

THE CONCEPT OF LIBERTY IN JOHN STUART MILL'S "ON LIBERTY"

¹Vo Van Dung

Abstract

Concepts of liberation in "On Liberty" of John Stuart Mill have contributed to the social changes in many democratic countries around the world, especially in Western countries. The work discusses the importance of the liberty of human beings to the development of the whole society. That is the ideas of liberation of speech, liberation of the individual is placed in relationship to social liberation but it must ensure equality in the law. His thoughts bear profoundly humane and are interested by many researchers. If we dismiss certain limitations, the major values can be applied in the process of building civil society today.

Keywords: *idea of liberty, democracy, justice, civil society.*

I. Introduction

John Stuart Mill (1806 - 1873) was born in Pentonville, London, United Kingdom. John Stuart Mill was one of the thinkers talk about the most famous liberty of the Victorian era in England. He is also a well-known politician, who has been involved in the struggle for social reform throughout his life. John Stuart Mill was influenced by utilitarian theory, a theory of the concept of "human action to bring the greatest happiness for as many people as possible." J. S. Mill also advocated for the protection of individual rights, especially of women. In this article, we focus on understanding individual liberal thought in his work "*On liberty*" of John Stuart Mill; thereby, we find out its value.

Literature review

John Stuart Mill is an encyclopedic thinker with many works that cover many areas such as philosophy, economics, politics, ethics, logic, etc. but a systematic study of his liberal thoughts and making practical judgments for them have not been given proper attention.

Research methodology

In order to achieve our goals, we will conduct a research on the views of freedom and finally provide practical discussions. So the article will answer two questions; the first question is how to get real freedom from John Stuart Mill's point of view? Secondly, what practical values does it have for today's society?

The article is based on the theory and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In addition, the article also uses research methods such as; analysis, synthesis methods, inductive and deductive method.

¹ University of Khanh Hoa

II. Content

2.1. Outline the basic content of the work "On liberty"

"On Liberty" (On Liberty) was published in 1859. This is one of the most famous works and also caused much controversy of John Stuart Mill. Right from its inception, the work has been very warmly accepted. In this work, John Stuart Mill gave his views on personal liberty in relation to the idea of the history and the state. He said that liberty depends on the idea that society developed from low to high, and culminated in a representative democratic system. "On liberty" is said to be the work gathered the best argument of John Stuart Mill. Most of the content of this book was written out of the conversation between John Stuart Mill and his wife. The work was condemned because society needs to adjust itself to suit all needs. The work emphasized a principle that individuals have absolute liberty to do what he wants, if his actions do not affect anyone else except him. In the work "On liberty",

Mill tried to combine the importance of individual with a sense of social obligation is respectable, it gives insight to the progress of thought at the time of the point of liberty. "On liberty" is not a voluminous work. The whole work has only 5 chapters but it is one of the most outstanding masterpieces of humanity at that time.

2.2. Liberal ideas in "On liberty" of John Stuart Mill

John Stuart Mill said that the liberty of thought and liberty of expression of the human beings need to be protected. Therefore the work "On liberty" puts the emphasis on liberty as the relationship of the individual to society. The reason for this liberty should be protected from the interference of society as it is the basic condition for social progress. Mill set "*principles of liberty*" to determine the boundaries of legitimate power and rationality of society. Accordingly, individual liberty is only allowed with restricted social conditions to help protect themselves and protect others. Mill's liberal view is based on the theory of utilitarianism, therefore the most significant and long-term interests of the people as a basis of social progress.

The first problem that John Stuart Mill raises is that whether the people or government should coerce or restrict others or not. He criticized that actions restrict opinions of others is illegal. It was, to him, the theft to mankind, to the generations of the future and at present. It is the disadvantage to the disagreeing people, rather than those who hold that opinion. He said that liberty of speech will stimulate individuals to express their points of views. However, not always to contradict points of view that are entirely true, but individuals need to complete the assigned responsibilities according to their conscience. Mill stressed the only way that a person can believe that they are right is when they should have complete liberty to realize the self-contradictory and hence they themselves can reject old beliefs of their own. People have the capability to repair their mistakes, but it must be through experience and debate. The only way a person can be sure that he is right, just as he did not stop receiving different opinions, willing to wait to receive mixed opinions countered his beliefs.

John Stuart Mill said that the government has the responsibility to maintain firm belief for the whole society because it is very important for common prosperity. And only those who "*have no good intentions*" are attempting to undermine those beliefs. So when the government gives out a point, it needs to be discussed; once the government does not carry out discussions that means they feel uncertain about it. And so it is the stifling of dissent when it was in the name of the society, which has led to terrible mistakes in the history of mankind. John Stuart Mill said that the truth needs to be challenged and terrorized, because oppression is always something that the truth must be constantly faced if it will survive. But Mill also emphasized that it would be a mistake to always say that the truth will always get triumph over oppression. Because the human being will take centuries for the truth to reappear after it was suppressed. John

Stuart Mill said that today's society has not pushed the disagreements nor the truth to the extinction anymore. However, it was not the reason that the suppression of legal opinions were freed. The liberty of speech is not only from the government but it also stems from a lack of social tolerance. It will lead people always to hide their true perspective, leading to stifle knowledge and independent thought. The stifling liberty of thought will hurt the truth, whether the fact that a freethinker could lead to erroneous conclusions.

John Stuart Mill argued that the disagreement may be the truth because they can bring up some important points. However, Mill is not a relativist, he said that any idea can be true, when people knew that the truth always brings the benefits to social progress. John Stuart Mill claimed that the common belief is now undergoing a process of development which will take a very long time to reach its perfect state, therefore any dogma public opinion is also fallible.

He argues that, even if the comments are recognized widely by the public, it still needs to have the debate, otherwise it would become a "dead dogma" (John Stuart Mill [2006], p. 34). And to him how the of an opinion is, if it is not comfortably, regularly and completely discussed, it will be regarded as a dead dogma, not a living truth. And to him, "however true it may be, if it is not fully, frequently, and fearlessly discussed, it will be held as a dead dogma, not a living truth". John Stuart Mill pointed out that, while the real opinion is not actually discussed, the real meaning of the opinion may be lost. It is like the moral, and religious beliefs, when they did not bother to listen to the arguments against their beliefs when they can refute, nor having a discussion with those who disagree (if available) advocated by the religious arguments. It can often create timelines since then a recession started for the power of the doctrine alive. John Stuart Mill said that Christianity, faced with such a situation, the confidence of the people is not reflected in his behavior. As a result, the people do not really understand the teachings that they love, and misunderstand. That led them to serious mistakes. Mill gave the argument, "why should we not have agreement to be an indispensable condition of true knowledge? Is it necessarily a certain part of the human race that keeps insisting mistake, to let people understand the truth or not? He said that when mankind is better, the theory that people discuss or doubt will always rise up Therefore, the narrow gap between the conflicts is imperative and inevitable. Therefore, people should not overestimate or underestimate the benefits of it (the truth) generally.

To protect the right of liberty of thought, John Stuart Mill claimed that in case of conflicting doctrines, instead of doing the negative things to each other, doctrines should share the truth with one another. The new truth will better suit the needs of society and the dissidents often reflect part of the truth which is not recognized in popular opinion, it brings significant value. Thus, the popular opinion has to "pay attention to the evidence" that they offer. This issue we can see in politics, where the different opinions of both parties seem reasonable. In any open questions, which side has less common opinion at that time needs to get much more encouraging. Because this side is reflecting the concerns which are being underestimated by the community. John Stuart Mill argued that it is based on the principles of Christianity. Mill argued that he is not embarrassed to say that many important points in the theory were incomplete and one-sided.

John Stuart Mill said that in the liberal discussion it must be fair, and it is only achieved when the dissidents achieve high ethical standards in the discussion. To him for the sake of truth and justice, it is more important to refrain from using slanderous language than other languages. He said that the ethical debate is not the law, so that public opinion to look at individual cases, and keep the two sides so that they ensure the same standard. He argued that it is necessary to condemn a person, who, whatever sides he takes, regardless of which type of debate or is dishonest or

furtively, fanatical, or are intolerant of emotional expression, ...; and the need to honor anyone, ..., if he had considered calm attitude and honesty.

John Stuart Mill said, liberty of thought is a prerequisite, but it is not enough. And liberty of thought must be expressed fully only when liberty is revealed and with outward expression, there must be liberty of speech. He considered liberty of speech an effective weapon to defense against the tyranny of the "public opinion" proposed by the state or a social group. Liberty is not limited to liberty of thought, but there must also be physical liberty. It is expressed in the social environment and nature, expressed in each person's lifestyle, such liberty does not only focus on the individual, but relate to the whole society. John Stuart Mill advocated to set up association and the union liberally - not only for the bourgeois but also for middle class but also for working people. John Stuart Mill expressed concern over before "the tyranny of the majority" increasingly threatening the social liberty and personal politics derives from the elements and statements such as: "in our times, from the highest to the lowest social class, everybody has to live below eyes of censorship and terrifying hostility ". Mill is one of the very few thinkers to foresee the disadvantages of democratic institutions which tend to suppress minority groups politically and socially. He used the common interests of the whole society as the basis of his justification of liberty. After solving the problem of liberty of thought and liberty of speech John Stuart Mill went to the settlement of individual human liberty.

Liberal ideas of the individual in "On liberty" of John Stuart Mill.

With the question of whether people should be allowed to act according to their own opinions without facing punishment by law or social stigma, or not? Mill claimed that any behavior without plausible cause harms others, it can, and in more serious cases, be controlled by the public disagreement, if necessary, they must be people actively intervene to control. Thus, individual liberty must be limited much more; they are not allowed to make themselves annoying to others. However, if we respect the different opinions, it also becomes useful to Mill, because humans are imperfect, many different opinions are helpful ... there must be many candidates with different experiences of how to live; this field must be liberty for the different personalities that do not harm others. Thus, the various manifestations of personality are essential to the progress of individuals and society. John Stuart Mill recognized that the majority of people said that the character itself must be the main thing to make it suitable for everyone. But Mill argues that, while people need to be trained as children to accumulate knowledge and experience of the human race, they also need to have the liberty as an adult to explain the experience to suit their own needs. To Mill, anyone who has no desires and impulses of his own, has no personality, no more than about a steam engine with personality. John Stuart Mill stated that there must be more actions to prove that the developed human beings particularly, bring benefit to those who have not developed. To prove to those who have no desire to have liberty or cannot get it, understand that they can be rewarded for allowing other people to use liberty freely.

However, Mill stated that the genius individual is a minority, and it is probably the same all the time; but to have such people, we must take care of the environment in which the genius grows up, so that they can develop well. Genius can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of liberty. The individual genius by definition are those with more personality than others - so that they are unlikely to blend themselves seamlessly with a few stereotypes that society offers, aims to facilitate the members forming their own personality.

If the non- personality people tend not to see the value of the individual, and they are often shunned and snubbed the genius, Mill again considered that everyone should cherish what their uniqueness brings to the world. John

Stuart Mill said that, there is no ideal model and the best perfect for life. One who is fully grown has the right to choose the best life in their own way, because only they themselves know exactly what's best for them.

Personal liberty is essential to the progress of individuals and society, erosion and tyranny will make people not be able to learn anything from others. Mill said that the tyranny of custom features everywhere are permanent obstacles hindering people move forward, constantly antagonistic to the trend towards better habits, the trend that depending on the situation, still known as the spirit of liberty, the spirit of progressive or spirit of promotion. The diversity of European lifestyle has made social developments. To Mill the European must be grateful to the diversity in all aspects to progress and development polyhedron. However, it began to own the superiority in less extent. It is a solid move toward "ideal Chinese" which makes people look the same and that leveling cause the stagnation.

In view of social progress, John Stuart Mill believed it to be through a free development of the individual and dynamic set of interactions with people with many different personalities makes each individual improve themselves, similarly, through dissent and discussion the truth will be allowed to remain alive in the social. Meanwhile, in the opposite direction of compliance there will be only social stagnation. Mill pointed out the relationship between the liberty of man and society is an intimate connection, which is diverse and constantly adjusted to have a delicate balance.

The thought of the relationship between social authority and individual liberty.

Since the establishment of the right to personal liberty, Mill went to work establishing links between them with society. It starts to address three questions:

1. What is the right to limit the sovereignty of the individual to himself?
2. Where does authority of society begin?
3. How much of human life is spent on individuals and on society?"

The answer of John Stuart Mill is that each side receives proper share, if each side has its implicated things most. Personal belonging is the part of life that individuals most interested primarily; social belonging is the social part that most predominant concern. Mill said that, since people receive the protection of society, they must also comply with such behavior; individuals are not allowed to hurt the interests of others; individuals must share the burden of protecting society and its members from injury; individuals may be criticized by the public when they harm others. Thus, society has jurisdiction over any aspect of human behaviour when the behaviour of an individual that are detrimental to the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it However, society should not be concerned about someone's life when he does not affect anyone else except himself, or he can affect other people, but they have agreed that. John Stuart Mill said that such behavior should be accepted from both legal and social. He said that people should encourage others to use the full range of their abilities, and society should not arrest someone abandon the desire that he wanted to take in life just because I thought that it is good for him. He wrote in his book that people are most concerned for the welfare of themselves: except when there is a strong personal attachment; concerns are not worth anything else than their concern about themselves and all mistakes that a person can commit for not taking the advice of others are not as serious as the badness of the allowance of others to accept what they consider to be good for him. The punishment given will be accepted because the punishment is natural and spontaneous as a result of a wrong deed, rather than punishing those that intentionally inflicted on him with punitive purpose. However, the "punishment" should stop there, people do not have the right to speak disparagingly of someone's ethics and should not in any way

eliminate him. John Stuart Mill recognized the damage which a free man can cause to himself can have a serious impact on those close to him, both emotionally and beneficially, and to society he is living in. When a person's actions affect others, there should be critics to him violating the regulations of society.

John Stuart Mill determines the limits of the relationship between social authority and the people in it that it is capable of interfering improperly and unsuitably to human beings. Most universal tendency of humans is to expand the limit of moral, until it touches the legitimate liberty of the individual. Clearly, John Stuart Mill admitted that people do not completely isolated themselves from society, because each person's actions can affect others, this can be considered a point of not really convincing in his argument. He affirmed that individuals do not have to explain to the society about the acts to the extent that are not involved in the interests of anyone but himself. He individual must be responsible for the acts harmful to the interests of others and may be subject to social or legal punishment, if society should punish that kind or another to protect her. The State, while respecting the rights and liberty of every person in particular the only concerns him, must keep watch over the control of the implementation of his power that the State allows him it is for others.

He also said that the overlap of state power is very dangerous to have to decentralize power as much as possible, but the information needs to be to focus and popularity. There are certain restrictions in "*On liberty*" by John Stuart Mill, but it still has many applications for society today.

III. Discussion

From John Stuart Mill's research on the issue of freedom, it can be seen that his thought is prominent in relation to other doctrines such as; First, the doctrine of liberalism in the philosophy of John Stuart Mill. Mill's social doctrine is based on two fundamental principles: the principle of publicity and the principle of freedom. The principle of freedom is based on the principle of public benefit, and the principle of publicity, in turn, takes the concept of "happiness" as a premise, with the main point: the moral value of behavior and behavioral rules must be assessed with standards: they are beneficial for the well-being of the individuals involved. To that extent, the "*On Liberty*" should be explored in a close relationship with Mill's ethical theory. That argument suggests four others: First, behavior and behavioral rules are judged not from themselves but from the results they bring. Second, the results are evaluated from their benefits. Third, assess the benefits based on human happiness. And finally, this happiness is not only related to individuals but to all people.

Therefore, the principle of public benefit - as the standard for the moral value of behavior and behavioral rules - has two functions: the function of a standard to decide and select behaviors and behavioral rules that maximize the benefits for collective happiness and the function of moral is the overall behavioral rules for which if we compliance them, they can be the maximum benefit to collective happiness.

Thus, in this function, the principle of public benefit is a necessary and sufficient condition to consider whether a rule belongs to the moral or not. In other words, moral notions that do not meet this standard are not considered "moral".

In particular, it is necessary to determine what is the "benefit to maximize" for collective happiness. Sidgwick, in "*The Methods of Ethics*", distinguishes between "*public benefit theory of the total number of benefits*" and "*public benefit theory of per capita benefits*". So there are 2 approaches to the problem of maximizing happiness. First, the total benefit for happiness of all individuals is that the quantity needs to be maximized, as opposed to maximizing the per capita benefit in the second way. As long as the number of people does not change, the two theories do not change,

either. There is no difference in quantity between the two maximizing efforts. But, when the number of people is a variable, then, in principle, in the first way, collective happiness can be increased while maintaining the average benefit level. In contrast, in the second way, the average benefit only increases by increasing the individual benefits. Bentham - advocating the implementation of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people" advocates in the first way. In contrast, John Stuart Mill's public benefit theory can be considered as the second, Mill advocates that: based on the principle of public benefit, the moral value of behavior and behavioral rules must be considered in relation with per capita benefits for collective happiness.

Because the principle of public benefit assumes that collective happiness is the only criterion for the moral assessment of behavior and behavioral rules, Mill should make efforts to prove that collective happiness is the ultimate purpose of all actions thing. To solve this problem, he distinguishes two types of goals of behavior. One type includes the goals which are not self-worth but only a means to achieve happiness, such as money or wealth. The other includes the goals that are valuable in themselves, as constituent parts of happiness: for example, virtue and health, which cannot be considered as means.

Of course, Miller's "happy" concept met many problems. On the one hand, Mill intentionally uses this concept in a very broad sense to describe all purposes of action. But, in that case, it is difficult to identify or distinguish which behaviors and rules of behavior are beneficial or harmful to collective happiness. This is the point that Skorupski criticizes Mill's policy.

Another problem in the relationship between public interest and fairness is the issue of equitable distribution of collective benefits to relevant individuals. Although Mill always emphasized that when considering the collective benefits of behavioral and behavioral rules, it is necessary to pay attention to the well-being of everyone involved, but he does not propose methods and modes of distribution for this collective benefit. If only derived from collective benefits, the average distribution or distribution of incentives is not strictly set. To that extent, Mill's benefit theory lacks precision and needs to be complemented by auxiliary principles to ensure fair distribution.

If in "On liberty", John Stuart Mill presented the view of freedom and how to promote the progress of each person in society by freedom in the "Representative Government" (1861, published two years after The Mill's "On liberty") Mill summarized most of his thoughts over the years so that it became the most classic work in political science, providing real guidance in forming a stable and competent government. With the "Representative Government", he advocates establishing a representative democracy to strengthen the political influence of minority groups by stable institutions as well as protecting them with "the principle of freedom" which aimed at defining social intervention boundaries.

John Stuart Mill based on the principle of freedom and the principle of public benefit to provide a principle in state modeling, that is "the influence of government on the well-being of society can be considered or estimated in reference to nothing less than the whole of the interests of humanity"² and according to Mill, it is the representative government is the ideal model to ensure this. To clarify this choice, John Stuart Mill compared it to tyranny - the monarchy. Tyranny itself will make a society passive, it cannot guarantee benefits for the people, for personal freedom, all truths (at that time) are decided on their behalf by a will that is not their own and their disobedience will be guilty according to the law, so an authoritarian model is against the trend and aspirations of social development. John Stuart Mill proposed a new model to replace the outdated authoritarian model, which is the "Representative Government".

² John Stuart Mill (2008), *Representative Government*, p16

The ideal form of government is the form in which sovereignty, or right supreme control as a last resort, given to the entire community assembly; Each citizen not only has a voice in the use of that fundamental sovereignty, but at least occasionally is actually involved in governance by personally performing a certain function, locally or nationally.

However, John Stuart Mill does not stop at pointing out the ideal state model of society, how to build its apparatus, he goes even further in building an apparatus in which there is no phenomenon that the majority encroached on the minority, the majority exists and the minority is eliminated, John Stuart Mill wanted the state he directed to be where all the voices must be heard and respected, that state must really democratic avoid the phenomenon of "*tyranny of the majority*"³.

John Stuart Mill pointed out that the nature of democracy must really be the benefit of all members of society. "*Democracy ... means the equality of all citizens*"⁴ to avoid confusion with "*democracy ... is a government of privilege*"⁵, in favour of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the State"⁶. To him "democracy of the majority is a fake democracy," the most disgusting things that society needs to be against.

From the above argument, John Stuart Mill pointed out one of the principles to build a true democracy - where the civil liberties that Mill fought for life are voiced its voice, "... *Such a representative democracy as has now been sketched, representative of all, and not solely of the majority—in which the interests the opinions, the grades of intellect which are outnumbered would nevertheless be heard, and would have a chance of obtaining by weight of character and strength of argument an influence which would not belong to their numerical force—this democracy, which is alone equal, alone impartial, alone the government of all by all, the only true type of democracy—would be free from the greatest evils of the falsely-called democracies which now prevail, and from which the current idea of democracy is exclusively derived.*"⁷

According to Mill, in any democracy, education and training play a decisive role. He knew that in his time, the right to universal suffrage soon became a reality. All what matter are how to prepare for that day so that this right can be used effectively. His motto: "*universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement*"⁸. He firmly believes in human ability to improve and the ability to reform reality by reason and that the path of improvement is long-term. Therefore, he felt the need to find interim solutions for the situation.

He insisted that, in terms of education and intellectuals, the working people in his country, in general, were not ripe enough for democracy, though he always supported their political claims. He has just acknowledged their aspirations, both anxious - even afraid - of their "inadequacies." He insisted on strengthening the control of the executive apparatus, breaking the power of the aristocracy class, but without limiting private ownership, establishing a representative polity to expand the voice of "taxpayers." He warmly endorsed the right to vote for women and gender equality (in "*Subjection of Woman*", published ten years after "*On Liberty*"). A right that is too ordinary for us today, but a very thorny issue in the Victorian time! He was determined to fight the war and the war-torn state of Sparta. He was one of the first anti-militants in England.

³ John Stuart Mill (2008), *Representative Government*, p193

⁴ John Stuart Mill (2008), *Representative Government*, p84

⁵ John Stuart Mill (2008), *Representative Government*, p84

⁶ John Stuart Mill (2008), *Representative Government*, p84

⁷ John Stuart Mill (2008), *Representative Government*, p102-103

⁸ John Stuart Mill (2008), *Representative Government*, p106

(3) Freedom and social progress. When John Stuart Mill was regarded as a thinker of the famous political economy, Mill's economic views had a profound vitality and power not only in Britain but also in many countries in Europe. Among his economic writings, *Principles of Political Economy* published in 1848 is one of the most famous works, it has been used as coursebook of economy in the United Kingdom, until it was replaced in 1890 by Alfred Marshall's *Principles of Economics*. In his economic ideas, Mill conducted surveys on contemporary economic thought (to highlight David Ricardo's theories, but also included some of his own contributions on other topics such as international trade) and exploring applications for economic ideas on social issues. In the last two chapters, John Stuart Mill's economic point of view has strong connections to the ideology of liberty and publicism that he spent a lot of time researching.

In Book IV of "*Political-Economic Principles*" John Stuart Mill has shown a special interest in social progress through the argument concerning women's liberation. Throughout his life, Mill was a supporter of social reform, his work "*The Subjection of Women*" published in 1869 marked him as one of the first people of the new era to support women, women's rights and voting rights. John Stuart Mill wrote many articles and gave a number of speeches that marked the beginning of male support activities to liberate women. The political and economic principle that John Stuart Mill argued was that he thought liberating women was good, it was a special way for women to participate in the social workforce. John Stuart Mill encouraged women to join the workforce, and encouraged those in power to allow women to be given the freedom to participate in the labor force, where the male had long dominated. He launched a campaign to end women's dependence on men, as he considered it an unfortunate remnant of old society and people should discard it soon to support a progressive system. A new society is the place where sex is not the only determinant of the development of potential possibilities in each person. John Stuart Mill is particularly interested in the relationship between the progress of society and the economic activity of that society. His definition of social progress is diversity. The rise of knowledge, individually and collectively, is also considered an important factor. Improving the protection of citizens is also essential, attention must be paid to protecting the health, life and property of each citizen, with tax policy reform. Society needs to avoid unnecessary wars as well as an expression needed to assess the level of social progress. Improved efficiency improvements, and the practical work of the people through education and business need to be praised.

Despite being a campaigner for social progress and social reform, John Stuart Mill does not particularly say that social progress is not infinite, without improvements in production and flow management. Social wealth can easily go to a state of stagnation. Mill comes to speculation about the workers in the future, education can cause social change on a large scale and completely unprecedented. Education is considered the biggest tool for empowering the working class.

John Stuart Mill was a thermo advocate of personal freedom, and argued that the government should not participate in the privacy of every citizen. The freedom in Mill's view is a form of freedom in which there is no acceptance of obstacles, difficulties, or coercion on the path to achieving freedom. In addition to this understanding, freedom is also understood to include the condition to achieve freedom, which assumes that the form of possession of physical resources, educational level, or opportunity to participate in A new political system guarantees freedom for each individual. The view of freedom embraces Mill's idea - as well as his conception of publicity, education, democracy ... are directed towards society. In the chapter "*On the Probable Futurity of the Labor Classes*" in "*The Principles of Political Economy*", he agrees to admit the claim of the working class to have equal rights in politics and - as a prerequisite - active participation in the country's educational and training activities; the freedom of association of

the working class, which supports the establishment of cooperatives, workers' organizations and trade unions; breaking the political and economic rights of the aristocracy class....

For Mill, socialism is not the near goal of a social upheaval, but a long-term perspective toward the future. He advocated maintaining private ownership, improving it and enabling workers to participate and grow in the capital accumulation process. For him, socialism is an object of careful scientific research and critique, and a process of experimentation in practice. It is not necessarily immutable as a result of science, on the contrary, to prove itself right through that dual process. Economic determinism or history is not present in his worldview.

Although he was very afraid of abuse of state power, he did not approve of the "minimum state" concept of early liberalism. In parallel with delimiting its boundaries, Mill gave the state many functions - even the right to restrict personal freedom - to carry out the task of strengthening people's "happiness". In Chapter V, *"The Principles of Political Economy"*, he gives the state the following rights to restrict freedom of citizens: The state has the right to force parents to send their children to school. Education and training are the most important conditions for the implementation of democratic institutions. Enlightenment by education is a prerequisite for human self-liberation in freedom. However, in education, the state should only have a supporting role. The state does not embrace education on its own, but only ensures a financial and institutional basis for all citizens - regardless of their origin - to enjoy a liberal education. In addition, the state also has the task of supporting culture, science and research, especially the development of universities.

Thus we can draw some value when studying John Stuart Mill's view as follows:

Firstly, we can see that the first value in "On liberty" by John Stuart Mill is the liberty of individuals and the rights of individuals in relation to society. This is a problem many people are especially interested in, although this work is not the first to mention the liberty of the individual in history, but it is the work of the most persuasive. "On liberty" was explained in a satisfactory manner on the imposition of society to the liberty of the individual and the individuals must give their liberty to society. The submission is inevitable but he said that it could not be handed all their liberty to invisible medium because it will lead to alienation of individuals. Alienation of the individual will be the social causes for setbacks. John Stuart Mill named Personal liberty as "civil liberties". With the idea that struggles will bring liberty to individual to build a good society, it is a progressive value.

Secondly, liberal ideas in "On liberty" by John Stuart Mill emphasizes ethics and equal rights. All are classified however it must be linked to the national interest. John Stuart Mill said that all thoughts and views must be anonymous ethics. To Mill, one with a rising prestige class, the majority of the morality of this country comes from the middle and lower class and benefit from the sense of this superior class over it. With this perspective, it is said that there is a similarity between the ideology of class character of J.S. Mill and Karl Marx, "In every age the ideas of the ruling class is the dominant ideas ... any class which dominate materials in society is also the dominant one in social spirit. However, Mill also emphasized that although all issues belong to all classes. It must be universal. He said that what is expected from the authority is the consistency with the people, that the interests and will of them will be those of the nation". Because the concept that class interests must be linked to the national interests. So Mill said that personal ethics must be associated with social ethics. To get good results in education, besides teaching, convincing measures is necessary. Force should not be applied, but persuading measure is the best. This perspective brings value not only in the past but still today.

Thirdly, liberal idea in "On liberty" by John Stuart Mill is "dialogue". A simple idea as "dialogue is the measures towards liberty" of J.S. Mill has enormous value. John Stuart Mill advocated to build a free society, all

individuals in that society must have liberty of speech, respect people's views, respect for the truth. He said that people should be free to form opinions and express their opinions freely without hiding. Human nature to human society must be developed and revered his talent to serve themselves and the nation.

In this work, he also condemned the downside of industrial society which erodes in the good moral values of society. Facing this situation, John Stuart Mill was trying to find a political solution to the rescue of liberty, for individuals. Not stopping there, John Stuart Mill was given liberal ideas in other areas, including liberty of education. He aims to establish a deep, wide and advanced educational system to equip individuals the knowledge and skills so that they can control themselves and society. He also said that personal liberty has close ties with the liberty of society. It is a clever combination between political ideology with pragmatism with positiveness that has clear proof for his dialectical perspective. At this point, we can assert that liberal idea in "On liberty" of John Stuart Mill is deeply humane and remain valid today.

IV. Conclusion

Liberal ideas in the work "On liberty" of John Stuart Mill was born for the purpose of protecting individual liberty, liberty of thought, liberty of speech. He has put the personal liberty in relation to the liberty of social and individual liberty so that it ensures the liberty of other individuals. It can be seen that the core content of the work is directed to the healthy development and liberty of every member of society. With the work "On liberty", John Stuart Mill has created a new face in building "*Representative Government*". In that state, all members will have the opportunity to present their will to other people in the society. The progressive ideas of liberty of John Stuart Mill still retain its position today, especially, the governments of developing countries.

However, it would be more complete if the article deeply explored John Stuart Mill's use of thought into a specific model and then we proceeded to investigate its feasibility in social progress. This is for our next research and for those who is interested in studying the same issue.

REFERENCES

1. Karl Marx and Ph.Ang. 2001. *Vol. Episode 3*, Politics publisher, Hanoi.
2. Mill, J.S. 1859. "*On Liberty*". Gertrude Himmelfarb, UK: Penguin, 1985.
3. Mill, J.S. 1861. *Representative Government*, Batoche Books, Kitchener 2001
4. Mill, J.S. (1806-1873). "*The Contest in America*." Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Volume 24, Issue 143, Harper & Bros. New York, April 1862.
5. Mill, J.S. 1875. *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical, and Historical* (New York 1874) Vol. 3.