis provides the educational conditions upon which the cultivation and realization of moral virtue depend.

For Aristotle, education in moral as distinct from intellectual virtue is a matter of acquiring habituated modes of behaviour through training and repetition. It is by doing virtuous acts that we learn to be virtuous, just as it is by practising music that we become accomplished musicians. It is therefore an important function of legislation to make men good by requiring or encouraging them to form good habits. Aristotle believed that education should equip individuals with the knowledge, skills, and character necessary to participate effectively in political life. This includes understanding the principles of governance, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and how to engage in productive debate and deliberation.

Aristotle's concept of a "political person" (a citizen of the polis) suggests that education should shape individuals who are not only knowledgeable and virtuous but also deeply engaged in the political life of their community. Aristotle believed that philosophy and logic play a crucial role in education as they provide the tools for critical thinking, reasoned discourse, and the systematic exploration of knowledge. By ensuring that citizens are educated and virtuous, Aristotle argued that a polis is more likely to be just, stable, and capable of achieving its goals.

i) Functions of State:

Aristotle believed the primary function of the state, or polis, was to foster the well-being and good life (eudaimonia) of its citizens, promoting virtue and societal order. He also saw the state as essential for achieving a comprehensive good life, going beyond basic needs met by smaller communities like households and villages. Aristotle emphasized the state's role in shaping virtuous citizens through education and other mechanisms. He believed that a good state should cultivate character traits like courage, temperance, and justice. The state had a duty to maintain order, protect its citizens, and provide a stable environment for them to flourish. Aristotle saw the state as a means to achieve the "good life," which involved both individual and collective flourishing. This included not just basic survival, but also the cultivation of virtues and the pursuit of knowledge.

- The state is not merely an association of associations but it is a highest natural association for pursuits of spiritual class of common life of virtue.
- The state is based on the element of justice
- It also aims at the highest good of the community for its proper realization of demands and needs in it.
- The state functions to ensure a perfect and self-sufficing life of all its components members.
- The state also ensures to fulfill all the natural needs of its members and to provide opportunities to the individuals for the attainment of moral, intellectual and physical excellence.
- According to Aristotle, ***"Man is essentially good and the function of the state is to develop his good faculties into a habit of good actions."***

8. Forms of Government or Constitutions:

"A constitution was presumed to be not only the basic law determining governmental structure and the allocation of powers but also a reflection of the way of life of the citizen." Judd Harmon.

Aristotle's philosophy of constitutionalism, as detailed in his Politics, emphasizes that the constitution is the fundamental organizing principle of a state, shaping its social and political life. Aristotle defines the constitution (politeia) as a way of organizing the offices of the city-state, particularly the sovereign office.

The constitution thus defines the governing body, which takes different forms: for example, in a democracy it is the people, and in an oligarchy it is a select few (the wealthy or well born).

He viewed constitutions not as fixed documents but as living ways of life, reflecting the character and values of a society. Aristotle believed that a well-ordered and stable state required a constitution that fostered the common good and promoted civic virtue. Aristotle argued that the primary goal of a constitution should be to promote the well-being and happiness of all citizens, not just a select group. He believed that a good constitution fosters virtuous citizens who are prepared to participate in public life and contribute to the common good. Aristotle advocated for the rule of law as a means of ensuring order and justice within the state. Aristotle recognized that different constitutions could be appropriate for different societies, depending on their size, population, and other factors.

a) Aristotle's Theory of Causation and the existence of constitutions:

One can also explain the existence of the city-state in terms of the four causes. It is a kind of community (koinônia), that is, a collection of parts having some functions and interests in common. Hence, it is made up of parts, which Aristotle describes in various ways in different contexts: as households, or economic classes (e.g., the rich and the poor), or demes (i.e., local political units). But, ultimately, the city-state is composed of individual citizens, who, along with natural resources, are the "material" or "equipment" out of which the city-state is fashioned.

The formal cause of the city-state is its constitution (politeia). Aristotle defines the constitution as ***"a certain ordering of the inhabitants of the city-state".*** He also speaks of the constitution of a community as "the form of the compound" and argues that whether the community is the same over time depends on whether it has the same constitution. The constitution is not a written document, but an immanent organizing principle, analogous to the soul of an organism. Hence, the constitution is also "the way of life" of the citizens.

The existence of the city-state also requires an efficient cause, namely, its ruler. On Aristotle's view, a community of any sort can possess order only if it has a ruling element or authority. This ruling principle is defined by the constitution, which sets criteria for political offices, particularly the sovereign office.

However, on a deeper level, there must be an efficient cause to explain why a city-state acquires its constitution in the first place. Aristotle states that ***"the person who first established [the city-state] is the cause of very great benefits".***

This person was evidently the lawgiver (nomothetês), someone like Solon of Athens or Lycurgus of Sparta, who founded the constitution. Aristotle compares the lawgiver, or the politician more generally, to a craftsman (dêmiourgos) like a weaver or shipbuilder, who fashions material into a finished product. Since we see that every city-state is a sort of community and that every community is established for the sake of some good (for everyone does everything for the sake of what they believe to be good), it is clear that every community aims at some good, and the community which has the most authority of all and includes all the others aims highest, that is, at the good with the most authority. This is what is called the city-state or political community.

b) Aristotle's Constitution Theory and the Concept of Citizenship:

Aristotle states, ***"The politician and lawgiver is wholly occupied with the city-state, and the constitution is a certain way of organizing those who inhabit the city-state".*** His general theory of constitutions is set forth in Politics III. He begins with a definition of the citizen (politês), since the city-state is by nature a collective entity, a multitude of citizens. Citizens are distinguished from other inhabitants, such as resident aliens and slaves; and even children and seniors are not unqualified citizens (nor are most ordinary workers). After further analysis he defines the citizen as a person who has the right (exousia) to participate in deliberative or judicial office.

c) Aristotle's Constitution Theory and the Concept of Authority:

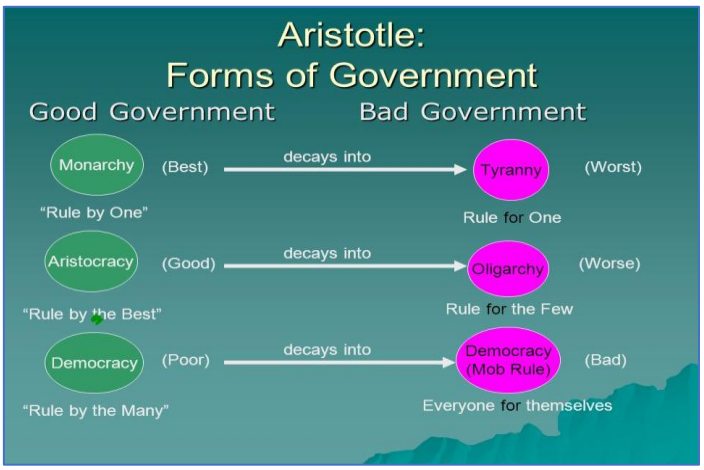
Aristotle distinguishes several types of rule, based on the nature of the soul of the ruler and of the subject. He first considers despotic rule, which is exemplified in the master-slave relationship. Aristotle thinks that this form of rule is justified in the case of natural slaves who (he asserts without evidence) lack a deliberative faculty and thus need a natural master to direct them. Although a natural slave allegedly benefits from having a master, despotic rule is still primarily for the sake of the master and only incidentally for the slave.

He next considers paternal and marital rule, which he also views as defensible: "the male is by nature more capable of leadership than the female, unless he is constituted in some way contrary to nature, and the elder and perfect [is by nature more capable of leadership] than the younger and imperfect". It is noteworthy, however, that paternal and marital rule are properly practiced for the sake of the ruled (for the sake of the child and of the wife respectively), just as arts like medicine or gymnastics are practiced for the sake of the patient.

In this respect they resemble political rule, which is the form of rule appropriate when the ruler and the subject have equal and similar rational capacities. This is exemplified by naturally equal citizens who take turns at ruling for one another's advantage. Basis of Good and Perverted Forms of Constitution: This sets the stage for the fundamental claim of Aristotle's constitutional theory: "constitutions which aim at the common advantage are correct and just without qualification, whereas those which aim only at the advantage of the rulers are deviant and unjust, because they involve despotic rule which is inappropriate for a community of free persons".

d) Various Forms of Constitution:

The distinction between correct and deviant constitutions is combined with the observation that the government may consist of one person, a few, or a multitude. Hence, there are six possible constitutional forms. Aristotle's "Politics" classifies government types based on who rules and for whose benefit. He identified three good forms and their corresponding corrupt forms, with a focus on the common good vs. personal gain. The three good forms are monarchy (government by one for the common good), aristocracy (government by a few for the common good), and polity (government by many for the common good). The corrupt forms are tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, respectively.



e) Application of the Historic Method Before the Imposition of a Constitution in a State:

Monarchy and Tyranny:

Monarchy is the most virtuous form of government because the monarch is virtuous, selfless, kind and intelligent ruler who establishes justice, maintains peace and works in a common interest. The monarch changes when he becomes incapable of and unable to rule wisely and unjustly. But such a case is very rare,

and the risk of miscarriage is great, for monarchy corrupts into tyranny, which is the worst constitution of all.

It violates the laws in the favour of despot and eradicates the justice from the society. The best interests of the despot are pursued and the common interests are neglected.

Aristocracy and Oligarchy:

These two forms of government represent the rule of few wealthy people in a Polis. Aristocrats rule for the happiness of the people. They relinquish their interests and pursue the common good. They utilize their wealth in the way of common good. They are not selfish, greedy, power mongers and unjust. Oligarchs are selfish, greedy and unjust because they form the government for the attainment of personal interests and business goals. They concentrate wealth in the hands of few and deprive a larger population of a economically stable life. They own most of the property and utilizes the wealth to acquire power and political positions. They disregard the needs of other people resultantly chaos and anarchy prevail in the state.

Democracy and Polity:

Democracy is the rule of unfit. It will lead to mobocracy which is not healthy for the stability and tranquility of the state. The Athenian writes, ***"Democracy exists when the free and poor, being a majority, have authority to rule."*** And although democracy has a more positive connotation in today's world, Aristotle viewed it as deviant because it is unjust to the wealthy and successful. In democracy, Aristotle pointed out that decisions may be taken by emotion rather than rationality.

He emphasized that a well-structured Democratic system must avoid the tyranny of the majority and ensure that laws are just and beneficial for all citizens. For democracy, ***"equality is above all things their aim, and therefore they ostracize and banish from the city for a time those who seem to predominate too much through their wealth, or the number of their friends, or through any other political influence." Politics. "If the people are not utterly degraded, although individually they may be worse judges than those who have special knowledge, as a body they are as good or better." Aristotle.***

Aristotle also cautioned against something he called extreme democracy – as it can lead to demagogues, in which, not the law, but the multitude, have the supreme power, and supersede the law by their decrees. The demagogues make the decrees of the people override the laws, and refer all things to the popular assembly. And therefore, they grow great, because the people have all things in their hands, and they hold in their hands the votes of the people, who are too ready to listen to them. Politics. Polity is a mixture of democracy and oligarchy. Aristotle argues that a good pragmatic and practical state is a blend of balanced forms of democracy and oligarchy.***"There are two parts of good government; one is the actual obedience of citizens to the laws, the other part is the goodness of the laws which they obey."*** We must pay close attention to the content of the laws we're following: They must constantly be reevaluated to make sure they remain consistent with the common interest.

Polity is a constitutional government that is run by the middle-class citizens of the state. The happy life is the life according to unimpeded virtue, and that virtue is a mean (average), then the life which is in a mean, and in a mean attainable by everyone, must be the best. Thus, it is manifest that the best political community is formed by citizens of the middle class, and that those states are likely to be well-administered, in which the middle class is large, and larger if possible than both the other classes (rich and poor). Politics.

Great then is the good fortune of a state in which the citizens have a moderate and sufficient property; for where some possess much, and the other nothing, there may arise an extreme democracy, or a pure oligarchy; or a tyranny may grow out of either extreme … but it is not so likely to arise out of a middle and nearly equal condition.

- **Economy of Polity:** Discussed above in the section of political economy of a state.
- **Community:** Discussed above in the section of Aristotle's concept of Community.

- **Population:** Population of a state should not be too small or too large to control.
- **Strong Military**: For the protection of polis from internal and external threats.

9. Aristotle's Concept of Revolution:

To Aristotle, if any change occurs in the existing system or constitution of the state, it means revolution. For example, if in the state the constitution has changed from monarchy to democracy, it is a revolution. Aristotle was of the view that if the constitution remains the same, but the ruling party has been transferred from one man to another, it is also a revolution.

a) General Causes of Revolution:

The main feature of revolution is to be the craving of men for equality. Equality has two characters-absolute and proportional. The proletariat are passionate to secure absolute equality for the availability of the same rights that are possessed by few. The few struggles for proportional equality for perpetual upgrading superiority in power and privilege. Strong desire for justice becomes another feature of revolution. Aristotle was of the view that men turn to revolution when they think they have not got their dues.

b) Particular Causes of Revolution:

- Desire for gain and profit.
- Universal desire for honor and prestige
- The possession of sovereign power by an individual or group so as to create fear and apprehension in the minds of the subject
- Undue priority and prominence of individuals caused great stir in the heart of the subdued people
- Disproportionate increase of power and wealth in any part of the state
- Elections intrigues and moral degradation kept up in the selection of some people
- Carelessness shown in granting public offices to disloyal citizens and undue favoritism shown to the individuals
- Too much power concentrated in one man or class of men for political gains
- Dissimilarity of different elements in the state
- The rivalries of people of different races in the state
- Dynastic quarrels and conflicts
- Free immigration of outside races with different notions of justice and law.

c) Revolutions in Particular kind of State:

In democracies, revolutions are led by the dogmatic policies of demagogues in attacking the rich. In oligarchies, revolutions take place due to two reasons:

- Oppressive or Totalitarian rule
- Rivalry among the ruling dictators

In aristocracies, revolution held to the policy of narrowing down the circle of the Government. Aristocracy tends to become oligarchy, through the undue encroachment of the richer classes polity to become democracy, through the undue aspiration of the poorer class. According to Dunning ***"Stability can be maintained only by proportionate equality and by giving to each his own."*** Aristotle was of the view that democracy is more secure and stable than oligarchy.

d) Remedies for Revolution:

- Abundant political power should not be concentrated in the hands of one man or one class of men.
- The various classes in the state without any discrimination of color and creed should be treated alike and with proper consideration
- Honors and rewards should be distributed as fairly as possible only to deserving ones because inequalities of offices and honors drive men to revolt.

- Political offices should be within reach of every individual who is able of performing his functions best.
- The Government should be so vigilantly organized that the political office-holders cannot make money out of their offices. Bribes and other kinds of illegal gratification should be made quite impossible to accept.
- A Government would gain popularity and political stability if it so arranges things that the internal details of the administration, particularly the administration of public finances is open to public scrutiny.
- Proper education should be imparted to the citizens in the spirit of constitution.
- Political stability and internal solidarity can be gained by maintaining proportionate equality.
- The habit of obedience and submission to law should be instilled. Lawlessness and anarchy should not be allowed to creep in even in small and trifling matter.
- In oligarchy and aristocracy, the inferior class must be well treated and the principles of democratic equality must be followed among the privileged classes. In democracy, the poor and the rich should be encouraged to take part in the state administration which does not affect the sovereign power.

10. Conclusion

Machiavelli (1469-1527)

1. Introduction:

Nicolò Machiavelli was born in Florence, Italy, into an ancient but impoverished family. He entered the service of the Republic of Florence in 1494 and was employed on diplomatic missions to France, the Holy See and Germany. When the Republic fell in 1512, he was briefly imprisoned and tortured. He retired into private life and devoted himself to political analysis, military theory and the study of history, producing The Prince in about 1513, The Discourses in about 1516 and The Art of War in about 1520. Part of his purpose in writing The Prince was to ingratiate himself with Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom it is dedicated; but it was not until 1525 that he was recalled to government service. With the overthrow of the Medici in 1527, Machiavelli was again excluded from office. In the last years of his life, he completed a History of Florence, a commentary on the historical records of Florence, offering a remarkably sophisticated account of causal relationships rather than mere chronology. Machiavelli is not interested in the religious and ecclesiastical issues so characteristic of medieval political thought. He is on the whole hostile to Christianity, believing that a people genuinely committed to the Christian virtues of meekness and submission would not thrive in the cut-throat world of politics.

2. Metaphysical Foundations of Machiavelli:

Machiavelli's political thought, particularly his emphasis on the separation of politics from morality, has been interpreted as having metaphysical underpinnings. While not a systematic meta-physician, Machiavelli's writings suggest a focus on the worldly, contingent nature of things and a rejection of a purely divinely ordained or moral purpose. Machiavelli's adoption of the Epicurean metaphysical framework is most evident in the Discourses on Livy, where he denies any intrinsic purpose within things that would direct their movement in a uniform mode, applying this principle to political history so as to think about the possibility of the emergence of a free republican order that may be perpetually rejuvenated via periodic intervention.

Epicureanism's metaphysical framework, centered on the teachings of Epicurus, emphasizes a materialistic view of the universe, including atomism, the absence of divine intervention, and the concept of a tranquil life free from fear and pain.

Key elements include the idea of atoms moving in empty space, a spontaneous swerve (change of direction) that allows for interaction and the creation of the universe, and the belief that death is simply the cessation of consciousness. Epicureanism also posits that gods exist but are not concerned with human affairs. Everything in the universe, including the soul, is composed of matter. Achieving a state of "ataraxia" (freedom from disturbance) and "aponia" (absence of pain) is the ultimate goal, not through external means, but through understanding and accepting the natural world.

Machiavelli's analysis of political history and human nature emphasizes the concrete realities of power, ambition, and fortune, rather than abstract moral principles or divine decrees. Machiavelli's focus on the material world, the dynamics of power, and the concrete realities of political action can be seen as reflecting a kind of materialism, though not in a philosophical sense.

Machiavelli's method of analyzing political history and human behavior through observation and example can be seen as a departure from traditional metaphysical approaches, which often rely on abstract reasoning or divine revelation.

3. Epistemology of Machiavelli:

Machiavelli's epistemology, while not explicitly developed like a formal theory, can be understood through his practical and observational approach to political knowledge. He believed that political knowledge is gained through observation of human nature, history, and the real-world dynamics of power and politics. He focused on what is, rather than what should be, and his work is often characterized by a pragmatic and

sometimes cynical view of human behavior and the world. His works, like The Prince, are not theoretical treatises, but rather guides based on his observations and analysis of past and present political situations. Machiavelli had a pessimistic view of human nature, seeing people as primarily motivated by self-interest and ambition. He believed that understanding this basic human nature was crucial for effective political action.

4. Machiavelli's views on the Human Nature:

According to Machiavelli human nature is completely selfish and full of ego and that they always think about their own self-interest like the masses desire safety and security and the ruler wants power, and that they are very selfish to gain and conquer their motives.

"Men are quick to change ruler when they imagine they can improve their lot." Machiavelli. They are stupid and irrational, incapable of knowing what is actually best for them. ***"Men are so thoughtless they'll opt for a diet that tastes good without realising there's a hidden poison in it." Machiavelli.***

Their lives are marked by chasms of hypocrisy into which naive and unwary rulers are liable to fall. "There is such a gap between how people actually live and how they ought to live that anyone who declines to behave as people do … is schooling himself for catastrophe." Machiavelli.

They are greedy. ***"a man will sooner forget the death of his father than the loss of his inheritance";*** shallow, "***all men want glory and wealth***"; ungrateful, ***"since men are a sad lot, gratitude is forgotten the moment it's inconvenient"***; credulous, "***people are so gullible and so caught up with immediate concerns that a conman will always find someone ready to be conned"***; and manipulative, ***"men will always be out to trick you unless you force them to be honest". Machiavelli.***

All in all, human nature offers little to inspire. "***We can say this of most people: that they are ungrateful and unreliable; they lie, they fake, they're greedy for cash and they melt away in the face of danger."*** Machiavelli.

5. Machiavelli as Realist: Classical Realism:

a) Defining Classical Realism:

Classical realism in international relations emphasizes the role of human nature and the pursuit of power in shaping state behavior. It argues that states are inherently self-interested and driven by a desire for power, leading to conflict and competition in the international system. Classical realists believe that the pursuit of power is rooted in human nature itself, making it a fundamental aspect of international politics. This inherent drive for power is projected onto states, leading them to engage in competition and conflict to enhance their own position. Classical realism is skeptical of the potential for progress and cooperation in international politics, arguing that the pursuit of power often undermines attempts to create a more just and peaceful world.

b) Defining Machiavelli's Realism:

Machiavelli's realism, a cornerstone of his political philosophy, emphasizes a pragmatic, even cynical, view of human nature and politics, prioritizing the stability and security of the state over moral considerations. He believed that effective rulers must understand and act within the realities of power and human behavior, even if it means employing tactics that might be considered morally questionable. Machiavelli argued that rulers must prioritize the stability and security of their state, even if it requires morally questionable actions. He famously stated that "it is better to be feared than loved".

c) Contours of Machiavelli's realism:

Machiavelli rejected idealistic political philosophies in favor of a pragmatic approach to politics. He believed that effective politics must be grounded in the reality of human behavior and the pursuit of power, rather than abstract ideals. Machiavelli's realism is rooted in his understanding of human nature. He

believed that humans are inherently self-interested and motivated by a desire for power, making it necessary for rulers to be aware of this and act accordingly.

Machiavelli argued that rulers should be willing to use force, cunning, and even deceit to achieve their objectives and maintain power. He believed that these tactics were necessary for securing the state's interests in a world where morality is often secondary to power.

> ***"A great many men have imagined states and princedoms such as nobody ever saw or knew in the real world, for there's such a difference between the way we really live and the way we ought to live that the man who neglects the real to study the ideal will learn how to accomplish his ruin, not his salvation."***

Machiavellian realpolitiks: Realpolitik is a German term that refers to politics based on practical, pragmatic considerations rather than ideological beliefs. It's the concept that compromise is often required in politics. The driving principle in government should be pragmatism rather than ideology.

One of Machiavelli's key concepts is "virtù" — the ability to shape one's destiny according to one's will. For a Prince, virtù is the ability to adapt to changing circumstances and seize opportunities. It's a combination of strength, intelligence, and adaptability that enables rulers to meet the demands of political life. Machiavelli acknowledges the influence of fortune in human affairs but argues that it can be mastered to some extent. He likens fortune to a river that can be channeled and controlled but never fully tamed. A skilled Prince, through virtù, can navigate the whims of fortune.

Machiavelli is often associated with the idea that "the end justifies the means." His pragmatism is visible in his argument that a ruler must be willing to act immorally if necessary for the greater good of the state. This detachment from traditional morality was revolutionary and remains contentious. Machiavelli advises rulers to be both a lion, symbolizing strength and courage, and a fox, symbolizing cunning and deceit. Balancing these traits enables a Prince to face various challenges and threats. The contemplation of morality within the realm of politics finds itself in direct consonance with Machiavelli's pronounced emphasis on the pragmatic and efficacious endeavour to attain political aims.

In his profound exploration, he immerses himself in the intricate realm of moral quandaries and the intricate process of ethical decision-making. His argumentation revolves around the notion that the foremost moral obligation of a leader resides in the preservation of the state's stability and triumph.

Machiavelli's ideas about ethical leadership are based on the idea that a ruler should care most about the welfare of the state, even if that means making decisions that may not be morally sound by today's standards. Machiavelli's seminal work, 'The Prince,' offers profound insights into the intricate dynamics of political leadership, shedding light on the pragmatic realities that necessitate the implementation of strategic manoeuvres, often entailing morally ambiguous tactics, in order to secure and sustain power. The notion of Machiavellian leadership encompasses a cunning and calculated approach to governance that places the leader's aims above traditional moral deliberations.

d) Comparison of Hans Morgentha and Machiavelli:

Hans Morgenthau and Niccolò Machiavelli share a focus on political realism and the pursuit of power as central to statecraft. Both emphasized the importance of understanding human nature and the realities of international politics in order to achieve political objectives.

Both Morgenthau and Machiavelli believed that politics is governed by objective laws and that states should act rationally in their own self-interest. Both recognized the centrality of power in international relations and the importance of maintaining and expanding national power. Both offered practical advice on how to navigate the political landscape, emphasizing the importance of understanding the dynamics of power and the realities of human nature.

While Machiavelli was famously detached from moral considerations, believing that rulers must prioritize the stability of the regime over ethical concerns, Morgenthau acknowledged the importance of

ethics and international law, though he recognized that they could sometimes be limited by the pursuit of power. Morgenthau's focus was on both agency (the choices and actions of states) and structure (the international system). Machiavelli's focus was more on the agency of the ruler and how they can manipulate the environment.

e) Comparison of Thucydides and Machiavelli:

Thucydides and Machiavelli are both considered key figures in political realism, sharing a focus on power dynamics, the nature of human behavior, and the pursuit of state interests. Both emphasized the importance of maintaining and expanding power, often suggesting that moral considerations must be secondary to the necessities of survival and success.

In his "History of the Peloponnesian War," Thucydides analyzes the conflict between Athens and Sparta, highlighting how power, rather than morality or justice, drives political behavior. He believed that the stronger power would ultimately prevail, and that states would act in their own self-interest, regardless of ethical considerations. In "The Prince," Machiavelli provides practical advice to rulers on how to acquire and maintain power, emphasizing the use of force and deception when necessary. He argued that a ruler's primary concern should be the stability of their state, even if it means resorting to immoral actions.

Thucydides believed that humans are fundamentally driven by self-interest and a desire for power. He saw this as a constant factor in international relations, leading to conflict and competition. Machiavelli shared this view, arguing that people are naturally selfish and unreliable. He believed that rulers must be aware of this and act accordingly, anticipating deceit and betrayals.

Thucydides' analysis of the Peloponnesian War demonstrates how state interests, particularly power and security, shape foreign policy and international relations. He similarly focused on the state as the primary unit of analysis, arguing that rulers must prioritize the well-being and survival of their state above all else. Thucydides acknowledged that moral considerations can be overridden by the necessities of survival and power. He argued that states may be forced to act in ways that are not conventionally moral in order to achieve their goals. Machiavelli emphasized the concept of "necessity," suggesting that rulers may have to make difficult choices and engage in immoral actions when it is essential for the survival or success of their state.

f) Comparison between Niccolò Machiavelli and Kenneth Waltz:

While seemingly disparate, Niccolò Machiavelli and Kenneth Waltz, a prominent figure in international relations, share similarities in their focus on power, state behavior, and the pursuit of national interest, though Waltz's neorealism builds on and refines Machiavelli's classical realism. Both Machiavelli and Waltz emphasize the significance of power in shaping political outcomes. Machiavelli, in his work "The Prince," examines how rulers can acquire and maintain power, often suggesting that any means, including deception or force, are justifiable if they serve the state's interests. Waltz, on the other hand, views power as a key determinant of state behavior in the international system, where states compete to balance power and ensure their survival.

Waltz's neorealism highlights the anarchic nature of the international system, where there is no higher authority to enforce rules or resolve disputes. This anarchy leads states to prioritize their own self-interest and engage in a self-help system where power is crucial for survival. Machiavelli's writings, while focused on domestic politics, also implicitly acknowledge the importance of a strong state to navigate the challenges of a world where power is often exercised through force and coercion.

Both thinkers are known for their pragmatic and realist approaches to politics. Machiavelli's "The Prince" is a practical guide for rulers, focusing on the means to achieve desired ends, even if those means are morally questionable. Waltz's neorealism is also based on a realistic assessment of the international

system, acknowledging the limitations of moral and ethical considerations in the pursuit of national interests.

6. Machiavelli's Theory of Political Power:

Machiavelli's theory of power politics, famously articulated in The Prince, centers on the idea that political power is the ultimate goal and that rulers should prioritize the stability and security of their state above all else, including moral considerations. He argues that leaders must be willing to use any means necessary, including deception and violence, to achieve and maintain their power.

Machiavelli criticized at length precisely this moralistic view of authority in his best-known treatise, The Prince. For Machiavelli, there is no moral basis on which to judge the difference between legitimate and illegitimate uses of power. Rather, authority and power are essentially coequal: whoever has power has the right to command; but goodness does not ensure power and the ruler has no more authority on account of being good. ***He says, "Since there cannot be good laws without good arms, I will not consider laws but speak of arms"***

Thus, in direct opposition to morally derived theories of politics, Machiavelli says that the only real concern in politics is the acquisition and maintenance of power (although he talks less about power per se than about "maintaining the state"). For him, it is necessary for any successful ruler to know how to use power effectively. Only by means of its proper application, Machiavelli believes, can individuals be brought to obey and will the ruler be able to maintain the state in safety and security.

7. Advises to The Prince about Statecraft

Thus, from above reasons Machiavelli's "The Prince" is in the form of advice given to a ruler on the state craft. Some significant aspects of the advise to the ruler are as follows:

I. Machiavelli elaborates the doctrine of Raison D "Etat":

It means „Reason of state". It implies actions and policies promoting safety and security of the state. Because the state must preserve itself before it promotes the welfare of its people. The actions of the state must be judged only on the basis of "Raison D Etat". i.e. independent, self-sufficient and well-ordered and well maintain state. Machiavelli advised the prince in preserving and safeguarding this type of state all means adopted by the state are justified.

II. End justifies the Means:

He assumed that state is highest form of human association. State is to be worshiped like a deity even by sacrificing the individual. A ruler must remember that whatever brings success and power is virtuous even cunningness, shrewdness is justified.

III. State is sovereign, autonomous and non-religious:

Machiavelli said the state is superior to all associations in the human society. It is sovereign and is autonomous, Moral and religious considerations cannot bind the prince. He is above and outside the morality. He can use religion to realize his ends. Religion cannot influence politics and the church cannot control the state. In fact, sovereign state enjoys absolute power over all individuals and institutions. State is must necessary of all institutions. State power is the end and religion is its organ and instrument. Nothing is unearthy in the state, State came into being to satisfy material interests of the people.He divorced politics from theology and government from religion.

IV. A prince must combine the qualities of a lion and a fox:

"One must be a fox in order to recognize traps, and a lion to frighten off wolves. Those who simply act like lions are stupid." Machiavelli.

Machiavelli advised the prince he should imitate the qualities of fox and lion. The imitation of the fox (cunningness, foresight) will enable him to visualize his goal and means to achieve it. The imitation of the lion will give him necessary strength and force to achieve that goal.

V. Use double standard of politics:

One for the ruler and another for his subjects. He said morality is not necessary for the ruler. He is creator of law and morality hence price is above the both. A ruler has primary duty of preserving the state. For this purpose, he may use instruments of lie, conspiracy, killings and massacre etc. Because absolute morality is neither possible nor desirable in politics.

VI. Favored despotic ruler:

Machiavelli did not recommend the republican form of Government, because republican form requires virtuous, honest and patriotic citizens. If in a society men are corrupt and selfish and the law is powerless, then normal administration is not possible at all. A superior power is essential for bringing the society into order. The government with absolute power stop the excessive desires and control the behaviour of the people.

VII. Maintain strong army:

He recommended constant military preparedness for the preservation of the state. Prince should organize a strong army to meet any internal and external threat to his power. Strong and regular army was must for a state for its own defense. Such an army should consist of its own citizens and be prepared not only to defend its national borders but also to expand.

VIII. Human nature is low and ungrateful, so prince must consider this nature of man:

According to Machiavelli rational analysis of politics must begin with an account of human nature, Machiavelli viewed the activities of man with special interest and explained human nature. Thus, human nature is selfish, power hungry, quarrelsome and guided by materialistic considerations. Only fear of punishment is a powerful bond and it never fails. He observes that one can say this in general of men: they are ungrateful, disloyal, insincere and deceitful, timid of danger and avid of profit…. Love is a bond of obligation which these miserable creatures break whenever it suits them to do so; but fear holds them fast by a dread of punishment that never passes.

IX. Should try to win popularity of his people:

Prince should try to win popularity, goodwill and affection of his people. He should keep his subjects materially contented by not taxing them. The prince should not interfere in age old customs and traditions of his people because by nature people are conservative. He should not have craving for wealth and women of his own subjects. He should keep a watchful eye on his dissidents.

X. A prince must have council of wise men and not of flatterers:

Powerful government and internal unity were essential for any state. Prince must choose wise men in his council and should give them full liberty to speak the truth to him. He must ask them about everything and hear their opinion and afterwards deliberate by himself in his own way.

XI. Separate politics from religion:

Before Machiavelli medieval political philosophers believed that the religion was the basis of the state. But Machiavelli emancipated the state completely from the control of the church. He denied medieval philosophy of religion. He repudiates the theory of Aquinas that man needs the guidance of the divine law. Machiavelli said that only end which man can place before himself is the pursuit of his well being in his material values in life. He did not view the as having a moral end and purpose but gave importance to man's worldly life.

Machiavelli does not ignore religion and morality. In the opening chapter of the Discourses, he says, princes who want to maintain themselves respect all religions preserve the purity of all religions. He said religion is useful only as an organ of the state. He gave only an instrumental value to religion. He advised the ruler that religion play important role in the life of a community. According to him religion is necessary for unity and integrity of the people within the state. Common religion creates a sense of unity among people. Religious rites, beliefs establish social harmony. It also cultivate civic sense and patriotic spirit. Decline of respect for religion among the people is a sign of ruin for the state.

He said religion cannot influence politics and the church cannot control the state. In fact the sovereign state enjoys absolute power over all individuals and institutions. As such the church is subordinate to the state. Thus Machiavelli separated religion from politics and paved way for emergence of the secular state.

XII. Prince must be free from emotions:

Prince should exploit emotions of his people for the purpose of the state. He should be cool, calculating and opportunist. His suggestion is that a prince must know how to act as a beast.

XIII. Ordered state:

In "The Prince" Machiavelli advocated absolutism and an effective government. This advocacy of absolutism was due to the fact that he had witnessed anarchy, lawlessness, corruption and misrule that prevailed in Italy of his times. He had witnessed how king Charles VIII of France had captured Florence without being offered resistance. Therefore Machiavelli advocated a well organized, ordered and militarily strong state.

8. Critical Analysis of Machiavelli's Political Philosophy

These basic building blocks of Machiavelli's thought have induced considerable controversy among his readers going back to the sixteenth century, when he was denounced as an apostle of the Devil, but also was read and applied sympathetically by authors (and politicians) enunciating the doctrine of "reason of state". For many, his teaching endorses immoralism or, at least, amoralism. The most extreme versions of this reading find Machiavelli to be a "teacher of evil", in the famous words of Leo Strauss, on the grounds that he counsels leaders to avoid the common values of justice, mercy, temperance, wisdom, and love of their people in preference to the use of cruelty, violence, fear, and deception.

A more moderate school of thought, associated with Benedetto Croce (1925), views Machiavelli as simply a "realist" or a "pragmatist" advocating the suspension of commonplace ethics in matters of politics. Perhaps the mildest version of the amoral hypothesis has been proposed by Quentin Skinner (1978), who claims that the ruler's commission of acts deemed vicious by convention is a "last best" option. Concentrating on the claim in The Prince that a head of state ought to do good if he can but must be prepared to commit evil if he must (Prince CW 58), Skinner argues that Machiavelli prefers conformity to moral virtue ceteris paribus.

Disinterest in ethical concerns also permeates the claim, popular in the early- and mid-twentieth century, that Machiavelli simply adopts the stance of a scientist—a kind of "Galileo of politics"—in distinguishing between the "facts" of political life and the "values" of moral judgment (Olschki 1945; Cassirer 1946; Prezzolini 1954 [1967]).

He is thereby set into the context of the scientific revolution more generally. The point of Machiavellian "science" is not to distinguish between "just" and "unjust" forms of government, but to explain how politicians deploy power for their own gain. Thus, Machiavelli rises to the mantle of the founder of "modern" political science, in contrast with Aristotle's classical norm-laden vision of a political science of virtue. Other of Machiavelli's readers have found no taint of immorality or amoralism in his thought whatsoever. Jean-Jacques Rousseau long ago held that the real lesson of The Prince is to teach the people the truth about how princes behave and thus to expose, rather than celebrate, the immorality at the core of one-man rule.

9. Conclusion.

Social Contractualists

1. Multiple Interpretations of the Origin of the State:

Political thinkers have attempted to explain the origin of the state in various ways. When, where and how the state came into existence have not been recorded anywhere in history.
Therefore, the political thinkers were compelled to adopt various hypotheses, many of which are now discredited in light of modern knowledge. Among the many theories which are concerned with the origin of the state:

Theory	Core Idea	Explanation	Historical Context & Examples
Divine Origin Theory	Authority comes directly from God.	Rulers were chosen by God and accountable only to Him. Any challenge to the king was seen as rebellion against God.	Prominent in Europe during the 16th–18th centuries. Monarchs like James I of England and Louis XIV of France claimed divine right to legitimize absolute monarchy. In some Asian societies, rulers were also seen as "sons of heaven" or divine representatives.
Matriarchal Theory	Early societies were led by women.	Suggests that in the earliest stages of human society, women held primary authority in family, social, and political life. Kinship was traced through mothers, and women controlled property and lineage.	Anthropologists like Bachofen supported this view in the 19th century. Bachofen's "Das Mutterrecht," translated as "Mother Right," laid the foundation for the idea that early human societies were matriarchal.
Patriarchal Theory	State evolved from the authority of the male head of the family.	The state evolved from patriarchal family structures, where the male head of the family held absolute authority over his household and, by extension, the community. This theory suggests that the state's legal system and political power derive from the patriarchal authority of the family head.	Supported by thinkers like Sir Henry Maine. Seen in early Roman families where *pater familias* had supreme authority.
Force Theory	States were created through conquest and domination.	Stronger individuals or groups imposed their will on weaker ones, leading to organized rule backed by force. The state is thus seen as a product of coercion and military power.	Found in the rise of ancient empires like Assyria, Babylon, and Mongol rule, where conquests created centralized authority. Thinkers like Gumplowicz and Oppenheimer emphasized this theory.
Evolutionary Theory	State developed gradually over time.	The state evolved naturally through stages: family → clan → tribe → village → organized state. Factors like kinship, religion, property relations, division of labor, and war contributed to its growth. It suggests that states emerged in response to human needs for order, protection, and stability as societies became more complex	Widely accepted among modern scholars. Aristotle called man a "political animal," highlighting natural development. Seen in the gradual development of city-states in ancient Greece and Mesopotamia.

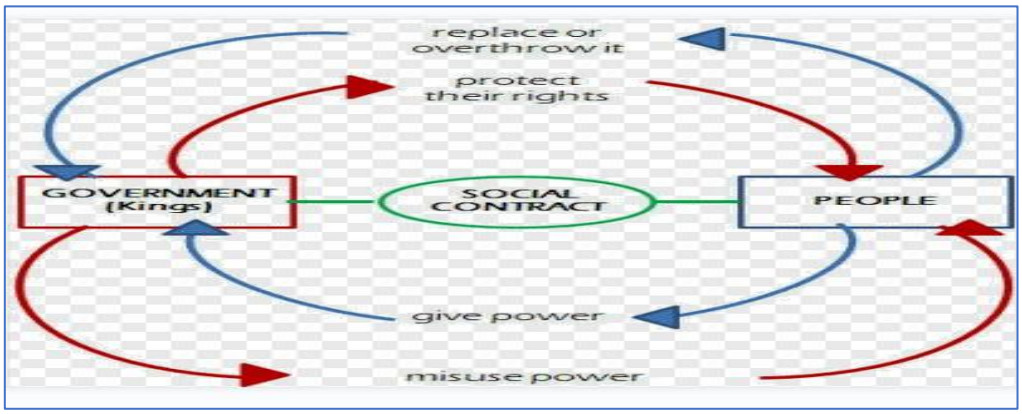
2. Conceptualizing Social Contract Theory:

The social contract theory is not only the most ancient but also the most famous of the theories regarding the origin of the state. The substance of this theory is that state is the result of an agreement entered into by men who originally had no governmental organisation. In the first period there was no government and no law. The people lived in a state of nature. After sometime they decided to set up a state. That they did by means of a contract. The social contract theory described the original condition of men as the 'state of nature'. To escape from the condition of the state of nature man made a social contract. To some writers the contract was pre-social and to others it was pre-political.

In the early Platonic dialogue, Crito, Socrates makes a compelling argument as to why he must stay in prison and accept the death penalty, rather than escape and go into exile in another Greek city. He personifies the Laws of Athens, and, speaking in their voice, explains that he has acquired an overwhelming obligation to obey the Laws because they have made his entire way of life, and even the fact of his very existence, possible. Staying implies an agreement to abide by the Laws and accept the punishments that

they mete out. And, having made an agreement that is itself just, Socrates asserts that he must keep to this agreement that he has made and obey the Laws, in this case, by staying and accepting the death penalty. Importantly, the contract described by Socrates is an implicit one: it is implied by his choice to stay in Athens, even though he is free to leave.

However, social contract theory is rightly associated with modern moral and political theory and is given its first full exposition and defense by Thomas Hobbes. After Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are the best known proponents of this enormously influential theory, which has been one of the most dominant theories within moral and political theory throughout the history of the modern West. In the twentieth century, moral and political theory regained philosophical momentum as a result of John Rawls' Kantian version of social contract theory, and was followed by new analyses of the subject by David Gauthier and others.



3. Metaphysical Foundations of Social Contract Theorists (SCT):

a) Metaphysical Foundations of Thomas Hobbes' SCT

Thomas Hobbes' metaphysical foundation rests on materialism, the belief that only material things are real. He argued that everything, including human thought and consciousness, could be explained as the result of the motion of material bodies. This perspective is deeply rooted in his mechanical view of the universe, where all phenomena, including human behavior, are governed by physical laws.

Hobbes rejected the existence of immaterial substances, such as souls or spirits, believing that all reality is composed of matter in motion. He rejects the idea of a non-material soul or mind, advocating for a purely material understanding of human beings, including their cognitive processes. He argued that even mental processes, like thinking and reasoning, could be explained in terms of physical mechanisms, such as the movement of particles in the brain.

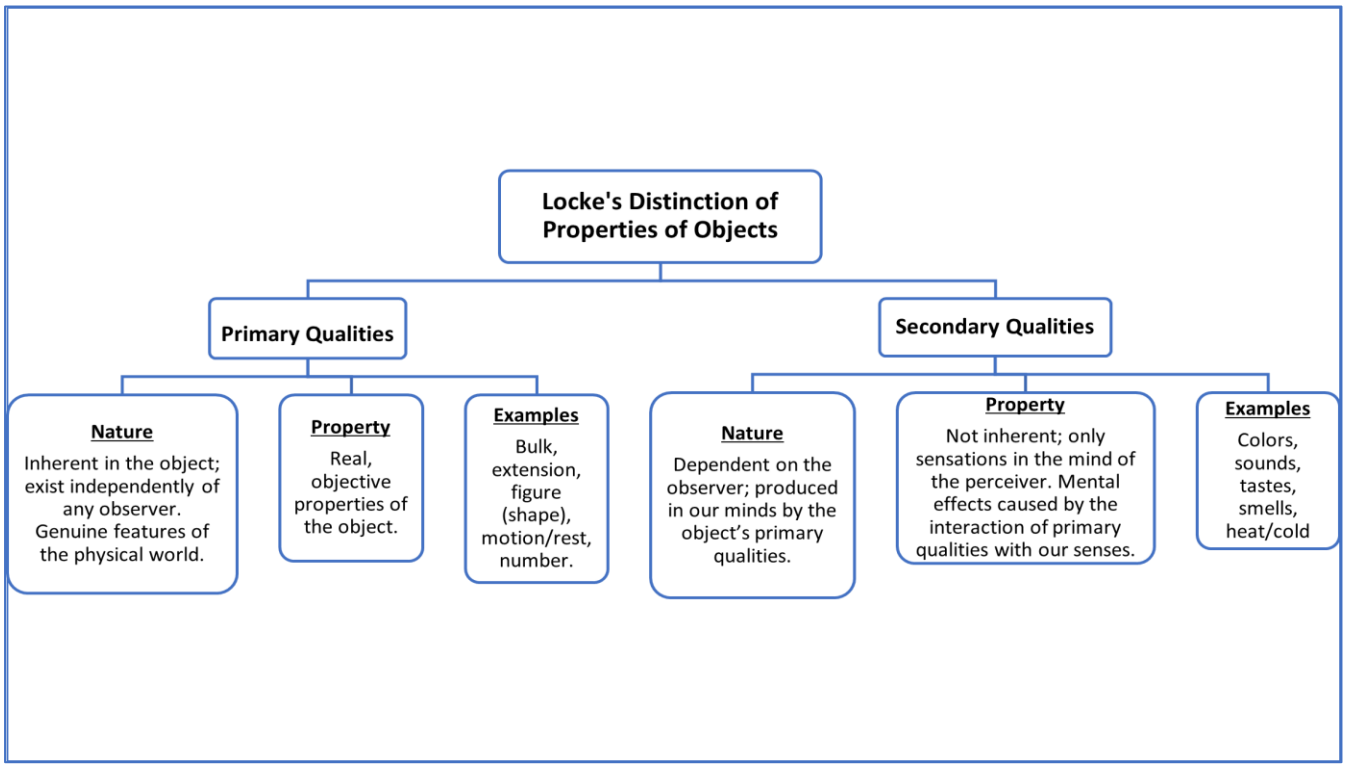
Hobbes envisioned the universe as a vast machine, governed by mechanical principles. He applied the laws of motion, as understood in his time, to explain not only physical phenomena but also human behavior and social dynamics. He believed that by understanding the basic principles of motion, one could understand all aspects of reality. He believed that human beings are fundamentally motivated by self-interest and that their behavior is governed by the laws of motion, just like other material objects.

This perspective led him to argue for a strong, centralized government as the only way to maintain order and prevent chaos. He advocated for a scientific approach to understanding the world, based on observation and experimentation. He saw mathematics as a powerful tool for understanding the laws of motion and the workings of the universe.

b) Metaphysical Foundations of John Locke's SCT

John Locke's metaphysical foundation rests on his theory of knowledge and the understanding of human perception, particularly his distinction between primary and secondary qualities. He argued that knowledge originates from experience, rejecting the existence of innate ideas, and that our minds passively receive ideas from external objects through our senses. Locke's metaphysics also addresses the nature of substance, personal identity, and the relationship between mind and body.

Locke's most prominent contribution is his empiricist view of knowledge. He believed that all our ideas come from either sensation (experiences of the external world) or reflection (internal awareness of our own mental processes). This stands in contrast to rationalist theories that posit the existence of innate ideas. In his Essay ***Concerning Human Understanding***, John Locke distinguishes between primary and secondary qualities of objects. Primary qualities are inherent in the object itself, like shape, size, and motion, while secondary qualities are dependent on the perceiver's sensory experience, such as color, taste, and sound.



Locke argued that while we cannot know the exact nature of the substances that cause our sensations, we can infer their existence based on the ideas we receive. He believed that substances are the underlying realities that possess qualities. Locke's theory of personal identity focuses on consciousness rather than the physical body. He argued that we maintain personal identity as long as we have the same consciousness, even if our bodies undergo changes. While not a radical dualist in the way Descartes was, Locke did acknowledge a distinction between mind and body. He believed that the mind is a substance separate from the physical body, but he also recognized their interaction.

Locke's concept of ideas is central to his epistemology. He views ideas as the products of our minds, and he classifies them as simple (derived directly from experience) or complex (formed by combining simple ideas). Locke defines knowledge as the perception of the agreement or disagreement between our ideas. He suggests that knowledge can be gained through reason, intuition, and sensation. Locke acknowledges the limitations of human knowledge, arguing that we can only know what we can perceive through our senses and reason, and that there are some things we may never be able to know.

c) Metaphysical Foundations of Jean Jacques Rousseau:

Rousseau's metaphysical views, while not always explicitly articulated as such, are deeply embedded in his political and educational philosophies. He believed in a natural state of human existence where individuals were inherently good, but were corrupted by society and its institutions. This view contrasted with the Christian doctrine of original sin, which held that humans are inherently sinful. Rousseau emphasized the importance of individual will, free choice, and the potential for humans to shape their own destinies.

4. Features of Social Contract Theories:

Concept of Human Nature

a) Concept of Human Nature by Thomas Hobbes:

In chapter XI of Leviathan, Hobbes writes 'in the first place, I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death. And the cause of this, is not always that a man hopes for a more intensive delight than he has already attainted to; or that he cannot be content with a moderate power; but because he cannot assure the power and the means to live well, which he hath present, without the acquisition of more' (This grim understanding of what we are was why we a strong ruler was needed. Without a 'Leviathan' to keep the peace, society would collapse into chaos.

Indeed, Humans have a ***'restless desire for power after power.'*** It does not stop once our basic needs are met: even when we have food and shelter, we will seek more power, thinking that the more power we have, the more secure we will be. This 'will to power' worsens our struggle, for we vie for finite resources. We cannot all get a share. For Hobbes, virtue or a sense of justice are airy-fairy notions with no ground in real life. The world is material, for Hobbes: we act only to satisfy wants, meet needs, avoid pain.

Hobbes writes ***'So that in the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel. First, competition; secondly, diffidence; thirdly, glory'***. Kindness is just a mask for self-interest. Morality clothes selfishness in pretty colours. We are flesh-and-blood machines, moved by the push and pull of pleasure and pain. There is little room for Hobbes in grand ideals like good and bad. Hobbes also considers humans to be naturally vainglorious and so seek to dominate others and demand their respect. The natural condition of mankind, according to Hobbes, is a state of war in which life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" because individuals are in a "war of all against all"

In his interpretation of Hobbes, Ahrensdorf suggests that humans are driven by their constant awareness of death. Because of the consciousness of mortality, human nature is constantly influenced by a pursuit of self-preservation. According to Hobbes, ***"nature hath made men so equal, in the faculties of the body and mind".*** One can be stronger or smarter than the other, but 'the weakest has the strength enough to kill the strongest'***.*** Hobbes than argues that when 'two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies' .

b) Concept of Human Nature by John Locke:

John Locke, a prominent philosopher, posited a view of human nature emphasizing reason, equality, and natural rights. He believed humans were inherently rational and capable of discovering and following the law of nature, which dictates that no one should harm another's life, liberty, or property. According to Locke, people are not born evil or selfish. Instead, they are born with a clean mind, which he called a "tabula rasa," or blank slate. Over time, their experiences shape their behaviour and character.

John Locke's tabula rasa (blank slate) concept explains how experience shapes human nature. According to Locke, we are born free, with no built-in knowledge, ideas, or concepts. At birth, the mind is empty. Over time, experience and reflection fill that slate, creating our identity and understanding of the world. Locke's theory rejects predetermined traits or destinies. Instead, it shows that education and nurture play a central role. Through teaching and exposure to new ideas, we form our beliefs, values, and sense of self.

In ***An Essay Concerning Human Understanding***, John Locke explores human nature in depth. Unlike Thomas Hobbes, who viewed people as selfish and fearful, Locke argues that humans are rational, decent, orderly, and capable of governing themselves. In ***his Two Treatises of Government***, he states that all individuals are naturally in a state of equality—no one holds power or jurisdiction over another. Without subordination or domination, everyone enjoys equal freedom under natural law.

Locke defines natural liberty as freedom from any earthly authority. People do not live under a human-made legislature but under the law of nature alone. He admits, however, that some individuals may be wiser, stronger, or more industrious than others—differences that do not undermine basic equality. From a utilitarian perspective, Locke sees pleasure as the chief goal of human action. He writes that what brings us pleasure is "good," and what brings us pain is "evil." This concept of utility forms the basis of the social contract, which secures peace, protects individual rights, and makes life worth living.

c) Concept of Human Nature by Rousseau:

Rousseau believed that humans are inherently good and naturally inclined toward compassion and self-preservation, but are corrupted by society and its inequalities. He argued that the state of nature, a hypothetical pre-social state, was characterized by a natural goodness, while the emergence of social systems, private property, and the division of labor led to inequality and moral decay.

Rousseau distinguished between "amour-de-soi" (love of self) and "amour-propre" (self-love). Amour-de-soi is a natural and healthy self-regard, while amour-propre is a vanity-based, self-centeredness that arises in society and leads to competition and a desire for status and recognition. In other words, amour de soi represents the instinctive human desire for self-preservation, combined with the human power of reason. In contrast, amour-propre is artificial and forces man to compare himself to others, thus creating unwarranted fear and allowing men take pleasure in the pain or weakness of others.

Essentially, the hub of Rousseau's theory is man's natural goodness and social corruption. War and strife, for him are the products of society, for man is good by nature; it is the society that corrupts him. This idea has often led to the attribution to Rousseau the idea if the 'noble savage', an expression first used by Dryden in The Conquest of Granada (1672). Rousseau, however, never used the expression himself and it does not adequately render his idea of the natural goodness of man. The idea of the corruption involves a certain sort of relationship of the individual to others. While this corrupt relationship has its necessary material conditions, namely economic interdependence, it is constituted not by economic relations, but by the sort of consciousness the individual has of himself in relation to other.

It is a consciousness of his individuality in which he comes to have for himself, the identity and value that he has in the eyes of others. The individual becomes for himself what Rousseau holds to be an artificial creation out of the opinion of others. This essentially other-dependent consciousness makes it necessary for men to please others in order to be satisfied with themselves. Consequently, they lose their natural liberty to determine for themselves their own identity and value, and instead have these imposed on them by others. Rousseau counsels***: O man withdraw your existence into yourself, and you will no longer be miserable…. Your liberty, your power extend no further than your natural capacities; everything else is slavery, illusion, prestige.***

Concept of State of Nature

a) Concept of State of Nature by Thomas Hobbes:

The term "State of nature" describes human existence in the absence of political affiliation or governing organization. In Thomas Hobbes' political philosophy, the state of nature is a hypothetical condition of humanity before the establishment of government and laws. He envisions it as a "war of every man against every man," characterized by "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" life. This is because in the absence of a governing authority, individuals are free to pursue their own self-interest without constraints, leading to conflict and a constant fear of violence.

Hobbes presents extreme options, suggesting that we submit to an unaccountable sovereign: someone or some group with the authority to make decisions on all social and political matters. Otherwise, we face a situation similar to civil war, in which everyone is insecure, and fears violent death, and human cooperation is nearly impossible. Hobbes refers to people living in the absence of a supervising body as the 'state of nature,' a civilization devoid of politics. He contends that to comprehend politics and morality, one must comprehend man as man; as a result, psychology serves as the basis for political and moral science.

Hobbes assumes a fictitious state of nature where people behave entirely out of passion to observe humanity in its most natural state concerning government and laws. According to Hobbes, the "war of every man against every man" is a violent, never-ending state of competition in which everyone has a natural right to everything, regardless of what other people want, is what defines the state of nature.

The sole rules that govern the natural state are self-preservation-based principles rather than agreements made between individuals. It is also a state in which there are no agreed upon, mutually recognized and abided by, moral norms, referents of moral terminology, rules of inference or premises of moral reasoning and judgement. Hobbes also represents it as a primitive condition in which, due to lack of

cooperative efforts and security, lacks all but a few of the amenities and improvements of civilization and common life.

Hobbes' most often quoted text: In such condition, there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently, no culture of the earth, no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building, no instruments of moving, and removing such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time; no arts, no letters; no society; and what is more, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

Hobbes claims that, in the state of nature, nothing is unjust, reasoning: "The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law: where no law, no injustice," and that justice and injustice are "qualities that relate to men in society, not in solitude." Hobbesian state of nature is a condition anomic, amoral, and asocial. The political philosopher and original thinker Thomas Hobbes favored an absolute, powerful monarch who could uphold safety and harmony. He maintained that maintaining peace and order was the primary goal of the government and the law.

b) Concept of State of Nature of John Locke:

In John Locke's political philosophy, the state of nature is a hypothetical pre-political state where individuals are free to act according to reason, but without a governing body or established laws. While not chaotic like Hobbes's state of nature, Locke's state of nature still has limitations. People are obligated to one another by the law of nature, which dictates that no one should harm another in their life, liberty, or property.

Locke's state of nature is characterized by a sense of equality among individuals, as each person possesses the same fundamental rights and liberties. In this state, humans have the freedom to pursue their own interests and exercise their natural rights without external interference. However, this freedom also entails the responsibility of respecting the rights of others. According to Locke, the state of nature is not a chaotic or anarchic realm, but rather a state of perfect freedom where individuals are governed by reason and the natural law. The natural law, based on moral principles and innate human understanding, guides individuals to respect the rights of others and to seek cooperation and peaceful coexistence. While the state of nature may appear as an idealistic utopia, Locke recognized its inherent limitations and potential for conflicts.

In this natural state, individuals may face challenges such as scarcity of resources, disputes, and the absence of a neutral arbiter to resolve conflicts. These limitations ultimately lead individuals to seek a social contract and establish a civil society to ensure the protection of their natural rights. Locke argues that in the absence of a common judge or governing power, disputes arise, and individuals may act as both judge and executioner in their own cases. This scenario, according to Locke, can lead to chaos and a constant state of fear and insecurity. In such a state, the preservation of natural rights becomes uncertain, as individuals may infringe upon others' rights in their pursuit of self-interest.

Furthermore, Locke recognizes that even in the state of nature, individuals possess a natural sense of reason and moral conscience. However, he emphasizes that the lack of an established and impartial authority leads to differing interpretations of these natural laws. According to Locke, property is not just limited to physical possessions, but it encompasses one's labor and the fruits of their labor as well. Locke believes that individuals can establish a social contract and gradually move away from the state of nature towards a more civilized society. This social contract involves individuals voluntarily consenting to form a government that will protect their rights, including the right to property. Locke's emphasis on property highlights its role in providing individuals with security, incentive, and the means to thrive.

c) Concept of State of Nature by Rousseau:

He vehemently criticized Hobbes's conception of a state of nature characterized by social antagonism. The state of nature, Rousseau argued, could only mean a primitive state preceding socialization; it is thus devoid of social traits such as pride, envy, or even fear of others.

Rousseau's state of nature is a hypothetical, pre-social condition where humans are solitary, independent, and motivated by self-preservation and a natural sense of compassion. It's a morally neutral, peaceful state where individuals primarily act according to basic needs and instincts. According to

Rousseau, a state of nature is where we live only by the laws of human nature—primarily the natural law of acting in self-preservation. The only society that forms in a state of nature is the family, and only briefly when children are dependent on their parents. After that, Rousseau claims, human nature no longer compels us to stay together. Therefore, he says life in a state of nature is mostly spent alone with absolute freedom to pursue whatever we want, whenever we want it.

In that state, humans, like other animals, walk leisurely in the forest. They are happy, content and enjoy animal-like happiness. It can be said in Rousseau's view, the primitive state of nature in anthropological sense is the state of peace and tranquility as a whole, and the state of independence, equality, and freedom for individuals. He regards the evolution from primitive natural state to the civilized state as an unforeseen accidental result. Specifically, he claimed that natural catastrophes forced primitive persons to maintain closer contact with each other; people had to rely on and cooperate with each other. Languages, families, the sense of contract, the sense of morality and the sense of obligation formed one after another. But they still cherished the freedom: they would refuse to fulfill the contract to keep the freedom.

At the same time, there were frictions among people; human beings learned to retaliate. When there were conflicts between loving oneself and sympathizing others, people tended to choose self-love. Sympathy, as the foundation of human nature in the primitive state of nature, was disappearing. The battles between humans began; people reached the edge of breaking away from the primitive state of nature and transitioning to a civilized or political society. In the end, the establishment of private property became the real reason for the formation of civil societies.

The Concept of Social Contract by the Theorists:

a) In the View of Thomas Hobbes:

Thomas Hobbes, in his social contract theory, argued that individuals in a "state of nature," characterized by constant conflict and fear, agree to a social contract to create a government with absolute power. This government, also known as a sovereign or Leviathan, is tasked with maintaining order and security, thus escaping the brutal conditions of the state of nature. The social contract entails individuals surrendering their rights to the sovereign in exchange for protection and a stable society.

"It follows that, in such a condition, every man has a Right to everything--even to one another's body. And therefore, as long as this natural Right of every man to own everything exists, there can be no security to any man--no matter how strong or wise he is." Thomas Hobbes.

As rational beings, humans have two principal choices in life - they can either live without government (the state of nature) or with a strong government. Each person enters into a 'contract' and agrees to hand over freedom and control in return for protection from a powerful state. However, in order to be effective, Hobbes argues that the state must be able to command obedience from every citizen and may even need to do this by striking fear into anyone who might be tempted to step out of line. For Hobbes, a social contract bestowing indivisible authority to a sovereign power was a necessary evil to avoid the cruel fate that The Social Contract awaited humans if left to their own devices. Unlike earlier thinkers who had argued for the divine right of kings to rule, Hobbes truly saw the relationship between the ruled and the ruler as contractual.

Birth of the state: After the contract state came into existence. Main role of civil society will be to ensure security and certainty of life and property of the people. Contract was social and mutual- In the contract individuals surrendered their natural rights to some particular man or assembly of men. After that assembly became sovereign and those, who gave up rights became the subjects people created common power for the common benefit. Contract was binding- In this contract people agreed to surrender their natural rights to a common superior and obey his command. The contract was of each with all and of all with each. Sovereign was the product of the contract but he was not a party to the contract. But contract was binding for the people. Sovereign did not subject himself to any conditions- The sovereign derived complete authority as a result of the contract. People had no right to protest. The authority of the sovereign was unlimited, all embracing, final and irrevocable.

b) Social Contract Theory of John Locke:

John Locke's social contract theory argues that individuals, in a natural state, voluntarily form a government to protect their natural rights, including life, liberty, and property. This government's legitimacy comes from the consent of the governed, and citizens are obligated to obey it only as long as it protects their rights. If the government fails to do so, the people have the right to alter or abolish it.

- **Purpose of the contract:** Main purpose of the contract, the protection and preservation of natural rights i.e. life, liberty and property. Thus, under contract state was formed with some expectations. The features of Locke's social contract are as follows: Two contracts. According to Locke by the first contract civil society i.e. the state was constituted and by the second contract the government was established. This contract was made by each with all. A single political body under one Government was formed.
- **Contract was specific not general.** According to Locke in the contract each individual to give up not all natural rights but one of interpreting and executing the laws of nature. Thus contract was specific.
- No absolute sovereign. In this contract people surrendered their rights not to any person or group but to the community as a whole. Hence, community became superior. Government is entrusted with certain powers to protect the rights of the people.
- **Sovereignty of the community (people).** The sovereign power created by the contract vests not in a single man but in the community as a whole.
- **Natural rights:** After the establishment of the state every man will retain natural rights. The state will have an obligation to uphold these rights.
- **Unanimous contract**: Contract was unanimously made by the people with their own consent. Hence government would be based firmly upon the consent of the masses.
- **Irrevocable contract:** The contract is irrevocable because after having once made it, the people cannot revert back to the freedom of the state of nature.

c) Social Contract Theory of Rousseau:

"Men are born free, yet everywhere are in chains," writes Rousseau in the introduction to The Social Contract. Rousseau goes on to outline the various ways in which civil society's "chains" undermine man's fundamental claim to physical freedom. He claims that civil society does nothing to maintain the equality and personal liberty guaranteed to man when he entered it. The only legitimate political authority, according to Rousseau, is that which has the consent of all the people, who have agreed to such administration by entering into a social compact for the purpose of their mutual preservation. The Social Contract's core point is that government obtains its right to exist and govern through "the consent of the governed."

Rousseau equates the social contract to a "act of association" in which the state and the individual have mutual commitment. Individuals share sovereign power as citizens, yet as subjects, they submit to the laws of the state. Government is also one of the primary actors, according to Rousseau: it is an intermediary body among the subjects and the state, with the main tasks of enforcing laws and maintaining civil and political liberty. According to Rousseau social contract means the process by which the state of nature comes to an end and political society is formed. Thus Rousseau has given the meaning of contract. The contract is made and public body is established ie the state.

- **Significance of contract** – Rousseau said only by agreement and consent authority is justified and liberty retained. Rousseau described the contract in the following words – "Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the General Will. Each member became an indivisible part of the whole and creates a moral and collective body".
- **Surrender to the community –** in the contract individuals surrender to the community as a whole. The community consists of all. The power of the community is absolute. Community will work for the common benefit.
- **No one enjoys any special privileges** – In the contract no one is a loser. Every one is a gainer. A civil society is established in which the citizens are both free and equal.
- **Right to private life not affected -** Public life of the people will come under the authority of the state. Personal life does not come under the authority of the public body. The state will have nothing to do with the private life of an individual, unless they run counter to the common interests

Concept of Sovereign

a) Concept of Sovereign by Thomas Hobbes:

In Thomas Hobbes' political philosophy, as outlined in Leviathan, the sovereign is the supreme authority, holding absolute power to maintain order and prevent chaos. This sovereign, whether a monarch or an assembly, is not bound by laws and has the authority to enforce them, ultimately ensuring the safety and security of the people. The sovereign's power is absolute and not subject to any limitations or external constraints. This is necessary, according to Hobbes, to prevent the descent into a "state of nature" where life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short".

The sovereign is not a party to the social contract, but rather receives the obedience of the many as a free gift in their hope that their safety will be ensured. Hobbes argues that there is no right of rebellion against the sovereign, as individuals have surrendered their rights to the sovereign in exchange for security. Hobbes identifies monarchy as the most effective form of sovereign authority, as it ensures that the will of the state is unified and decisive.

The primary purpose of the sovereign is to protect the people and maintain order. This includes making and enforcing laws, resolving disputes, and ensuring the safety of the citizenry. While the sovereign is not subject to laws, Hobbes does argue that the sovereign has a duty to act in the best interests of the people. There is no rival or coordinate authority in the commonwealth besides the sovereign. The sovereign is the ultimate authority; he is the source of law and the sole interpreter of the laws. Even divine laws do not apply to the sovereign; he is also the sovereign sole interpreter of such laws. According to Hobbes, Sovereign is also above any sort of morality. Hobbes argues that sovereignty is indivisible, Inseparable, and can't be communicated or given to anybody else.

According to Hobbes, the Sovereign is also the Creator of Property means what people have in the "State of Nature" is merely possessions that confer no ownership. Legal property rights came into existence only with the Sovereign and Society. Since he is the creator of Property without the consent of the people.

b) John Locke's Concept of Sovereignty:

Locke's views about State and Government:

The structure of the state and its relationship with the subject explained by Locke are as follows:

- **Distinction between the state and Government:**

Locke distinguishes between the state and government. According to him state comes into existence as a result of the second contract. The rulers and the ruled together constitute the state. Whereas those entrusted the responsibility „to rule" constitute the government. Thus state is superior than the government.

Right to revolt the government:

Locke said people have no right to revolt against the state. But people can revolt against the government and can change the government for specific purposes. The natural rights of people are inviolable and must be protected by the government. If the government fails to protect these rights it deserves to be changed. The British people, when they changed their government in 1688, were justified. Locke repeatedly asserts „the end" of the government is the good of the community and that all states must be founded on consent. He said the Sturat kings were not attempting the good of the community and their rule was not based on the consent of the people. Therefore, they were justly dismissed from power in 1688.

Emphasis on popular sovereignty:

Locke did not build up a legal sovereignty. He put emphasis on popular sovereignty. i.e. After the contract community will be sovereign. Government will work for specific purpose. If government failed in doing their work then people had the right of revolution, against such a government.

Limited government:

Locke opposed the idea of absolute sovereignty. He advocated government-based division of powers and subjected to number of limitations. These limitations are as follows:

- It could not violate the natural rights of the people. Government will work for public interest.
- It could not govern arbitrarily.
- It must govern according to the laws.

- It could not tax the individuals without their consent. Source of power is the people.
- The laws of the government should conform with the laws of nature.
- A government which violated its limitations was not worthy of obedience. Thus Locke advocated limited government.

Majority rule:

Locke's contract implied the rule of majority. The law of nature could not be enforced by the state, unless the minority submitted to the will of majority. The majority had the right to act for the whole community.

Constitutional state:

Locke depicted a constitutional state where the relationship between people and government and among people themselves will be determined by the rule of law not by arbitrariness.

Locke's advocacy of limited and constitutional government:

John Locke recognizes the distinction between state and government. According to him by first contract a civil society was formed, puts an end of the state of nature, second contract created the government.

Concept of trust:

According to Locke government are only the deputies or trustees of the people, who can be discarded if they fail. Locke wanted to subordinate the government to the community. He said government exists for the good of the people and can be legitimately removed.

Forms of Government:

Locke describes the supreme power of governance as Legislative authority. If the Legislative authority is in the hands of one man, it is monarchy. If this power is vested in the hands of few selected persons, by the consent of the majority, it is aristocracy and if the community retains the legislative power in its own hands and appoints few officers for executing the laws the government is a democracy. Locke considers a limited democracy in the hands of delegates, controlled by election, as the best form of government.

Functions of Government:

The main object of peoples uniting into (state) commonwealth and putting themselves under the government was the preservation of their natural rights.

- **Limitations on powers of Government:**
  - Locke opposed to the idea of absolute sovereignty. According to him limitations on the power of government are as follows:
  - Government will work for public interest. It means their power is limited to the public good in the society.
  - It must govern according to the laws.
  - The laws of the government should conform with the laws of nature.
  - It could not govern arbitrarily. Thus Locke advocated constitutional government.

Locke's doctrine of consent:

He declared that "***consent of the people is the basis of the government***" The idea of consent occupies a very important place in the political philosophy of Locke. He has challenged the autocratic rule of the king by emphasizing that government is to be run according to the consent of the people. Locke wanted to place people's cause at a high point. According to Locke people are the source of political power. The community retains the supreme power.

Separation of powers and sovereignty:

Before Montesquieu, Locke originated the theory of separation of power and checks and balance. He said Legislature will control the executive Legislature is constituted by the representatives of people and hence popular will is expressed through the legislature. The legislative power is limited to the public good of the society. When a government does something contrary to public good or violates the law of nature, it is to be overthrown by popular revolt. Sovereignty is vested in the community. Locke repudiated the sovereignty of Hobbes.

Right of Revolution:

Locke recognized the right to resistance under special circumstances only.

c) Concept of Sovereignty by Rousseau:

General will sovereign:

Under the supreme direction of the General will, everyone becomes a part of the individual whole willingly and naturally for his own best advantage. It is the membership of the civil society that lifts the human being from the level of the brutes. Thus Rousseau's theory of General will is connected with the concept of popular sovereignty. Rousseau developed the theory of social contract as a weapon against absolutism.

Identified absolute sovereignty of the state with the general will of people:

He reconciled absolutism with the liberal doctrine. Sovereignty must reside only in the community as a whole. It cannot be divided. According to Rousseau Sovereignty is absolute; but it resided in the general will of the people.

Sovereignty must be indivisible:

Sovereignty cannot be divided. It must reside only in the community as a whole. To divide sovereignty is to destroy it sovereign belongs to the whole community which is collective body.

Sovereignty cannot be represented:

People (community) cannot surrender their sovereign power to an individual or a group of individuals. Sovereignty which is vested in the people must be exercised by people themselves. By insisting on this Rousseau is thinking about direct democracy.

Best form of government is Aristocracy:

Aristocracy means rule of few wise people, who are elected, Rousseau shows his dislike for parliamentary government. He said the legislature which enacts laws does not represent the real will of people. People are free only during election time. Once the elections are over, the people are enslaved by their representatives.

5. Rousseau on General Will

Rousseau believed that human beings are inherently good but are corrupted by the evils of society. He viewed civil society as an artificial construct that limits humans' natural freedom. The direct exercise of legislative power by all members of an established political community is the only legitimate form of Sovereignty. Rousseau. In his 1762 treatise 'The Social Contract', Rousseau proposed that government derives its legitimacy from the consent of the governed, who voluntarily unite for their mutual preservation. This concept of popular sovereignty is expressed through the "general will" of the people. Rousseau's political philosophy emphasized individual freedom, equality, and democratic self-governance. His radical ideas influenced French revolutionaries and many modern political movements. The general will remain one of Rousseau's most important and controversial contributions to democratic theory.

a) Defining the General Will:

Any particular form of government, be it a democracy, an oligarchy or a monarchy, is always distinct from the "être collectif " – the collective entity named "Souverain", the Sovereign – and it is a mere administrator of the laws expressed by the will of the Sovereign. It is precisely this "collective" will that is called by Rousseau "volonté générale", General Will: I therefore assert that sovereignty, being only the exercise of the general will, can never be transferred, and that the sovereign, which cannot be other than a collective entity, cannot be represented except by itself; power can be delegated, but the will cannot.

General Will refers to the collective will of the community that is aimed at serving the common interests. According to the political philosophy of the famous 18th-century philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the General Will is central to a functioning society and democratic governance. Rousseau believed that in an ideal community, citizens collectively hold sovereignty and are guided by General Will, which aims at upholding the common good above any particular interests. He viewed the General Will as the proper expression of citizen sovereignty and believed that following it leads to freedom. General Will is born out of deliberation and consensus among citizens. It represents the shared interests and desires of the community at large.

Rousseau differentiated the General Will from the particular or individual wills of citizens that may be motivated by narrow self-interest. According to Rousseau, when citizens come together, become engaged, and orient themselves towards the common good, they express the General Will that benefits everyone. Rousseau believed that sovereign power should be in the hands of the people, not a monarch. He viewed the general will as an expression of popular sovereignty – the will of the people as a whole. Rousseau saw the general will as ideally leading to consensus and the common good rather than just majority rule. He argued that citizens must subordinate their personal desires and interests to the general will in order to establish a legitimate state.

Rousseau writes, ***"Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole."*** According to Rousseau, in order for the general will to lead to freedom and a well-ordered society, citizens must participate in the creation of laws and accept them willingly, not just submit to the rule of a sovereign. The general will represents the real interests of the people more than any individual or group. Rousseau believed that by collectively exercising the general will, citizens could promote the common good and achieve freedom.

b) Features of Rousseau's General Will:

Rousseau's conception of the general will has several key features that differentiate it from other notions of the public or collective will.

- First, Rousseau makes a strong distinction between the general will and the particular or individual will. The general will aims at the common good of all people, whereas the particular will aim at private interests.
- Second, Rousseau argues that while the general will is always right and tends toward the public advantage, the unanimous will of all individuals does not necessarily equate to the general will. The general will represents the true interests of each citizen, not just their desires at the moment.
- Third, Rousseau holds that the general will is fundamentally infallible. He claims it cannot err as it represents the universal will of the people toward justice and the common good. The general will remains fixed on solid principles of right, even if individuals make missteps.
- Fourth, Rousseau argues the general will represents the highest or best will of each citizen. By pursuing the common interests through the general will, each person fulfills their duties as a citizen and thereby achieves their own good as well.
- Fifth, Rousseau views the general will as permanent, inalienable, and indivisible. It cannot be transferred or divided, as it fundamentally belongs to the whole community united as a body politic.
- Sixth, Rousseau advocates compulsion to abide by the general will, so that dissenters uphold their duties and obligations as citizens, even if they disagree. The entire social body must be guided by the general will.
- Seventh, the general will remains impersonal, abstract, and detached from specific individuals or groups. It transcends any private interests or circumstances.
- Eighth, as Rousseau states, ***"The law is but the declaration of the general will."*** The laws of a state should flow from and align with the interests of the nation.
- Finally, Rousseau demands complete loyalty to the general will on the part of all citizens. The particular interests of individuals must be subsumed to the greater common good.

c) General Will as Popular Sovereignty:

According to Rousseau, the general will represents the sovereign will of the people. In his view, sovereignty does not lie with a monarch, government, or ruling class but with the people as a whole. The people are the legitimate source of law and political authority. Rousseau believed that in a properly constituted state, citizens collectively exercise their sovereign power through the general will. The general will aims to further the common good rather than any individual or factional interests. As such, laws express the will of the people regarding matters of broad public concern. The government's role is simply to enact and enforce laws in accordance with the general will. So in Rousseau's framework, the people are sovereign rather than the government. The government does not dictate the general will but rather carries it out on behalf of the people. The general will represents an act of popular self-legislation and self-governance for the common welfare. Sovereignty rests with the citizen body as a whole.

d) Differentiated General Will and Particular Will:

Aspect	General Will	Particular Will
Definition	Represents the collective will of the people, aiming at the common good or general interest of society.	Represents the individual and personal interests of each citizen, focusing on private goals and benefits.
Focus	Emphasizes the broader welfare of society as a whole, transcending individual and private interests.	Centers on the narrow self-interests and desires of each person, often conflicting with the common good.
Rightness	Considered inherently right, always seeking the public good and reflecting reason and collective wisdom.	May be misguided or driven by selfish desires, leading to conflicts with the general will and societal harmony.
Authority	Viewed as sovereign authority, embodying reason and serving the greater good, prevailing over individual desires.	Holds authority over personal matters and daily life but is subordinate to the general will in matters of state and law.
Formation Process	Emerges through a process of rational deliberation, debate, and consensus-building among citizens.	Arises from individual preferences and interests, often influenced by personal desires and motivations.
Role in Governance	Guides decisions in matters of state and law, reflecting the collective interests of society as a whole.	Influences personal choices and actions in daily life, guiding behavior based on individual interests and goals.
Resolution of Conflict	Resolves conflicts and promotes societal harmony by prioritizing the common good over individual interests.	May lead to conflicts with the general will, requiring compromise or suppression in favor of the broader public interest.

e) Criticism of Jean Jacques Rousseau on General Will:

Rousseau's conception of the general will has been subject to significant criticism. A major issue is that enforcing conformity to a single general will lead to the oppression of minority groups and dissenting individuals. Rousseau argues that individuals must be "forced to be free" and compelled to obey the general will. However, this could enable totalitarian policies aimed at forcing unanimity and oppressing any who refuse to conform. In addition, Rousseau's general will lacks institutional constraints and protections for individual rights.

Because the general will is deemed infallible, if the majority supports oppressive policies there are no checks or balances to override this. Minorities would have no legal recourse against the general will of the people. Rousseau also rejects representative government and believes citizens should participate directly. However direct democracy lacks protections for minority groups that representative systems provide. The general will could also lead to destabilizing mob rule. Rousseau trusts the people collectively to identify the common good. But public passions can be easily inflamed, leading to hasty and extreme decisions. The general will lacks moderating influences and could change radically with shifts in public opinion. Rousseau offers no safeguards against this.

Finally, Rousseau's conception is vague about how the general will is determined. It is unclear what mechanism translates individuals' wills into the single general will of the people. This ambiguity leaves the general will open to manipulation by demagogues claiming to speak for the people. Overall, Rousseau's general will privileges theoretical unity and conformity over pluralism and individual liberties. The general will grants unlimited sovereignty to the collective people with few institutional constraints, which creates significant risks of majoritarian tyranny.

11.Conclusion.

Montesquieu (1689 to 1755)

1. Introduction:

"Of all French political philosophers in the eighteenth century (other than Rousseau) the most important was Montesquieu. Of them all he had perhaps the clearest conception of the complexities of a social philosophy, and yet he too was guilty of extreme over simplification." (Sabine)

Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, was born at La Brède, France. He was educated at the Oratorian collège de Juilly from 1700 to 1705 and thereafter at the University of Bordeaux, where he studied law. In 1716, he inherited from his uncle the barony of Montesquieu and the office of Présidentà Mortier of the Parlement de Guyenne at Bordeaux. His literary reputation was established in 1721 with the publication of his Lettres persanes (Persian Letters), a satire on the French life, customs, and political institutions in the form of letters supposedly written by two bemused Persian travelers. In 1728, he was elected, though by no means unanimously, to the Académie française. He spent the years between 1728 and 1731 travelling in Europe. He lived for a short time in England, and his experience of English life and politics left a deep impression on his mind. In 1734 he published his Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des romains (The Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans).

2. Metaphysical and Epistemological Foundations of Monesquieu's Political Philosophy:

Montesquieu's "metaphysic" is not a traditional metaphysical system, but rather a framework for understanding the nature of laws and governments. He focused on how social and geographical factors, as well as human nature, influence the development of laws and political systems. He also explored the separation of powers, advocating for distinct legislative, executive, and judicial branches to prevent tyranny.

Montesquieu favored an inductive and historical approach, drawing conclusions based on the observation and analysis of different societies and their laws. He didn't rely on abstract philosophical principles, but rather sought to understand the practical realities of how laws and government's function. Montesquieu, unlike some of his contemporaries, focused on studying various societies, governments, and laws through observation and historical analysis. He believed that by examining the diverse political systems and social structures across different cultures, he could identify the underlying principles and laws that govern them.

While acknowledging the influence of rationalist thinkers like Descartes, Montesquieu was critical of purely abstract and speculative approaches to understanding political life. He argued that such approaches often failed to account for the complexities and particularities of real-world societies. Montesquieu did not explicitly reject the concept of innate ideas in the same way as some other Enlightenment thinkers, but his approach to understanding human nature and society emphasized the role of experience and environmental factors over inherent, pre-existing knowledge. While he didn't explicitly deny the existence of innate ideas, his focus on the influence of climate, laws, and social customs on human behavior suggests a belief that knowledge is largely acquired through interaction with the world, rather than being predetermined.

While Montesquieu acknowledged the existence of universal principles of natural law, he also stressed that these principles are interpreted and applied differently across various societies and historical periods. This relativistic perspective on law and morality further supports the idea that knowledge is shaped by experience and context, rather than being universally fixed.

3. Montesquieu's Belief about Human Nature:

Montesquieu believed that human beings, while capable of reason, are also driven by passions and a tendency towards selfishness and the desire for power. He saw human nature as inherently flawed, prone

to corruption, and susceptible to the abuse of power. However, he also believed that political institutions and laws could be designed to mitigate these negative aspects and channel human potential towards positive outcomes. He believed human nature remains the same over the centuries, and that this nature is both capable of greatness as well as susceptible to corruption.

This balanced view prevented Montesquieu from being excessively pessimistic or optimistic about his own era. He took a long view of human history, and understood that while the abuses of power in his own day might seem pretty bad, such abuses have occurred before. A few decades before Edward Gibbon published his landmark work on the fall of the Roman Empire, Montesquieu offered an important reflection on the Empire's rise: If Pompey and Caesar hadn't usurped power in Rome, Montesquieu argued, others would have. Montesquieu claimed that it was not these particular generals' ambition, but the ambition of humankind in general, that caused the Republic to give way to Empire.

He famously stated that ***"constant experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it,"*** highlighting the tendency for those in positions of authority to misuse their power. Though he died two hundred years before Lord Acton lived, Montesquieu would have agreed with the English statesman's famous observation that ***"Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."*** It was because Montesquieu held this realistic—one might even say cynical—view of human nature that he believed political institutions must be arranged so as to maximize man's potential while minimizing man's opportunity for vices and abuses.

On this score, we can see the influence of Montesquieu in James Madison's argument (in Federalist 51, that ***"If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary."*** Montesquieu argued that laws should be tailored to the specific social, geographical, and cultural context of a society, reflecting its "spirit".

Humans have three kinds of nature; first nature is to preserve themselves. Second, they are finite intelligence. They only have imperfect knowledge, which they even lose sometimes. Third, they are subject to passions like beasts. In the next three sentences, Montesquieu explains three kinds of law: laws of religion, laws of morality, political and civil laws.

4. Historical Method of Montesquieu:

Montesquieu's historical method, particularly evident in The Spirit of the Laws, involved a comparative analysis of laws and social institutions across different societies and historical periods. He aimed to understand the underlying factors that shaped these systems, including climate, geography, culture, and the type of government. Rather than viewing history as a series of random events, Montesquieu sought to identify general causes and principles that explained societal development and the evolution of laws.

Montesquieu compared various legal systems and forms of government to identify patterns and relationships between social and political structures. He believed that specific historical events were often influenced by broader, underlying factors like climate, culture, and the nature of government. Montesquieu stressed the importance of understanding the specific context in which laws and social institutions developed, including factors like climate, geography, and the prevailing customs and beliefs of a society.

Montesquieu's historical analysis led him to critique absolute monarchy and advocate for a system of government that balanced power and protected individual liberties. Montesquieu's study of history and different forms of government led him to propose the separation of powers as a crucial mechanism for preventing tyranny and safeguarding liberty. He viewed laws as evolving over time, shaped by the historical development of society and its customs.

5. Montesquieu's Climate Theory:

Montesquieu's theory posits that a nation's climate and geography significantly influence the character of its people and the suitability of different forms of government. He believed that climate, particularly temperature, played a crucial role in shaping human temperament and societal structures. Montesquieu argued that people in hot climates tend to be more timid and less vigorous, while those in cold climates are more courageous and robust. He believed these physical differences stemmed from the direct impact of temperature on the body, with cold temperatures causing contractions and increased energy, while heat had a relaxing effect.

He proposed that climate also influences a nation's customs, traditions, and overall "spirit". For example, he suggested that cold climates might lead to a greater emphasis on personal freedom and

security, while warmer climates might be more conducive to certain types of social structures or political systems. Montesquieu's theory suggests that legislators should consider the climate and geography of a region when crafting laws and designing governance systems. He believed that laws should be adapted to the specific characteristics of a people and their environment. He also thought that temperate climates were most conducive to liberty and a balanced government.

Beyond climate, Montesquieu also considered geographic factors like the size of landmasses and the presence of natural barriers. He proposed that larger landmasses, particularly in Asia, were more susceptible to despotism due to the ease of creating large empires, while Europe's fragmented geography favored a more diverse and less centralized political landscape.

6. Montesquieu's Philosophy of Laws:

Laws are the necessary relations arising from the nature of things: Montesquieu. Laws, in their most general signification, are the necessary relations arising from the nature of things. In this sense, all beings have their laws; the Deity His laws, the material world its laws, the intelligence superior to man their laws, the beasts their laws, man his laws. Montesquieu believed that laws are not arbitrary but are shaped by the nature of the government, the character of the people, and the physical environment.

He explored the relationships between these factors, arguing that climate, geography, and social customs all play a role in shaping political institutions and legal systems. For example, he famously argued that climate influences the temperament of a people, which in turn affects the type of government best suited for them.

Montesquieu's approach can be seen as a form of contextualism or legal positivism, where laws are understood within their specific social and historical contexts. He recognized that what works well in one society might not be appropriate for another. However, he also believed that there are underlying principles of justice and good governance that can be discovered through careful study.

Montesquieu's aim in ***The Spirit of the Laws*** is to explain human laws and social institutions. This might seem like an impossible project: unlike physical laws, which are, according to Montesquieu, instituted and sustained by God, positive laws and social institutions are created by fallible human beings who are ***"subject ... to ignorance and error, [and] hurried away by a thousand impetuous passions".*** Specifically, laws should be adapted

> ***"to the people for whom they are framed..., to the nature and principle of each government, ... to the climate of each country, to the quality of its soil, to its situation and extent, to the principal occupation of the natives, whether husbandmen, huntsmen or shepherds: they should have relation to the degree of liberty which the constitution will bear; to the religion of the inhabitants, to their inclinations, riches, numbers, commerce, manners, and customs. In fine, they have relations to each other, as also to their origin, to the intent of the legislator, and to the order of things on which they are established; in all of which different lights they ought to be considered".***

Montesquieu's "The Spirit of the Laws" uses a cause-and-effect approach to analyze how laws relate to various factors, including the nature and principle of different forms of government, climate, geography, economics, and social customs.

a) Analysis of Laws using Cause and Effect Approach:

Cause:

Montesquieu identified several key factors that influence the formation and nature of laws. These include:

Factor	Montesquieu's View
Nature of Government	Each form of government (republic, monarchy, despotism) has a distinct nature and principle, the motivating force behind it.
Climate and Geography	Climate and geographical features significantly shape a society's character and influence its laws.
Economic Factors	Economic systems and trade play a role in shaping the development of legal systems.
Social Customs and Manners	Laws should be adapted to the existing customs and manners of a society.

Effect:
The laws themselves are the effect, the outcome of the interplay of these various causes. For example, a republic's laws would be different from those of a monarchy, reflecting the different natures and principles of these governments.

b) Kinds of Laws:

Montesquieu explains three kinds of law:

- laws of religion
- laws of morality
- political and civil laws.

All these laws are related to man's second nature. They are knowledge which man should know but could forget. It would be reasonable to predict that Montesquieu will discuss the relations of these three kinds of man's nature after he had listed them. Since Montesquieu has defined in the first sentence that the laws "are the necessary relations deriving from the nature of things," this will be the discussion of man's laws.

c) Natural Laws:

Montesquieu's concept of natural law, as presented in The Spirit of the Laws, posits that laws are derived from the essential relations arising from the nature of things, including human nature. He diverges from some natural law theorists by emphasizing an empirical approach, grounding his analysis in concrete observations of diverse societies and their laws.

Montesquieu believed that natural laws, while inherent, are expressed through positive laws shaped by specific social, political, and geographical contexts. Montesquieu emphasized that natural laws are fundamental and precede human-made laws, governing all beings, including humans in their pre-social state. He viewed natural laws as rooted in the constitution of our being and the inherent qualities of individuals before the establishment of societies.

He examined the laws that would govern individuals in a hypothetical pre-social state, emphasizing their initial weakness, timidity, and inclination towards peace and nourishment. Montesquieu highlighted the natural sociability of humans, driven by fear, the pleasure of proximity, and attraction between the sexes, which he saw as foundational for social interaction. The natural laws solely derive from man's natures. The first natural law is to keep peace between each other. The second is to seek nourishment for them. The third is to chase the other sex. The first and the second are about preserving themselves, and the third is about preserving their species. All of them derive from man's first nature. The fourth nature is to live in society. It derives from both the first and second natures of man.

The law, which, impressing on our minds the idea of a Creator, inclines us toward him, is the first in importance, though not in order, of natural laws. Man, in a state of nature, would have the faculty of knowing before he had acquired any knowledge.

Plain it is that his first ideas would not be of a speculative nature: he would think of the preservation of his being before he would investigate its original. Such a man would feel nothing in himself, at first, but impotency and weakness: his fears and apprehensions would be excessive; as appears from instances (were there any necessity of proving it) of savages found in forests trembling at the motion of a leaf, and flying from every shadow.In this state, every man, instead of being sensible of his equality, would fancy himself inferior: there would, therefore, be no danger of their attacking one another; peace would be the first law of nature.

Next to a sense of his weakness, man would soon find that of his wants. Hence, another law of nature would prompt him to seek for nourishment.

Fear, he observes, would induce men to shun one another; but the marks of this fear, being reciprocal, would soon engage them to associate. Besides, this association would quickly follow from the very pleasure one animal feels at the approach of another of the same species. Again, the attraction arising from the difference of sexes would enhance this pleasure, and the natural inclination they have for each other would form a third law.

Beside the sense or instinct which man possesses in common with brutes, he has the advantage of acquired knowledge; and thence arises a second tie, which brutes have not. Mankind have therefore a new motive of uniting, and a fourth law of nature results from the desire of living in society.

d) Positive Laws:

As soon as mankind enter into a state of society, they lose the sense of their weakness; equality ceases, and then commences the state of war. Each particular society begins to feel its strength; whence arises a state of war betwixt different nations. The individuals likewise of each society become sensible of their force: hence the principal advantages of this society they endeavour to convert to their own emolument; which constitutes a state of war betwixt individuals.These two different kinds of states give rise to human laws. Considered as inhabitants of so great a planet, which necessarily contains a variety of nations, they have laws relative to their mutual intercourse, which is what we call the law of nations.

As members of a society that must be properly supported, they have laws relative to the governors and the governed; and this we distinguish by the name of politic law. They have also another sort of laws, as they stand in relation to each other; by which is understood the civil law.The law of nations is naturally founded on this principle, that different nations ought in time of peace to do one another all the good they can, and in time of war as little injury as possible, without prejudicing their real interests.

The object of war is victory; that of victory is conquest; and that of conquest, preservation. From this and the preceding principle all those rules are derived which constitute the law of nations. All countries have a law of nations, not excepting the Iroquois themselves, though they devour their prisoners; for they send and receive ambassadors, and understand the rights of war and peace. The mischief is, that their law of nations is not founded on true principles. Besides the law of nations relating to all societies, there is a polity, or civil constitution, for each, particularly considered. No society can subsist without a form of government. “The united strength of individuals,” as Gravina well observes, “constitutes what we call the body politic.”

The general strength may be in the hands of a single person, or of many. Some think that, nature having established paternal authority, the most natural government was that of a single person. But the example of paternal authority proves nothing: for, if the power of a father be relative to a single government, that of brothers after the death of a father, and that of cousin-germans after the decease of brothers, refer to a government of many. The political power necessarily comprehends the union of several families. Better is it to say, that the government most conformable to nature is that which best agrees with the humour and disposition of the people in whose favour it is established.

Law in general is human reason, inasmuch as it governs all the inhabitants of the earth; the political and civil laws of each nation ought to be only the particular cases in which human reason is applied.They should be adapted in such a manner to the people for whom they are framed, that it is a great chance if those of one nation suit another. They should be relative to the nature and principle of each government; whether they form it, as may be said of political laws; or whether they support it, as in the case of civil institutions.

They should be relative to the climate of each country, to the quality of its soil, to its situation and extent, to the principal occupation of the natives, whether husbandmen, huntsmen, or shepherds: they should have a relation to the degree of liberty which the constitution will bear, to the religion of the inhabitants, to their inclinations, riches, numbers, commerce, manners, and customs. In fine, they have relations to each other, as also to their origin, to the intent of the legislator, and to the order of things on which they are established; in all which different lights they ought to be considered.

e) Nature of Various Forms of Government in Relation to Laws

There are three species of government: republican, monarchical, and despotic. To discover their nature, it is sufficient to recollect the common notion, which supposes three definitions, or rather three facts:

> ***“That a republican government is that in which the body or only a part of the people is possessed of the supreme power: monarchy, that in which a single person governs by fixed and established laws: a despotic government, that in which a single person directs everything by his own will and caprice.”***

Democracy

When the body of the people is possessed of the supreme power, this is called a democracy. When the supreme power is lodged in the hands of a part of the people, it is then an aristocracy. In a democracy the people are in some respects the sovereign, and in others the subject. There can be no exercise of

sovereignty but by their suffrages, which are their own will: now, the sovereign's will be the sovereign himself. The laws, therefore, which establish the right of suffrage, are fundamental to this government.

And indeed, it is as important to regulate, in a republic, in what manner, by whom, to whom, and concerning what, suffrages are to be given, as it is, in a monarchy, to know who is the prince, and after what manner he ought to govern. The people, in whom the supreme power resides, ought to have the management of everything within their reach: what exceeds their abilities must be conducted by their ministers. But they cannot properly be said to have their ministers, without the power of nominating them: it is therefore a fundamental maxim, in this government, that the people should choose their ministers; that is, their magistrates.

As the division of those who have a right of suffrage is a fundamental law in republics, the manner also of giving this suffrage is another fundamental. The suffrage by lot is a method of electing that offends no one; but animates each citizen with the pleasing hope of serving his country. Yet, as this method is in itself defective, it has been the endeavor of the most eminent legislators to regulate and amend it. It is likewise a fundamental law, in democracies, that the people should have the sole power to enact laws. And yet there are a thousand occasions on which it is necessary the senate should have a power of decreeing: nay, it is frequently proper to make some trial of a law before it is established. The constitutions of Rome and Athens were excellent. The decrees of the senate‡ had the force of laws for the space of a year, but did not become perpetual till they were ratified by the consent of the people.

Principle of Democracy: Virtue

Montesquieu defined virtue in this context as the "love of the laws and of our country" according to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. He believed that citizens in a republic must be dedicated to the common good and the well-being of the state. For democracy, the principle is virtue, and ***"one can define this virtue as love of the laws and the homeland."*** In addition, Montesquieu explains this definition: this love, requiring a continuous preference of the public interest over one's own; the virtue is a renunciation of oneself; it is love of equality; it is also love of frugality, which is necessary for equality. Montesquieu explains how this passion overwhelms other passions like ambition and avarice. To establish this virtue, the full power of education is needed, and the key point is that the fathers should stand as role models.

Aristocracy

In an aristocracy, the supreme power is lodged in the hands of a certain number of persons. These are invested both with the legislative and executive authority; the rest of the people are, in respect to them, the same as the subjects of a monarchy in regard to the sovereign. The aristocratic government also needs ratification. The worst defect it could have is its people's nothingness, which means their lives are miserable. Montesquieu indicates in Chapter 3 of Book II that this defect could be corrected by two means: first, the lawgivers could reduce the nobles' power and give people more power; second, the lawgivers could mix aristocracy with a monarchical element, such as setting magistracies with extraordinary power like the Roman dictators and state inquisitors of Venice. Montesquieu must think the former is incomparably better than the latter, since he says, ***"The more an aristocracy approaches democracy, the more perfect it will be, and to the degree it approaches monarchy the less perfect it will become."***

Principle of Aristocracy: Moderation

The principle of aristocracy is moderation. Montesquieu asserted that ***"the best aristocracy is one in which the part of the people having no share in the power is so small and so poor that the dominant part has no interest in oppressing it."*** If there is only a very small part that does not share the power, it should be called a democracy. Therefore, the best aristocracy is essentially a democracy.

Monarchy

The intermediate, subordinate, and dependent powers constitute the nature of monarchical government; in which a single person governs by fundamental laws. Montesquieu said, the intermediate, subordinate, and dependent powers: and indeed, in monarchies, the prince is the source of all power, political and civil. These fundamental laws necessarily suppose the intermediate channels through which the power flows; for, if there be only the momentary and capricious will of a single person to govern the state, nothing can be fixed, and of course there is no fundamental law. These fundamental laws necessarily suppose the

intermediate channels through which the power flows; for, if there be only the momentary and capricious will of a single person to govern the state, nothing can be fixed, and of course there is no fundamental law. There are men who have endeavoured, in some countries in Europe, to suppress the jurisdiction of the nobility; not perceiving that they were driving at the very thing that was done by the parliament of England. Abolish the privileges of the lords, the clergy, and cities, in a monarchy, and you will soon have a popular state, or else a despotic government.

Principle of Monarchy: Honour

In Montesquieu's theory, honor is the principle that animates and sustains a monarchy. It's not just a personal virtue, but a social and political force that motivates citizens and even the monarch to act in ways that benefit the state. Montesquieu argues that honor, understood as a "prejudice" or a sense of one's rank and social position, is essential for maintaining the stability and dynamism of a monarchy. Montesquieu believed that in a monarchy, the desire for honor, distinction, and social standing motivates individuals to excel and contribute to the well-being of the state. This contrasts with the principle of virtue in a republic, which relies on civic-mindedness and selflessness, or the principle of fear in a despotism, which relies on coercion.

Despotism

Despotism: FROM the nature of despotic power it follows, that the single person, invested with this power, commits the execution of it also to a single person. A man, whom his senses continually inform that he himself is everything, and his subjects nothing, is naturally lazy, voluptuous, and ignorant. In consequence of this, he neglects the management of public affairs. But, were he to commit the administration to many, there would be continual disputes among them; each would form intrigues to be his first slave, and he would be obliged to take the reins into his own hands. It is, therefore, more natural for him to resign it to a vizir, and to invest him with the same power as himself. The creation of a vizir is a fundamental law of this government. Despotism is extremely against human nature, and ***"it seems that human nature would rise up incessantly against despotic government."*** But***, "despite men's love of liberty, despite their hatred of violence, most peoples are subjected to this type of government."*** According to Montesquieu, despotism was established very early in both Europe and Asia. There were peoples engaging in wars for conquering in both of them. The ultimate outcomes of those wars were universal empires, and ***"a large empire presupposes a despotic authority in the one who governs."***

Principle of Despotism: Honour

Montesquieu viewed fear as the foundational principle of despotism. In his political philosophy, he argued that despotic governments, where a single individual rules with absolute power, rely on fear to maintain control over their subjects. This fear is not merely a political tactic but the very ***"human passion that makes it move,"*** In a despotic state, the ruler is not bound by laws or any established rules, but rather governs solely by his own will and caprice. This lack of predictable laws and the arbitrary nature of the ruler's decisions create a climate of fear among the populace. This fear, according to Montesquieu, can lead to a suppression of ambition, a lack of security for property, and a general stagnation of society. Subjects are constantly apprehensive about potential punishments and the unpredictable nature of the ruler's actions.

7. Montesquieu's Concept of Liberty and Separation of Power:

Montesquieu's theory of liberty centers on the idea of political liberty, which he defines as the absence of constraints on one's actions, provided those actions are permitted by law. He believed that this liberty is achieved through a system of government where power is separated and balanced, specifically through the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. This separation prevents any one individual or body from becoming tyrannical and ensures that citizens are protected from arbitrary power. Montesquieu is among the greatest philosophers of liberalism, but his is what Shklar has called "***a liberalism of fear."***

He distinguishes between philosophical liberty (the freedom to do whatever one wills) and political liberty (the freedom to do what the laws permit). He argues that philosophical liberty, if unchecked, can lead to chaos and tyranny. According to Montesquieu, political liberty is ***"a tranquillity of mind arising***

from the opinion each person has of his safety." Liberty is not the freedom to do whatever we want; if we have the freedom to harm others, for instance, others will also have the freedom to harm us, and we will have no confidence in our own safety. Liberty instead involves living under laws that protect us from harm while leaving us free to do as much as possible, and that enable us to feel the greatest possible confidence that if we obey those laws, the power of the state will not be directed against us.

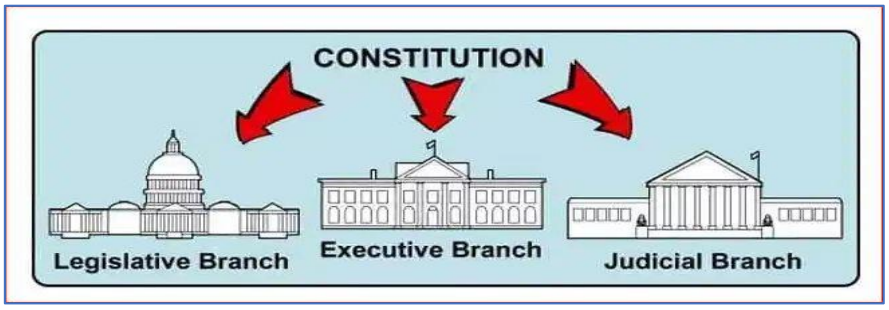
If it is to provide its citizens with the greatest possible liberty, a government must have certain features. Since ***"constant experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it ... it is necessary from the very nature of things that power should be a check to power."*** This is achieved through the separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers of government. If different persons or bodies exercise these powers, then each can check the others if they try to abuse their powers. But if one person or body holds several or all of these powers, then nothing prevents that person or body from acting tyrannically; and the people will have no confidence in their own security.

Certain arrangements make it easier for the three powers to check one another. Montesquieu argues that the legislative power alone should have the power to tax, since it can then deprive the executive of funding if the latter attempts to impose its will arbitrarily. Likewise, the executive power should have the right to veto acts of the legislature, and the legislature should be composed of two houses, each of which can prevent acts of the other from becoming law. The judiciary should be independent of both the legislature and the executive, and should restrict itself to applying the laws to particular cases in a fixed and consistent manner, so ***that "the judicial power, so terrible to mankind, … becomes, as it were, invisible," and people "fear the office, but not the magistrate."***

Finally, liberty requires that the laws concern only threats to public order and security, since such laws will protect us from harm while leaving us free to do as many other things as possible. For instance, the laws should not concern offenses against God, since He does not require their protection. They should not prohibit what they do not need to prohibit: "***all punishment which is not derived from necessity is tyrannical. The law is not a mere act of power; things in their own nature indifferent are not within its province."***

8. Separation of Powers:

Separation of powers means that power should not practice by only one man or one group of people or a single institution the doctrines of exercise of power and governmental functions in the state is as old as the political thought is, many political thinkers and philosophers, ancient and modern, presented their ideas about the practice of power within the state and governmental functions.



Montesquieu presented the theory of separation of powers, in which the powers should divided among three parts of government legislative, executive and judiciary and they should have check and balance on each other. This philosophy heavily influenced the American founding fathers of constitution; this theory influenced the writing of the constitution of United States. Montesquieu thinks that these three powers should separate from each other and each power should wielded by a different body or person and they should be checked. In his own words he says: —To prevent this abuse, it is necessary from the very nature of things that power should be a check to power. A government may be so constituted, as no man shall be compelled to do things to which the law does not oblige him, nor forced to abstain from things which the law permits.

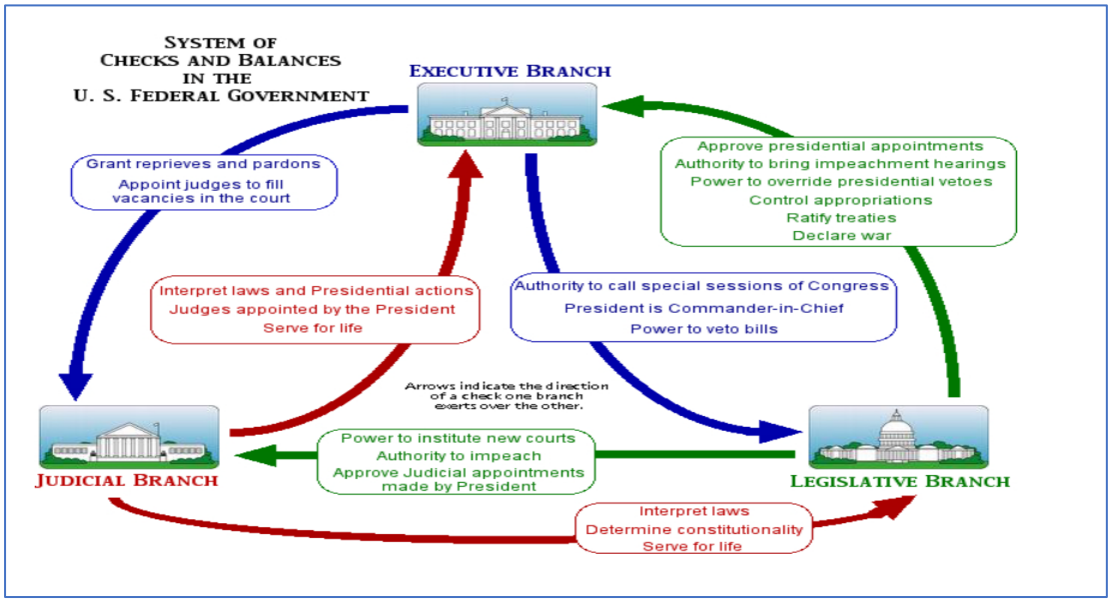
When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body or magistrates, there can be no liberty. Again, there is no liberty if the judicial power is not separates from the legislative and executive powers. Where it joined with the legislative power, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control; for the Judge would then be the legislator. Where it joined with the executive power, the Judge might behave with violence and oppression. There would be an end of everything were the same man or the same body to exercise these three powers.

Power should be a check on power. ***Le pouvoir arrete le pouvoir*** power halts power. A constitution may be such that none shall be compelled to do things to which law is not obliged or not to do things that the law permits. There was no liberty for the people under such an Oppressive and despotic government. Montesquieu happened to visit Great Britain and was tremendously impressed by the spirit of freedom prevailing there. He tried to find out the causes of the liberty of the British people. He compared the judges' independence and the strength of Parliament there with the judiciary's subordination to the French. Monarchy and the virtual extinction of the Estates-General. Not foreseeing the rise of the Cabinet system of government in Britain and keenly desiring to substitute political liberty for royal absolutism in France, Montesquieu advocated the separation of powers as a device to make government safe for the governed.

Montesquieu's thesis is that the concentration of legislative, executive, and judicial functions, either in one person or a body of persons, results in abuse of authority. Such an organization is tyrannical. He urged that the three government departments be so organized that they should be entrusted to different personnel. Each department should perform distinct functions within the sphere of powers assigned to it. He rather suggested modification of the concentration of powers. As Herman Finer observes, Montesquieu was searching for means to limit the Crown to make a constitution to build canals through which, but not over which, power should stream to create intermediary bodies to check and balance probable despotism.

Yet, he did not wish to fly to the extreme of democracy? For Montesquieu, the executive convenes the legislature, fixes its duration, and votes legislation. The legislature has the right to impeachment. He believed that each branch should have the power to limit the actions of the other two, preventing any one branch from becoming too powerful.

Branch	Power / Check
Legislative	Can impeach and remove executive and judicial officials.
Executive	Can veto legislation passed by Congress and appoint federal judges.
Judicial	Can declare laws passed by Congress or the President unconstitutional.



In essence, Montesquieu's ideas on the separation of powers and checks and balances have had a profound impact on the design of democratic governments around the world, including the United States, by promoting a balance of power and preventing the concentration of authority.

9. Conclusion.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831)

1. Introduction:

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born in Stuttgart in 1770, the son of a provincial official. For a thinker who came to dominate German philosophy for much of the nineteenth century and influenced Western thought for much longer, Hegel was a remarkably late developer. He was diligent but undistinguished both at school and, later, as a theology student. He worked as a private tutor for a number of years before obtaining his first lowly university post at the age of thirty-three.

It was not until five years later that he published his first major work, The Phenomenology of Spirit (1807), which outlined the evolution of human consciousness. It became the keystone of his whole vast system of thought, which he set out principally in the three volumes of his Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline (1817): the Logic, The Philosophy of Nature and The Philosophy of Mind. Other works – such as The Science of Logic (1812) and The Philosophy of Right (1821) – elaborated particular sections in more detail.

Further elaborations concerned with the philosophy of history, of aesthetics and of religion appeared after his death and were based on his lecture notes. Hegel was Professor of Philosophy at Berlin from 1818 until his death in 1831 during the great cholera epidemic that swept Europe at that time.

2. Roots of Hegel's Philosophy:

The roots of Hegel's political philosophy can be traced to Plato and Aristotle, who believed that the function of law is the realisation of right. Aristotle stated that the state came into existence for the sake of life and it continues to exist for the sake of the good life. A good life is realised through the institution of state. This fits in with Hegel‟s concept of the state. Motivation of Hegel's political philosophy was German Unity and overall progress of the state. During Hegel's lifetime, Germany was divided country and the problem of the unification of Germany occupied minds of German thinkers. But the unification of Germany was impossible in absence of the strong and powerful state. Hence Hegel tried to justify creation of such a state through his method of dialectic and the theory of nation state. Antidemocratic and authoritarian atmosphere of Germany- The political experience of Germany has been authoritarian and antidemocratic. In this atmosphere Hegel was born and brought up. Hegel could not think anything outside authoritarian politics. Even he did not like the democratic institutions of England and France. He did not accept the ideas of the Franch Revolution. Kant and Fitche exercised a great influence on shaping Hegel's political philosophy. Plato and Aristotle too profoundly influenced his writings. Like Fitche, Hegel too believed that the ultimate reality is not matter but "***Reason or Sprit*‟.**

3. Metaphysical Foundations of Hegel:

Hegel rejected the traditional metaphysics of substance by arguing that structures and relations are more fundamental than isolated substances, and that the "true" nature of reality is not found in fixed, unchanging entities, but in the ongoing process of becoming and development. He also disagreed with the idea that substances are self-contained and independent, arguing that they are always in relation to other things. Substance is a key concept in ontology, the latter in turn part of metaphysics, which may be classified into monist, dualist, or pluralist varieties according to how many substances or individuals are said to populate, furnish, or exist in the world.

According to monistic views, there is only one substance. Stoicism and Spinoza, for example, hold monistic views, that pneuma or God, respectively, is the one substance in the world. These modes of thinking are sometimes associated with the idea of immanence. Dualism sees the world as being composed of two fundamental substances (for example, the Cartesian substance dualism of mind and matter).

Pluralist philosophies include Plato's Theory of Forms and Aristotle's hylomorphic categories. The traditional view of Hegel's metaphysics is seen as offering a metaphysico-religious view of God qua Absolute Spirit, as the ultimate reality that we can come to know through pure thought processes alone.

In short, Hegel's philosophy is treated as exemplifying the type of pre-critical or dogmatic metaphysics against which Kant had reacted in his Critique of Pure Reason, and as a return to a more religiously driven conception of philosophy to which Kant had been opposed. In his lectures during his Berlin period one comes across claims such as the one that philosophy "***has no other object but God and so is essentially rational theology".***

Hegel's metaphysics, as explored in his Science of Logic, is a system of thought and reality that emphasizes the inherent rationality of the world and the development of the Absolute Spirit (Geist). It moves beyond traditional substance metaphysics, focusing instead on structures and relations. Hegel's approach is dialectical, meaning it involves a process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, where contradictions are resolved and higher levels of understanding are reached.

Hegel's metaphysics, as a system of thought, is a complex and multifaceted field. It's primarily concerned with the question of "what is," and how we can understand the nature of reality. He attempts to show that the world, in its various manifestations, is a self-representation of reason, where reason is both ontological and epistemological, meaning it's both the way the world is and the way we can know it.

4. Dialectical Process:

Hegel uses the dialectical method to understand reality's movement. This involves a process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, where each stage negates the previous one, leading to a higher, more encompassing level of understanding. Hegel is a German Idealist, meaning he believes that reality is ultimately mind or spirit (Geist). This doesn't mean that physical reality is an illusion, but rather that it is grounded in and understood through a system of thought and concepts.

Hegel's Doctrine of the Concept, central to his "Science of Logic," posits that the world is not merely a collection of things, but a dynamic, self-developing process of concepts. These concepts, in a Hegelian context, are not abstract ideas but rather the internal, driving forces of reality, embodying both form and content. The doctrine explores how concepts evolve from simple, abstract ones to more complex, realized ones, ultimately leading to the Absolute Idea, a state of self-understanding and reconciliation.

5. Developing Basic Understanding of Hegel and His Philosophy:

We have to begin by imagining the universe totally empty. All that exists is Geist, which is Mind or Spirit; not a particular mind or spirit, but mind or spirit in general (it is also God, but a very strange and peculiar notion of God). It is Mind, but is totally without consciousness – more potential mind really. It contains just one idea, the concept of being, although this idea is, so to speak, pregnant with other ideas. Out of the idea of being comes the idea of nothing, which is its opposite and in turn gives rise to a synthesis of the two ideas, the notion of becoming, from which in turn further concepts flow: one and many, substance and accident, cause and effect, time and space, and so on.

In this way all the basic concepts we need to understand the world are deduced, or rather deduce themselves, according to Hegel's own special kind of logic which he calls the dialectic. In the dialectic things turn into their opposites and then into something that brings together the two opposites in a higher synthesis. (This is difficult, but it is meant to reflect the way the mind works, the way it explores ideas and reaches conclusions.) So, having deduced the possibility of the world, the next thing that happens is that Mind (still entirely unconscious) turns itself into its opposite, which is matter. In modern cosmology we might identify this moment with the famous Big Bang.

How Mind can just turn itself into its opposite like this is one of the mysteries of Hegelian metaphysics. On the other hand, it is perhaps no more mysterious than the notion of God creating the world out of

nothing – or for that matter the Big Bang itself. But if the question of how Mind does this is deeply mysterious, the question of why it does so is not. It is because Mind (Spirit, Geist) has a destiny. All that happens – the creation of matter, the emergence of organised life, the appearance of mankind and the whole of human history – all happens so that Mind can fulfil that destiny, which is for Mind to achieve self-understanding and therefore freedom.

When Mind becomes matter, Mind is, so to speak, buried in matter, and gradually emerges again over time. Organic life represents progressively higher levels of complexity and rational organisation that finally culminate in the emergence of humanity. It is with the emergence of human beings that Mind (or Spirit or God), for the first time, achieves consciousness. But it is only consciousness; it is not yet self-consciousness. Self-consciousness is only achieved over the course of human history.

6. Hegel's Concept of Human History:

Hegel sees human history as a kind of growing up of Mind, modelled on the stages of human development – babyhood, infancy, childhood, adolescence and so forth – with a succession of civilisations representing the different stages. From Ancient China, to India, to Ancient Greece, Rome, medieval Europe and on to modern Europe, each of these civilisations represents a new advance of Spirit's self-understanding.

Hegel sometimes speaks of it as the World Spirit passing from civilisation to civilisation as each level of maturity is reached. It is portrayed as a painful process of struggle and self-doubt, involving different forms of alienation, which is the feeling of estrangement from the world. In each civilisation Spirit or Mind objectifies itself, expresses itself in the forms of social life, morality, politics, science, art, religion and, above all, philosophy. All the elements of a given civilisation are united by a common theme or quality or essence: the zeitgeist, the spirit of the age.

It is through objectifying itself in this way that Mind achieves a new level of self-understanding. It is just as when we are growing up we do things, form relationships, test ourselves, and in doing so find out who we are and what kind of people we are. Hegel believed that at the end of each civilisation a great philosopher arises who sums up the age in his thought, before the World Spirit passes to the next stage – as, for example, Aristotle did for the Greeks.

he entire historical/cosmological process reached its climax and conclusion, according to Hegel, in the Germany of his own day: the contemporary Prussian state was the highest possible achievement of Mind as expressed in social life, Protestantism the highest expression of religion, Romanticism the highest perfection of art – all of which, in their different ways, expressed the full maturity of Spirit. But over and above all was philosophy, the crowning achievement of any age. In this case it was his philosophy that summed up his age; much more than that: he saw his philosophy as summing up the whole process, including the whole of history, the whole development of the universe, and the whole evolution of Mind since before the universe was formed.

It all culminates in Hegel's philosophy, because it is through his philosophy that Mind finally comes to understand itself and comes to realise that reality is its own creation, is itself (that is, an objectification of itself). Thus, only in Hegel's philosophy does Mind (or Spirit or God) become fully developed, fully self-conscious and fully free, which is its final destiny, the point and purpose of the whole process.

Hegel sees human history as the history of freedom, and the modern state – exemplified above all by contemporary Prussia – represented the final stage of humanity's development of social and political freedom. For Hegel, the purpose or goal of history is the progress of the consciousness of freedom. Progress is rational in so far as it corresponds to this development. This rational development is the evolution of Geist attaining consciousness of itself, since the very nature of spirit is freedom. Hegel also refers to Geist as the 'world spirit', the spirit of the world as it unveils itself through human consciousness, as manifested through a society's culture, particularly its art, religion and philosophy (Hegel calls this triad the expression of the 'absolute Spirit').

Stages of History:

To describe the development of the consciousness of freedom, Hegel divides world history into three major cultures or epochs. In the tyrannical age, which Hegel thought was characterised by the pre-Greek 'Oriental' world, people know that only one person, the ruler or despot, is free. Then the Greeks and Romans know that some persons – the citizens – are free. Finally, the Germanic peoples (that is, Western Europe), through the influence of Christianity, know that all persons, or human beings as such, are free.

It is crucial to understand that Hegel doesn't merely want to show that the amount of freedom has increased over the course of history, but that the concept of freedom itself has fundamentally changed. And if there has been development in the concept of freedom, there will also have been development in the nature of spirit, since spirit is characterised by freedom. In more detail, Hegel distinguishes this development into four particular stages. In the Oriental world, the people knew that only the ruler is free. Since the spirit of freedom was therefore immanent or manifested only within a single individual, whose freedom was realised by an accident of birth, this freedom is thus merely arbitrary. Moreover, people were unaware of the subjective freedom within themselves; and so Hegel considers this the 'childhood' period of the development of spirit.

The consciousness of subjective freedom first appeared in the Greek world; but even the Greeks did not realise that all human beings as such are free. The ethical life (or absolute spirit) of the Greeks was distinguished by an underlying satisfaction with convention. People lived in relative harmony with the norms and traditions of society. Yet still this was an inherently self-contradictory way of life, for people did not question the state's customs, morals, rights and so on, and so they still lacked a sufficiently developed self-consciousness. In Greek society there was therefore an inherent tension between individual freedom and the universal principles of the state. Hegel compares this tension with adolescence. It took the figure of Socrates to encourage people to reflect on the accepted notions of ethics, and thus for the spirit to re-awaken itself.

In the subsequent period of the Roman Empire, subjective freedom was recognised in terms of the introduction of formal rights for citizens. But this notion of freedom was too abstract, above the concrete, everyday world of citizens. Hence, spirit was in a stage of self-alienation. True freedom only emerged with the rise of Christianity in the Germanic world, when freedom was understood as the very essence of humanity. So, Christianity is important for Hegel, since it is only through the figure of Jesus Christ (whom Hegel calls the 'God-man') that human beings find the essence of spirit within themselves and overcome their alienation from God (that is, from the world spirit). For after Christ dies on the cross he is 'sublated' into the Holy (or divine) Spirit (which for Hegel means the community of believers, or 'Christendom' as we might call it).

It took a particular world-historical moment, namely the French Revolution, for spirit to become truly self-conscious; to escape 'abstract' freedom and realise 'concrete' freedom through the laws as they applied to the people. Even near the end of his life Hegel remained jubilant about the French Revolution, describing it as "a glorious mental dawn." So, the world spirit has developed dialectically throughout history by a series of struggles with itself. Spirit can only overcome its stage of alienation from itself through realising this very alienation. Each stage was therefore entirely necessary in the development of spirit's self-consciousness, but the necessity of each stage can only be realised retrospectively.

For Hegel, world history is driven by 'world-historical individuals'; so-called 'great men' such as Socrates, Julius Caesar, or Napoleon. They alone are able to influence the tides of history and drive forward the self-consciousness of freedom. In a letter written to his friend Friedrich Niethammer in 1806, Hegel described Napoleon with adulation as 'a world soul on horseback'However much these world-historical individuals are inclined to pursue their own interests, they are unknowingly used by spirit to move towards the realisation of its own self-consciousness. Hegel refers to this as the 'cunning of reason'.

7. Hegel's Concept of Spirit:

In Hegel's philosophy, "Spirit" (Geist) is a central concept, referring to the evolving, self-conscious activity that drives human history and culture. It's not just a passive entity but an active principle that seeks to realize its own freedom and self-understanding through a dialectical process. Hegel's concept of Spirit is not just about individual consciousness, but also about the collective consciousness of humanity, manifested in its history, culture, and institutions. Hegel views Spirit as a dynamic entity that develops through a dialectical process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. This process involves stages of self-consciousness, where Spirit progresses through various forms of understanding and experience, eventually reaching a higher level of self-awareness.

Three Levels of Spirit:

Hegel distinguishes three main levels of Spirit:

Subjective Spirit:

This refers to individual consciousness, including self-consciousness, reason, and freedom. This level deals with the individual's internal world, encompassing anthropology, psychology, and the experience of consciousness. It explores how consciousness develops from simple perceptions to self-awareness and reason.

Objective Spirit:

This encompasses the realm of social and political institutions, including law, morality, and the state. This level examines the external world, including legal, political, and moral systems, and the development of culture and society. It focuses on how individuals interact and shape their collective existence through institutions and social structures.

Absolute Spirit:

This is the highest level, where Spirit realizes itself in art, religion, and philosophy, expressing itself as the ultimate truth and knowledge. This level explores the highest forms of human expression and thought, including art, religion, and philosophy. It examines how individuals strive for freedom and self-realization through these domains, ultimately seeking to understand the nature of the absolute or ultimate reality. Hegel believed that the finite world is a reflection of this Absolute Spirit, and that truth is found in the relationship of coherence between thoughts, rather than correspondence with an external world.

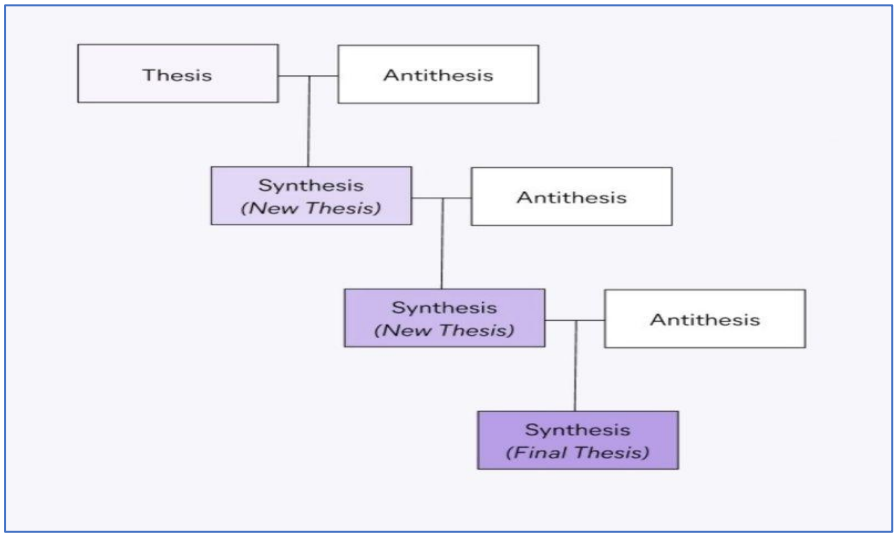
8. Hegel's Concept of Dialectics:

Hegel's concept of dialectics is a method of reasoning that involves examining contradictory ideas to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding, ultimately leading to a synthesis of opposing viewpoints. It's a process of constant development and progress through a series of contradictions.

a) Concept of Thesis, Anti-Thesis and Synthesis:

Stage	Definition	Purpose/Outcome	Example
Thesis	An initial statement or proposition that expresses a specific idea or viewpoint.	Serves as the starting point of thought or argument.	**Freedom:** The idea that individuals should have absolute liberty.
Antithesis	A counter-argument or opposing idea that challenges the thesis.	Provides contrast and critical evaluation of the thesis.	**Authority/Order:** The need for laws and institutions to regulate freedom.
Synthesis	A higher-level concept that integrates elements of both thesis and antithesis.	Leads to a more comprehensive and advanced understanding.	**Democracy/Constitutional State:** Balances individual freedom with lawful authority.

b) The Hegelian Dialectic:



c) Aufhebung (Sublation):

Hegel's concept of "sublation" (or "aufhebung" in German) is crucial. It means both "to preserve" and "to abolish" or "cancel out." In a synthesis, the old ideas are not simply discarded, but rather are integrated into the new concept, which builds upon them.

d) Logical, Phenomenological, and Historical Levels:

Hegel's dialectical method operates on different levels: logical (abstract concepts), phenomenological (consciousness and its development), and historical (the unfolding of history).

e) Movement from Substance to Subject:

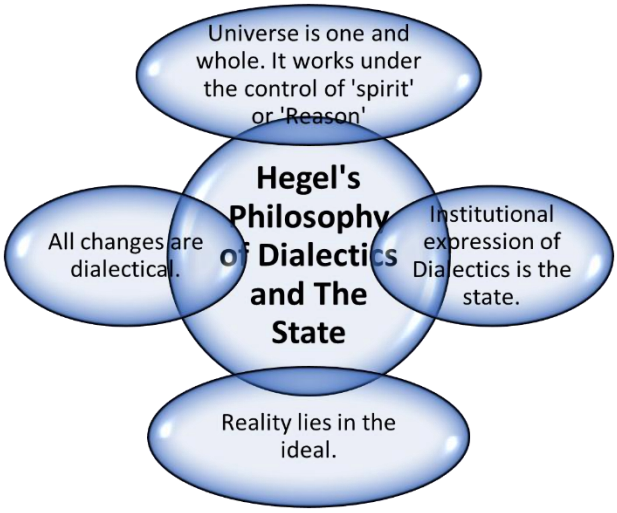
Hegel's dialectics describes a progression from a static substance to a dynamic subject, reflecting the development of consciousness towards self-awareness.

f) The Whole and the Absolute Truth:

Hegel believed that complete truth is a whole, absolute concept that emerges from the dialectical process.

g) A Simple Explanation of Hegel's Dialectics:

Hegel's philosophy of Dialectic and his perception of the state are based on following points:



Universe is one and whole. It works under the control of spirit:

According to Hegel the entire world is one and indivisible organism. Sun, wind, water, animals, trees, human beings all these are organs of the universe and are in harmony with another. This entire world with all its parts are under the control of 'spirit' or 'Reason'. It is the 'spirit' that is responsible for the development of human civilization.

The concept of 'spirit' is fundamental to Hegel's political philosophy. According to Hegel the true guide shall be the spirit. The perception of reality is possible properly only through the spirit which is specially developed form of consciousness. The spirit; passes from the stage of knowing nothing to the stage of knowing everything. This passage from the lower to the higher is by the process of dialectical.

All changes and development are dialectical.

Spirit or Reason act on the basis of dialectical principle. The central idea of Hegel's political philosophy is dialectic. It was applied by Hegel for his philosophical analysis. The word Dialectic is derived from the Greek word dialektike. It means the art of investigating the truth of opinions. According to Hegel dialectic is a method to find out the truth. It is a law of logic.

9. Dialectical Process:

Dialectic is a process by which in controversy one proposition is set over against another and out of this confrontation a new proposition emerges. Stages of this process are three. (1) Thesis (2) Anti-thesis (3) synthesis. One argument is made. To answer it the opposite argument is made.

From these two opposite arguments truth emerges. This movement is natural. Thesis contain only half-truth. So, a counter idea exposing the partial nature of thesis appears i.e. Antithesis. From the conflict between both truth emerges i.e. synthesis. In the course of time synthesis becomes thesis.

a) Stages of Dialectic: Thesis X Antithesis = Synthesis.

This movement will end when reason resolves all contradictions.

b) Contradiction as the motivating Force

In Hegel's dialectical theory contradictions are essential. It is a condition to progress. If there are no contradictions there cannot be any tension and struggle between right and wrong. The world or civilization moves because there are contradictions. It is self-generating process. Synthesis will not be compromised between Thesis and Anti-thesis, Nor it is a victory of one over another. Thesis and anti-thesis present in synthesis. The negative and positive forces come into conflict and in this way, society proceeds towards higher and higher stages of progress. Hegel is in favour of gradual changes and continuity.

c) Institutional Expression of Dialectics:

Hegel explained the origin and nature of the state through the theory of Dialectics. According to Hegel 'Reason' finds expression in man's associative natural nature. Human beings does not like to live alone. He likes to live with others. So Family is the first expression of 'Reason'. It is the earliest form of association, which is built up on the feeling of love. Its imperfections create society; which is an anti-thesis to family. A tension is created between thesis i.e. family and anti-thesis i.e. of society. Family and Society were the imperfect expressions of Reason. This imperfection and conflict is resolved through the appearance of state. State is rational, final and perfect expression of Reason. State is the manifestation of the world spirit. Individuals under the state are integrated into most rational and ethical order. According to the stages of Dialectics.

Family (Thesis) X Society (Antithesis) = State (Synthesis)

10. Philosophical Understanding of Hegel's Concept of Dialectics:

Hegel attempted to bridge his own logic with conventional Aristotelian logic that was accepted as the standard for 2000 years. Aristotle's deductive argument was known as syllogism. The syllogism consists of a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion.

- Major Premise: All animals are mortals (gives a general principle)
- Minor Premise: All dogs are animals (applies the principle to a specific situation)
- Conclusion: All dogs are mortals (conclusion logically combines the two)

Hegel realized that he would not be able to work with the Aristotelian argument and logic and decided to come up with his own. As a result, Hegel's different way of thinking is known as dialectical thinking. The core of Hegel's dialectical method was to grasp and comprehend the Truth. This Truth was not an immutable, underlying substance. Instead, it also constitutes an ever-evolving subjectivity. Thus, for Hegel, Truth consists of both the Substance as well as the Subject. There are three phases or moments according to Hegel's dialectical method.

- **Phase I** - The first phase is of immediate and simplified identity of self. This is the phase when we immediately recognize an object as something that exists independently in itself and is isolated from any context.
- For example, when we see a bud, blossom, or fruit, we instantly recognize them as particular objects. We instantly think of them as objects that exist independently.
- **Phase II** - The second phase in Hegel's dialectics is that of mediation and externalization. At this stage, we begin to view an object's identity and essence in relation to the external world. We go beyond the object's immediate existence and shift the focus toward its universal qualities that transcend its particular existence. Once we begin to meditate about the bud, blossom, or fruit, we begin to see how their essence lies beyond them. The essence of the bud is not restricted to itself but goes beyond and to the blossom and ultimately the fruit.
- **Phase III** - The third stage in Hegel's dialectics is mediated unity or mediated identity. This phase unites the two perspectives of the object - the object as an immediate, simplified, and independent existence, without any context, and the object as an existence with universal essential qualities. During this stage, one realizes that the bud, blossom, and fruit are all stages in the life of a plant. All three stages that had their individual characteristics have culminated in their true identity as a plant. It is in being a plant that all the three stages unite and connect.

According to Hegel, the only Truth lies in Totality/Unity/Whole. Every moment, stage, or phase was just a partial component of the whole that preserved within itself parts of each stage it overcame.

a) Hegel's Dialectical Method: Being - Nothing - Becoming:

According to Hegel, the concept of Being is 'the absolute abstraction'. This is because if one considers Being in its purest form, one would have to strip it of all the external attributes. Once stripped of external attributes, Being is reduced to Nothing. Thus, at that stage, no difference exists between Being and Nothing. One realizes that both Being and Nothing constantly pass into each other. Thus, when we think of Being and Nothing, we immediately perceive and identify them as polar opposites that are completely independent of each other. We perceive Being as completely detached from Nothing and vice versa. This immediate perception can be the first stage of Hegel's dialectics.

However, upon critical thinking or negation (as termed by Hegel) one realizes that it is impossible to define or perceive Being without Nothing. The essence of the concept of Being lies in its opposing concept of Nothing. This is the second stage of Hegel's dialectics. The third stage of Hegel's dialectical thinking arrives with the realization that both Being and Nothing are a part of the unifying process of

Becoming which sublates (preserves and overcomes) both the concepts. Thus, Becoming is the ultimate truth of Being and Nothing.

b) Hegel's Dialectical Method at Historical Level:

According to Hegel, we cannot understand nations, events, and people without a historical context. For him, human history was the journey of consciousness towards self-conscious freedom through higher rationality. This rationality is attained by both the human mind as well as by political organizations. After all, once we have become rational, we will organically abide by rules and regulations without any coercion.

For example, let us consider Monarchy, where a single person rules. This is the first moment of state formation. This monarchy eventually gets opposed by a different kind of government, which is democracy. This can be seen as a contradiction. Both monarchy and democracy are in tension and contradiction with each other, as well as within themselves. Monarchy undergoes internal tension because it relies on the obedience of people without giving them any agency, power, or voice. On the other hand, democracy is in tension within itself because giving people power and representation leads to the risk of commotion and anarchy. As a result, both monarchy and democracy collapse because of internal tensions within themselves as well as the opposition between each other. This collapse results in the formation of a constitutional monarchy. Both monarchy and democracy sublate in the formation of the new form of government.

This was considered as an ideal government by Hegel. A constitutional monarchy empowers people through the constitution while paradoxically a single person (who is the people's representative) rules the masses.

11. Hegel's Concept of State:

Hegel's concept of the state is multifaceted, but central to it is the idea that the state is the highest form of ethical and political organization, a culmination of human freedom and rationality. It's not merely a political entity but a realization of the "Spirit" or "Reason" in its most complete form, evolving through history. Hegel believed the state embodies the unity of individual rights and the collective good, providing a framework for realizing human freedom in its most concrete form.

Hegel believed the state embodies the unity of individual rights and the collective good, providing a framework for realizing human freedom in its most concrete form.

Hegel who is one of the famous western political thinkers has largely focused upon the importance of state as an institution. He formulated the idea of statehood in 1821 in his book: ***Philosophy of Rights*** or better known as Hegel's Philosophy of Rights which is regarded as the sole original source on the subject and widely quoted.

The English political institutions impressed Hegel and dissatisfied with the existing Prussian ones. To Hegel, political institutions play an important role in the ethical development of a stable and political life of state. He was against elective monarchy as the "worst of institutions" but he supported constitutional monarchy which existed in England with the rising role of the parliament. He calls Constitutional Monarchy as ***"rational form of modern state and government".*** A monarch in the situation must be symbolic than possessor (of power). Judd Harmon in his books describes Hegel's lamentable state of affairs about German thus.

Hegel, whose country was less advantageously situated than was Burke's England, was not so enamored of the status quo as was Burke. Although he wanted the wisdom of the past to be a part of future German development, there was ano doubt in Hegel's mind that changes would have to occur in Germany before that country could assume its full responsibility as a carrier of the Idea. Germany, he was convinced, had to achieve the national form, consolidated and unified, which had already been attained by England, France and Spain.

a) French Revolution and Hegel:

Theda Stocpol in her book States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China rightly says that effects and imprints of social or revolution from below are not limited to the boundaries of the country it happens but have beyond boundaries.

Hegel was similarly impressed by French Revolution as well as dismayed when revolutionaries were unable to achieve the kernel principles it was based on: equality, liberty and fraternity. This reflected in his writings at times. He was impressed by Napoleon Bonaparte whom he saw on horseback riding through Germany streets whom he described in his book: ***The Phenomenology of Mind*** that he saw the world soul on horseback. ***"I saw the Emperor – this soul of the world- go out from the city to survey his reign; it is a truly wonderful sensation to see such an individual, who, concentrating on one point while seated on a horse, stretches over the world and dominate it."***

He believed that after the outbreak of revolution in France a number of European countries entered ***"a new stage of development in their laws and institutions".*** The rulers and political elite became wary of individualism and emotionalism that could sway their legitimacy under the banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity or swayed by the slogans. For Hegel state is an essential and divine institution which is based like his philosophy on three major considerations: ethical, social and political.

He upholds the greatness of State to whom all are sub-ordinate. Hegel says that states are march of God on earth. In his words: The march of God in the world that is what the state is. The basis of the state is power of reason actualizing itself as will. In considering the Idea of the state, we must not have our eyes on particular states, or on particular institutions. Instead we must consider the idea, this actual God by its self. He defined the concept of freedom as essential within state. Men can achieve freedom within state only.

He states that ***"when men understand that there is an idea, that the state and its institutions constitute its temporal manifestation, and when they accept and subordinate themselves to the state and its institutions, and then they are free".***

Hegel's concept of citizenship is of social and divine importance. To Hegel man's first manifestation is in a family where he/she opens eyes and undergoes early trainings of life. The second manifestation is in society where individuals learn collectively norms and principles of citizenship. Individuals' final manifestation is within a state. It is the state which completes individuals' status and recognition. To Hegel, society is very important as far as the fulfillment of the social and economic rights are concerned, nevertheless being a bigger entity, it falls under the state and not subordinated to it. In contradiction to many sociologists and even political scientists that societal unit is bigger than state, in Hegelian analysis, a state is above society. Therefore, he cites it as the "highest embodiment of the individuals".

b) Three Ethical Stages Necessary for the Development of a State:

Family:

Hegel's family life's major characteristic is characterized by "mind's feeling of its own unity," where one stands as a part of the family fabric. In Hegel's viewpoint a good family life promotes ethical unity. Marriage plays an important role in family life. Hegel allows property as an essential ingredient to promote family life which in his analysis should be possessed by the family on the whole or by the family head who is of pivotal importance. Good education is really the one which makes children ethically free and physically resistive. The educating of children is very important which be given priority.

Civil Society:

Hegel uses the term civil society which is 2nd ethical stage. He used the term "civil" may be of sociological connotation or to make it narrower in the sense that societies are usually larger terms than state, but in

Hegel way of thought they are sub-ordinate to state. The process of political education, which in Hegelian sense includes debates, elections, freedom of the press and public opinon, rationalization of laws, begins at civil society. A society lacking ethical maturation and etiquettes may not rise to a politically stable state. Hegel states that strengthening of civil society is the ultimate strength of state. For him, it is lamentable where ethical community deteriorates. He perceives three threats which can be posed to society and stands a priority of state power (rulers/administration/institutions) to repel it.

- The first is disintegration of society into different communities. The higher are division, the larger are threats.
- The second is loss of political independence which directly harms ethical individuality of nation. He explains that a state loses its political independence largely due to cession or conquered by another power.
- The third threat to ethical society is when ethical values and morality degenerate and "ossifies in customs, laws and institutions with demand for new ones.

State:

State is culmination of maturity as political, social and ethical human form. In easy words state is the most important and glorified unit in international structure. It is a rational agency. Hegel said that what is actual is rational, and whatever is rational is actual. A modern state he believed is a "rational ethical community" by being the highest form of association in coherence and cohesiveness. State is over the subordinate life of family and civil society. To Hegel, a state is culmination of human organization and thus totality.

Totality assumes an importance in Hegelian philosophy which he links with the concept of state too. For Hegel no truth is fully acclaimed until it assumes the place of whole. State is a totality and culmination of divine spirit. For Hegel nothing is true except whole. Every stage, process phase or moment is partial and neither can be true or total.

c) Individualism and Constitutionalism:

Hegel in his political writings was conscious of the role of constitution. He most probably was impressed by the role of constitution in Greek City States centuries ago he initiated.The document The German Constitution written between 1800-1802 though not published in his lifetime but recognized his versatility in constitutionalism. It provided a detailed analysis and critique of the constitutional arrangements of German empire with voice that days of empires were over and the future was of nation-states.

He referred Constitutional monarchies as better governments with reference to Austria and Prussia. One of these constitutional writings ***The English Reform Bill*** was written in 1831 in which highlighted the imperativeness of constitutionalism. Hegel says that firstly duties and rights are defined and then preserved. They both are tantamount for freedom which can also involve restrictions.

> ***"Every nation has the constitution appropriate to it and suitable for it. If there is a tyranny, that is because a tyranny is the only system which will work at the time". Hegel.***

Power distribution in the constitution is very important. Hegel was not in favour of the independence of the exercise of powers of national institutions and described that isolation as "fatal" and liable for weakening of state. He divided the state machinery into legislative and Governmental (executive) besides Monarch. For legislature and executive he abhorred hereditary basis but rather advocated rational and charismatic. In his book he writes ***that "administrators should be selected on the basis of their ability, not on the basis of birth, and this profession ought to be open to all."*** Where Hegel supports constitutionalism there he supports elections, but makes his point clear that "elections are superfluous" and they fail to represent the interests of communities in general.

People of a state are categorized into groups of those knowledgeable, less knowledgeable and no knowledgeable. They cannot be one. That is why public opinion where to be respected there is to be

despised. Leaders for the greater interests of state are bound to ignore the public opinion. He writes ***"The great leaders of history are those who find and follow the truth in the face of public opposition. Hegel says that those who do not learn how to ignore public opinion will never achieve greatness."***

Men without states have no meaning in Hegelian terminology. Men's importance is gauged by the fact of his/her being a citizen of a state. A man's identity is summed up in statehood. Men may not use state, but state in return can and does using them. True freedom of an individual in a state lies in obedience and submission and not throwing away the yokes of the authority.

d) Characteristics of Hegelian State:

State as a Super-Organism (God on Earth)

Hegel described the state as the ***"Actual God."*** In his Philosophy of History, he said: ***"The march of God in the world is the state."*** The state is not a mere instrument but the highest embodiment of Spirit. Hence, it must be revered like a divine entity.

State is Natural:

Hegel rejected the **social contract theory** of state origin. He argued that the state is the product of historical evolution, progressing dialectically through stages:

Family (Thesis) → Civil Society (Antithesis) → State (Synthesis)

Thus, the state is the final and highest expression of Spirit.

State is a whole body:

State is like a whole body. It is a synthesis of family and society. The state functions like a living organism, with individuals as its parts. If the state ceases to exist, individuals lose their identity. The whole (state) is always superior to its parts (individuals).

State is an End:

According to Hegel state itself is an end. It is not a means. State is final.

State is sovereign and supreme over all:

State is sovereign in both national and international affairs. Sovereignty of the state lay not in the people but the king. Hegel also opposed to the theory of separation of powers.

Freedom is possible only in the state:

The individual had no existence apart from the state. Freedom possible only within the state. Obedience to the laws of the state is the highest duty of the individual. Because there lies true freedom. The state not only allows but enlarges the freedom of the society. The state is „the actualization of freedom. The individual gets all his moral and spiritual reality from the state. He regarded individualism as the greatest enemy of national integration. People must first of all show unconditional allegiance to the authority. The general interests of the state must come first and must be protected at any cost.

National state greater than humanity:

According to Hegel National state is the most important and greater than humanity. To safeguard its own interest and protect its own sovereignty is the highest morality for the state. Evil doings and corruption of nations can be removed only through the declaration of war. He said war is an inevitable activity of the state for creating and maintaining its national existence.

War works as stimulus for the state:

According to Hegel peace stagnates both the man and the nation. For stimulus the state war is essential. War plays an important part in the world history. It fosters good qualities among citizens like patriotism, courage, bravery etc. A successful war prevents civil unrest and strengthens internal power of the state. Thus according to Hegel war is a national necessity. When need arises, the state may call upon their families. It should be conducted as humanly as possible. War should not be against private persons and

their families. It should be conducted as humanly as possible. Thus Hegel believed that war was essential for the health of a nation.

State is absolute and infallible:

State is absolute. It is not answerable to any individual. It is not bound by any moral codes. State itself is the creator of morality. The state fixes the standard of morality for its citizens. There are no limitations on the powers of the state. State's power is absolute. State is the embodiment of reason. State is the highest product of reason. It is like a God, omnipotent. Obedience to the state is a sacred duty. Thus, Hegel glorified the state and regarded it as embodiment of all virtues.

State's duty is only direction, regulation and supervision:

State cannot provide pubic services, administer law and perform public duty. These functions belong to society. Society depends upon the state for direction, regulation and supervision. Hegel also explain his theory of government. He said – What is rational is actual and what is actual is rational. The state and government both are actual. Hegel denies independent status of judiciary. The executive organ takes judicial decisions and exercises judicial power. Hegel finds no ground in support of the Universal adult franchise, because people do not know the public interest. So popular assemblies comprising the representatives have no place in the Hegelian system. Hegel rules out the possibility of popular sovereignty.

Individual is subordinate to the state:

Hegel believed that the state is its laws and structure and also its geography and the physical feature is the country or the fatherland for the individual. Each individual is the unit of the state. Individual is a means to the end of the state.

Metaphysical Theory of the State

True individuality and freedom lie in conformity with the Real Will, which is identical to the General Will.

12. HEGEL AND MARX‟S VIEWS AND APPLICATION OF DIALECTICAL THEORY

Karl Marx is the father of communism. He was very much influenced by Hegel‟s dialectical theory.

a) Similarity:

- Karl Marx theory of materialistic interpretation of history is based on the theory of dialectic. Hegel is the originator of dialectic method. Hegel's theory of contradiction has found place in Karl Marx. Marx thought of contradiction in capitalism.
- Both Kar Marx and Hegel were concern for change of the society. But Hegel assumed absolutism and Marx assumed communism i.e. classless and stateless society in the state.

b) Differences:

- Hegel's dream was absolute state for him state was like a God, Idealistic state. He consider the state as super personality. Karl Marx dream was communism. Communism means classless and stateless society. It means for Marx state was „Satan‟, State is the instrument of exploitation.
- Hegel applied dialectical theory for the emergence of social institutions. i.e. family, society and state. In dialectical process state is the final expression of spirit. It is embodiment of spirit. Hence it is like a God. Marx applied dialectical theory for explaining communism. According to him `Thesis‟ is capitalism, `Anthesis‟ is working class and from the conflict of two „synthesis‟ will be communism.

c) Method:

- Hegel believed in gradual changes and continuity. According to Hegel self-consciousness of man did not develop properly. Therefore he was not the master of his own existence.

- For Hegel stability and security of society were more important. Hence he was in favour of evolution method. Marx was in favour of Radical change. He thought that only a violent revolution could bring about a change of society. According to Marx a revolution will not come from heaven. Only the deliberate efforts of working class can bring about a revolution. For this a preparation is also essential. Marx had no faith on gradualness.

d) Outlook:

- Hegel was idealistic. Nature of his Idealism was philosophical, mystical. He believes in spirit and said that universe work under the control of spirit. Max was materialist. He believes that every change happened for economic purpose. Money and economics is the main factor who decide everything in the state.
- Hegel was conservative. Marx was revolutionary.

e) State:

For Hegel state is the End. For Marx state is the Means.

f) Individual liberty:

Hegel thought individualism as the greatest enemy of national integration. He identified individualism with terrorism and violence. He said apart from the society the individual has no significance. The attainment of freedom and development of personality are possible only through the membership of the state. Marx was against the state. According to him state is the means for exploitation of the people.

13. Conclusion.

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

1. Introduction:

Marx was born in Trier, Germany, in 1818, the son of a successful lawyer. His family was Jewish, but had adopted Lutheranism to avoid the anti-Semitic persecution prevailing in Germany at that time. It is said this gave Marx his cynicism and hostility to religion generally. He was a brilliant scholar, who gave up his law studies for philosophy (he wrote his doctoral thesis on Ancient Greek philosophy). In Berlin, Marx came under the spell of Hegelian philosophy, which influenced his thought profoundly (see G.W.F. Hegel); there he joined the group known as the Young Hegelians, whose members believed that the dialectic of history had yet to achieve its final stage in the full emancipation of humanity. Among the Young Hegelians, Marx met Frederick Engels, who was to be his lifelong friend and collaborator.

In 1867 Marx published the first volume of his major work, Capital. After Marx died in 1883, Engels published the remaining two volumes of Capital from the mountain of papers left by Marx, along with other works. Engels' own writings were also important: they included a book on the family, as well as popular versions of Marxism for the benefit of the working-class followers in Germany and elsewhere who were looking to Marx for inspiration. In his later years Marx became a major figure in the European working-class movement, and after his death Engels took over this role. When Engels died in 1895, there was no one to give an authoritative interpretation of Marx and the movement began to splinter.

2. What is communism:

Communism is a socioeconomic and political ideology that advocates for a stateless, classless society with common ownership of the means of production. Communism envisions a society without private ownership of the means of production (like factories, farms, and tools). Instead, these would be collectively owned and controlled, with resources distributed based on need. It aims to create a society where resources are distributed based on need, eliminating social hierarchies and private property. While it's rooted in the socialist movement, it's distinct from socialism through its emphasis on common ownership and the eventual withering away of the state.

3. What is Socialism:

Socialism is, broadly speaking, a political and economic system in which property and the means of production are owned in common, typically controlled by the state or government. Socialism is based on the idea that common or public ownership of resources and means of production leads to a more equal society. In defining socialism, it's important to first define capitalism. Capitalism is based on private ownership of resources and means of production, and individual choices in a free market. This is in contrast to socialism. According to socialist philosophy, these features of capitalism lead to inequalities in wealth and hence power, and the exploitation of workers.

According to socialism, notions of individual freedom and equality of opportunity are available only to those who control the means of production. In a capitalist society, this means a few rich capitalists hold power at the expense of the working class. In a socialist system, however, it is argued that since everyone controls the means of production, everyone is free.

4. Difference Between Socialism and Communism:

Socialism and communism are both economic and political systems that advocate for greater social equality, but they differ in their approaches and ultimate goals. Socialism generally involves social ownership of the means of production and a more equitable distribution of wealth, often within a democratic framework. Communism, on the other hand, aims for a stateless, classless society with communal ownership of all property and resources, often through revolutionary means.

Aspect	Socialism	Communism
Economic System	Social ownership of the means of production (factories, land) through the state or cooperatives	Complete communal ownership of all property and resources; no private property
Political System	Often linked with democratic governance, though some socialist states may be non-democratic	Historically associated with one-party systems and authoritarian rule
Goals	Reduce inequality, provide social welfare (healthcare, education), and empower workers	Achieve a stateless, classless society with total social and economic equality
Private Property	Allows limited private property, especially for personal use or consumption	No private property at all; everything is owned communally
Examples	Scandinavian countries (e.g., Sweden, Norway) with strong welfare states (mixed with capitalism)	Former Soviet Union, Maoist China (though interpretations and implementations varied)

5. Metaphysical Foundations of Karl Marx:

a) Materialist Foundations of Marx's Philosophy

Karl Marx's philosophy is often described as having a materialist and historical foundation, critiquing traditional metaphysics as abstract and detached from the material world. Instead of focusing on abstract ideas, Marx emphasized the material conditions of existence and how these shape human consciousness and social relations. He saw history as a process of class struggle driven by material forces, ultimately leading to a communist revolution. Karl Marx's Metaphyscis is inspired by the Feuerbach's materialism, developed by Ludwig Feuerbach, was a philosophical perspective that emphasized the primacy of the material world and human experience over abstract ideas and religious dogma. It critiqued idealism, particularly Hegelianism, by grounding human existence and consciousness in physical reality and sense

perception. Feuerbach's materialism influenced Karl Marx, particularly in his early work, and contributed to the development of historical materialism. He focused on the human being as a physical, sensual, and social creature, rejecting abstract notions of the "spirit" or "essence" of humanity. He saw human nature as rooted in our physical existence and interactions with the world.

b) Critique of Traditional Metaphysics

Marx rejected the idea of a fixed, unchanging reality or "essence of man" divorced from material conditions. He criticized metaphysics for abstracting ideas from their real-world context and for offering interpretations of the world rather than solutions for transforming it. For Marx, philosophy should not just interpret the world but actively change it by transforming both the material conditions and human consciousness of those conditions. Cooper makes the claim that Marx can best be understood through the lens of a hardcore materialism—that reality is only composed of atoms and their movement.

c) Historical Materialism and Praxis

Marx's historical materialism argues that the material conditions of production (e.g., technology, resources, labor) are the primary driving force of historical change. These material conditions determine social relations, including class structures, and shape the way people think and interact. He saw history as a series of stages characterized by different modes of production and corresponding class structures (e.g., feudalism, capitalism, communism). Marx emphasized the importance of praxis, which means putting theory into practice. He believed that philosophical ideas should not remain abstract but should be used to guide revolutionary action and transform society. In essence, Marx's metaphysics involves a shift from abstract, idealist conceptions of reality to a materialist understanding that grounds social and political analysis in the material conditions of human existence.

6. Difference Between Marx and Hegel:

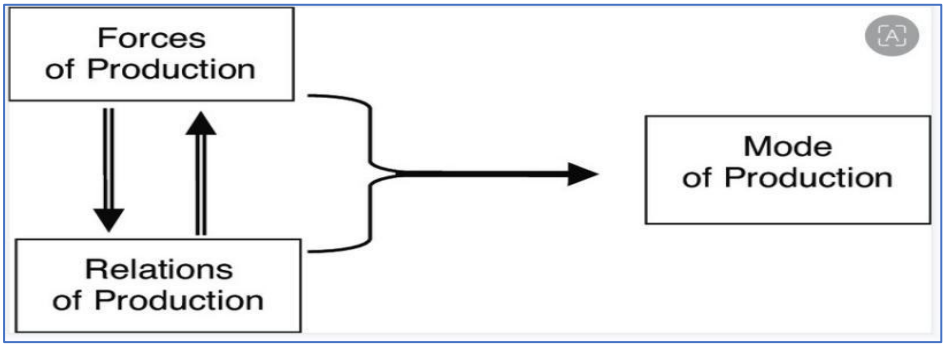
- The core difference between Hegel and Marx lies in their philosophical approaches, particularly regarding idealism vs. materialism and the role of the state. Hegel, an idealist, believed that history is the unfolding of an idea (the Absolute Spirit) through a dialectical process, with the state as a key manifestation of this idea.
- Marx, a materialist, focused on the material conditions of society, specifically the economic base, as the driving force of history. He saw the state as an instrument of class domination rather than an embodiment of reason.
- Hegel's philosophy is grounded in idealism, meaning he viewed ideas and consciousness as primary and the material world as a manifestation of these ideas.
- Marx, in contrast, was a materialist. He believed that the material conditions of society, particularly the economic base (the way goods are produced and distributed), were the primary determinants of social and historical development.
- He saw history as a dialectical process, where a thesis (an initial idea or state) is challenged by an antithesis, leading to a synthesis (a new idea or state) that preserves elements of both. It is called Dialectical Idealism.
- While accepting the dialectical method, Marx applied it to the material world. He argued that history progresses through class struggles rooted in economic contradictions. It is called Dialectical Materialism.
- Hegel believed the state, particularly the modern state, was the highest form of social organization, embodying reason and freedom.
- Marx viewed the state as an instrument of class rule, serving the interests of the dominant economic class (the bourgeoisie).
- Hegel's philosophy emphasized the development of the "Spirit" (Geist), which is essentially the collective consciousness or rationality of humanity.

- Marx's analysis centered on the capitalist mode of production, its inherent contradictions, and its impact on social relations.

7. Karl Marx's Concept of Base and Superstructure:

In Karl Marx's theory, a society's structure is divided into two main parts: the base and the superstructure. The base refers to the economic foundation, encompassing the forces and relations of production, such as the tools, technology, and social relationships involved in producing goods. The superstructure encompasses all other aspects of society, including its culture, institutions (like the legal system and education), political structures, and ideology, which are seen as emerging from and reflecting the base.

Concept	Definition
Forces of Production	The technologies, tools, machinery, raw materials, and labor skills/knowledge used in production.
Relations of Production	The social relationships among people in the production process, especially regarding ownership and control of the means of production.
Mode of Production	The specific combination of the forces and relations of production that characterizes a particular historical stage of society. Shapes a society's economic base, influencing its social, political, and intellectual life.



a) Base and Superstructure in Marxist Theory

In Marxist theory of history, the existence of human life depends upon economic activity. This activity is determined by the combination of superstructure and substructure/base. The notion of Base-Superstructure is mainly concerned with the mode of production, forces of production, relations of production and social consciousness. It is situated on the scientific view that the course of history and socioeconomic formation can be predicted on the basis of material needs and conditions of a society. The concept of base/superstructure, which first appears in Karl Marx's ***A Preface to The Critique of Political Economy (1859)***, models the relationship between economic and productive forces in society and legal, cultural, educational, religious, and political forces. Because individuals must meet their material needs before anything else, and because they accomplish this in association with other people, these relations form the foundation – or base – of society on which all other forms of life – the superstructure – are built.

b) Materialist Philosophy and Rejection of Idealism

The base/superstructure model is a cornerstone of Marx and Engels's materialist philosophy, which claims that social relations determine consciousness, in contradistinction to Hegelian idealism, which privileges immaterial and transcendent concepts such as Thought and Spirit as the driving forces of human civilization. The base/superstructure model therefore proposes the idea that culture, as an element of the superstructure, must be understood in relation to the material conditions of its production, distribution, and consumption, as well as its engagement with the social relations of production.

Marx turned Hegel's view of cultural determination on its head. ***"Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life,"*** he and Engels asserted in a much-quoted passage. The French Marxist thinker Henri Lefebvre says that: [T]here are only two ways to understand history. Either we start from consciousness; in which case we fail to account for real life. Or we start from real life; then we come up against this ideological consciousness that has no reality, and must account for it. Historical materialism

puts an end to the speculation which starts from consciousness, from representations, and hence from illusions.

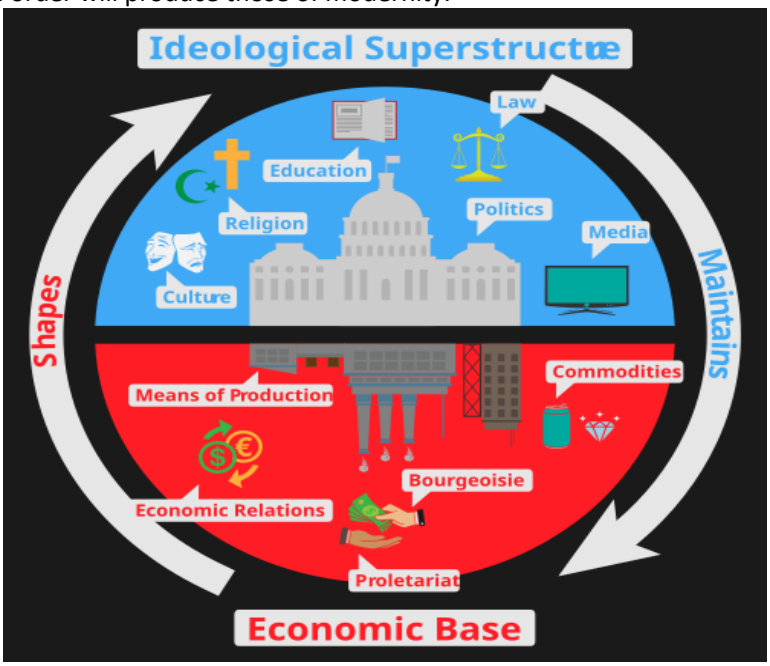
c) Structure of Society: Base and Superstructure

The simplest Marxist model of society sees it as constituted by a base and a superstructure. The base contains the forces and relations of production, such as employer-employee work conditions, the technical division of labour and property relations, into which people enter to produce the necessities and amenities of life. These relations have an effect on the superstructure of the society, which includes its culture, institutions, political power structures, rituals, philosophy and morality.

An early articulation of this base/superstructure duality is found in Marx's critique of the idealism of contemporary German philosophy in The German Ideology (1945): ***"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. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."***

d) Economic Determinism and Orthodox Marxism

The essential Marxist view is that the elements of superstructure are not 'innocent' but 'determined' by the nature of the economic base. It is upon the economic 'base' that a superstructure "arises". This belief about culture, known as economic determinism, is a central part of traditional Marxist thinking. The orthodox Marxist thinkers accorded a straightforward mechanical causality to the relationship between the base and superstructure. According to this argument, a feudal economic order will inevitably produce the particular forms of government, law, art, religion, etc., characteristic of the Middle Ages, while a capitalist economic order will produce those of modernity.



8. Karl Marx's Concept of Dialectical Materialism:

Karl Marx's theory of dialectical materialism posits that material conditions drive historical change, with a focus on the conflicts and contradictions within these conditions, particularly within the economic system. When describing their dialectical method, Marx and Engels usually refer to Hegel as the philosopher who formulated the main features of dialectics. This, however, does not mean that the dialectics of Marx and Engels is identical with the dialectics of Hegel. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from the Hegelian

dialectics only its "rational kernel," casting aside its Hegelian idealistic shell, and developed dialectics further so as to lend it a modern scientific form.

> ***"My dialectic method," says Marx, "is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, ... the process of thinking which, under the name of 'the Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea.' With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought." (Marx, Afterword to the Second German Edition of Volume I of Capital.)***

Dialectics comes from the Greek dialego, to discourse, to debate. In ancient times dialectics was the art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in the argument of an opponent and overcoming these contradictions. There were philosophers in ancient times who believed that the disclosure of contradictions in thought and the clash of opposite opinions was the best method of arriving at the truth. This dialectical method of thought, later extended to the phenomena of nature, developed into the dialectical method of apprehending nature, which regards the phenomena of nature as being in constant movement and undergoing constant change, and the development of nature as the result of the development of the contradictions in nature, as the result of the interaction of opposed forces in nature.

a) Marxist Dialectical Method:

In developing his method, Marx challenged what he considered to be vulgar materialism for its tendency to ignore the totality and the relationship between consciousness and material reality. A philosophical term, the ―totality‖ refers to the total of existence in any given moment. At the same time, Marx rejected pure idealism for substituting material reality with the idea of reality (i.e. with abstract thought). Idealism therefore leads to the false assumption that alienation or estrangement can be overcome in the realm of thought alone, as if we could change our material reality by changing our ideas and beliefs.

Rather, Marx‘s dialectical method is based on ―the unifying truth of both. What this means is that ―it is not enough that thought should seek to realize itself; reality must also strive toward thought In other words, Marx‘s method entails the examination of the relationship between ideas and material reality, specifically as it pertains to class struggle and the emancipation of the proletariat. Marx‘s dialectics are called ―dialectical materialism in contrast with Hegel‘s dialectics. Marx wrote that he ―discover[ed] the rational kernel within the mystical shell of Hegel‘s dialectics. Dialectics is both a method–or a way of investigating and understanding phenomena and a fact of existence. For Engels, what is most central to dialectics is the tendency toward perpetual ―motion and development.

b) Key Features of Dialectical Method:

Nature Connected and Determined:

Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard nature as an accidental agglomeration of things, of phenomena, unconnected with, isolated from, and independent of, each other, but as a connected and integral whole, in which things, phenomena are organically connected with, dependent on, and determined by, each other. The dialectical method therefore holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, inasmuch as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection with the surrounding conditions, but divorced from them; and that, vice versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseparable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena.

Nature is a State of Continuous Motion and Change:

Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that nature is not a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but a state of continuous movement and change, of continuous renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing, and something always disintegrating and dying away.The dialectical method therefore requires that phenomena should be considered not only from the standpoint of their interconnection and interdependence, but also from the standpoint of their movement, their change, their development, their coming into being and going out of being.

"All nature," says Engels, "from the smallest thing to the biggest. from grains of sand to suns, from protista (the primary living cells – J. St.) to man, has its existence in eternal coming into being and going out of being, in a ceaseless flux, in unresting motion and change.

Natural Quantitative Change Leads to Qualitative Change:

Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard the process of development as a simple process of growth, where quantitative changes do not lead to qualitative changes, but as a development which passes from insignificant and imperceptible quantitative changes to open' fundamental changes' to qualitative changes; a development in which the qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another; they occur not accidentally but as the natural result of an accumulation of imperceptible and gradual quantitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development should be understood not as movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher:

"Nature," says Engels, "is the test of dialectics. and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical, that it does not move in an eternally uniform and constantly repeated circle. but passes through a real history. Here prime mention should be made of Darwin, who dealt a severe blow to the metaphysical conception of nature by proving that the organic world of today, plants and animals, and consequently man too, is all a product of a process of development that has been in progress for millions of years."

Aspect	Definition	Example
Quantitative Change	Gradual, incremental changes in degree, amount, or extent of something.	Increase in temperature; accumulation of wealth.
Qualitative Change	Fundamental transformation in the nature or essence of something.	Water turning into steam; society shifting from capitalism to socialism.
The Law	A sufficient accumulation of quantitative changes eventually produces a qualitative change, which then shapes further quantitative changes.	Heating water gradually (quantitative) until it boils into steam (qualitative).
Social Application	In society, continuous exploitation of workers (quantitative change) can lead to revolution (qualitative change), reshaping social and political structures.	Oppression of working class → revolutionary change in society.

Contradictions Inherent in Nature:

Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions." ***In its proper meaning," Lenin says, "dialectics is the study of the contradiction within the very essence of things." (Lenin, Philosophical Notebooks, p. 265.) And further:"Development is the 'struggle' of opposites."***

The negation of the negation:

The tendency toward the negation of the negation is arguably at the heart of dialectical development. Engels, for example, notes that the negation of the negation is —extremely general—and for this reason extremely far-

reaching and important‖ (1894/1987, 131). The negation of the negation refers specifically to the way that phenomena and structures produce their opposites.

For example, in the ***first volume of Capital***, Marx (1867/1967) writes that capitalist private property is the negation of individual private property, or property held by the proprietor or individual laborer. Peasant proprietors, as small-scale industrial producers, tended to own private property and produced their own means of subsistence. This small-scale, scattered, petty industry of the peasants was limited in terms of its ability to foster economic growth. The advent of the capitalist era included the expropriation of the peasants from their means of production. The logic of the feudal system and exchange created the agencies of its own annihilation.

9. Karl Marx's Philosophy of Materialism:

Contrary to idealism, which regards the world as the embodiment of an "absolute idea," a "universal spirit," "consciousness," Marx's philosophical materialism holds that the world is by its very nature material, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion, that interconnection and interdependence of phenomena as established by the dialectical method, are a law of the development of moving matter, and that the world develops in accordance with the laws of movement of matter and stands in no need of a "universal spirit."

> ***"The materialistic outlook on nature," says Engels, "means no more than simply conceiving nature just as it exists, without any foreign admixture." (Marx and Engels, Vol. XIV, p. 651.)***

Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our consciousness really exists, and that the material world, being, nature, exists only in our consciousness' in our sensations, ideas and perceptions, the Marxist philosophical materialism holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our consciousness; that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, ideas, consciousness, and that consciousness is secondary, derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter which in its development has reached a high degree of perfection, namely, of the brain, and the brain is the organ of thought; and that therefore one cannot separate thought from matter without committing a grave error.

Engels says ***, "The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality.... Our consciousness and thinking, however supra-sensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter."***Marx says: ***"It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks. Matter is the subject of all changes."The world picture is a picture of how matter moves and of how 'matter thinks.'*** Lenin. ***"The brain is the organ of thought."*** Lenin.

10. Marx's Theory of Class Struggle:

Marx's theory of class struggle posits that throughout history, societies have been defined by conflicts between different social classes, particularly between the owners of the means of production (bourgeoisie) and the working class (proletariat). This conflict, driven by the inherent contradictions of capitalism, is seen as the engine of historical change, ultimately leading to a proletarian revolution and the establishment of a communist society.

a) Class Conflict as the Driving Force:

Marx argued that the fundamental conflict in capitalist society arises from the bourgeoisie's exploitation of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, owning the means of production (factories, land, etc.), extract surplus value from the proletariat's labor, leading to inequality and social tension.

b) Historical Materialism:

Marx's theory is rooted in historical materialism, which emphasizes the role of material (economic) conditions in shaping society and history. He viewed history as a progression of different modes of production, each characterized by its own class structure and corresponding conflicts.

c) Two Main Classes:

In capitalist society, Marx identified two main classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

- Bourgeoisie: The capitalist class, owning the means of production and employing wage labor.

- Proletariat: The working class, who must sell their labor to survive.

Class Consciousness: Marx believed that the proletariat would eventually develop class consciousness, recognizing their shared interests and the need for collective action to overthrow the capitalist system.

d) Revolution and Communism:

Marx predicted that this class struggle would culminate in a proletarian revolution, leading to the abolition of private property and the establishment of a communist society where the means of production are collectively owned and controlled.

e) Dictatorship of the Proletariat:

In the transition to communism, Marx envisioned a "dictatorship of the proletariat," a temporary state where the working class holds political power to dismantle the capitalist system and establish the foundations for a communist society.

11. Marx's Concept of Historical Materialism:

Historical materialism, a core concept in Karl Marx's philosophy, proposes that the economic structure of a society (its mode of production) fundamentally shapes its social, political, and intellectual life. This theory posits that changes in the means and relations of production drive historical development and societal transformation. It is based on the idea that the material conditions and economic structures of society form the basis for social and political institutions and that changes in these material conditions lead to changes in society.

a) Key Principles of Historical Materialism:

Materialist Conception of History:

Historical materialism views history as a series of class struggles and conflicts driven by changes in the mode of production. This contrasts with idealist views of history that emphasize ideas and culture as the primary drivers of change. According to historical materialism, the driving force of historical development is the struggle between social classes over the control of the means of production. This struggle is rooted in the material conditions of society, particularly the mode of production, which refers to the way in which society produces and reproduces the material necessities of life.

Historical materialism argues that changes in the mode of production lead to changes in the social relations, institutions, and ideologies of a society. For example, the transition from feudalism to capitalism was characterized by the development of new technologies and forms of production that led to the rise of a capitalist class and the decline of the feudal aristocracy.

Key aspects of the materialist conception of history include:

- **Primacy of Economic Forces:** Historical materialism asserts that the economic base of society, including the mode of production and the relations of production, is the primary determinant of social structure and development. This economic base shapes the political, legal, and cultural superstructure of society.
- **Dialectical Approach:** Historical materialism is dialectical in nature, meaning it sees history as a process of continuous change and development driven by contradictions and conflicts. These contradictions arise from the inherent tension between the forces and relations of production.
- **Class Struggle:** Historical materialism emphasizes the role of class struggle in driving historical change. It argues that history is characterized by the struggle between the ruling class (those who control the means of production) and the oppressed class (those who do not).
- **Revolutionary Change:** Historical materialism suggests that significant social change often occurs through revolutionary upheavals, where the oppressed class overthrows the ruling class and establishes a new mode of production.

Overall, the materialist conception of history provides a powerful framework for analyzing and understanding the dynamics of social change and development, particularly in capitalist societies. It remains a central tenet of Marxist theory and has influenced many fields of study, including sociology, anthropology, and political science.

b) Primacy of the Mode of Production:

The mode of production refers to the way in which society produces and reproduces the material necessities of life. Historical materialism argues that the mode of production determines the social relations, institutions, and ideologies of a society**.** Marx argued that each mode of production is characterized by specific relations of production, which are the social relationships that people enter into as they participate in the production process. These relations of production include the ownership of the means of production (such as land, factories, and machinery) and the division of labor.

The mode of production also includes the forces of production, which are the physical and technological resources that are used in the production process. This includes tools, machinery, and raw materials. Marx identified several distinct modes of production that have existed throughout history, including primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and socialism. Each of these modes of production is characterized by specific relations of production and forces of production, which in turn shape the social, political, and cultural institutions of the society.

Different Mode of Productions:

Tribal and Neolithic modes of production:

Primitive communism is referred to as Engels and Marx's first mode of production. Horde or the tribal band were the two pioneering modes of production. Hunter-gatherers constituted the only form of existence in human history. Rituals, myth, and magic were seen as the most significant cultural forms, social stratification was restricted, and the stone age had plodding technological progress. There was a modest improvement in social stratification with the agriculture adoption and the advances in technology like brewing, pottery, weaving, and baking. Importance was now laid on gods of fertility rather than on Animism.

Asiatic mode of production:

Asiatic mode of production was used to explain pre feudal and pre slave earthwork construction in India, Nile valleys, and the Euphrates. This mode of production was considered a form of class society; in this class society, a small group took out social surplus with the use of violence aimed at unsettled or settled bands and villages. Labour that was exploited was extracted as forced corvee labour. Labour that was exploited was also brought out in the form of goods seized from the communities. Religious possession of direct communities is the primary property form of this mode of production.

Antique or ancient mode of production:

This is also referred to as slave society. Coinage, iron tools, alphabets, and labour division among industries were the technological improvements that helped in enabling large units to build in the form of the polis. The most common example of this mode of production is Roman society and classical Greek. The use of animals on a large scale, advanced agriculture trade networks, and industry are the forces of production associated with this mode of production.

Feudal mode of production:

A world with poor roads and farming conditions was tormenting; authority was localised. This mode was dominated by the west's systems, between the fall of the classical world and the rise of capitalism. Ancient empires were decentralised into nation-states nearby.

Capitalist mode of production:

Smith called it the age of commerce; Marx called it the capitalist mode of production. This mode is associated with the arrival of the global market economy and industrial society. According to Marx, money as a commodity exchange was the central point to the idea of the capitalist system.

Socialist mode of production:

According to Marx, this was the system considered succeeding capitalism. This was a mode of production, where the only criteria for the production were use-value and the law of value.

Communist mode of production:

Historical forces were the reason that gave rise to communism from socialism. Communism is the final mode of production. Different modes, different communities would come up alongside each other, linked together economically.

c) Dialectical Approach:

Historical materialism is based on a dialectical understanding of history, which sees history as a process of constant change and development resulting from the contradictions inherent in the existing social order. At its core, the dialectical approach emphasizes the dynamic and contradictory nature of reality. It views society, history, and nature as constantly changing and evolving through the interplay of opposing forces. These opposing forces, known as contradictions, are seen as inherent in all things and are the source of change and development.

This principle asserts that everything contains within it contradictions or opposing forces. These contradictions are in a constant state of tension and struggle, leading to change and development. For example, in capitalism, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) and the proletariat (workers) leads to class struggle.

d) Base and Superstructure:

According to historical materialism, the economic base of society (the mode of production) forms the foundation on which the social, political, and cultural superstructure is built. Changes in the base lead to changes in the superstructure. The base and superstructure are not separate or independent entities but are interconnected and interdependent. Changes in the economic base, such as technological advancements or changes in the mode of production, can lead to changes in the superstructure. For example, the industrial revolution brought about significant changes in both the economic base (the shift from agrarian to industrial production) and the superstructure (the rise of capitalism, changes in social relations, and the emergence of new cultural forms).

e) Class Struggle:

Class struggle is a central concept in historical materialism, a theory developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to understand the dynamics of social change in human societies. According to historical materialism, societies are defined by the way they organize production and distribute resources. This economic structure creates different social classes with conflicting interests, leading to class struggle as a driving force of historical development.

Marx and Engels argued that the history of society is primarily a history of class struggle. They believed that the material conditions of production—such as the means of production, technology, and resources—determine the nature of social relations and class divisions. Historical materialism posits that societies are divided into different social classes based on their relationship to the means of production. The primary classes in capitalist society, for example, are the bourgeoisie (the owners of the means of production) and the proletariat (the workers who sell their labor for wages). These classes have conflicting interests, as the bourgeoisie seek to maximize profits while the proletariat seek better wages and working conditions.

f) Revolutionary Change:

Historical materialism, a theory developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, posits that societies evolve through a dialectical process driven by contradictions in the mode of production. Revolutionary change is a key concept in historical materialism, representing moments when these contradictions reach a breaking point, leading to the overthrow of the existing social order and the establishment of a new one.

Key points regarding revolutionary change in historical materialism include:

- **Materialist Basis**: Historical materialism asserts that the material conditions of society, particularly the mode of production and the relations of production, form the basis for social development. Changes in the mode of production, such as the transition from feudalism to capitalism, create tensions and contradictions that eventually lead to revolutionary upheaval.
- **Class Struggle:** Central to historical materialism is the notion of class struggle as the motor of historical change. Marx and Engels argued that history is a series of class struggles, with different social classes contending for control over the means of production. Revolutionary change occurs when the oppressed class, typically the proletariat, rises up against the ruling class, such as the bourgeoisie, to establish a new social order.

- **Transformation of Property Relations**: A key aspect of revolutionary change in historical materialism is the transformation of property relations. In capitalist society, the bourgeoisie own the means of production (factories, land, etc.), while the proletariat must sell their labor power to survive. Revolution seeks to abolish private ownership of the means of production and establish collective or public ownership, as seen in the establishment of socialism.
- **Transition Period:** Marxists believe that after a successful revolution, there is a transition period during which the old social order is dismantled, and the new one is established. This period is marked by intense class struggle and the restructuring of society's institutions to align with the new mode of production. For example, the transition from capitalism to socialism would involve the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress counter-revolutionary forces and implement socialist policies.
- **Global Impact:** Historical materialism also considers the global impact of revolutionary change. Marx and Engels envisioned that successful revolutions in advanced capitalist countries would spark similar revolutions elsewhere, leading to a worldwide socialist society. This idea underlines the internationalist perspective of historical materialism.

12. Karl Marx's Views on Religion:

Karl Marx viewed religion as a form of social alienation and a tool used by the ruling classes to maintain power. He famously described religion as the "opium of the people," suggesting it provides a temporary escape from suffering but ultimately obscures the true causes of societal problems and prevents revolutionary change. While acknowledging religion's role as a source of comfort and solace for the oppressed, Marx critiqued its function in masking social inequalities and hindering social progress.

"Opium of the people":

This is Marx's most well-known statement about religion. He meant that religion provides a false sense of comfort and hope, distracting people from the harsh realities of their lives and preventing them from challenging the existing social order.

Alienation:

Marx believed that religion was a product of alienation, a state where individuals feel disconnected from their work, their society, and even themselves. In this context, religion offers a temporary escape from this feeling of alienation by offering a sense of belonging and purpose.

False consciousness:

Marx argued that religion creates a "false consciousness," a distorted understanding of reality that prevents people from recognizing their true interests and acting to change their conditions. By promising rewards in the afterlife, religion encourages people to accept their suffering in this life, rather than striving for a better world.

Justification of social order:

Marx also believed that religion often serves to justify the existing social order, including inequalities and exploitation. For example, some religious teachings emphasize obedience to authority and acceptance of one's social position, which can be used to legitimize the power of the ruling class.

Protest against suffering:

However, Marx also acknowledged that religion can be a form of protest against suffering and oppression. In situations where people are experiencing hardship and injustice, religion can offer a sense of hope and a vision of a better future.

13. Karl Marx's Views about State and Law:

Karl Marx viewed the state and law as tools of the ruling class, used to maintain their dominance over the working class. He believed that the state, far from being a neutral arbiter, is inherently an instrument of class oppression, particularly under capitalism. Marx argued that the state and law would ultimately wither away in a communist society, where class divisions and exploitation cease to exist.

Karl Marx's thought envisages dividing the history of the State into three phases: pre-capitalist states, states in the capitalist (i.e. present) era and the state (or absence of one) in post-capitalist society. Complicating this is the fact that Marx's own ideas about the state changed as he grew older, differing in his early pre-communist phase, in the young Marx phase which predates the unsuccessful 1848 uprisings in Europe, and in his later work.

Marx initially followed an evolutionary theory of the state. He envisioned a progression from a stateless society marked by chaos to the emergence of organized communities as nomadic groups settled due to agricultural developments. With settlement came the division of labor, gender roles, and territorial boundaries, sparking disputes that birthed slave societies where vanquished people were subjugated. Subsequently, feudal societies arose, characterized by a hierarchy involving nobility, clergy, and peasantry, wherein power predominantly resided with the former two. The growth of commerce introduced a new player, the bourgeoisie, within the peasantry, catalyzing a power-shift through revolutions, and birthing capitalist societies. Marx's narrative anticipated the proletariat rising against capitalist exploitation, fostering a socialist society through their own revolution. Ultimately, he envisioned the dissolution of the state, paving the way for a classless, communist society to flourish.

a) The State as an Instrument of Class Rule:

Marx saw the state as a product of class struggle, arising from the division of society into classes with conflicting interests. He argued that the state primarily serves the interests of the economically dominant class, the bourgeoisie, under capitalism. The state's role is to maintain the existing social order, which is inherently unequal and exploitative, by enforcing laws and policies that protect the property and power of the ruling class. Marx famously described the state as an "executive committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie".

b) Law as a Tool of Class Domination:

Marx viewed law as an integral part of the state's apparatus for class rule.
He argued that laws are not neutral or universally just, but rather reflect the interests and values of the ruling class. Marxists believe that laws are used to legitimize the existing social order, protect private property, and suppress dissent from the working class. In essence, Marx saw law as a means of maintaining the power and privilege of the bourgeoisie, while masking the underlying class conflict.

c) The Withering Away of the State and Law:

Marx envisioned a future communist society where class divisions would be eliminated, and the state would become unnecessary. In a communist society, the means of production would be collectively owned, and the exploitation of labor would cease to exist. Without class conflict and the need to maintain a particular social order, the state would gradually "wither away" as a tool of class domination. The concept of law would also become obsolete, as there would be no need for a coercive apparatus to enforce rules and regulations in a classless, egalitarian society.

14. Conclusion.

Utilitarianism

1. Defining Utilitarianism:

a) Foundations of Utilitarianism

"Things are good or evil only in relation to pleasure and pain. That we call good which is apt to cause or increase pleasure or diminish pain in us." John Locke.

The word utility means the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Utility is welfare, which includes everything that determines and constitutes man's happiness. Utilitarianism is one of the most powerful and persuasive approaches to normative ethics in the history of philosophy. Utilitarianism is generally held to be the view that the morally right action is the action that produces the most good. One thing to note is that the theory is a form of consequentialism: the right action is understood entirely in terms of consequences produced.

b) Classical Utilitarians and Hedonism

The Classical Utilitarians, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, identified the good with pleasure, so, like Epicurus, were hedonists about value. They also held that we ought to maximize the good, that is, bring about 'the greatest amount of good for the greatest number'. (Hedonism is a philosophical view that prioritizes pleasure and the absence of pain as the ultimate good and motivator for actions***.) "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do."*** Jermey Bentham. ***"The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals utility, or the greatest happiness principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure."*** John Stuart Mill.

c) Political Utilitarianism

Political utilitarianism is a framework for political philosophy and public policy that applies the core principles of utilitarianism, focusing on maximizing overall happiness and minimizing suffering for the greatest number of people. It essentially applies the concept of "the greatest good for the greatest number" to political decision-making and governance. For utilitarians, the ultimate end of politics is the promotion of well-being. . This might seem to suggest a simple approach to political philosophy: evaluate all political actions, institutions, and arrangements solely based on how well they promote aggregate well-being.

2. Evolution of Utilitarianism

a) Early Precursors

Though the first systematic account of utilitarianism was developed by Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), the core insight motivating the theory occurred much earlier. That insight is that morally appropriate behavior will not harm others, but instead increase happiness or 'utility.' Early precursors to the Classical Utilitarians include the British Moralists, Cumberland, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Gay, and Hume. Of these, Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) is explicitly utilitarian when it comes to action choice. Some of the earliest utilitarian thinkers were the 'theological' utilitarians such as Richard Cumberland (1631–1718) and John Gay (1699–1745). They believed that promoting human happiness was incumbent on us since it was approved by God. Anthony Ashley Cooper, the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) is generally thought to have been the one of the earliest 'moral sense' theorists, holding that we possess a kind of "inner eye" that

allows us to make moral discrimination. This seems to have been an innate sense of right and wrong, or moral beauty and deformity.

b) David Hume's Contribution

David Hume is considered a precursor to utilitarianism, particularly in his emphasis on utility as a foundation for morality. While he doesn't fully embrace the consequentialist framework of later utilitarians like Bentham and Mill, his work lays significant groundwork for the development of utilitarian thought. Hume's focus on the usefulness and agreeableness of character traits, and his view that moral sentiments arise from observing these traits, are key aspects that align with utilitarianism. Hume frequently uses the terms "useful" and "utility" in his moral philosophy, suggesting that the moral value of actions and character traits is tied to their usefulness or beneficial consequences. Hume famously argues that public utility is the sole origin of justice. This aligns with the utilitarian view that social institutions and rules are valuable because of their contribution to overall well-being.

c) Classical Utilitarians

The Classical Utilitarians, Bentham and Mill, were concerned with legal and social reform. If anything could be identified as the fundamental motivation behind the development of Classical Utilitarianism it would be the desire to see useless, corrupt laws and social practices changed. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was influenced both by Hobbes' account of human nature and Hume's account of social utility. He famously held that humans were ruled by two sovereign masters — pleasure and pain. We seek pleasure and the avoidance of pain, they ***"…govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think…"*** John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was a follower of Bentham, and, through most of his life, greatly admired Bentham's work even though he disagreed with some of Bentham's claims — particularly on the nature of 'happiness.' Bentham, recall, had held that there were no qualitative differences between pleasures, only quantitative ones. To this end, Mill's hedonism was influenced by perfectionist intuitions. There are some pleasures that are more fitting than others. Intellectual pleasures are of a higher, better, sort than the ones that are merely sensual, and that we share with animals. To some this seems to mean that Mill really wasn't a hedonistic utilitarian. His view of the good did radically depart from Bentham's view.

3. Core Principles of Utilitarianism:

Concept	Definition	Key Idea / Example
Consequentialism	The morality of an action depends entirely on its outcomes or consequences.	An action is right if it produces good results; wrong if it produces bad results.
Welfarism	Well-being (happiness, pleasure, or avoidance of suffering) is the only intrinsic good; lack of well-being is the only intrinsic bad. Philosophers use the term "well-being" to refer to what's good for a person, as opposed to what's good per se, or "from the point of view of the Universe". The focus is on maximizing well-being, often defined as happiness or pleasure.	Policies are judged by how much they improve people's well-being.
Impartiality (Equal Consideration of Interests)	A given amount of well-being is equally valuable, no matter whose it is. Utilitarians value the well-being of all individuals equally, regardless of their nationality, gender, where or when they live, or even their species	*"The good of any one person is no more important from the point of view… of the universe than the good of any other"* (Utilitarian Philosopher Henry Sidgwick).
Aggregationism	When combined with welfarism and impartiality, this implies that we can meaningfully "add up" the well-being of different individuals, and use this total to determine which trade-offs are worth making. The overall well-being is calculated by summing up the happiness and unhappiness of all individuals affected by an action.	Improving five lives equally is five times better than improving one life in the same way.

Classical utilitarianism is distinctive because it accepts two additional elements: first, hedonism as a theory of well-being; second, the total view of population ethics.

Concept	Definition	Key Idea / Example
Hedonism	The view that only positive conscious experiences (pleasure, enjoyment, happiness) are intrinsically good, and only negative conscious experiences (pain, misery, suffering) are intrinsically bad.	Ethical value is measured by the balance of happiness over suffering.
Population Ethics: The Total View	Classical utilitarianism accepts a population ethical theory known as the Total View which states that one outcome is better than another if it contains a greater total amount of well-being.	The world can be improved either by increasing quality of life for existing people or by increasing the number of people living positive lives.

4. Jeremy Bentham:

Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was influenced both by Hobbes' account of human nature and Hume's account of social utility. He famously held that humans were ruled by two sovereign masters — pleasure and pain. We seek pleasure and the avoidance of pain, they "…govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think…" Yet he also promulgated the principle of utility as the standard of right action on the part of governments and individuals. Actions are approved when they are such as to promote happiness, or pleasure, and disapproved of when they have a tendency to cause unhappiness, or pain.

a) Bentham's Theory of Utilitarianism:

Jeremy Bentham's concept of human nature is fundamentally driven by the principles of pleasure and pain. He believed that humans are naturally motivated to seek pleasure and avoid pain, and that these sensations govern all human actions, thoughts, and even moral judgments. Bentham saw this as a fundamental truth about humanity, a "governance" by these two "sovereign masters". Jeremy Bentham's theory of utilitarianism is an ethical framework that judges the morality of actions based on their consequences. It proposes that the best action is the one that maximizes happiness and minimizes suffering for the greatest number of people affected by it. This focus on outcomes and the overall well-being of the

majority defines utilitarianism as a consequentialist theory. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) was the pioneering figure behind utilitarianism, a moral theory that posits that actions should be evaluated based on their capacity to enhance or diminish human well-being, often referred to as 'utility' (Taylor, 1977).

The founder of utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham, described utility as it leans to investigate benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, or happiness or to inhibit the happening of mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness to the part whose interest is considered (Hare, 2014). Bentham said that human nature is placed under the rule of two sovereign forces; pain, and pleasure, and they decide what to do. The principle of utility is the one that agrees or disagrees with any action at all that would increase or decrease the happiness of the other party (Bentham, 1996). He urged legislators to examine whether punishment leads to even worse offenses. Bentham claims that instead of avoiding bad behavior, some ineffective laws and penalties may encourage vices that are worse and more dangerous than the ones being deterred. He suggests that legislators should weigh the pleasure and pain of any proposed legislation and create laws that will do the best for the greatest number of people. He argues that the idea of an individual seeking his or her happiness cannot necessarily be deemed "right", because these pursuits frequently result in greater pain and less pleasure for the society as a whole. To ensure that the greatest number of individuals feel the greatest amount of pleasure and the least amount of pain, society's laws are essential.

b) Hedonic Calculus:

Hedonism is the view that well-being consists in, and only in, the balance of positive minus negative conscious experiences. On this view, the only basic welfare goods are pleasant experiences such as enjoyment and contentment. Conversely, the only basic welfare bads are unpleasant experiences such as pain and misery. The hedonistic conception of happiness is broad: It covers not only paradigmatic instances of sensory pleasure—such as the experiences of eating delicious food or having sex—but also other positively valenced experiences, such as the experiences of solving a problem, reading a novel, or helping a friend. When hedonism is combined with impartiality, as in classical utilitarianism, hedonism’s scope becomes universal. This means that happiness and suffering are treated as equally important regardless of when, where, or by whom they are experienced.

From this follows sentiocentrism, the view that we should extend our moral concern to all sentient beings, including humans and most non-human animals, since only they can experience happiness or suffering. Bentham introduced a method for calculating the value of pleasures and pains in Chapter IV of his book, which became known as calculus. The Hedonic Calculus, also known as the Felicific Calculus, is a method developed by philosopher Jeremy Bentham to quantify the moral worth of an action by assessing the pleasure and pain it is likely to produce. It's a key component of utilitarianism, which prioritizes actions that maximize happiness and minimize suffering for the greatest number of people. Bentham said that the measurement of pleasure or pain is made according to its intensity, duration, certainty/uncertainty, and proximity/distance.

Table 1. Hedonic calculus for pleasure and pain

CRITERIA	HOW TO MEASURE?
DURATION	How long does it last?
INTENSITY	How intense is it?
PROPINQUITY	How near/remote is it?
EXTENT	How widely does it cover?
CERTAINTY	How probable is it?
PURITY	How free from pain is it?
FECUNDITY	Does it lead to further pleasure?

In disasters, the hedonic calculus might be applied to prioritize treatments that offer the greatest relief from suffering or the highest likelihood of survival, taking into account factors like the intensity and duration of pain relief or the certainty of positive outcomes. According to Bentham, the only proof of the principle of utility is that anything is desirable because people desire it, just as the only proof that something is visible is that people see it and the proof of sound is that people hear it. As far as a person's desire for happiness is the desire for general happiness, a person should be concerned with his/her happiness and general happiness as well (Bentham, 1996). Jeremy Bentham, a proponent of utilitarianism, identified twelve pains and fourteen pleasures as key elements in his "felicific calculus," a framework for evaluating the morality of actions based on their potential to produce happiness or unhappiness. These factors were used to assess the "happiness factor" of any action.

Pains (12)	**Definition**	**Pleasures (14)**	**Definition**
Pains of the Senses	Sensations like pain from physical injury or discomfort	Pleasures of the Senses	Enjoyment from physical sensations.
Pains of Privation	Feeling of lack or loss of desired things.	Pleasures of Wealth/Privation	Satisfaction from possessions and needs fulfilled.
Pains of Skill	Frustration in performing tasks or achieving goals.	Pleasures of Skill	Joy from mastering skills or achieving tasks.
Pains of Enmity	Negative emotions from conflict or hostility.	Pleasures of Amity	Joy from friendship and social interaction.
Pains of an Ill Name	The distress caused by negative social perception or reputation.	Pleasures of a Good Name	Satisfaction from good reputation and respect.
Pains of Piety	Fear or discomfort from religious beliefs or practices.	Pleasures of Power	Enjoyment of influence and control over others.
Pains of Benevolence	Suffering from witnessing others' pain.	Pleasures of Piety	Positive emotions from faith or religious practice.
Pains of Malevolence	Emotional burden from harboring ill will.	Pleasures of Benevolence	Joy from kindness and generosity.
Pains of Memory	Distress from recalling past events.	Pleasures of Malevolence	The negative emotions associated with the suffering of others.
Pains of Imagination	Anxiety from imagining negative future events.	Pleasures of Memory	Happiness from recalling good memories.
Pains of Expectation	Disappointment when hopes fail.	Pleasures of Imagination	Excitement from anticipating future joys.
Pains of Relief	Discomfort when a pleasure ends.	Pleasures of Expectation	Hope from looking forward to good outcomes.
—	—	Pleasures of Relief	Joy when pain or discomfort ends.
—	—	Pleasures of Association	Positive feelings linked with enjoyable experiences.

Bentham believed that these factors, along with the intensity, duration, certainty, propinquity, fecundity, and purity of each pleasure or pain, should be considered when evaluating the overall happiness or unhappiness produced by an action. This framework, known as the felicific calculus, aimed to provide a systematic way to assess the moral worth of actions based on their consequences.

c) Bentham's Principle of Utility

Bentham's principle of utility, a core concept in utilitarianism, dictates that actions are right if they tend to promote happiness or pleasure and wrong if they tend to produce unhappiness or pain. Essentially, it suggests that the best action is the one that maximizes happiness for the greatest number of people. By utility is meant that property in any object, whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, or happiness, (all this in the present case comes to the same thing) or (what comes again to the same thing) to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered: if that party be the community in general, then the happiness of the community: if a particular individual, then the happiness of that individual. Utility is the foundation of Jeremy Bentham's ethical and political philosophy, utilitarianism.

The utilitarian principle, according to Bentham, is the maximization of happiness or pleasure and the minimizing of pain or suffering for the greatest number of persons affected by a specific action or policy. Bentham believed that the utility principle could be used to guide moral decision-making. He argued that moral rules and principles should be based on their ability to promote happiness and reduce suffering. The realms of public policy and governance are also included in Bentham's utility-based philosophy. He was of the opinion that institutions and laws ought to be created to be as useful to society as possible. This includes advancing equal rights, making sure that resources are distributed fairly, and establishing circumstances that make the majority of people as happy as possible.

d) Laws and the Theory of Utility

Bentham as an individualist believed that the function of law is to emancipate individual from bondage and restrained upon his freedom. According to this theory right aim of legislation is the carrying out of principal of utility. Bentham's utilitarianism theory is a moral theory that judges actions and laws by their ability to promote the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. The core principle of utilitarianism is the principle of utility, which holds that actions should be evaluated based on their ability to maximize overall well-being or happiness.

Bentham desired to ensure happiness of the community by attaining four major goals namely 1. Subsistence 2. Abundance 3. Equality and 4. Security for the citizens. As a result, the purpose of legislation must be to achieve these goals, namely to ensure subsistence, abundance, favor equality, and maintain security. Security was the most important to him of these four objectives of legal control since it was connected to protection of reputation, wealth, and social standing. He emphasized that although it is a crucial aspect of security, individual liberty must occasionally make way for considerations of overall security. His view is that the primary goal of legal control should not be liberty, but rather security and equality.

e) Bentham's Individualistic Approach to Utility

Jeremy Bentham, a key figure in utilitarianism, saw a close relationship between utility and individualism. He believed that the principle of utility, which dictates actions should maximize happiness and minimize suffering for the greatest number, should guide both individual behavior and legislation. Bentham's utilitarianism is often described as "individualistic" because it emphasizes that individuals are the best judges of their own happiness and that the collective happiness is achieved by aggregating individual happiness. Bentham believed that individuals are naturally motivated by pleasure and pain, and that they

instinctively seek to maximize their own pleasure and minimize their own pain. This individual pursuit of self-interest, according to Bentham, should be the basis for understanding and guiding human action. The principle of utility, however, dictates that individual actions, as well as laws and policies, should be evaluated based on their tendency to produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. Therefore, while individuals are motivated by self-interest, their actions can be judged by their contribution to overall happiness, aligning individual actions with the collective good.

f) Bentham's Theory of Sanctions

Bentham's theory of sanctions, rooted in his utilitarian philosophy, categorizes sources of pleasure and pain (sanctions) that motivate human action. He identified four types of sanctions: physical, political, moral (or popular), and religious. These sanctions, according to Bentham, are the driving forces behind individuals' adherence to or deviation from rules and laws. There can be conflict between the greatest happiness of the individual and the greatest happiness of the greatest number. To induce the individual to pursue the happiness of others, even at his own cost, some sanctions are necessary.

Physical Sanction	•This refers to the natural consequences of actions, such as pain from injury or pleasure from physical comfort. •It's the pain or pleasure that arises from the ordinary course of nature.
Political Sanction	•This involves the pain or pleasure imposed by a sovereign authority through laws and legal systems. •It's essentially punishment for breaking the law.
Moral/Popular Sanction	•This stems from the approval or disapproval of one's community or social group. •It's the pleasure of social acceptance and the pain of social isolation or disapproval.
Religious Sanction	•This involves the belief in rewards or punishments administered by a divine power, either in this life or the next.

Bentham's theory acknowledges the interplay between individual interests and the interests of the community, suggesting that sanctions can be used to align individual actions with the collective good. Bentham recognized that legal sanctions are not the only motivators. He emphasized that moral, religious, and physical sanctions also play a significant role in shaping behavior.

g) Bentham's Concept of State

State as a Fictitious Entity

Jeremy Bentham viewed the state as a fictitious entity created to serve the collective well-being of its citizens, primarily by promoting happiness and minimizing suffering. He believed the state's legitimacy stemmed from its ability to maximize utility, ensuring the "greatest happiness for the greatest number". Bentham's concept of the state is intertwined with his utilitarian philosophy, emphasizing practical, measurable outcomes in governance. Jeremy Bentham rejected the concept of a social contract as the foundation of the state. He argued that the idea of a social contract was a fiction and that governments arise not from an agreement between individuals, but from the natural human tendency to seek pleasure and avoid pain. Bentham believed that humans have always lived in societies and that the concept of a "state of nature" where individuals exist without any social structure is a misconception. For Bentham, the justification for any action, including the existence of government, lies in its consequences, not in any prior

agreement or abstract principle. He believed that the principle of utility should guide both individual actions and the formation and operation of government.

State, Reform, and the Greatest Happiness

Bentham was a proponent of political stability and reform, but he believed that these should be achieved through gradual changes and within the existing framework of government rather than through radical revolution or the overthrow of the existing order. According to Jeremy Bentham, the purpose of the state is to maximize the happiness of its citizens. This is achieved by promoting the "greatest happiness for the greatest number" principle, where the state's actions should aim to minimize pain and maximize pleasure for the majority of the population. Bentham believed the state should legislate and govern in a way that achieves this goal, often through the use of rewards and punishments. Bentham saw the state's role as creating and enforcing laws that would guide citizens towards actions that promote happiness and away from those that cause pain. The state should use punishment and reward systems to incentivize behavior that aligns with the greatest happiness principle.

State, Individual Rights, and International Affairs

While focused on the collective good, Bentham also emphasized the importance of individual happiness and believed that the state should strive to create conditions where individuals can pursue their own happiness without harming others. Bentham advocated for limited government intervention in personal matters, believing that individuals should be free to pursue their own happiness as long as it doesn't infringe on the well-being of others. Bentham believed in the importance of a clear and fair legal system that protects individual rights and ensures equal access to justice. In international affairs, Bentham's utilitarianism suggests that states should act in ways that promote the overall well-being of the international community, even if it means compromising national interests in some cases.

h) Bentham's Rejection of Natural Rights

Criticism of Natural Rights

Bentham's views on rights are, perhaps, best known through the attacks on the concept of "natural rights" that appear throughout his work. These criticisms are especially developed in his *Anarchical Fallacies* (a polemical attack on the declarations of rights issued in France during the French Revolution), written between 1791 and 1795 but not published until 1816, in French. Jeremy Bentham famously rejected the concept of natural rights, famously calling them "nonsense upon stilts". He argued that rights are not inherent or pre-political but are created and defined by law, specifically the commands of a sovereign. Bentham's criticisms here are rooted in his understanding of the nature of law. Rights are created by the law, and law is simply a command of the sovereign. The existence of law and rights, therefore, requires government.

Rights, Duties, and the Ambiguity of "Natural Rights"

Rights are also usually (though not necessarily) correlative with duties determined by the law and, as in Hobbes, are either those which the law explicitly gives us or those within a legal system where the law is silent. According to Bentham, then, the term "natural right" is a "perversion of language." It is "ambiguous," "sentimental" and "figurative" and it has anarchical consequences. At best, such a "right" may tell us what we ought to do; it cannot serve as a legal restriction on what we can or cannot do. The term "natural right" is ambiguous, Bentham says, because it suggests that there are general rights—that is, rights over no specific object—so that one would have a claim on whatever one chooses. The effect of exercising such a universal, natural "right" would be to extinguish the right altogether, since "what is every

man's right is no man's right." No legal system could function with such a broad conception of rights. Thus, there cannot be any general rights in the sense suggested by the French declarations.

Rejection of the Social Contract and Anarchical Consequences

The assumption of the existence of such rights, Bentham says, seems to be derived from the theory of the social contract. Here, individuals form a society and choose a government through the alienation of certain of their rights. But such a doctrine is not only unhistorical, according to Bentham, it does not even serve as a useful fiction to explain the origin of political authority. Governments arise by habit or by force, and for contracts (and, specifically, some original contract) to bind, there must already be a government in place to enforce them. Finally, the idea of a natural right is "anarchical." Such a right, Bentham claims, entails a freedom from all restraint and, in particular, from all legal restraint. Since a natural right would be anterior to law, it could not be limited by law, and (since human beings are motivated by self-interest) if everyone had such freedom, the result would be pure anarchy. Bentham concludes, therefore, that the term "natural rights" is "simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense,—nonsense upon stilts." Rights—what Bentham calls "real" rights—are fundamentally legal rights. So far as rights exist in law, they are protected; outside of law, they are at best "reasons for wishing there were such things as rights."

i) Bentham's Concept of Liberty

Negative Liberty and Its Limits

The notion of liberty present in Bentham's account is what is now generally referred to as "negative" liberty—freedom from external restraint or compulsion. Bentham says that "Liberty is the absence of restraint" and so, to the extent that one is not hindered by others, one has liberty and is "free." Bentham denies that liberty is "natural" (in the sense of existing "prior to" social life and thereby imposing limits on the state) or that there is an a priori sphere of liberty in which the individual is sovereign. For Bentham, the extent of liberty was directly linked to the extent of justifiable coercion within a society, with the goal of maximizing overall happiness. Bentham's approach to liberty is primarily negative, emphasizing the freedom from external constraints rather than the positive capacity to act. He saw liberty as the absence of any obstacle or prohibition that prevents individuals from doing what they want, as long as it doesn't harm others.

Liberty, Security, and the Greatest Happiness

Bentham's concept of liberty is deeply intertwined with his utilitarian philosophy, which prioritizes actions that maximize happiness and minimize suffering for the greatest number of people. In this framework, the extent of permissible liberty is determined by its contribution to overall well-being. In fact, Bentham holds that people have always lived in society, and so there can be no state of nature (though he does distinguish between political society and "natural society") and no "social contract" (a notion which he held was not only unhistorical but pernicious). While Bentham valued liberty, he also emphasized the importance of security as a fundamental social good. He believed that a secure environment, free from violence and instability, was essential for individuals to pursue their happiness and well-being.

Law, Liberty, and Social Order

Bentham acknowledged that liberty could not be absolute and that certain restrictions were necessary to maintain social order and prevent harm. He argued that the limits of justifiable coercion should be determined by the principle of utility, aiming to strike a balance between individual freedom and the collective good. Nevertheless, he does note that there is an important distinction between one's public

and private life that has morally significant consequences, and he holds that liberty is a good—that, even though it is not something that is a fundamental value, it reflects the greatest happiness principle. Correlative with this account of liberty, Bentham (as Thomas Hobbes before him) viewed law as "negative." Given that pleasure and pain are fundamental to—indeed, provide—the standard of value for Bentham, liberty is a good (because it is "pleasant") and the restriction of liberty is an evil (because it is "painful"). Law, which is by its very nature a restriction of liberty and painful to those whose freedom is restricted, is a prima facie evil. It is only so far as control by the state is limited that the individual is free. Law is, Bentham recognized, necessary to social order and good laws are clearly essential to good government. Indeed, perhaps more than Locke, Bentham saw the positive role to be played by law and government, particularly in achieving community well-being. To the extent that law advances and protects one's economic and personal goods and that what government exists is self-government, law reflects the interests of the individual.

5. JS Mill

a) Concept of Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism and the Greatest Happiness Principle

John Stuart Mill's utilitarianism is a moral philosophy that judges actions based on their consequences, specifically their tendency to promote happiness and minimize suffering. It asserts that the best actions are those that maximize overall happiness for the greatest number of people. Mill's version of utilitarianism emphasizes qualitative distinctions in pleasure, suggesting that intellectual and moral pleasures are superior to purely sensual ones. Utilitarianism, in Mill's view, is based on the "Greatest Happiness Principle," which dictates that actions are right as they tend to promote happiness and wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness.

Comparison with Bentham

Unlike his predecessor Jeremy Bentham, Mill argues that some pleasures are more valuable than others. He distinguishes between "higher" and "lower" pleasures, with intellectual and moral pleasures being considered superior to purely physical or sensual ones.

Qualitative Hedonism

Mill distinguishes between higher and lower pleasures, arguing that intellectual and moral pleasures are superior to purely physical ones. This qualitative distinction is a key aspect of his utilitarianism. John Stuart Mill's "qualitative hedonism" is a theory that distinguishes between different qualities of pleasure, arguing that some pleasures are inherently more valuable than others, regardless of their quantity or duration. Mill argued that if most people who have experienced both a "higher" and a "lower" pleasure would consistently prefer the higher one, then it is indeed more valuable. He famously stated, "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied," highlighting his belief in the superiority of certain types of pleasure.

b) Mill's Concept of Liberty

The Harm Principle and Foundations of Liberty

Published in 1859, John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* is one of the most celebrated defences of free speech ever written. In this elongated essay, Mill aims to defend what he refers to as "one very simple principle," what modern commentators would later call the harm principle (Mill 2015, p. 12). This is the idea that people should only be stopped or restrained from acting when their conduct may harm another individual. The "harm principle" refers to just one, very basic notion. According to Mukherjee and Ramaswamy, although Mill believed that freedom was beneficial in and of itself since it contributed to the growth of a humane, civilized, and moral individual, early liberals advocated liberty in the name of effective administration.

Mukherjee and Ramaswamy (2007) stated that, it was "beneficial not only to the individual who enjoys them but also to the society that permits them." Mill states that “the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others.” On the basis of Mill, what separates humans from the rest of nature is not rational thought or dominance over nature, but rather the freedom to experiment and make choices. Therefore, a society's interactions with individuals must be governed by a principle that is established in reason.

Liberty as Protection Against Tyranny

Liberty, in the words of Harrison-Barbet, was "protection against the tyranny of the political rulers." It became necessary to restrict these rulers' authority over the populace, and Mill claims that this was done through (a) the recognition of political liberties or rights and (b) "the establishment of constitutional check, by which the consent of the community, or of some sort of body, supposed to represent its interests, was made a necessary condition to some of the more important acts of the governing power" (Harrison-Barbet, 2001:253-254). He also discusses the struggle between liberty and authority, the importance of individuality, the limits of state authority, and the practical application of the harm principle.

Mill uses the term "liberty of action" in a broad sense that encompasses freedom of thought, feeling, and taste, as well as the right to have, express, and publish opinions on any topic and the freedom to associate with others, subject to the requirement that our actions do not cause harm to others. Whatever the form of governance, "no society is free unless these liberties are not, on the whole, respected; and none is completely free unless they exist absolutely and unqualified" (Harrison-Barbet, 2001:254). Mill makes the argument that until we have thought about and evaluated all the alternatives, we cannot know whether a notion is true or not. He makes the case for individual freedom of action by stating that only that person can choose what is in his or her best interests and that making decisions is what leads to the maximum level of human potential development. According to Mill, every human being aspires to be free and will make use of that freedom to maximize their potential as humans. In support of the idea that happiness should be seen as a combination of "higher" and "lower" pleasures, Mill argues that all human conduct should result in the greatest total enjoyment.

Liberty Versus Authority and the Tyranny of the Majority

Mill opens *On Liberty* by explaining the nature of liberty versus authority. Traditionally, liberty was defined as “the protection against the tyranny of political rulers.” To achieve liberty, limits on state authority ought to be imposed, which would eventually lead to those in power becoming more akin to tenants than perpetual rulers. The world was moving towards greater equality, a trend Mill appreciated, although not without reservation. With the rise of democratic government came a new threat, what Alexis De Tocqueville described as “tyranny of the majority.” Mill believed that a new form of social tyranny was emerging, one that was in some ways worse than actual tyranny as it has “fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself.” At best, this new tyranny could lead to conformity; at worst it stifled the originality and intellectual vigor needed for progress. At this point in the text, Mill has already outlined the principle which he wishes to defend, the harm principle. In the chapter entitled *Of The Liberty of Thought and Discussion*, Mill argues in favour of freedom of speech in the vast majority of situations, barring a few key exceptions such as when an individual incites immediate violence.

Defence of Free Speech and Historical Examples

Mill deals with three cases of free speech: one in which the suppressed opinion is true, one in which it is partly true, and, lastly, one in which it is wholly false. Mill explains that “mankind can hardly be too often reminded, that there was once a man named Socrates” (p. 26). The ancient philosopher Socrates, famous for his Socratic method argument, was put to death by an Athenian jury on charges of impiety and corrupting the youth. Similar to Socrates, Jesus Christ was also persecuted for his beliefs, which in Mill’s day were considered the moral backbone of English society. No person, no matter how intelligent, is wholly

infallible and, for Mill, "All silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility." Therefore, no person has the right to silence others. We should all be keenly aware of our fallibility. Even if the vast majority of people in any given society agree on some issues, it does not justify silencing dissenters. Mill passionately explains that even if "all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."

Truth, Falsehood, and the Role of Debate

What about an opinion which is neither wholly true nor wholly false? Mill was a keen advocate of progress. He rightly believed that the era in which he lived was marked by unprecedented material and moral progress. But Mill did not believe that progress consists of false beliefs being replaced with true beliefs. Instead, he viewed improvement as a cyclical process in which different elements of truth rise and fall. In time, the rigorous challenging of mixed doctrines would allow future thinkers to separate the true parts from the false parts of any given ideology. But what about wholly false opinions? In modern terms, why should flat earthers, holocaust deniers, and climate change deniers be allowed to express their opinions? For Mill, "however true [the received opinion] may be, if it is not fully, frequently, and fearlessly discussed, it will be held as a dead dogma, not a living truth" (p. 35). Mill makes a distinction between what he calls true belief and knowledge. True belief is holding correct beliefs; however, knowledge is holding beliefs because they are justified through rational argumentation.

Individuality, Conformity, and Experiments of Living

Mill believes that every person has their own personal preferences and tastes in all aspects of life. Mill explains that "human nature is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree, which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing." Since there is no one masterplan or method that guarantees a fully flourishing life, Mill believes that there must be "experiments of living." Mill despised and feared conformity. He deeply feared a future in which people lived their life based upon nothing but custom and habit. He explains, "The despotism of custom is everywhere the standing hindrance to human advancement." Mill explains that "he who does anything because it is the custom makes no choice. He gains no practice either in discerning or desiring what is best." He believes allowing for individuality and choice creates an industrious and creative environment in which progress is unimpeded. As he explains, "Genius can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of freedom."

Limits of Authority and Self-Regarding Actions

In the penultimate chapter, *Of The Limits to the Authority of Society over the Individual*, Mill discusses when state-sanctioned coercion is legitimate. The state provides a degree of security and stability. Therefore Mill concludes we have reciprocal obligations to the state and society at large such as respecting others' rights and paying our fair share in taxes to uphold justice. But the relationship between the individual and the state is not a one-way street; in return for their cooperation and services, the state ought to acknowledge certain limits which it ought not cross as a general rule. According to Mill, legal coercion is society's most profound disapproval of specifically egregious actions. It is not to be used lightly; it must only be used to prevent the most egregious and apparent harms. Mill explains that not all harmful or immoral activity ought to be punished by legal coercion. He also distinguishes between natural and artificial punishments. Artificial punishments are acts of legal coercion while natural punishments consist of the unfavorable social opprobrium of certain conduct. For example, if a person is drunk during the day at home, we ought not to bring the weight of the state upon him but we can voice our disapproval and even disassociate with this person.

The Principle of Liberty and Final Conclusions

There are two spheres of action for Mill: self-regarding and other-regarding. One affects only the agent while the other affects the agent and other people. In the realm of self-regarding acts, Mill believes that "there should be perfect freedom" from coercion. The "principle of liberty" and Mill's concept of freedom are often misunderstood. This principle establishes a set of "self-regarding" decisions and activities that should not be subject to any restrictions on people's freedom of choice. In other words, the liberty principle tackles the question of whether or not to restrict an individual's freedom. We may be able to attempt to convince others that their self-regarding conduct is harmful or unwise by offering "considerations to aid his judgment [and] exhortations to strengthen his will." But ultimately, the individual is the final judge. To this end Mill is wholly opposed to paternalism. However, any other-regarding action may be subject to the laws and regulations of society. For example, drinking alcohol and selling alcohol are wholly different endeavors. In the final chapter, Mill discusses the practical applications of his two major principles, which are "that the individual is not accountable to society for his [self-regarding] actions" and "that [for] such actions as are prejudicial to the interests of others, the individual is accountable, and may be subjected to social or legal punishment."

6. Conclusion.