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**(PAPER 1 SECTION A)**

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<b>POLITICAL THEORY: MEANING AND IT'S APPROACHES .....</b>	<b>10</b>
What is Political Theory? .....	10
Political science versus Political Philosophy.....	11
Political Theory versus political science.....	11
Significance of political Theory .....	12
Evolution of Political Theory.....	12
<b>APPROACHES.....</b>	<b>14</b>
Difference between Traditional approach and Contemporary approach .....	14
Difference between Normative and empirical approach.....	14
Significance of a normative approach to political theory.....	15
Traditional approaches.....	16
Philosophical approach.....	16
Historical approach.....	16
Legal approach.....	17
Institutional approach .....	17
Contemporary approaches.....	17
Behavioral approach .....	18
Decline of Behaviouralism and rise of Post-Behaviouralism .....	19
The Decline of Political Theory.....	20
Resurgence of Political Theory.....	21
New themes evolved during the resurgence of political theory:.....	22
<b>THEORIES OF STATES .....</b>	<b>24</b>
What is the State exactly? .....	24
<b>THEORIES OF STATES .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<i>Liberal theory of state.....</i>	<i>27</i>
Comparison of social contract: Hobbes Locke and Rousseau.....	28
Liberal perspectives of state.....	30
Classical Liberal perspective .....	30
Theory of Laissez Faire:.....	30
Utilitarianism.....	31
Sociological foundations of laissez faire.....	31
Positive liberal/ welfare state perspective.....	32
Why Positive liberalism? .....	32
Philosophy of Positive Liberalism .....	32
The Positive Liberal State/ the Welfare State.....	32
Neoliberal perspective .....	34
What is libertarianism? .....	35
Perspective of Friedrich Von Hayek.....	35
Perspective of Robert Nozick .....	36
Perspectives of Milton Friedman.....	36
Critical evaluation of Neoliberal state.....	36
Marxist Perspective of State.....	37
Hegel's influence on Marxist understanding of State .....	37
Marxist theory of origin of State .....	37
State: An instrument of dominant class.....	38
State in Neo-Marxist thought: Relative autonomy of state .....	38
Different perspectives on Relative Autonomy of state .....	39
Critical assessment of Marx's idea of state: .....	40

Pluralist Perspective of State .....	40
What is a Pluralist State? .....	41
Two Strands of Pluralist Theory of State .....	42
Criticism of Pluralist theory of State .....	44
Neo-pluralist Theory of State .....	44
Post Colonial Perspective of State .....	45
Liberal Perspective .....	47
Gunnar Myrdal's concept of Soft State.....	48
Models of Political Development .....	48
Lucian Pye on Political Development .....	48
Samuel Huntington on Political development.....	49
Fred Riggs' Prismatic Societies Model.....	49
Neo-Marxist Perspective.....	50
AG Frank's Theory of Underdevelopment.....	51
Immanuel Wallerstein's World System Theory .....	51
Criticism of Dependency Theories .....	51
Relative Autonomy of State/Theory of Overdeveloped State: Hamza Alavi .....	52
Feminist Perspective of State .....	55
Liberal Feminist Perspective:.....	56
Marxist Feminist Perspective .....	57
Radical Feminist Perspective.....	58
Socialist Feminist Perspective .....	59
Other Feminist Perspectives .....	60
Post modern Feminist Perspective .....	61
<b>JUSTICE.....</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>PYQS:.....</b>	<b>62</b>
Distributive idea of justice: Various criteria .....	64
Needs-based justice .....	64
Desert/ Merit Based justice .....	64
Equality based justice.....	65
What is Procedural justice? .....	65
Substantive justice.....	67
JOHN RAWLS: THEORY OF JUSTICE .....	67
<b>HOW DOES RAWLS CRITICIZE THE UTILITARIAN THEORY OF JUSTICE? .....</b>	<b>68</b>
What is the original position? .....	69
Veil of Ignorance.....	69
THE TWO PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE AS FAIRNESS .....	71
Analysis of the Two Principles .....	71
Does Rawls defend inequality through his two principles? .....	72
But, Why should we accept the two principles?.....	73
What after finalising the theory of justice? .....	73
Evaluation of Rawls Theory of Justice .....	74
C B Macpherson's Criticism of Rawls .....	74
Communitarian critique of Rawlsian theory of Justice .....	74
Libertarian Critique of Rawls Theory of Justice .....	76
Amartya Sen's Criticism of Rawls and His Idea of Justice.....	77
Amartya Sen: Capability Approach .....	78
Feminist Critique of Rawlsian Theory of Justice .....	79
Marxist Critique of Rawls Theory of Justice .....	79

Rawls's response to the critique .....	79
<b>EQUALITY .....</b>	<b>80</b>
History of equality debate .....	81
Equality: Fair treatment vs Equal treatment .....	84
Dimensions of Equality .....	84
Legal Equality.....	85
Political Equality.....	85
Economic Equality.....	85
Social Equalities .....	86
Formal Equality:.....	87
Equality of Opportunity .....	87
Equality of Outcomes .....	89
Inequality .....	89
Liberty/ Freedom, Equality and Justice.....	91
Liberty/Freedom and equality.....	91
Justice and equality:.....	93
Dworkin's view on equality: .....	94
Complex equality: Michael Walzer .....	94
Marxist concept of equality .....	95
Affirmative Action .....	96
Debate on Reverse Discrimination .....	97
<b>RIGHTS .....</b>	<b>99</b>
Rights: Meaning and nature.....	99
What are Negative and Positive rights?.....	102
Negative Rights .....	102
Positive Rights .....	102
What are the different kinds of rights? .....	103
Legal Theory of Rights .....	106
Historical Theory of Rights.....	107
Social Welfare Theory of Rights .....	109
Libertarian Theory of Rights.....	110
Communitarian Theory of Rights .....	113
The multicultural challenge to the liberal theory of rights.....	114
Marxist Theory of Rights.....	116
Human Rights .....	117
The Three Generation of Rights .....	119
Challenges to the idea of Human rights: Asian Values.....	120
Conclusion .....	121
<b>DEMOCRACY.....</b>	<b>122</b>
Classical notion of Democracy .....	124
Justification for democracy: Intrinsic and Instrumental .....	127
Understanding the democracy and its defects .....	128
Defects of Democracy .....	128
Types of Democracy .....	129
Direct Democracy.....	129
Representative Democracy.....	130
Participatory Democracy .....	131



Deliberative Democracy .....	133
Procedural Democracy vs Substantive Democracy.....	135
Elitist theory of Democracy.....	136
Pluralist theories of democracy .....	138
Dahl's Polyarchy.....	140
Neo-Pluralist theory of Democracy .....	140
MACPHERSON'S Concept of Democracy/ Radical theory of democracy .....	141
Globalization and Cosmopolitan democracy.....	142
<b>CONCEPT OF POWER .....</b>	<b>143</b>
Understanding of power: since Greek to modern .....	145
Different forms of Power .....	146
Three dimensional view of Power by Steven Lukes .....	146
Various perspectives on Power .....	148
MARXIST APPROACH .....	148
Western approach to the power.....	148
Elite theory of power.....	149
Group perspective on power - Pluralist theory of Power.....	151
Hannah Arendt on Power – A constructive view of Power .....	151
Authority and Power .....	152
Authority.....	152
Concept of power, hegemony, and legitimacy.....	155
Power and Legitimacy.....	156
Theories of Legitimacy.....	157
Legitimation Crisis .....	159
Revolution .....	161
<b>IDEOLOGIES .....</b>	<b>164</b>
Ideology and totalitarianism.....	169
End of Ideology debate .....	171
End of History Debate .....	174
<b>LIBERALISM .....</b>	<b>175</b>
Idealism.....	176
Liberalism .....	177
STREAMS OF LIBERAL THOUGHT .....	180
Classical liberalism/negative liberalism.....	180
Intellectual source of classical liberalism.....	180
Positive liberalism or Welfare state.....	182
Exponents of Positive liberalism or Welfare state.....	182
NEO-LIBERALISM.....	184
Context of origin of Neo-liberalism .....	184
<b>WASHINGTON CONSENSUS.....</b>	<b>185</b>
Exponents of libertarianism .....	185
<b>GLOBALIZATION AND NEO-LIBERALISM .....</b>	<b>188</b>
Social Liberalism.....	189
Liberalism as an amorphous ideology.....	190
Present status of Neoliberalism .....	190
Neoliberalism: the idea that swallowed the world .....	190
We must move on from neoliberalism in the post-COVID era.....	191

<b>FASCISM .....</b>	<b>192</b>
FASCISM .....	192
Authority .....	197
Benito Mussolini .....	199
<b>MARXISM .....</b>	<b>200</b>
DOCTRINE OF CLASS CONFLICT .....	205
Later Development: post Marx .....	212
MAOISM .....	214
NEO-MARXISM.....	215
Frankfurt School .....	216
Structuralist School.....	217
<b>SOCIALISM.....</b>	<b>219</b>
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM .....	222
Revolutionary and Evolutionary Socialism.....	223
Fabianism .....	224
<b>GANDHISM .....</b>	<b>228</b>
Political Thoughts of Gandhi .....	229
Gandhi's views on Truth.....	230
Gandhi's views on Non –violence .....	231
Gandhi's views on Socialism.....	231
Gandhian Equality .....	232
SARVODAYA .....	233
GANDHIAN TRUSTEESHIP THEORY .....	235
Gandhi's views on State .....	235
Ramrajya-the ideal society of Gandhi – a state of ethics and morality .....	236
Gandhi on Caste and Untouchability .....	238
Gandhi's views on Democracy.....	239
India: Democracy versus Mobocracy and Gandhi .....	240
Gandhi on Fascism.....	242
Gandhi on decentralization.....	242
Democratic Development through Decentralization.....	243
Gandhi on Power.....	245
Gandhi on Rights and Duties .....	246
GANDHIAN THEORY OF SATYAGRAHA .....	247
Difference between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance .....	248
GANDHI ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION/ HIND SWARAJ .....	249
GANDHIAN SWARAJ.....	250
Gandhian concept of Means And Ends In Politics .....	250
RELEVANCE OF GANDHI.....	252
Gandhi and Modern Political Thought .....	253
<b>MULTICULTURALISM .....</b>	<b>255</b>
Evolution and understanding.....	255
Core themes in Multiculturalism.....	256
CULTURE AND IDENTITY .....	257
MINORITY RIGHTS .....	257

DIVERSITY .....	258
TYPES OF MULTICULTURALISM .....	258
Liberal Multiculturalism .....	259
Pluralist multiculturalism .....	259
Cosmopolitan multiculturalism .....	260
<i>Views of Bhikhu Parekh (1935)</i> .....	260
CHALLENGES TO MULTICULTURALISM .....	261
IDEA OF DIFFERENTIATED CITIZENSHIP .....	261
CRITIQUE TO MULTICULTURALISM .....	262
<b>POST-MODERNISM.....</b>	<b>264</b>
Prominent Postmodernist Scholars .....	265
Jean-François Lyotard.....	265
Foucault.....	265
Jacques Derrida.....	265
Comparison between Modernism and Postmodernism.....	265
Knowledge- Power Connection by Foucault- A Postmodern understanding .....	266
Power is Everywhere by Foucault.....	267
Governmentality by Foucault .....	267
<b>POST-COLONIALISM .....</b>	<b>268</b>
Rise of post colonialism .....	268
What post colonialists think of Power?.....	269
CONTRIBUTIONS OF IMPORTANT EXPONENTS OF POST-COLONIALISM.....	270
Edward Said and orientalism.....	270
Gayatri Spivak and the subaltern.....	270
Homi K. Bhabha and Concept of Hybridity .....	271
Feminist Analyses of the Postcolonial State .....	271
Importance of Post Colonialism.....	272
Criticism of Post Colonialism .....	272
<b>PLATO.....</b>	<b>273</b>
Theory of Ideas .....	276
THEORY OF JUSTICE.....	278
Theory of Education.....	279
Plato's Communism .....	281
Communism of family.....	282
COMPARISON WITH MODERN COMMUNISM.....	282
STATE AND GOVERNMENT .....	283
PLATO AS FEMINIST.....	286
Assessment of Plato as a thinker.....	286
<b>ARISTOTLE .....</b>	<b>287</b>
Theory of state .....	288
The state is a community:.....	289
It is the highest of all communities .....	289
Aristotle's justification of Slavery .....	289
Criticism to Aristotle's justification of slavery .....	290
Rule of Law and Constitution .....	291

Classification of government .....	291
Theory of Revolution .....	293
DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.....	295
CITIZENSHIP.....	296
Aristotle's Critique to Plato .....	297
Critique to Plato's conception of Ideal state .....	298
Critique to Plato's communism .....	298
Critique to Plato's Philosopher king.....	300
Aristotle's critique of Plato's Idealism:.....	300
Evaluation of Aristotle as a thinker.....	301
<b>THOMAS HOBBS .....</b>	<b>301</b>
Birth of Hobbes and his times .....	302
Hobbes as father of modern political science.....	303
Human nature according to Hobbes.....	303
State of nature .....	304
Principal cause of conflict was within the nature of man.....	304
The nature of Social contract .....	305
Hobbes on Sovereign Leviathan .....	306
Rights and Duties of the Sovereign.....	308
Hobbes, Liberalism, and Modern Politics .....	309
<b>JOHN LOCKE .....</b>	<b>310</b>
STATE OF NATURE IN LOCKE .....	312
WHY SOCIAL CONTRACT?.....	312
Locke's Social Contract Theory: Two Contracts .....	314
Features of Lockean state .....	314
Limitations of Government .....	315
Separation of Powers and the Dissolution of Government .....	316
Natural Rights and Private Property .....	317
Locke on Toleration .....	318
<b>JOHN STUART MILL.....</b>	<b>320</b>
J S MILL as a critic of Utilitarianism.....	323
Defence of Individual Freedom and Individuality .....	324
Mill on Liberty .....	326
Liberty of action.....	326
Defence of freedom of association.....	326
Defence of Freedom of thought and expression .....	327
J S Mill as a Feminist .....	330
John Stuart Mill and His Representative Government .....	331
Democracy and Representative Government.....	332
<b>GRAMSCI .....</b>	<b>335</b>
Gramsci's concept of ideology and state.....	340
<b>MACHIAVELLI .....</b>	<b>342</b>
Niccolo Machiavelli .....	342
Renaissance and its Impact.....	342
CRITICISM OF MACHIAVELLI'S IDEA OF HUMAN NATURE.....	345

Analysis of Corruption and Civic Virtue .....	345
Attitude towards Religion .....	346
Modern secular nation state.....	347
POLITICAL REALISM.....	348
Qualities of Machiavelli's Prince .....	349
Chanakya and Machiavelli - Two Realists in Comparison.....	349
<b>HANNAH ARENDT.....</b>	<b>352</b>
ARENDT'S THOUGHT: CONTEXT AND INFLUENCES .....	353
On Totalitarianism .....	353
The Human Condition .....	354
THE <i>VITA ACTIVA</i> : LABOR, WORK AND ACTION .....	354
ON REVOLUTION .....	357
EICHMANN AND THE "BANALITY OF EVIL" .....	357
HANNAH ARENDT'S CONCEPT OF POWER.....	358
INFLUENCE OF HANNAH ARENDT ON POLITICAL THOUGHT .....	358
Criticism of Hannah Arendt .....	359
<b>INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT.....</b>	<b>361</b>
<b>KAUTILYA.....</b>	<b>361</b>
DEFINITION OF STATE .....	361
Aim of the state .....	362
Ancient Vedic literature.....	362
THE SAPTANGA THEORY: ELEMENTS OF STATE .....	362
SWAMI .....	363
AMATYA .....	364
JANPAD.....	364
FORTS (DURGA).....	364
KOSHA (TREASURY) .....	365
DANDA OR ARMY .....	365
ALLIES-MITRANI .....	366
Functions of the state .....	366
<b>MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI .....</b>	<b>368</b>
<i>Introduction</i> .....	368
Gandhi's views on Truth.....	368
Gandhi's views on Non –violence .....	369
Gandhi's views on Socialism.....	370
Gandhi's views on State .....	370
Ramrajya-the ideal society of Gandhi – a state of ethics and morality .....	371
Gandhi's views on Democracy.....	373
Gandhi on decentralization .....	374
GANDHIAN TRUSTEESHIP THEORY.....	374
GANDHIAN THEORY OF SATYAGRAHA .....	375
Features.....	375
GANDHI ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION/ HIND SWARAJ .....	376
GANDHIAN SWARAJ.....	377
SARVODAYA .....	377
Principles of the Sarvodaya .....	377

RELEVANCE OF GANDHI .....	378
<b>MANVENDRA NATH ROY (1893-1954) .....</b>	<b>379</b>
M.N. Roy's Criticism on Marxism .....	379
ROY ON RADICAL HUMANISM/NEW HUMANISM .....	380
Features of Radical/New Humanism.....	381
ROY'S PERCEPTION ON RADICAL DEMOCRACY .....	382
Principles of Radical democracy.....	382
<b>BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR (1891-1956) .....</b>	<b>383</b>
Introduction.....	383
Socio-political ideas of Ambedkar.....	383
AMBEDKAR ON SOCIAL DEMOCRACY .....	385
Classification of Democracy .....	386
Political Democracy.....	386
Social Democracy.....	387
Economic Democracy.....	387
Conditions for successful working of democracy.....	388
AMBEDKAR ON STATE SOCIALISM .....	388
DIFFERENCES WITH THE MARXIST VIEW .....	389

## POLITICAL THEORY: MEANING AND IT'S APPROACHES

### Previous Year Questions

2020: Discuss the significance of normative approach to political theory. (15)

2019 Comment on: Resurgence of political theory. (10)

2018 Comment on: Decline of Political Theory (10)

2016 Comment on: The Post-Behavioural Approach. (10)

2014 Comment on: " ... political theory is not an escape mechanism but an arduous calling." (John Plamanatz) (10)

2012 Difference between normative and empirical theories of politics (10)

According to **George Catlin**, Political theory includes Political Science and political philosophy, where science is concerned with means while philosophy is concerned with the end.

**John Plamenatz** defines it as, "Analysis of political vocabulary and Critical examination verification and justification of political augments"

### What is political?

The term **"Political"** is derived from the word **"polis"** which literally means the city. It is a place with the common world described as a community. Politics is hence related to the management of the community. It involves decision making within and about the community.

Over the period of time, the meaning of politics has changed. In classical Greece, it referred to fundamental decisions about the community presupposing the collective power of the entire community. The Greek city States evolved comprehensive politics of collective social good encompassing public and private but in contemporary times the meaning of politics is taken to be the domain of public life and private life is kept separate from politics.

The study of politics involves two subdivisions: (a) Political Theory/ philosophy and (b) Political Science

### WHAT IS POLITICAL THEORY?

The theory is an idea or set of ideas that in some way seek to impose order or meaning on a phenomenon. It also refers to systematic knowledge. Thus, Political Theory refers to systematic knowledge of the political phenomenon.

**Political theory** involves the analytical study of ideas and concepts that are central to political thought. Its evolution is generally traced from the tradition of thoughts from Plato to Marx

**Political philosophy** is a branch of learning primarily concerned with the moral and substantive dimension of politics. It can be used loosely to cover any abstract thought about politics, law or Society. Philosophy in general



terms means the search for wisdom and understanding. It is a critical evaluation of political belief and attempts to clarify and refine the concepts employed in political discourse.

### **Political science**

Political science is essentially empirical. It tries to describe, analyze, and explain government and other political institutions in an impartial manner. According to **David Easton**, political science could adopt the methodology of natural sciences.

### **Scope of Political Theory**

The scope of Political Theory involves two aspects.

1. **The focus of study**
2. **Method to study the subject.**

The focus would involve different political ideas, concepts and theories along with the study of Institutions and behavior while the method of study can be divided into empirical and normative studies. The word empirical suggests descriptive/ scientific method while normative refers to the philosophical method.

According to **Andrew Hacker**, every political scientist has to play a double role i.e., part scientist and part philosopher.

### **POLITICAL SCIENCE VERSUS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**

**Andrew Hacker** says that political theory as a “theory, in ideal terms, is dispassionate and disinterested. As a science, it will describe political reality without trying to pass judgment on what is being depicted, either implicitly or explicitly. As a philosophy, it will describe rules of conduct that will secure a good life for all of society”.

Political theory involves three aspects of understanding: empirical, logical, and evaluative. Political science can be distinguished from political philosophy as it relies on the first two aspects while philosophy involves a value judgment.

Political science believes that with correct observation and reasoning different people would arrive at a similar conclusion while using value judgment different people will have different preferences. In the scientific approach, verification is possible using empirical and logical statements but in the philosophical approach, there is no method of deciding right or wrong.

Political science deals with the fact of political life whereas philosophy is concerned with values. Political philosophy deals with the needs & objectives of human life which cannot be scientifically ascertained.

### **POLITICAL THEORY VERSUS POLITICAL SCIENCE**

#### **Example:**

While studying **Democracy** ->

Political scientists will be interested in the process at work within the democracy while the

Political philosophers will be interested in understanding the meaning of democracy.

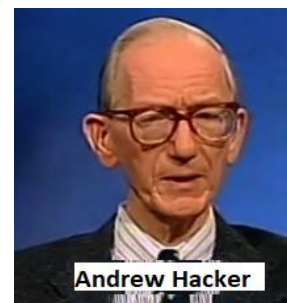
As a discipline, **political science** is much more comprehensive and includes different forms of speculation in politics such as political thought, political theory, political philosophy, political ideology, law and organizations etc.

*Andrew Hacker describes Political theory as a never-ending conversation among theorists.*

**Political science** is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behavior, generalizations about man and political institutions on empirical evidence, and the role of power in society.

Political theory, on the other hand, is **not only concerned about the behavioral study of the political phenomena from empirical point of view but also about prescribing the goals which states, governments, societies and citizens ought to pursue**. Political theory also aims to generalize about the right conduct in political life and about the legitimate use of power.

*According to David Held, in absence of political theory and its systematic pursuit, there is a danger of politics being left to the ignorant.*



### SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

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Political Theory is a form of systematic reflection on:

1. Description of political incident
2. Its philosophical and scientific understanding
3. Selection of objectives and works
4. Moral basis for a political arrangement

Clarity about these reflections enables us to understand social and political problems. Scientific analysis enables us to understand and solve these problems while political philosophy guides us towards betterment.

The tradition of Political theory has encouraged an order of dignified debate between proponents of opposing thoughts. The two branches of Political Theory i.e. science and philosophy together perform the task of description, criticism, and reconstruction of ideas/concepts.

The **understanding of Political theory has become more important in the present-day world order facing challenges such as Poverty, population corruption, injustice, Conflict**. The important work of Political Theory is to deeply study and analyze these problems and provide alternative means to the political leaders

### EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL THEORY

---

As **Andrew Hacker** says, political theory is a never-ending debate between the theorists. The spatial and temporal impact on the thought process has led to the seamless evolution of western political thought from the ancient Greek philosophers to current times

The Ancient Greek Philosophers were idealists who thought of politics as a subset of philosophy. **Socrates** held that there is no distinction between politics and ethics. The ultimate aim of having a good life filled with knowledge led them to believe in the utility and virtue of the state. The foundation of political science was laid by **Socrates and Plato**. During ancient times, the Greeks developed critical thinking and the method of dialectics.

Plato's disciple Aristotle brought elements of practicality in the thinking of politics and is considered the father of Political Science. Aristotle had desired to make political science a master science making it interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary. Both **Plato and Aristotle**, considered the state as a source of virtue and natural institution maintaining equality and justice though they differed in the conception of state and king. The focus on the importance of state over people and community over individual led to a lack of value to the individuality and dignity of human beings which is reflected in the theory of slavery by **Aristotle**.

During mediaeval Times political science was a sub-discipline of the religious authority of church the authority of state it was considered as dark era. This period saw the decline of political thought in the west as it was eclipsed by religion and the state and its authority had to accept the superiority of religion (Church). The divine rights theory of kingship provided unhindered powers to the ruling class to rule.

With the birth of the Renaissance, reformation, and enlightenment movement, human life came to be accorded central importance. These movements along with the scientific revolution impacted western political thought and brought in fundamental changes.

Towards the end of the mediaeval period **Machiavelli** developed the realist approach towards political science. In his "The Prince", he separated politics from ethics and religion. **Thomas Hobbes, Descartes** used principles of science to understand political questions. Utilitarianism made human pleasure the foundation of political decision-making and revolutionized western political thought.

Thinkers like **John Locke and Rousseau** gave the concept of popular sovereignty to different degrees and focused on human cooperation which ultimately gave rise to modern liberal democratic political thought. Liberty, equality, and justice became the motto of the age with these values inspiring American and French revolutions.

The race for markets and colonies led to rise in imperialism. Within the western world also the gap between rich and poor kept on widening. To arrest the growth of inequality there was the emergence of socialism which aimed at equitable redistribution of resources. Its exponents were **Charles Fourier, Saint Simon and Robert Owen**.

The industrial revolution adopted a factory system of production. Profiteering by capitalists led to exploitation of workers. **Karl Marx** criticized the bourgeois dominance over the economic class and gave a class-based understanding of politics. His dialectic materialism countered dialectic idealism of Hegel and declared ideology as false consciousness and necessity of revolution for absolute equality and justice.

Hence, the political theory, since its inception has seen changes in scale, scope, methodology, and teleology. The classical thinkers emphasized on knowledge, laid more emphasis on order, stability and harmony in the social life, and tried to provide a prescription of a perfect life.

On the other hand, the modern thinkers took the political inquiry nearer to science, facts, objectivity and focused on what the reality is rather than what it is supposed to be.

The attempt to build a science of politics is a distinctly modern endeavor based on interdisciplinary approach and facts-based theorization. Both the contemporary broad streams of liberalism and Marxism, hence, claim to present a scientific theory of political life of the world.

## APPROACHES

### Introduction to approaches

In general parlance, approach means various ways or methods which can be applied to study, understand, and examine particular phenomena or subjects.

### What is an approach?

In Political Science, **Vernon Van Dyke** considers approach as defining criteria for selecting problems, reliable data and appropriate procedures for utilizing them to arrive at conclusion.

In Social Sciences term approach is sometimes interchanged with the term method. However method is procedure for obtaining and utilizing the data while approach focuses on their selection. Thus, approach may belong to a particular method but method may not always be attached to a particular approach. For example, behavioral approach is also scientific method and normative approach philosophical method.

## DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TRADITIONAL APPROACH AND CONTEMPORARY APPROACH

Along with the history of the development of political science, various Scholars have used several approaches for understanding purposes. In terms of time, approaches are broadly divided into traditional and contemporary types. Though the division is not watertight, broadly speaking traditional approaches are very dominated by the study of philosophy, law, history, and institutions while in the contemporary approach, the focus is on the behavior of different actors in politics.

The beginning of the contemporary approach can be traced to the end of the Second World War; Political Science faced the challenge of identity and relevance. In order to bring political science at par with other Social Sciences, political scientists give prominence to the empirical approach while the traditional approach largely remained normative. However, both empirical and normative approaches are present in traditional as well as modern political science.

For example, **Aristotle's comparative analysis of constitution**, his understanding of revolution belongs to empirical approach and **Rawls theory of justice**, though contemporary, belongs to the normative approach.

## DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NORMATIVE AND EMPIRICAL APPROACH

The normative approach focuses on values and prescribes the preference for a particular type of order as dictated by morality to achieve “**what ought to be**” (what should be). For example, in the theory of justice, a normative approach defines what the meaning of justice is. But according to critics of the normative approach morality can be subjective so there can be many definitions of Justice. So it is subject to a biased understanding.

On the other hand, the empirical approach seeks to discover and describe the facts. It relies on observation through sensory experience to describe “**what is?**” **For example**, the empirical analysis will give a detailed account of voting behavior in a particular election but according to critics of the empirical approach, it only describes a particular phenomenon and does not give any value judgment or plan of action. According to **Robert Dahl**, in politics, not deciding is simply deciding to allow others to decide for you.

Despite having pros and cons, both are important for the study of political science there is an urgent need to build a bridge between the two.

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF A NORMATIVE APPROACH TO POLITICAL THEORY.**

An approach consists of criteria of selection of problems and relevant data according to **Vernon Van Dyke**. **Isaiah Berlin** defines the normative approach as the discovery and application of moral notions in the sphere of political relations and practice.

The normative approach aims at discovering “What ought to be” i.e. an ideal meaning of different political concepts. It tends to express a preference for a particular type of order dictated by moral principles, sense of duty, etc. By focusing on intrinsic value for the desired action, it justifies the end in itself.

As seen in the works of Plato and Aristotle, Normative theory is a consistent critique and analysis of the existing state of affairs and a desire to maintain a stable order or change it for a better, ideal state.

A **Minimalist normative approach** formulates minimum standards of ideas and norms and a **maximalist normative approach** formulates ideal standards which no phenomenon could achieve.

By making ideas like justice, equality an end in itself, the normative approach always strives to derive a **perfect order of peace and prosperity**. Without a normative approach, society and polity run the risk of visionless directions and conflicts that could end the very existence of these institutions.

Having said that, it has been criticized as a **value-biased and subjective approach** to inquiry. Also, scholars say that there cannot be any scientific validation of normative theories and there is a **high degree of debate on what is an ideal condition**. Normative theorists disagree on even fundamental concepts like rights, power, justice, etc.

The **behavior revolution** was an attempt to take away political theory from the age-old normative-philosophical mold and give it a more scientific and value-neutral outlook based on facts and an interdisciplinary approach.

But **David Easton** agreed in his speech declaring the beginning of **post-behaviouralism** that values are essential in political studies. He subscribed to the **credo of action and relevance** giving way to the resurgence of normative theories.

Recent times have seen the resurgence of normative approach in Macphersons’s theory of democracy, Rawls theory of justice, also in writings of Dworkin, Amartya Sen, etc.

Hence, the normative approach is a significant part of political analysis which tries to arrive at the desirable in political questions. As **Daryl Glasser** says, "Engagement with normative theory proceeds from the hope that moral actors who debate their options in an open and self-conscious way will, on the whole, do fewer of the things most of us would consider bad than those who proceed unreflectively or suppress moral debate."

## TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

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### PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

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The origin of the philosophical approach dates back to ancient Greece. It is also referred to as political philosophy. Plato is considered the father of this tradition. Most of the classical Political theory represents normative orientation with a philosophical approach.

It follows a deductive method that begins with an assumption and goes on to establish it through logical reasoning. For example, the theory of Philosopher King or Hobbes's Leviathan state.

**Vernon van Dyke** states that the philosophical approach is concerned with the clarification of concepts and aims at evolving standards of right and wrong.

According to **Stephen Wasby**, the philosophical approach takes in all the aspects of man's political activities and as its goal a statement of underlying principle concerning those activities

Examples of philosophical approaches are **Plato's Republic, Rawls theory of justice**, etc.

Despite the indispensable role of values in Political Theory, critics warn about the danger of philosophical methods becoming highly imaginative and the Utopian as in the case of Plato. Also, this approach is criticized for being biased, unrealistic and for its over-simplified assumptions.

### HISTORICAL APPROACH

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Since the beginning of political science thinkers have regarded history as the primary source of analysis. The main exponent of the historical approach is Machiavelli who adopted the historical approach to prescribing the prince the methods to effective statecraft. Other exponents of this approach are **Montesquieu, Seeley, Freeman and Laski**. **Sir John Seeley** regarded history as past politics and politics as present history.

Thus, political theories are not only the product of history but also serve as an instrument of moulding history.

However, the historical approach is criticized considering the fact that problems confronting a particular era are different from the problems of another era critics consider history as a mere narration of events rather than a value judgment. Critics like **Ernst Baker, David Easton** criticize historical approaches as inadequate to guide or resolve the problem. **Karl Popper** has criticized Marx to exploit history to further his ideas and engaging in the **guilt of historicism**.

Moreover, any political theory is not only the product of history. Ideas like philosopher-king or state of nature are not part of history but are considered an important part of political



## LEGAL APPROACH

The legal approach views politics in terms of laws. Its main attention is on legal and constitutional frameworks within which different governments have to function.

The legal approach is concerned with the study of constitutional law and legal institutions.

**Cicero, Jean Bodin, Austin, Grotius, Bentham, A.V. Dicey** (Law of the Constitution) etc. are the chief propagators of this approach. It seeks to explain political life through legal perceptions and in the contexts of legal frameworks and institutions like the state. The method is largely descriptive and institutional and is guided by logic and reason rather than facts and events.

However, it is accused of reducing all aspects of political life and system into a judicial entity overlooking the underlying socio-economic and cultural aspects. The legal approach may prove to be inadequate in understanding certain Complex political processes and behavior that might be operating outside the formal legal framework. It is also said that a legal truth can be politically untrue.

## INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The institutional approach is closely related to legal approach. Its roots lie in Aristotle's study of multiple constitutions where he classifies the constitutions of Greek city States.

Traditionally politics focused on the study of state and government. The government consists of various institutions and organs such as the legislature, executive and judiciary. The institutional approach studies the structure and function of the government and its various organs as well as political parties and institutions on the formal aspect of Government and politics.

An institution is a set of officers and agents arranged in a hierarchy where each player has particular functions and powers. **Vernon Van Dyke** describes it as a persistent system of activities and expectations a stable pattern of group behavior. Through studying the process and functions of a particular institution, it seeks to draw valuable insights into their organization, discuss proposals for their reforms and offer general conclusions about their performance. Its methodology is descriptive and institutional. The major thinkers who adopted this approach include **Polybius, Finer, James Brice, H.J. Laski, Maurice Duverger, and G.A. Almond.**

**George H Sabine** (*A History of Political Theory*) states that the subject matter of political science follows the themes of works of political philosophers from Plato to Marx.

According to the critics, no wide-reaching theory can be constructed from this approach as it is descriptive and cannot be applied to the situations in developing countries. It is accused of overemphasizing the institutions and neglecting the individual, informal groups, and informal political activities that impact the institution. It is of not much use in the study of international politics as it is limited to the study of the UN and its allied Institutions.

## CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES

The root of contemporary political science can be traced to the nineteenth century when the Rapid growth of natural Sciences tabulated the enthusiasm for the creation of new social science. The important development of making Political Science as a distinct discipline occurred in the United States. The efforts of the American political science association established an autonomous discipline in political science taking it away from history, philosophy, economy and law and closer to sociology, anthropology, etc.



## BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

The origin can be traced to the works of **Graham Wallas** (Human nature in Politics) and **Arthur Bentley** (The process of government) where they laid emphasis on the process of politics than on political institutions.

The classical theories treated man as a rational creature however new Understanding of psychology revealed that human nature was too complex to be explained by simple utilitarian propositions. **Wallas**, therefore, insisted on exploring facts and evidence to understand human nature and its manifestation in human behavior. The political process could be understood only by analyzing how people actually behaved in Political situations, not merely by speculating how they should behave.

**Charles E. Merriam**, the founder of Chicago School, criticized Political Science for its lack of scientific vigor in his book "**New aspects of Politics**". He criticized historians for ignoring the role of psychological sociological and economic factors in human affairs.

**G.E.G. Catlin** (Science and Method of Politics (1927) advanced the **case for value-free science**. He considered power as an essence of politics and its analysis should not be inclined in favor of any particular value system

The works of **Robert Dahl**, **Phillip Converse**, and **David Easton** shifted the focus on studying political behavior rather than the institution or interpretation of the legal text. Thus, political scientists undertaking the study of political behavior involved the understanding of political processes such as political socialization, political ideologies, political culture, political participation leadership and even political violence understanding of most of these processes involved interdisciplinary research.

Behaviouralism shifted the focus in the study of politics from Formalism and normative orientations of legalistic and philosophical schools to political behavior.

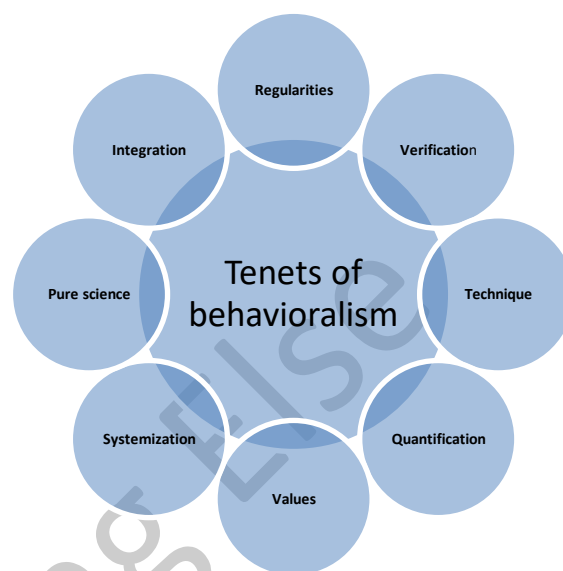
### Work of David Easton

Behavioralists tried to build pure science of politics giving a new orientation to research and theory building. They rejected the notion that Political Theory is merely a chronological and historical study of past ideas. In his article "**Declined of modern Political Theory**", **David Easton** attributes poverty of theory in discipline to preoccupation with the past and failure in taking up the task of building a systematic theory of Political behavior.

David Easton summed up the intellectual foundation of behaviouralism in his paper “**The Current meaning of behaviouralism in Political Science in 1967**”.

He describes 8 major tenets of behaviouralism

1. **Regularities**- employing discoverable uniformity in political behavior
2. **Verification**- implying empirical testing
3. **Technique**- methods of acquiring and interpreting the data
4. **Quantification**- measurement of data and analysis
5. **Values**- need to be separated from facts; objective scientific enquiry should be value-neutral
6. **Systemization**- science for establishing interrelationship between theory and research
7. **Pure science**- understanding and explaining political behavior for obtaining solutions to practical problems
8. **Integration**- Making political science interdisciplinary.



For conducting a political enquiry to generate a reliable theory and scientific explanations, the above guidelines came to be considered as conducive for science.

They were used to analyze mass political participation, voting behavior, elite decision making and activities of non-state actors to come up with systemic explanations.

Behaviouralism focused on micro-level situations rather than micro-level generalizations. It relied on questions that could be answered on the basis of the methods available.

### **DECLINE OF BEHAVIOURALISM AND RISE OF POST-BEHAVIOURALISM**

The behavioral approach widened the scope of political science and talent traditional vertical analysis. However, it has been criticized for mindless empiricism. Karl Popper rejected the narrow inductive approach of scientific methodology.

Behavioralists tend to study only those phenomena that are easily observable and can be analyzed rather than focusing on what is actually important. **John Plamanatz** stated, “Political theory is not an escape mechanism but an arduous calling.” In the same line, **Dante Germino** criticized behaviouralism for “**over quantification and under theorizing**”.

Critics like **Leo Strauss** argued that the rise of behaviouralism was symptomatic of a crisis in Political Theory because of its inability to deal with normative issues. **Sheldon Wolin** accuses behaviorlists of abdicating their true vocation.

In 1969, David Easton himself in his presidential address American political science Association announced a new revolution in Political Science, i.e., Post behavioral revolution.

According to David Easton, post-behaviouralism represented a shift from strictly methodological issues to greater concern with public responsibilities of the discipline and political problems; He gave twin slogans of post behaviouralism “**credo of relevance and action**”. It was not a complete departure from Behaviouralism rather it

stood for building upon the gains of behaviouralism and utilizing it for problem-solving. Thus it shifted the nature of political science from pure science to applied science. Thus, the post behavioral approach has largely focused on solving at a macro level the prevailing problems of society.

Post behaviouralism succeeded in resolving the fact-value dichotomy. It maintained the values as the aim of political science and proved that it can be achieved by scientific methods as well.

Thus, post-behaviouralism does not represent the new wave in Political Science; it is a continuation of the tradition of finding solutions to contemporary political problems. Hence, from the traditional approach to post behaviouralism, there is not only change but also continuity. **If normative political philosophy is thesis and behaviouralism anti-thesis, post-behaviouralism exemplifies synthesis.**

### THE DECLINE OF POLITICAL THEORY

During the mid 20th century the exponent of political science began to question the relevance of traditional political theory. **David Easton** in his work "Political System: An enquiry into the state of political science" (1953) asserted that the traditional political theory was devoid of observation. It could not explain the political reality. To lay the foundation of science in the study of politics it became necessary to rescue it from the study of classics and history. Easton pointed out that there was no outstanding political philosopher after Marx and J. S. Mill. During the Second World War, theorists of all the other Social Sciences were actively involved in the process and decision making while political scientists remained at back footing.

**David Easton** in his article "The Decline of Modern Political Theory" had identified the following reasons for the decline of political theory:

#### **Historicism**

Easton argued that writers like **George H. Sabine, C.L. Wayper, A.J. Carlyle, R.W. Carlyle and Lindsay** have taken the subject very close to the discipline of history. A deep study of their works reveals that they have been motivated less by an interest in analyzing and formulating new value theory than in retelling information about the meaning, internal consistency, and historical development of contemporary and past political values

#### **Moral Relativism**

David Easton accused David Hume and Max Weber of having relativistic attitude towards 'Values'. They neglected what consequences they have for the 'facts. Even with the rise of Fascism and Nazism which challenged the long tradition of political theory, the political theorists failed to subject the old values to critical analysis and imaginative reconstruction. Easton stressed on the reviving critical theory which once again shall act as a bridge between the needs of society and the knowledge of social sciences

#### **Confusion between Science and Theory**

David Easton accused that the use of both science and theory in a wrong way by the political scientists was also responsible for the decline of political theory. They confused science with theory and forgot that theory goes beyond science

#### **Hyper-factualism**

After Easton tried to build a behavioural science, the behaviouralism was charged with over-factualization and under-theorization. Easton accepts this charge and further builds a post-behavioural approach to arrest the decline of theory.

Therefore, there was an appeal for going after behavioral political science. After one and half decades of launching Behaviouralism, **David Easton** changed his view and in his address to American political science Association he pitched for post behavioural revolution.

The debate on the decline of Political Theory was also joined by other prominent thinkers **Alfred Cobban** argued that Political Theory lost its significance in capitalist as well as communist systems. Political Theory practically had to play no role in sustaining these systems capitalist system was degraded into aristocracy and military state while communist system was converted to oligarchy.

**Dante Germino** in his work 'beyond ideology the revival of Political Theory (1967)' argued that there were two major causes for the decline of Political Theory first, the craze of science (positivism) second, culmination of ideological evolution into Marxism. According to Germino to understand the new role of Political Theory it was necessary to integrate it with philosophy. It is critical to study the principle of right order in human existence and enquiry into right and wrong. Political philosophy deals with problems of men confronted during his social existence.

**Seymour Martin Lipset** in his work "Political man the social bases of politics" stated that the values of contemporary society had already been decided. The form of democracy in the United States was close approximation to the good society. **Leo Strauss** in his famous paper "What is political philosophy?" considered the science of politics as the symptom of the decline of Political Theory. The adaptation of the positivist approach led to the ignoring of normative issues.

## **RESURGENCE OF POLITICAL THEORY**

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Nevertheless, **Isaiah Berlin** says that political theory is neither dead nor in the state of decline. He says that there cannot be an age without political philosophy. Berlin argued that as long as rational curiosity existed political theory would not die nor disappear. **George H. Sabine** also opined that "if political theory is systematic, disciplined investigation of political problems, then it is difficult to say that political theory was dead in the 1950s and 1960s."

In the latter half of 19th century political thinkers like John Rawls, C B Macpherson, Robert Nozick, Jurgen Habermass, Alasdair Macintyre, Michael Walzer and Herbert Marcuse revived the great tradition of political philosophy.

**Herbert Marcuse** suggested that the language of social science page to support status code he pointed towards the risk involved in a demand for scientific study of politics the scientific terminology defined in terms of observation and Measurement leaves no scope for critical vision example in democracy people's participation

when estimated on the basis of number of voters does not emphasize on the capability of prevailing electronic system to maintain the spirit of democracy.

By the 1970 the dichotomy between Political Science and philosophy was largely subsided. **David Easton** emphasizes the importance of values in his post behavioural approach following normative approach did not hesitate in utilizing the assumptions derived by empirical methods.

**Hannah Arendt** stressed on the uniqueness and responsibility of human being in her book "human condition". She has criticized behaviouralism and highlighted unique human role of acting in concert. Her thoughts on totalitarianism, power and modern democracy revive Normative Political Theory.

Political Theory meets its revival in the monumental classic of **John Rawls**. He enriched his theory of justice by adopting John Locke's theory of social contract, Kant's theory of individualism. He says that justice is the virtue of first social institution as truth is the system of thought. Rawls challenged the notion that normative theory cannot be explained by methods of natural science. He held that normative theory is not only consistent but also similar in form with natural science. Moral theory too, according to Rawls, begins with data but the data for normative theory are moral judgments.

Further, in 1974, **Robert Nozick** wrote "Anarchy, State and Utopia" and rejuvenated political theory. This rejuvenation has been a return to the true tradition of the classics in which normative analysis uses empirical findings. Thus political theory has not been killed by empirical analysis but has helped to progress better.

**C B Macpherson's** theory of democracy is another example of revival of normative aspect in political theory. Macpherson's analysis of theories of democracy and evaluation that the theories lack value or substance of democracy. The Macpherson's democracy is not an end in itself with more focus on procedures but tries to devise and idea of democracy to enhance creative freedom of citizens. It is a substantive theory of democracy fulfilling normative demands of theory.

#### **NEW THEMES EVOLVED DURING THE RESURGENCE OF POLITICAL THEORY:**

- **Communitarianism:** Theorists such as Michael Walzer, Michael Sandal, Alistair Macintyre and Charles Taylor reject the liberal conception of individuated self and hold that self is part of social relations in which he/she is embedded.
- **Post-Modernism:** The writings of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, JeanFrancois Lyotard attacked the universalistic foundations of political theory and stress on de-centered, fragmented nature of human experience. Identity and culture are the prominent aspects on which postmodernists have emphasized.
- **Multiculturalism:** Scholars like Will Kymlicka, I.M. Young and Bhikhu Parekh have laid stress on the attribute of culture as context of experience and human well-being. They blame the contemporary political theory of being culture biased and neglecting the concerns of different cultural groups. As such they have favored a regime of group differentiated right to address discrimination meted out to cultural identities as well as the ambit of democracy.

- **Feminism:** The theorists of this school have attacked the alleged neutrality of public sphere. Instead, they locate structures of power that symbolize power of men over women. It neglects the aspect of gender and results in subjugation of women.
- **Environmentalism:** The theorists of this school have attacked the notion of progress that has led to depletion of flora and fauna over the years. Instead they place ecological components at the centre of political theory and emphasize its importance over other animate objects

**(Note: These new themes will be discussed in further detail in respective topics)**

**Conclusion:** It is said that every generation has to write its own history. Likewise, the need to understand social reality and create conditions of good life goes on. Political theory hence is a continued exercise in theorizing, applying, revising. The contemporary age of communication and globalization demands newer insights into olden political questions. Hence the significance of Political theory is eternal.

As we must have had a fair understanding of the nature, meaning, significance of political theory now, we will study the questions most prominent in political science like the idea of state, meaning and kinds of ideology, deeper understandings of concepts like justice, rights, equality, etc.



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## THEORIES OF STATES

### PYQs

2020 Comment on: Post-colonial theory of the State (10)  
2019 Comment on: Pluralist theory of the State (10)  
2018 Critically examine the neo-liberal theory of State. (20)  
2017 Comment on: Neo-liberal perspective of State. (10)  
2016 Discuss feminist theory of state. (15)  
2015 Examine the challenges to sovereignty of the State in the contemporary world (15)  
2013: Discuss in what sense Max's understanding of state can be considered as materialistic. (15)

### Understanding the State

Our interaction with the state as much before we get awareness of it, is from registration of our birth, cooling travelling, police service, identity cards, passport etc. All these instances of our routine encounters are associated with the state; it points to the pervasiveness of the modern state in our daily lives.

In common parlance, the term “**STATE**” is used to refer to a range of associations: a collection of institutes, a territorial unit, a historic entity, a philosophical idea, etc. It is often confused with the government of the day. The powers of the state are so extensive that its nature has become a centerpiece of political argument and ideological debates.

The Concept of the state is a cornerstone of political science without which a discussion on political science is incomplete. Hence, it has captured the imagination of all the thinkers since Plato. The aspects of state that have been inquired consist of:

1. An administrative machinery ordering public life
2. The arena of operation
3. The implications of operation of the state

Now,

### WHAT IS THE STATE EXACTLY?

The word STATE appeared as STATO in the works of **Machiavelli** in the sixteenth century.

**R.G. Gettel** (Political Science; 1949) defined political science as 'the science of the state'; it is study of the state in the past, present and future, of political organization and political function, of political institutions and political theories.



The meaning of state as a body politic became common in England and France in the later part of the sixteenth century.

The state along with a land and its people also constitutes a unity of legal and political authority regulating the outstanding relationship between people of the society. It creates a system of order and control. It is manifested in its institutions of the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, the bureaucracy. Over the period of time, the state has come to mean very different things to different political thinkers since ancient times. **For the idealist traditions** of ancient Greece, the state was a natural institution without which a social man cannot live. The state represented the cumulative virtue of man. State was an organic and ethical institution which came into existence for the sake of life and continued for the sake of good life.

In the medieval times, the state became synonymous with kings and it was thought the state derives its authority through divine rights. The divine will was thought to be imposed on the people through the authority of the kingship.

To the **social contract theorists** putting a **mechanistic theory of the state** held that the state is a man-made institution which was a product of agreement among men. This was a liberal model of the state which held that as the state is man-made, it was essentially limited by human will.

Such is the importance of the State in political science that **J.W. Garner** (Political Science and Government; 1928) claimed that '**political science begins and ends with the state**'.

**Max Weber**, a German sociologist, describes that a common element in all modern states is the, 'monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.'

### **State and Civil Society**

The state is distinct from the Civil Society. Civil society is said to be based on voluntary participation while the state has an element of coercion in its functioning. The functioning of the Civil society in a state depends on the amount of Independence permitted by the State to the social institutions. This determines the nature of a state that is liberal or totalitarian.

The state where the sphere of activity of the civil society is severely restricted is tilted towards totalitarianism because it seeks to intervene in the totality of human life, while in a liberal state civil society is active in the lives of individuals and in the matters of State.

We also observe that social contract thinker **Hobbes** has mentioned a single contract among people for the formation of the state, whereas in the works of **John Locke** there are two separate contracts among the individuals before the formation of state: the first contract is among citizens for Civil society and the second contract is among citizens and government for formation of the state. Thus, in the state of Locke, the disintegration of state life doesn't return to the state of nature because civil society remains as a product of the first contract.

### **State and Nation**

Terms State and nation are often used interchangeably in common use but both represent different sets. A nation would be defined as a community feeling among the people who recognize that they are distinct from other communities and wish to control their own affairs. This feeling could be based on common language, religion, culture, values and history. It also indicates the desire to have a future together.

The state represents a legal and geographical entity with definite territory, population, and common law that may not be homogenous. So, it might be the case that nation and state won't coincide.

**Example**, the Kurdish people do belong to different states, Iran, Syria, Iraq, and Turkey consider themselves to be a single Nation. Also, Jews consider themselves a nation despite living in different states.



### **State and Sovereignty**

Modern states are sovereign. According to the legal conception of the state, sovereignty is an essential element of the state without which no human organization can be called a state.

According to **Bodin**, "Sovereignty is such a ruling power on citizens and ruled on which there is no boundation of law"

According to **Jalineck**, "Sovereignty is that characteristic of the state due to which it is not under compulsion for anyone else's wish or external orders except for its own wish"

**John Austin** gave the most clear description of the legal theory of sovereignty. Austin advanced his theory of positive law which expressed the will of the legal sovereign of the state.

He identified the following characteristics of law:

1. It must emanate from a determinate source, that is the sovereign, to be clearly located in the state;
2. It must be the expression of the command of the sovereign; and
3. It must be backed by sanctions. In other words, disobedience to law must be punishable

Hence, sovereignty is a facet of state. Sovereignty can be absolute or pluralist (exercised by a group of people or institutions). In major democracies, sovereigns are the people and state exercises delegated sovereignty.

### **Challenges to the sovereignty of state in contemporary times**

In the modern world the Westphalian system of world order has remained intact for a long time but in recent time under the changed conditions it seems unable to perform its function. With the beginning of the 21st

century, new organizations in the form of **Transnational** and **Supranational** forces have challenged the current state system.

At the sub-national level, nation-states face Naxalism (militancy), Secessionist activities, Strong regionalism, Non-recognition of national identity, racial discrimination. Such activities many times lead to crisis.

**For Example,** Yugoslavia and Ethiopia have split into several separate states.

The advent of Globalization and revolution in Information communication has virtually eliminated the boundaries between countries and turned the world into a 'Global village'. Thinkers like **Joseph Nye and PJ Simmon** have already elaborated the **role of MNCs and NGOs respectively in putting pressure on state entity**. The problems like Terrorism, Industrial Pollution and Global warming have already crossed the boundaries of a nation-state and have become a global problem.

Despite the challenges there is no doubt that the state still is the most important entity when it comes to the security and development of citizens. As said by **Barry Buzan** 'State remains the principal security provider because it is the only organization that has both the capacity to act and the authority to define what represents the security threat'.

## THEORIES OF STATES

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are many schools of thought which conceptualize the state in different ways. Let us study some of the prominent theories of state in detail in the section below.

### LIBERAL THEORY OF STATE

#### What is liberalism?

The central theme of liberal ideology is **commitment to the individual** and therefore the desire to construct a society during which people can satisfy their interests and achieve fulfilment. Liberals believe that citizenry are, first and foremost, individuals, endowed justifiably.

This implies that every individual should enjoy the utmost possible freedom consistent with a like freedom for all. However, although individuals are entitled to equal legal and political rights, they ought to be rewarded in line with their talents and their willingness to work. Liberal societies are organized politically around the twin principles of **constitutionalism and consent**, designed to guard citizens from the danger of state tyranny. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between classical liberalism and modern liberalism.

Classical liberalism is characterized by a belief during a 'minimal' state, whose function is restricted to the upkeep of domestic order and private security. Modern liberalism, in contrast, accepts that the state should help people to assist themselves.

With the ushering in of modern age, the definite theory of state appeared. The liberal-individualist approach began making a clear distinction between the state and society. The state came to be associated with public matters-mainly of governance.

### Why state became necessary

In modern times, people in every part of the world recognize the concept of government and state and accept without question that government is necessary without which orderly and civilized existence would be impossible.


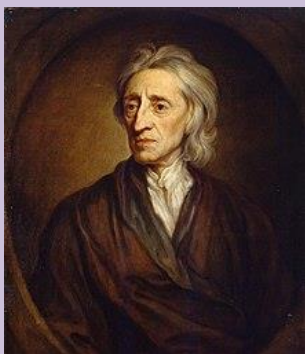
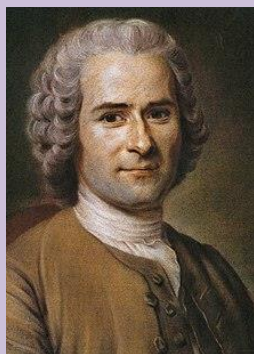
The Classic argument in favor of state is found in the social contract theory first proposed in the 17th century by philosophers like **Thomas Hobbes and John Locke**. The social contract theory constitutes the basis of modern liberal political thought which revolves around the state.

### The Social contract for State

As seen above, liberalism is an individualist philosophy based in the belief of rationality of man. Rejecting the divine authority in state, it professed the origin of state in human will and needs. The social contract theory of state is at the core of liberal theory. The **troika of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau** are the main exponents of social contract theory. Each one gives a different perspective on the reason and nature of social contract but the basic foundation is in a constitutional state born out of a contract among men.

### COMPARISON OF SOCIAL CONTRACT: HOBBS LOCKE AND ROUSSEAU

(NOTE: This is just an introduction to the topic- to establish the foundation of liberal theory of state. The detailed analysis of social contract theories of each thinker will be covered under the separate topic of western political thought where individual thinkers will be discussed.)

	Hobbes	Locke	Rousseau
			
Views on Human Nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Selfish by nature</li><li>Passion dominates reason</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Rational by nature</li><li>Motivated to treat each other respect, humanity</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>man actuated (operated) by impulse and not reason,</li><li>Natural man is noble savage</li></ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Self-preservation and maximum pleasure main agenda</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>But cannot be sure of all each other's moral compass</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No man has authority over other</li> </ul>
<b>The State of Nature described as:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Man egoistic moved by fear, power, glory</li> <li>political equality of all</li> <li>no question of right or wrong, Just or in just</li> <li>War of all against all</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A state of goodwill, mutual existence and preservation state of peace not war</li> <li>governed by law of nature but state became necessary to have one standardized interpretation of law of nature</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Men in state of nature equal self-sufficient and contended, lived life of idyllic, happiness</li> <li>The origin of property creates in-equality necessity of the state.</li> </ul>
<b>The nature of Social Contract</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The individual gives up all his rights except on i.e. right of defense and self-preservation to a common sovereign,</li> <li>social contract creates a commonwealth and a sovereign (one, few, or many)</li> <li>contract unilateral and not binding on sovereign</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A social contract that creates a state to have a common agency for interpretation and execution of the law of nature.</li> <li>Individuals surrender some but not all the rights.</li> <li>Government limited in authority and not absolute</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>State results from a contract between individuals in their personal capacity and individuals in their corporate capacity.</li> <li>A, B, C and D etc. in their individual capacity surrender all rights to A+B+C+D etc as a corporate whole</li> </ul>
<b>Idea of Sovereignty</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hobbesian sovereignty is unlimited, indivisible, inalienable, absolute above law, source of law, justice, property above state and church has no right of revolution against sovereign.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Locke does not conceive of a sovereign state. His government is limited to performance of its duties.</li> <li>The inherent right of man to life, liberty and property, represents a limitation on government.</li> <li>Locke conceives of popular and not legal sovereignty</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>People as a whole are sovereign (popular sovereignty)</li> <li>Sovereignty resides in the 'general will' of the people.</li> <li>The characteristics of this sovereignty are its unity, individuality, permanencies, inalienability and its absolute and unrepresentable character.</li> </ul>

As it is clear from the comparative analysis of the social contract theory, the modern liberal conception of man is that: Man is individualistic, possessive, and utilitarian. Now let's look at the main topic at hand: Liberal theory of state in detail:

## **LIBERAL PERSPECTIVES OF STATE**

The liberal theory of state has evolved through various phases:

1. Classical Liberal perspective
2. Positive liberal/ welfare state perspective
3. Neoliberal perspective

### **CLASSICAL LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE**

Classical liberalism considers individuals at the core of its philosophy. Born out of the bourgeois response against medieval feudal structure, it advocated individual's right to freedom of trade, freedom of contract, freedom to bargain and enterprise. Classical liberal perspective of state can be seen in the writings of **Locke, Bentham, Adam Smith, JS Mill**, etc.

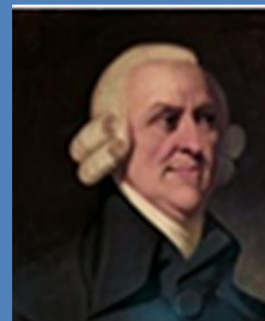
To this end, it held that it is the state's primary function to protect individual liberty, enforce contracts, and guarantee the right to property. State should also maintain law, order and peace as it is conducive to trade and business. But, it limits the state's role in the social and economic sphere. Economic sphere is an autonomous sphere of market and the state should not interfere in it. This theory calls **state a necessary evil**. It is evil as it imposes regulations but necessary as some regulations are necessary to ensure individual freedom.

### **THEORY OF LAISSEZ FAIRE:**

Classical liberalism developed the theory of laissez faire individualism, placing the individual at the centre of its philosophy what is most conducive to his interests. Thus, it limits the interference of the state in the individual office. The **French term "laissez faire"** means leave alone the non-intervention by the state in economic activities of individuals.

**Adam Smith** in his famous work "**Enquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of the nation**" described the nature of **laissez faire individualism**. His opinion, the state should always try to confirm nature is inspired from Rousseau's early thought which believed in the goodness of nature and goodness of man so long as men do not interfere with each other's liberty, the government should let them be free to find their own salvation. State should not interfere in the activities of normal and law abiding citizens. However, the state has the responsibility to eliminate criminals and monopolists. Thus, the main objective of **Adam Smith** was to find out the role of the state which would be conducive to increasing the wealth and promoting prosperity.

Along with the laissez faire theory, utilitarianism contributed to the development of liberal theory of state. The major exponent of utilitarianism, **Jeremy Bentham** argued that the concept such as absolute right, sovereignty, absolute justice had no relevance to the realities of social life. The political institutions and policies should not be rated as good or bad in relation to the above concept of human rights and obligation



"It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own self-interest."

- Adam Smith



rather they should be judged by their outcomes. While taking the decision the central principle should be the **greatest happiness of the greatest number**.

## UTILITARIANISM

**Jeremy Bentham** postulated that nature has placed mankind under the Governance of two master pain and pleasure. He developed hedonistic calculus or felicific calculus for measuring the pleasure and pain which would be used to determine the right action to be taken in policy making. He defined the interest of the community as the sum total of the interest of members who belong to it central on decisions relating to public policy on legislation. The legislature is required to calculate the pleasurable or painful consequences of an action principle of greatest happiness of greatest number that would serve as a guideline for all public policy and legislation related decisions.

According to critics **Bentham's philosophy marginalizes the individual** as we aim to maximize the happiness of the collectivity and ignores the concern of the particular individual.

Bentham's thoughts were further propagated by **James Mill**. He brought **philosophical radicalism** in utilitarianism. After analyzing the prevailing institutions of England, he concluded that the aristocratic governments obstruct the principle of greatest happiness of greatest number. In his work '**Essays on Government**' he favored the democratic government which sought to work for the benefit of people.

The State must aim to ensure, by means of careful calculation, the achievement of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, which, according to **Bentham and Mill**, was the only scientifically defensible criterion of the public good. It also had **four subsidiary goals**: "To provide subsistence; to produce abundance; to favor equality; to maintain security". If the State pursues these goals, it will be in the interest of the citizens to obey it. Thus, Bentham and Mill provided one of the clearest justifications for the Liberal Democratic State that ensures the conditions necessary for individuals to pursue their interests

**[Note: Utilitarianism is covered in detail in Western Political Thought chapter]**

## SOCIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LAISSEZ FAIRE

Another exponent is **Herbert Spencer**, who provided **sociological foundations of laissez faire**, gave an **idea of universal evolution** where ultimate equilibrium of individualism tends to be a blessedness of anarchy. In this process, the **state has a very limited role to play**, i.e. ensuring equal freedom. Any other role would interfere with the natural process of evolution. The natural struggle for existence based on survival of the fittest is a guiding principle of social evolution. State cannot be a caretaker of public health, care for the poor which will hamper natural selection.

"It is vain to talk of the interest of the community, without understanding what is the interest of the individual" – **Jeremy Bentham**

Hence, it can be said that, classical liberal state is a negative conception of state where state is defined by limits to its functioning and powers. Thus it is also called "**negative liberalism**".

**The American and French revolutions** were products of this classical liberal ideology. Life, liberty and pursuit of happiness is the well-known phrase of the United States declaration of independence inspired by **John Locke's** idea of natural rights of life, liberty and property.



## POSITIVE LIBERAL/ WELFARE STATE PERSPECTIVE

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### WHY POSITIVE LIBERALISM?

Negative liberalism and classical liberalism had sought to establish free market society to promote capitalism. In the initial phase, with the success of capitalism, there was growth of free market society and creation of enormous labor force and industries.

But, the latter half of the nineteenth century produced a critique of negative liberalism. Rapid concentration of wealth in few hands, monopolistic control of trade, and emergence of big industrial houses created social, economic and political contradictions. The deprivation of the masses, exploitation of the labor class, and perversion of the ideas of liberty to mean liberty of few privileged classes meant that there was an all around attack on negative state and liberal ideology.

Writers like **Ruskin, Dickens** attacked capitalist order on moral and aesthetic grounds. Utopian socialist **Robert Owen** criticized capitalist order and inherent injustice. **Karl Marx** provided a detailed analysis of capitalism and its class structure.

A thorough revision of liberal theory required re-examination of nature and functions of the state. This opened inquiry into the relationship between individual, society and state. The product was "Positive liberalism" which was carried out by **J S Mill, T H Green, Harold Laski**, etc.

### PHILOSOPHY OF POSITIVE LIBERALISM

Positive liberalism, though continued to retain faith in liberty, autonomy, and rights of the individual, it came to believe man as a part of the social whole. **The liberties of man could be secured only so long as they could be reconciled with social good.** Society came to be considered to have its own interests based on ethical and moral dimensions and individual good cannot be achieved without or beyond social good.

Positive liberals considered that liberty was not merely the absence of restraint but conditions necessary for free and full development of the self. On this ground it justified social and welfare legislation. Also, the concept of equality was expanded to mean economic equality commensurable with political equality of equality before law.

Positive liberals believed in regulating capitalist economies in the overall interest of the society. The sense of public good or general welfare was considered an effective motive of politics which needed economic redistribution of some sorts.

In this sense, the role of the state is more elaborate in positive liberal theory. The state is an instrument for the development of human personality through welfare measures.

### THE POSITIVE LIBERAL STATE/ THE WELFARE STATE

**John Stuart Mill** was the first prominent thinker to be called a pioneer of positive liberalism. He initially defended laissez faire individualism but in light of new social economic realities tried to modify it in order to remove the weaknesses of liberalism. He distinguished between the political and economic spheres. In the political sphere, he supported constitutional and representative government and in the economic sphere, he emphasized on Social Justice. With his efforts to include Social Justice in the theory of liberalism he laid the foundation of the Welfare state.

Mill being an ardent champion of liberty defended liberty of thought and expression.

In his essay, "On Liberty", he gave a powerful plea for the toleration of opinions. He distinguished the action of man as self regarding actions and other regarding actions. Self regarding actions are those actions which concern and may harm the individual himself and not others while other regarding actions may concern or harm other people along with the individual acting.

Mill gave complete liberty to individuals in self regarding actions but he provided scope for state intervention in regulating others regarding actions. Again, Mill concedes state action in those self regarding actions which are very injurious to the individual himself. Thus he was contemplating a positive role for the state in securing community welfare even if it implied curbing the liberty of the individual to some extent.

*"Human consciousness postulates liberty, liberty involves rights, rights demand the state."*

- T H Green

He also sought to reform the right to property, specifically of property in land, as land was not creation of man but was inheritance. Hence, rent was a fit subject for taxation. In a way, he established that, if the state appropriated the increase of their wealth or a part thereof for diverting it to the use of the community it was no violation of the principles on which the right to private property was founded or justified. This was against the negative liberal idea of sacrosanct nature of property. By providing state action in these rights considered natural in negative liberalism, Mill established the foundations of positive liberalism.

Further, **T. H. Green** revised the liberal theory of state under the influence of idealist theory inspiration from **Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel**. He distinguished between negative and positive freedom. In negative freedom, a person enjoys the freedom of acting according to his own will. In this sphere man enjoys being left alone. In positive freedom, reason plays a role. It consists of achieving self realization or self perfection. According to **T H Green** true liberty is in identifying in one's own character, which is possible through positive freedom.

According to Green, since rights exist within society they are dependent on the moral recognition by the community. **Moral consciousness emanating from society compels men to pursue ideal objectives. State is also a product of moral consciousness.**

The importance of State can be described in his words as: ***"Human consciousness postulates liberty, liberty involves rights, rights demand the state."***

The state is, therefore, an instrument of perfection. It owes its origin to the social nature of men; Man exercises his moral freedom within the social organization, for which he needs rights. As rights are maintained by the state, it serves as an essential foothold for exercising moral freedom. In his view, the state recognizes and maintains rights but it is not the source of rights. **The real authority behind rights is the moral consciousness of the community. The state must obey that authority.** The function of government is to maintain conditions of life in which morality shall be possible.

Robert MacIver observes: ***"The state commands only because it serves".***

Green tends to describe the function of the state as negative, only to distinguish it from the positive function of the community as the source of moral consciousness. The state's function is removing obstacles in the way of men's pursuit of ideal objects which is a positive function. **He favored interference by the state to secure the welfare of the citizens.**

**Harold J Laski** is another exponent of liberalism who witnessed events such as the 1st world war, socialist revolutions in Russia, rise of fascism in Italy and the great depression in Europe. He was concerned with the crisis of capitalism. He sought to achieve the socialist goal through liberal democracy. In his work, "State in Theory and Practice", he talks about the breakdown of capitalism in both England and America due to the economic crisis.

**In his work 'A Grammar of Politics', Harold Laski states that, If the state could fulfill the functions such as providing health, education, housing etc it can become an instrument of perfection.**

In his work 'Reflections on the revolution of our time', he was deeply concerned with the possibility of disaster for mankind unless the capitalist system is transformed. He hoped that the goals of communism, socialism could be achieved within the framework of liberal democracy. In his work 'A Grammar of Politics', Laski states that, If the state could fulfill the functions such as providing health, education, housing etc it can become an instrument of perfection. It is not essentially an instrument of class domination. Through democratization of economic power Laski tried to transform the capitalist state.

**Robert M MacIver** traces the evolution of the state from primitive societies. He rejects the social contract theory. According to him, the state is not superior to all other associations in a moral sense. State does not create law of its own will; law exists prior to state, state gives it a definite shape. State does not interfere in the internal affairs of other human associations. State acts only when the interest of one group encroaches upon another. State derives its authority from the society. Powers and prerogatives of the state are dependent on the services rendered by it. In his work, The Modern State, Therefore, he advances the theory of the service state.

Welfare state was the result of the transformation of classical liberalism into positive liberalism in the 20th century. It talks about distribution of welfare. But there have been continuous debates on how to distribute welfare. Moreover, many thinkers began criticizing the welfare state itself in the second half of the 20th century. The ever expanding role of state under the welfare model produced many bad effects on the economy, trade, etc which prompted thinkers to promote a minimal state model once again which came to be known as neo-liberal theory of state.

#### NEOLIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

New liberalism perspective arose as a reaction to disenchantment with the welfare state. Welfare state's inability to achieve what it had promised to deliver, income disparities and socio-economic inequalities remained the common scenario. The Gulf between light and masses went on increasing. Increasing corruption lethargy in bureaucracy created disillusionment among the masses. By the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the situation had emerged where Welfare States were over burdened with seemingly never-ending demands of people and their disinclination towards improvement through private initiatives.

The troika of **Hayek, Nozick and Friedman** emphasized on new perspectives i.e. new liberalism also called Neoliberalism. They sought to revive the original tradition of laissez faire philosophy liberalism. This new form of liberalism that is libertarianism upheld full autonomy and freedom of the individual.

#### Origin of libertarianism

Heywood (2000) has argued that “Libertarianism’s origins and ideas can be traced to the 1970s”. “The New Right’s growth occurred in conjunction with the apparent failure of the Keynesian Welfare State, signified by the end of the post-war economic boom and increasing concerns by the political elite over social breakdown and the decline of authority.

## WHAT IS LIBERTARIANISM?

Scholars like **F A Hayek, Karl Popper, Talmon, Milton Friedman, Isaiah Berlin, M Rothbard, Robert Nozick, Ayn Rand** propounded a new philosophy called libertarianism. It is a political philosophy which takes individual as the basic unit of social analysis.

*“A claim for equality of material position can be met only by a government with totalitarian power” – F A Hayek*

Few have termed libertarianism as **freedom**. Taking inspiration from the natural rights theory of John Locke, libertarians believe that freedom is a fundamental value that must underlie all social relations, economic exchanges and the political system. Libertarians preach freedom means all the aspects of human life. Voluntary cooperation among individuals in the free market is always preferable to the coercion exerted by the State.

The principle of **redistribution** by the State propounded by welfare state scholars is rejected by libertarians. For them, the state is not there to redistribute wealth or promote culture, it should be limited to the protection of individual rights, it should allow individuals to pursue their own goals. Libertarianism does not believe in state sponsored programmes for upliftment of poor. For them the best way to fight poverty is to support free enterprises and trade while allowing private charity initiatives to rescue those in need. **Thus libertarianism demands minimal state and free market.**

### Forms of Libertarianism according to role of state envisaged

Libertarianism, like all philosophical ideas, has varied subgroups and several schools. Major there are two types of groups in libertarianism. First is “**anarchists**”, who advocate complete disappearance of state and privatization of all the functions of public sphere while second can be called as “**mini-anarchists**”, who maintain that the government may be important for police function, enforcing contracts, National Defense, foreign relations, ensuring justice and protection of property and individual rights. All the remaining can be transferred to private parties.

## PERSPECTIVE OF FRIEDRICH VON HAYEK

**Hayek** criticized planning and collectivism in his work ‘The Road to serfdom’ where he argued that, “**Planning is both practically dangerous and economically inefficient**”. The centralized economic planning by the government reduces individual Liberty and makes the bureaucracy too strong. State intervention in the form of social engineering upsets the spontaneous natural order that exists in society. Hence, social order cannot be the outcome of a plan but is an outcome of human behavior.

He attaches primacy to the market for allocating the resources and prices the spontaneous interaction among the buyer and seller is much more efficient than the planning of economic interactions. For Hayek, the state had a limited role of upholding the rule of law which would enable markets to prosper with its spontaneous order. Thus

he portrayed the **market as the only means of ensuring economic efficiency** and **attacked government intervention as implicitly totalitarian**.

#### PERSPECTIVE OF ROBERT NOZICK

As a leading American intellectual, **Robert Nozick** gave a boost to libertarianism advocating minimal state, low tax threshold and attacking the big government. In his work "Anarchy, State and Utopia", he argued that the rights of individuals are primary and nothing more than the minimal state sufficient to protect against the violence and ensuring enforcement of contract is justified. He (Anarchy state and utopia) proposed a night-watchman state. For him, the **minimum state is both inspiring and right**.

**"No more extensive than the minimal state can be justified" - Robert Nozick**

**Nozick** rejected the notion of Social Justice that requires distribution of society's income and wealth. He argued that the right to property should be strictly upheld provided that the wealth has been justly acquired. Nozick argued that all forms of welfare distribution were a theft. He supported a minimal state which he believed would develop from a hypothetical state of nature. He suggested that the inequalities at the level of production and voluntary transfer should not be sought to be rectified at the level of distribution.

#### PERSPECTIVES OF MILTON FRIEDMAN

Nobel Prize winner Friedman is known as an ardent champion of free market economy, criticizing the inefficiency of Keynesian economy. He highlighted the failure of state-sponsored welfare schemes. He supported low taxation and denationalization and also favored abolition of rent controls, minimum wages and all the barriers to the efficient functioning of the market economy. He envisaged the limited the role of government to providing law and order, defense and provision of essential services.

The troika of **Hayek, Nozick and Friedman** provided the core philosophy for the intellectual growth of 'new right' ideas. These ideas were pursued vigorously in the UK under PM Margaret Thatcher (Thatcherism) and in the US under President Ronald Reagan (**Reagan's**). *[Note: These concepts are covered under Ideology segment]*

#### CRITICAL EVALUATION OF NEOLIBERAL STATE

However, along with growth in economic prospects, the neoliberal economic policies have Played major role in a variety of crises: the financial meltdown of 2007-08, the off shoring of wealth and power, e.g. **Panama Papers, resurgence of child poverty, the epidemic of loneliness, rise in global inequality (Thomas Piketty -Capital in the 21st century)**, blatant abuse of resources and disruption of ecological balance in the name of economic growth.

Further, the Withdrawal of state support from essential sectors such as health, education, agriculture etc., also bore an extensive burden on the lower strata of society which was felt during the COVID 19 pandemic.

**Paul Verhaeghe** in his book "What About Me?" has even linked epidemics of self-harm, eating disorders, depression, loneliness, performance anxiety and social phobia as side effects of Neo-Liberal policies.

As a reaction against Neoliberal policies and their associated challenges, we have witnessed protests worldwide against this Washington consensus e.g., occupy Wall Street movement and other social movements viz. Farmers movement and Tribal movement across the 3rd world.

## **MARXIST PERSPECTIVE OF STATE**

Marxist perspective of the state is a class perspective, different from other theories such as social contract, organic theory of state. Out of all the theories of state, the Marxist theory can be treated as a scientific analysis of power structure. **It tries to correlate the forces of socio-economic trends in a society with the organized power structure i.e. state.** State is an artificial structure built on society.

### **What is Marxism?**

A set of political and economic principles founded by **Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95)** in order to lay scientific foundations of socialism. It seeks to understand the problems of human society through historical analysis, and treats history as a process of conflict between antagonistic forces and classes. This conflict arises from the faults in the mode of production in which one class comes to gain ownership and control of the means of social production (land, buildings, mines, forests, machinery and capital, etc.) and compels the other class to work on the terms and conditions dictated by itself. This conflict can be resolved only by overthrowing capitalism, placing all means of social production under social ownership and control, enforcing universal labor and ensuring full development of the forces of production

## **HEGEL'S INFLUENCE ON MARXIST UNDERSTANDING OF STATE**

**Karl Marx and Engel's** thoughts were influenced by **Hegel**. They analyzed Hegel's thoughts and provided a strong critique to it. **Hegel** used his dialectic idealism to build a case for absolute state and held that **state is a march of god on earth**. State is the end synthesis of dialectics of idea representing a universal absolutism.

As against Hegel's dialectic idealism, **Marx put forth dialectic materialism**. He said that economic factors of production are of paramount importance. The dialectics moves forward on account of mode of production and exchange. **All history is a history of class struggle** between two classes- class that monopolizes all factors of production and the class that serves. State comes into existence at a particular stage of historical development. Engels in his "The Origin of Family, Private Property and State" has intricately analyzed the origin and development of state. The state is not something that originated from society. It is the product of society. It is quoted that ***"The state is, by no means, a power forced on society from without rather it is a product of society at a certain stage of development"***

## **MARXIST THEORY OF ORIGIN OF STATE**

Marx, Engels and their supporters (particularly Lenin) had no faith in the social contract theory as the origin of state. They have observed the origin from a materialistic viewpoint which emphasizes that though the state is the formation of man, behind this there is no emotion, idea but the influence of material conditions which they termed as economic conditions.



They have divided the development of society into an old communist social system, slave society, feudal society and industrial society. In the old communist society, there was no state because there was no existence of private property.

The system of private property worked as a potential cause of the rise of state. The owners of private property felt insecurity as to its protection and they felt the requirement of a super power which could provide protection eventually.

1. As soon as there was private property, two classes of men appeared such as one was the owner of property and the other was without property.
2. The conflict between them became prominent. Property owners wanted to subjugate the other class.
3. Property owners formed a force within the society and this force ultimately assumed the status of state

Hence, the state comes into existence to cater to the needs of the capitalist class and works as an executive committee of the capitalist class.

#### STATE: AN INSTRUMENT OF DOMINANT CLASS

As it can be seen above, the state is an instrument of a class that controls the means of production, i.e. the dominant capitalist class. The dominant class uses state machinery to serve its own interests. State neither has a moral foundation as organic theorists believe nor does it balance the diverse interests of different sections of the society as mechanistic theory believes. Basis of state is force. It uses ideological false consciousness and violence to suppress the class conflict and secures compliance from the dependent class. It has no autonomy and only works on the directions of capitalist class

Marx and Engels, in their famous Communist Manifesto (1848), ***“Political power, properly called, is merely the organized power of one class oppressing the other.”***

According to **Lenin**, state has always been a mere organization of a specific class and its form will

Always remain the same so that one particular class can always benefit. State can never take a form due to which it could be good for the entire population or in which various economic groups can work together with mutual cooperation.

Since, Marxist perspective views state as an embodiment of social justice, it calls for ending the state. Marx's dialectic materialism presents historical development as a class struggle where in the end; the proletariat class overthrows the state through a violent revolution and establishes a classless and stateless society. Hence, Marxism does not want to reform the state but to end its very existence and create a communist society of self-organized human society. This harmonious human society then will be characterized by cooperation rather than conflict when run by state.

#### STATE IN NEO-MARXIST THOUGHT: RELATIVE AUTONOMY OF STATE

Neo-Marxist thinkers like **Gramsci** further enriched the Marxist theory of state. The withering away of state did not occur in capitalist countries as projected by Marx. Also, neo-Marxists were disillusioned with the Soviet Brand of Communism. The precondition of socialism as projected by Marx did not emerge and what emerged was the



dictatorship of the communist party dominated by the powerful elite. The soviet state became powerful and pursued a policy of oppression.

Against this background the neo-Marxist school emerged in Europe. They reinterpreted Marxism according to changing circumstances. They questioned the central thesis of Marxism that the state is a superstructure. State is not completely dependent on the base. It has some autonomy. It functions on its own. It acts catering to the needs of market economic pulls, rather than deliberately siding one section of the society.

Today we can observe how in communist countries like China, the state is pursuing policies to attract the foreign investment to speed up globalization, and acting independently of “society”.

State is not a ‘super structure’ on society’s foundation. It is an independent unit functioning autonomously with its own priorities. It is no longer an institution taking care of the interests of the wealthy sections of society and suppressing the poor, but an active player adjusting its priorities to the goals of efficiency, competitiveness and such other neo-capitalistic demands.

**Neo-Marxism recognizes the concept of nationalism.** It believes nationalism is a cementing force among the workers. **Gramsci**, pointed out how in a modern state, the “domination” by the ruling class is achieved more by elicitation of consent than by coercion. The ruling class develops a culture of its own and the oppressed classes accept it either consciously or unconsciously. This **cultural “hegemony”** has a tactical consent so Gramsci argued there is a need to create a counter ideology from society to match against official ideology.

While the traditional Marxists divided the society into two antagonized classes of rich and poor, the neo – Marxists feel in modern economic structure there are many classes. For instance we may have a managerial class, officers’ class and workers class in a modern industrial structure. These class divisions would cement unity among the selective classes rather than working to forge a unity among all classes against the capitalists.

Since Neo – Marxist state is a pluralistic version, with the emphasis on democratic principle of autonomy for social groups and freedom for ideological differences, such a state cannot wither away.

#### DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON RELATIVE AUTONOMY OF STATE

The debate was between two sets of ideas, embodied in the figures of two prominent left intellectuals – **Ralph Miliband**, a British sociologist, and **Nicos Poulantzas**, a French sociologist heavily influenced by **Althusser**. **Miliband** had published a book in 1969, *‘The State in Capitalist Society’* where he outlined what is sometimes referred to as the ‘instrumentalist’ theory of the capitalist state

**Miliband** held that the role of the state is to serve the interest of capitalists. This role is made possible by the crossover between members of the political and economic classes. He adheres to the classical Marxist perspective on state. The class character of the capitalist state is perpetuated by the class character of state officials, economic power of the capitalist class, the conflict of interest of the politico-administrative class in perpetuating the existing class relations. He busts the myth of managerial revolution by **James Burnham** which stated that the power shifted from the hands of capitalists to a new managerial class, a phenomena that was never envisaged by class theory of state. This managerial class comes from ever increasing middle class, which was supposed to be disappeared in the eventuality of class struggle. However, According to Miliband, this managerial class itself came from the capitalist class except for few because of high cost for skill acquisition.

On the other Hand, **Nicos Poulantza**, following Althusser, gave his **Structuralist approach**. He differentiated between the position of capitalist power and the state in his “**Political power and social classes**”. He gave the relative autonomy theory of the state. According to him, class domination is not automatically translated into state power. The state commands its authority of consent of the people. Capitalist class on the other hand dissociates itself from state power. Poulantza treats the state itself as an arena of class struggle.

#### CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF MARX’S IDEA OF STATE:

Critics like **Robert Dahl** point out many inconsistencies in Marx’s idea of state. Normally a state – Democratic state – functions on three presumptions.

1. There are always conflicting interests in all societies. All are not necessarily class conflicts. Groups articulate their interests and wants, in a Pluralistic structure;
2. The state resolves these conflicts on the principle of majority interests;
3. The political majority would never be monopoly of a single group with the provision for freedom to form political parties and periodic elections conducted in a free atmosphere.

*“State is an instrument of oppression controlled by bourgeoisie minority to oppress the proletarian majority.”*

All these presumptions are absent in Marxist state theory.

The idea of social harmony which was supposed to emerge in a post – revolutionary society is totally unrealistic. The introduction of universal adult Franchise in Germany in 1866, the reforms in Europe in 1867, 1884 and various welfare measures undertaken by ‘state’ disproved the Marxist idea that Marx's theory of state did not provide for a blueprint to the working of a socialist system of state. Basically, the state's emergence is the culmination of many factors. While stressing the sole factor of economics, Marx's theory did not do adequate Justice to the study of state.

Also capitalism reinvented itself in the form of a welfare state and tried to redistribute justice. It is claimed that with the mitigation of capitalism, the class-conflicts and revolutionary spirits are becoming outdated and irrelevant.

The main contribution of Marxist theory of state lies in discovering and demonstrating the role of economic forces in shaping the history. Before Marxist theory of state, there was no critical assessment of the role of the state in terms of its socio-economic foundation. In fact the class theory of the state was a very powerful attack on the complacency of social thinkers who held that the state existed for the benefit of all social groups, and that the different conditions of the rich and the poor were of their own making. Marxist theory of state still remains relevant and provides an effective critique of crony capitalism, alliance of global capital and national governments, bourgeois state attack on environment, etc.

#### PLURALIST PERSPECTIVE OF STATE

What is Pluralism?

Pluralism, in its broadest sense, is a belief in or commitment to diversity or multiplicity, the existence of many things.

As a **descriptive term**, pluralism may denote the existence of party competition (political pluralism), a multiplicity of ethical values (moral or value pluralism), a variety of cultural beliefs (cultural pluralism) and so on.

As a **normative term**, it suggests that diversity is healthy and desirable, usually because it safeguards individual liberty and promotes debate, argument and understanding. More narrowly, pluralism is a theory of the distribution of political power.

### Origin of Pluralist theory of state

According to **R.N. Gilchrist**, the gem of pluralism is to be found in the work of **Otto Von Gierke**. Though many thinkers opine that the theory of pluralism was devised in the second half of the nineteenth century, it can be traced back to the Medieval age as the Church, trading guilds, and vocational associations had sizable say in the society.

### WHAT IS A PLURALIST STATE?

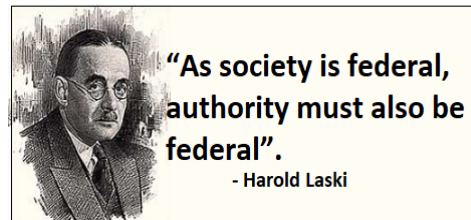
Pluralism is an opposition to the monistic theory of the state. **Austin** in his Monistic theory or legal theory of sovereignty provided a legal basis for his absolutism. According to him sovereignty of the state is absolute, unlimited, inalienable, indivisible and can be clearly located. Pluralist theory is a direct attack on all these issues. Power or sovereignty can never be absolute. There are many limitations on its exercise and effective use.

Pluralist theories hold that political power should be regarded as analytically distinct from economic power. Pluralists stated that sovereignty resides not with the state but it resides with many other institutions. Many social, political, cultural and economic institutions exercise influence in society. For example, family, religious institutions, charitable trusts, etc.

According to the Pluralist notion of the state, **there can be various sources of political power**. Although the capitalist class can have a very strong position, they cannot however have complete dominance over the working class, as stated by the Marxists. Also, as against elitist theory, pluralism does not believe in the elite concentration of power.

Pluralism as a theory of society holds that within liberal democracies, power is widely and evenly dispersed. As a theory of the state, pluralism holds that the state is neutral, insofar as it is susceptible to the influence of various groups and interests, and all social classes. The state is not biased in favour of any particular interest or group, and it does not have an interest of its own that is separate from those of society.

**Prof. Harold Laski** argued that with the growth of federalism the idea of absolute sovereignty has become irrelevant. Because constitutionally the powers of union and the state are clearly divided, making the assumption of absoluteness of state power is a wrong notion. He said that “as society is federal, authority must also be federal”.



Under the theory of checks and balances, the power of state is divided into three important wings of the government viz. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. Each of these wings are sovereign within the area of their operation. So the plurality of power centres exists in a system based on Constitutional democracy. The powers of the state are also limited by the factors like international law, conventions and organizations, human rights activism and NGOs.

Hence, **Prof. Laski** says that “It is impossible to make the legal theory of sovereignty valid for political Philosophy. it would be a lasting benefit to political science if the whole concept of sovereignty was surrendered”

**Pluralists hold that the State is not the highest institution.** Like other institutions, the State is also one of the institutions of society. The State does not reserve the authority to exercise autonomy according to its will. According to Pluralists, sovereignty is not indivisible and exclusive”. The Pluralistic state is “simply a state in which there exists no single source of authority”. **A.D. Lindsay** has observed that the theory of sovereignty of state has broken down.

**“State is an association of associations” - Robert MacIver**

His viewpoints illustrate the pluralist idea. MacIver in his work **‘The modern state and the web of government’** states that society is composed of different associations and state is one of them. The essential difference between the state and the other associations is that other associations are limited primarily by their objective which is particular, the state is limited primarily by its instrument which is particular and its objective is generally within the limits set by the instrument. The laws of state are universal and have coercive sanctions unlike those of other associations.

Other associations such as Family and Church are also as Natural as state. they are not dependent on the state for their existence. State cannot control the internal affairs of such associations. MacIver gives the state the power of regulation only in respect of the common external attributes of such associations.

Even though state is different from these associations it is also an association which operates within society.

## **TWO STRANDS OF PLURALIST THEORY OF STATE**

Broadly, two schools of pluralist state emerged in the 20th century: British school and American school.

### **BRITISH SCHOOL**

- British philosophers like **Frederic William Maitland**, **John Neville Figgis**, **G.D.H. Cole** and **Harold J. Laski** developed this pluralist thought.
- The essential feature of this school of thought is that in modern democratic set-up **no single association can cater to all the needs of the citizens**. As the interests of the citizens vary and multiply, they need a variety of groups and associations.
- A citizen is also a worker, a parent, has some cultural tastes, and shares some political ideology. Accordingly he would be a trade union member, member of a parent-teacher Association, a political party activist and so on.
- For the multi personality development of an individual the free play of associations is important. That is the reason why democracies recognize the freedom of association as a fundamental right.
- These associations operate independently of the state but are vital for the functional government. Pluralists want the power of the state to be lessened so that the associations can operate more freely.
- The freedom of individuals is best protected in a situation where the power of the state is widely disbursed among a number of autonomous groups. British pluralists reject the concept of absolute sovereignty of the state and regard the groups to be the core factor in the operation of state.
- **Barker** stated that "We see the State less as an association of individuals in a common life; we see it more as an association of individuals, already united in various groups for a further and more embracing common purpose"

#### **AMERICAN SCHOOL**

- The **American pluralists** give importance to the "interest group". The pressure groups which prop up in response to a particular policy is more effective in influencing the policy of the state. Most of the studies in America concentrate on the role of interested groups and pressure groups.
- These groups differ slightly from association patterns of British type. The associations have a long history of existence, and a wide range of interrelated interests and continue to cater to the protection of freedom against state encroachment.
- Whereas, the pressure groups are issue-oriented, have a limited area of operation, and have narrow interest. They are more concerned to get things done in their way, by applying pressure, than to bother with long-term consequences. Basically, both British and American pluralists distrust the state.
- **Alexis de Tocqueville's** Democracy in America clearly explains the notions of pluralism in American society. According to him, democracy depends on a plurality of secondary associations outside the state. They prevent democracy-which is based on the rule by the majority-being converted into a tyrannical rule of the majority.
- A prominent pluralist **Nelson W. Polsy**, describes the American Society in 1980 "as a collection of hundreds of small specific interest groups, within completely overlapping membership widely differing power bases and a multitude of techniques for exercising influence on decisions salient to them."
- American writer **Robert A. Dahl** used the term "Polyarchy" to describe the American political system. It is a system where plural centres of interest exist. Each of these centres has some influence on policy making, with no single group enjoying monopoly.

**If the state is not the ultimate sovereign, why and when to obey it?**

Political obligation means showing loyalty to the state and obeying the laws passed by it. For **monistic theory**, an individual's obligation to the state is a moral duty but for pluralists, an individual must be satisfied by the state's performance. It is true that the state is in a privileged position and can get its order implemented with force. But that does not give any ethical justification for getting loyalty from the people.

Without the public acceptance law would be a dead letter. So if an individual does obey the laws "willingly," the credit to his behaviour should go to various social associations who have steadily built up a broad consensus on the need for such legislation. The basis of state Law is punishment. But punishment alone cannot guarantee citizen's willingness to follow the law. What is required is social opinion backing the law.

#### CRITICISM OF PLURALIST THEORY OF STATE

- Many argue that for a developing state, where the state has to play a major role in socio-economic development, pluralist theory does not apply.
- **C. Wright Mill** argued how even in a developed democracy like America all groups are not on equal footing. Some groups are more resourceful, have very close access to the policy making machinery and get the things they want.
- In the days of severe crises in western democracies such as economic crises, racial prejudices, etc, the state has to have a strong centralizing power structure to maintain order. On the other hand, the market economy demands a minimum state and takes the role of ultimate balancer of interests. In Both these conditions, pluralist theory fails.
- Pluralist theory is also criticised for having too much expectation from the state without commensurate powers.
- If sovereignty is divided among various associations existing in society, this division will lead to the **devastation of sovereignty**. As a result, chaos will prevail in society and there will be turmoil.
- Supporter of Pluralism like **Laski** have also gone to the extent of condemning Pluralism and stated that it has not closely studied the different sections of society

#### NEO-PLURALIST THEORY OF STATE

- Modern pluralists, however, have often adopted a more critical view of the state, termed the neo-pluralist theory of the state. Theorists such as **Robert Dahl, Charles Lindblom and J. K. Galbraith** accepted that industrialized states are both complex and less responsive to popular pressures than classical pluralism suggested.
- **Lindblom**, In Politics and Markets (1980), says that, as the major investor and largest employer, business is bound to exercise considerable sway over any government, whatever its ideological leanings or manifesto commitments. Moreover, neo pluralists have accepted that the state can, and does, forge its own sectional interests.
- A state elite, composed of senior civil servants, judges, police chiefs, military leaders, etc, can be viewed as perhaps the most powerful interest group in society.
- **Lindblom and Dahl** described this model of democracy as **Polyarchy**. (*Concept of Polyarchy will be covered under theory of power*)

- This line of argument encouraged **Eric Nordlinger** to develop a state-centred model of liberal democracy, based on 'the autonomy of the democratic state'.

## **POST COLONIAL PERSPECTIVE OF STATE**

### **What is Postcolonialism?**

Postcolonialism sought to address the cultural conditions characteristic of newly-independent societies. It attempts to expose and overturn the cultural and psychological dimensions of colonial rule, recognizing that 'inner' subjugation can persist long after the political structures of colonialism have been removed. Thrust of postcolonialism has been to establish the legitimacy of non-western, and sometimes anti-western, political ideas and traditions. Postcolonialism has thus sought to give the developing world a distinctive political voice separate from the universalist pretensions of liberalism and socialism.

Rooted in **Edward Said's 'Orientalism'**, **Gayatri Spivak's subaltern studies**, **Homi k Bhabha**, the post-colonial theory of state tries to theorize the system of the State in the Post-colonial world which carries forward the legacy of its colonial framework to different extents.

States in the third world countries which have emerged after the decolonization process since the mid 20th century are different both in nature and evolution from the western states. In Europe, the nations have created the state but in the third world, it is the state that has created the nation.

The enormous challenge of forging a nation with wide social, cultural and economic cleavages meant that the structure and character of the state could not develop as in the west. With lack of proper institutionalization and legacy of an overdeveloped colonial state apparatus, the state more often than not took the course of authoritarianism.

Post-colonial perspective on the state is not a new and unique theory of state. It denotes an attempt to analyse the problems of the newly independent nations against the backdrop of their relations with colonial and neo-colonial powers.

The meaning of state applicable to the advanced democracies is different from what is applicable for third world countries. It is true that the third world countries have states and political systems but the structure and functioning of democracy are diverse from India to Mexico. In these countries, states have emerged out of popular mass movements, revolutions proclaiming goals of democracy, social justice, nationalism but the course that countries of the third world took range from autocracy to theocracy to secular democracies.

### **Features of Postcolonial state**

1. Politics and government are shaped by scarce economic resources, extensive poverty and inequality
2. Weak political legitimacy and people seldom see relevance of state in daily existence.



3. Limited effective power of state beyond the capital city and major cities; rural areas are dominated by patron-client relationship
4. Big role of coercive apparatus like police, military and marginalization of the developmental wings

### **Edward Said and Orientalism**

**Edward Said** is considered by E. San Juan, Jr. as "the originator and inspiring patron-saint of postcolonial theory and discourse" due to his interpretation of the theory of orientalism.

Edward Said's concept (which he also termed "orientalism") is that the cultural representations generated with the us-and-them binary relation are **social constructs**, which are mutually constitutive and cannot exist independent of each other, because each exists on account of and for the other.

Notably, "**the West**" created the cultural concept of "**the East**," which according to Said allowed the Europeans to suppress the peoples of the Middle East, the Indian Subcontinent, and of Asia in general, from expressing and representing themselves as discrete peoples and cultures. Orientalism thus conflated and reduced the non-Western world into the homogeneous cultural entity known as "the East."

Therefore, in service to the colonial type of imperialism, the us-and-them Orientalist paradigm allowed European scholars to represent the Oriental World as inferior and backward, irrational and wild, as opposed to a Western Europe that was superior and progressive, rational and civil—the opposite of the Oriental Other.

In Said's ground breaking book Orientalism (1978), Foucault's subtle conception of the constitutive relation between power and knowledge provided a critical angle from which to investigate the way representations of non-European culture and thought were shaped by a web of institutional and political forces connected to the justification and practice of Western imperialism.

There are two schools that study postcolonial state:

1. Liberal perspective
2. Neo-Marxist

### **Gayatri Spivak and the Subaltern**

Spivak developed and applied **Foucault's term epistemic violence** to describe the destruction of non-Western ways of perceiving the world and the resultant dominance of the Western ways of perceiving the world.

Conceptually, epistemic violence specifically relates to women, whereby the "Subaltern [woman] must always be caught in translation, never [allowed to be] truly expressing herself," because the colonial power's destruction of her culture pushed to the social margins her non-Western ways of perceiving, understanding, and knowing the world

## LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

Liberal school focuses on modernization, development and decay in postcolonial countries which came to being after world war II on the backdrop of cold war.

Modernization is different from modernity. Modernity refers to the new phase that came in Europe and later spread around the world post renaissance period. Modernization, on the other hand, refers to the process by which society transits from traditional society to modern society in social, economic, political and cultural levels.

In the cold war period, both superpowers provided two models of development: capitalist and communist. The western scholars, especially of the United state, intellectuals were curious to know what paths the decolonized countries traded. They were trying to understand what type of political models these decolonized countries adopt and modernization theorists tried to grasp the political realities there. For them, modern liberal democracies were the benchmark for modernization and development and measured postcolonial state on those standards.

### Model's of Political modernization

**Seymour Lipset**, who highlighted social and organizational bases for the success of democracy, contends that economic development paves the way for democratic consolidation. Traditional societies have a pyramid-like social structure where elites are at the top and masses at the bottom. With economic development, there is an outnumbering middle class that guarantees democratic stability.

### Almond and Verba's Political Culture Model

**Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba** gave the political culture model in their famous work '**Civic culture**'. They concluded that societies which have certain types of culture moulding political behaviour of the classes shapes the political system of the state. They identified following types of cultures:

- **Parochial Culture**: It is found in traditional societies. They have a poor notion of citizenship and local ethnic and tribal identities are strong. The people are least affected by the decisions of the central government. This culture is seen in primary agrarian societies.
- **Subject Culture**: It is found in authoritarian and dictatorial regimes where citizenship is based on universal nationalism and people identify with the central government. But participation in political processes is low because 1) the state does not provide two way communication and 2) people completely trust their government and abide by it.
- **Participant Culture**: This is found in liberal democracies. People participate in politics actively and the government runs on their consent. Citizens have multiple avenues like voting, pressure groups, public meetings to participate in the affairs of the state.

**Almond and Verba** held that these three types of cultures can combine to create a **civic culture** which is a mix of best of all.

### **GUNNAR MYRDAL'S CONCEPT OF SOFT STATE**

The term 'soft state' was introduced by **Gunnar Myrdal** in his book 'Asian Drama', while comparing South Asian countries with European countries. According to him, South Asian countries have soft states. The policy of 'soft state' means a lenient attitude of the state towards social deviance. Soft states do not take hard decisions, even if the situation demands.

The colonial legacy and political attitudes developed during anti-colonial struggles which is disobedience of political authority. The colonial powers destroyed traditional centres of authority and did not create alternatives suitable to the welfare of the people. Soft states established after achieving freedom fall short of implementing good developmental policies and will have public officials who are disobedient in general.

Soft state is a common nature of prevalent developing state or societal indiscipline, especially in South Asia. They are unable to protect citizen's interests in the first instance and in second, the capacity of the state in law enforcement and implementing socio-economic policies and programmes. The public officials who are expected to regulate powerful persons and groups often collude with them and indulge in high levels of corruption.

### **MODELS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

#### **LUCIAN PYE ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

Lucian Pye has explored the theme of political development. He contends that although political development is linked to the process of modernization, the former is a distinctive process.

Pye describes the three features of political development on which third world countries can be compared with western developed countries.

**Attitude towards equality:** Political equality should apply to the Political offices and they must be open to all and recruitment to such offices must be on the basis of general achievement and not on ascriptive identities. The existence of political dynasties, theocracy, and unequal political access is a significant feature of the postcolonial world which is not the case with western democracies.

**Capacity of the political system:** It refers to the efficiency of the system in terms of input and output functions. Inputs are demands from the public in general like demands for new schools, hospitals, jobs, law and order, etc. Output refers to the policies and infrastructure created by the state to satisfy the demands of the citizens. The weak centralized system of governance, the huge diversity, traditionalization of modernity and ascriptive politics based on populism means that there is a weak capacity of the state in these postcolonial societies.

**Differentiation and specialization:** Differentiation is the division of labour in the political institutions and functional specificity. In simple terms there are different departments in the bureaucracy to perform different

tasks like defence, education, justice, housing, communication etc. In third world countries, the functional specialization is not achieved and there is a lot of overlap between military and civilian institutions,

### SAMUEL HUNTINGTON ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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In his book Political order in changing societies, **Huntington** defines political development as 'institutionalization of political organization and procedures'. Institutionalization means how an institution entrenches itself in the society through laws, procedures, norms, etc. E.g., the election commission of India is a highly institutionalized body as its orders are obeyed by the political class and in Pakistan the military is more institutionalized.

He then goes on to explain that in postcolonial developing societies, there is a mismatch between the political institutionalization and scale of socio-political modernization. As the third world countries lacked the capability to meet the challenges of political mobilization, the political institutions in these countries remain weak, low in capacity, and underdeveloped. So, political development takes place to a certain extent and then decay begins to creep in. The similar idea is put forth by Riggs in his **concept of developmental trap.**

According to **Huntington**, the rise of military coups, civil unrest, breakdown of political parties, ethnic tensions are manifestations of political decay. Hence Huntington warns that third world countries should limit the avenues of political participation.

### FRED RIGGS' PRISMATIC SOCIETIES MODEL

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**Fred Riggs** in his book 'The Ecology of Public Administration' (1961) explored the dynamics of public administration and its external environment (This approach was first suggested by Dwight Waldo in 1955).

In order to understand prehistoric, developing, and developed societies, he developed ideal models of fused, prismatic and diffracted societies. Social structures may perform many functions in some societies which are studied in the structural functional approach (*To be seen in comparative politics*). This is called multi-functionality and social structures that show multi-functionality are called functionally diffused (Riggs called them fused). Whereas, social structures that perform limited functions are called functionally specific (Riggs called them diffracted). The societies that were of the intermediate nature are called prismatic. Riggs held that diffused or diffracted societies are not actually found and all societies are more or less prismatic.

The basic feature of prismatic societies according to Riggs are:

- **Heterogeneity:** Due to uneven social change, there is a presence of both fused and diffused with simultaneous presence of different viewpoints, practices and systems. E.g. presence of sophisticated intellectuals in urban areas and traditional rural elders having religious, political, administrative roles.
- **Formalism:** there is a congruence between what is formally prescribed and actually practised. Public officials have a great deal of discretion while implementing laws. This happens due to lack of awareness in public, lack of commitment about societal goals. This generates large scale corruption.
- **Overlapping:** Overlapping of new social structures and undifferentiated old structures (which dominate). Overlapping is manifested in many features such as nepotism, poly-communalism, poly-normativism, separation of authority and control, etc.

- **Nepotism:** The considerations of caste, religion, family, loyalty are deciding factors of official recruitment.
- **Poly-communalism:** Simultaneous existence of various ethnic, religious, racial groups which are hostile to each other.
- **Poly-Communalism:** Traditional behaviours co-exist with a new set of norms. Officials follow subjective, particularistic, and ascriptive behaviour and avail benefits out of turn.
- **Separation of Authority and Control:** Separation of de-facto and de-jure authority. Societies have both highly centralized authority but control systems are highly localised and dispersed.

#### **Bazaar Canteen model of Prismatic Economy**

The Bazaar canteen model is a subsystem of the prismatic model developed by Riggs. Bazaar is the market which has demand supply price determinacy while canteen represents state of price indeterminacy of the agrarian set up.

The economic subsystem of prismatic society 1) Subsidised canteens where members of special class get goods and services at lower rates and 2) tributary canteens where higher prices are charged to outsiders. This system leads to manipulation of the market due to black market, hoarding, adulteration, etc.

#### **Criticism of Prismatic Society model**

1. Terms of physics such as diffracted, diffused, prismatic don't explain nature and functions of society.
2. Riggs has considered the impact of the external socio-cultural environment on **Sala (administrative subsystem)** but has not considered the impact of sala on the external environment.
3. Formalism does not always enhance the power of the bureaucrats.

#### **Criticism of Modernization Theories**

The 1960s and 1970s saw the failures of postcolonial states to deliver even the most fundamentals at a time when the state was the focal point of hopes and aspirations of the people led to critique of modernization theories. They were criticised by third world nationalism movements and Neo-marxists both.

1. **Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue** contested the modernisation perspective that the states in Asia, Africa and Latin America were in the early stages of development.
2. They also criticised the modernisation/political development theorists for having an ethno-centric bias in the sense that they sought to provide intellectual cloaks to cover the continued Western agenda for continuing to dominate and exploit the post-colonial states covertly

The Neo-Marxist criticism can be seen in the following section.

#### **NEO-MARXIST PERSPECTIVE**

Neo-Marxist understanding of third world countries can be seen through dependency and world system theories.

Dependency theory explains the economic disparity between the rich western countries known as global north and poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America known as global south. Thinkers like **A.G. Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein, Samir Amin, Issa G. Shiva**, etc are main proponents of this school.

They presented approaches to the political economy of developing states and opposed the modernization theory that saw development of the south as a reflection of the north.

They argued that relative poverty of the developing world could not be explained as a function of their isolation from the global political economy but instead can be explained in the manner in which they were integrated into the global economic system. Technological and military superiority of the rich capitalist states' unequal exchange with postcolonial countries resulted in the domination, underdevelopment, and exploitation of the third world countries.

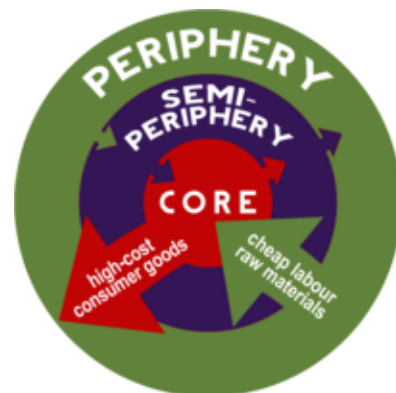
#### AG FRANK'S THEORY OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

In **AG Frank's** view, development and underdevelopment are two interrelated parts of the international capitalist system, which is divided into the metropole of developed countries in the center and the least developed countries of the periphery. He coined the term **"Development of underdevelopment"** to highlight economic drain from peripheral states to the metropolises. He further argued that this exploitative system even replicates in developing countries where prosperous urban areas and poor rural areas coexist in an unequal exchange and remain under subjugation of the urban elite.

#### IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN'S WORLD SYSTEM THEORY

***(Will be given in further detail under Paper II notes)***

Wallerstein gave his dependency theory by dividing world countries into three parts. Core- Rich western countries which benefit the most out of the system Peripheries- extremely poor countries at the expense of which rich countries prosper Semi-peripheries- somewhat developed countries whose political systems allowed them to marginally resist political power of the core and capture economic surplus (**Brazil, Taiwan, South Korea**)



This dependency of peripheries on core countries is on account of weak local bourgeoisie which cannot establish hegemony hence cannot maintain power against strong foreign capital. The dependent states are characterised by distinct trends of authoritarian regimes.

#### CRITICISM OF DEPENDENCY THEORIES

1. Dependency theories are highly abstract and tend to use simplistic categories such as developed and underdeveloped which do not fully capture variations within.

2. Ties with multinationals is not detrimental always, it helps through technology transfer, etc.
3. They don't think beyond the state as the primary agent of economic development.
4. With the dependency theorists' emphasis on unequal exchange relations between the core and the periphery, social classes become synonymous with geographical entities and problems of inequality and deprivation become confined to these entities. It thus makes the prospect of any practical class analysis in a general way extremely unlikely.
5. the **Brandt Report** suggests that the 'rebalancing' of the world economic system in favour of the global south (peripheral states) is desirable than its abolition
6. In his later work titled, Crisis in the World Economy (1980), even **AG Frank** changed his position on 'development of underdevelopment' and admitted that industrial development is possible in the peripheral states.
7. Thinkers such as **Bill Warren** see dependency not as a process of underdevelopment but as a progressive stage. Warren opines that dependency plays a major role in transforming the peripheral states from feudalism to capitalism, thereby advancing its path to socialism

#### **RELATIVE AUTONOMY OF STATE/THEORY OF OVERDEVELOPED STATE: HAMZA ALAVI**

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The Concept of postcolonial state that emerged in the 1970s was epitomized in the seminal work of **Hamza Alavi**. Hamza Alavi's arguments about the postcolonial state were based on following historic reasons:

1. The colonial experiences and alignment of classes and, by the superstructure of political and administrative institutions which were established in that colonial context
2. The realignment of class forces which have been brought about in the context of post-colonial situations.

Alavi contends that states in these postcolonial countries are overdeveloped states. The state, a part of superstructure, is able to dominate all social forces. This allows the state (military/bureaucracy/military-bureaucratic oligarchy) to play a dominant role among social classes. State does not remain an agent of the bourgeoisie class and becomes relatively autonomous.

Alavi ascribes the genesis of this overdeveloped state to the colonial past of the post-colonial societies, where the task of carrying out the bourgeois revolution was exercised by the metropolitan capital in the process of imposition of colonial rule.

In this process, colonial powers found it necessary to expand state apparatus to suppress indigenous social classes. Postcolonial societies inherited this overstretched/overdeveloped state after independence. The state becomes central in the functioning of these post-colonial societies.

This state centrality stems from:

1. Absence of any class that had exclusive command over the state at the time of independence. This required the state to play the balancing role between the indigenous bourgeoisie, the metropolitan neo-colonialist bourgeoisie and the landed class. Thus the state has to be relatively autonomous and not an instrument of one class. It is to be noted though, that the class interests of these classes are competing but not conflicting.



2. According to Alavi, the postcolonial states appropriates a very large part of economic surplus and deploys it through bureaucracy in economic activities.
3. **Alavi and John Saul** underline another factor for significance of state in postcolonial societies. In postcolonial societies, the state has significant ideological function to perform. The hegemonic position of the capitalist system needs to be created within territorial boundaries. Peripheral capitalism too requires territorial unity and legitimacy which has to be created by the state through its relative autonomy.

In such a situation, the role of bureaucracy becomes significant. The neo-marxist thinkers have focused on the special role of bureaucratic oligarchy in post-colonial societies. **John Saul** has argued that due to the weak character of the indigenous bourgeoisie, it finds itself enmeshed in bureaucratic control. In some countries like East Africa, given the apparent inability of indigenous capital to constitute a dominant class, state bureaucracy plays a dominant role.

State bureaucracy is all the more likely to govern as a class when formal political institutions are suppressed as it then plays the role of an intermediary between transnational capital and interest groups. **Hamza Alavi** calls the state in Pakistan a military-bureaucratic oligarchy.

The **relative autonomy of state** theory comes closest to the liberal theory of state as an equilibrium maker but according to this theory it remains a reality that the state only balances the bourgeois interest that is differentiated due to historical imperatives.

#### **Feminist Analysis of the Postcolonial State**

Major discussion among feminist analysts of the postcolonial state concerns the extent to which the state contributes for social change with the intention to increase gender equality. The argument concerns the state as a mechanism for male social control and the convergence between the state and patriarchal forces.

Where politics becomes deeply communalized, particularly when it is supported by state sponsored religious fundamentalism, the traditional control over women that rested with particular male individuals such as fathers, brothers, husbands soon shift to all men.

**Sonia Alvarez** contended that there is nothing essential about the state's ability to act in either direction social change or social control but that its route is more likely to be determined by political government and historical conjuncture.

#### **Merits of Postcolonial Theory of State**

1. It exposed the misuse of globalization and exposed the inherent inequality in the world system of countries.

2. It negated liberal eurocentric bias about postcolonial state and rejected application of western modernization and developmental theories as it is to study postcolonial state.
3. It built the base for cooperation among third world countries.
4. It emphasized on the sovereignty of postcolonial states in the wake of attack by metropolitan capital and its impact on postcolonial societies.

### **Criticism of Postcolonial Theory of State**

1. Postcolonial theory is not considered a theory of state but a descriptive analysis of the existing nature of state. Mostly it falls short of prescriptions for the postcolonial state.
2. It does not indulge in theoretical formulations such as the origin of state, idea of an ideal state, its basis of legitimacy and political obligation by the citizenry, etc. its intended functioning as done by other theories of state.
3. It is not universal and very limited in approach and focuses only on the third world states.
4. The otherness, identity, and difference on which the theory is built negate any distinct understanding from the western world

Though criticism exists, the post-colonial theory of the state has been an important tool in understanding third-world countries, their socio-economic structure, globalization, and its impact on these states. It has enriched the theory of the state by including the post-colonial states in mainstream political theory.

### **Post-Colonial state of India**

- **Pranab Bardhan** argues that the post-colonial Indian state is an autonomous actor playing a far more important role in shaping and moulding class power than vice versa.
- After political independence, the **personnel of the state elite** which enjoyed authority and prestige redirected and restructured the economy, and in the process exerted great pressure on the proprietary classes on the pretext of using state intervention to promote national economic development.
- With the gradual strengthening of the main proprietary classes i.e., the industrial capitalist class and the rich peasantry, the autonomous behaviour of the post-colonial state in India has been confined more and more to its regulatory rather than its developmental functions.
- Also, in comparison to African and Latin American countries, foreign capital has far less importance. The **indigenous industrial capitalist class** in India is far more autonomous and sheltered from foreign capital in the domestic market, even after implementing the policies of pro-market economic reforms in 1991
  - Bardhan refers to the third proprietary class in India, namely the **'professionals in public sectors'**, which comprises the public bureaucracy and white-collar employees in the state sectors
  - As none of the three proprietary classes dominates the others, it increases the autonomous power of the post-colonial state in India, which performs the vital task of mediation among the three competing classes under a democratic system.
  - **Sudipto Kaviraj** also contends that though the colonial state ended in 1947, the new way of organizing social life through politics made society more state centred.
  - The European state still continues to dominate modern Indian life in two senses.

1. The still existing institutional mechanisms of colonial state-even expansion of it further
2. The idea that to be modern is to live through the state, to organise society through its central power, has had vindication, ironically through the demise of colonial power itself.

## **FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE OF STATE**

### **What is Feminism?**

Feminism is a political movement and ideology that aims to advance the social role of women. It is characterized by two basic beliefs. First, women and men are treated differently because of their sex; and second, this unequal treatment can and should be overturned.

Feminism looks at gender from perspective of power relationship, it challenges the traditional method of studying politics as it is patriarchal.

Feminist perspective includes diverse trends and phases. Usually it has not regarded state as the central political issue, it has rather focussed on the patriarchal nature of family and economic system.

Feminists have varied opinions about the nature of state. Thus, there is no coherent feminist theory of state. According to **Catherine Mackinnon** there is no feminist theory of state. Traditional theories of state focus on state from two point of views:

1. Characteristics of sovereignty, power, territory
2. State's role as an instrument of coercion

The patriarchal practice precedes state formation, the state carried forward the patriarchal system and institutionalised it. Gendered class relations were backed by the power of the state and legitimised the violence. Women lost their right to property, became vulnerable and dependent on men. Women's role was confined to the private sphere. Feminist writer **Sylvia Walby** de-constructs the state systematically and shows its patriarchal character.

Disproportionate presence of men in coercive structures of states like police, army while women are most visible in service like teaching, nursing etc.

Feminism has gone through various phases in its evolution and each phase has provided different perspective about state.

During the **first wave feminists** like **Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Emmeline Pankhurst** etc. focused on gaining female suffrage, right to property & other civil-political rights from state which they believed could be vehicle of emancipation.

After mid-20th century, **radical trend** within feminism began to see state as both, an instrument of regulation of public sphere & as an instrument of power. **Kate Millet's** Sexual Politics redefined politics as power-structured relationship & underscored that state regulation goes beyond public sphere and extends to personal sphere which includes all aspects of a woman's life including sexual relations, abortion etc.

That being said, feminists also believe that state can improve the condition of women by following actions

1. Assuming child rearing responsibility
2. Affirmative action for women
3. Economic empowerment of women.
4. **Iris M. Young** suggested **differentiated citizenship** - giving special attention to vulnerable sections like women in state welfare schemes.

Feminist theory of state sets an agenda for action, the aim of which is justice and equality for women everywhere and inevitably for the society as a whole. Feminist theory of state primarily concerns itself with the resultant inferior status of women as characteristic of state system.

The **widespread exclusion of women from state power has wider implications**. Absence of women in power structure has caused environmental degradation as women by nature are nature friendly vis-d-vis men. Women are peace-loving by nature. Due to the exclusion of women, the state tends to build its strength on military power.

According to feminists, women constitute a deprived section in all parts of the world. In post-colonial states (i.e. the newly independent states of the third world), women's lives are less often touched by state regulation, because of the poor implementation of the state welfare provisions. Besides, women often become victims of state violence in this part of the world. Again, in the formerly socialist states of Eastern Europe, the state was associated with '**forced emancipation**' which implied the employment of women in strenuous jobs, not suited to their capability and temperament.

Socialist feminists have attacked the liberal state on many grounds: welfare policies of the Western capitalist state increases women's dependence on men within the capitalist mode of production; the state seeks to free women's labour for exploitation in the labour market; and it tends to serve men's interests by maintaining women's unpaid labour in the home.

Let us consider perspective on the state by different strands of feminism in detail.

#### LIBERAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE:

Liberal feminism began in 18th century and has been evolving through different phases since then . Early liberal feminists of the Enlightenment, such as **M. Wollstonecraft, J. S. Mill and H. T. Mill, E. C. Stanton** etc. adhered to

the basic premise of the Enlightenment insisted that women, as well as men, have the capacity of rationality; they maintained that men and women are alike, so that they should have the same rights and opportunities.

In the struggle for equal rights, they saw the state as “a neutral arbiter between conflicting interests and a guarantor of individual rights”. While acknowledging that the institution was dominated by men and state policies pursued male interests, they adhered to the idea of the alleged distinction between the public and the private, between the state and the market and between the state and the society.

Hence their primary goal was to include more women in the state in order to entail more women's policies. Universal Adult suffrage was the major effort made in direction. It defined women as legal citizens.

Would men but generously snap our chains, and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience, they would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers – in a word, better citizens. We should then love them with true affection, because we should learn to respect ourselves.

**Mary Wollstonecraft, (Vindication of the Rights of Women, 1792)**

For early liberal feminists the main duty of the minimal state was to protect women's property and inheritance rights within the “private” domain of the family.

From the mid twentieth century, due to the rise of other strands of feminisms liberalism redefined itself as a supporter of state having social responsibility coupled with a activist, bureaucratic and ‘efficient’ government”, liberal feminists began to argue that the state was responsible for what is going on in the private domain via also social policies. These social policies would address to issues like male violence, child care, abortion etc. which were assumed to be aspects of the allegedly private sphere.

Although the liberal feminist approach that is based on the idea that the two sexes are essentially the same led to considerable improvements in especially areas like employment and divorce, it still receives major criticisms, mainly from Marxist feminism and socialists.

Socialist feminist **Zillah Eisenstein** argued that liberal state created a false notion of equal opportunity for women, ignoring the ground reality. Socialist feminists believe that capitalist state ignores the care economy and stands upon unpaid women labour.

## MARXIST FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Early Marxist feminists like **Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg** adopted **Engels'** arguments presented in the The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1884) that it was the man, who brought food to the family by working outside the house, and the woman, who engaged in the so-called non-productive

household management, hence woman lost her “public” character. Hence Engels and early Marxist feminists claimed that women would be emancipated under socialism by entering into the public sphere. They prescribed the socialisation of housework and childrearing.

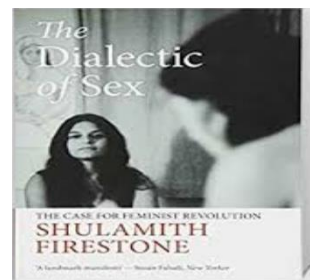
With the rise of **radical feminism** in 20th century, contemporary Marxist feminists do not see the capitalist state solely as an institution but as a form of social relations. According to Marxist feminists, oppressive gender relations are caused by the state’s relation with the bourgeoisie: Marxist feminists have argued that the male breadwinner family and women’s dependence within it are supported by capitalist states because they have to ensure the reproduction of labour power and that women’s unpaid domestic labour is the cheapest way of doing this. It is the dependence of women on men that consolidates men’s power over women and it is the alliance between the state and capital that helps to produce and reproduce this dependence via the familial ideology.

Despite the efforts of Marxist feminists to overcome the alleged distinction between the public and the private as well as the state and the society, the Marxist feminism still remains confined to the reductionism and an overemphasis on economics similar to Marxism.

### **RADICAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE**

Radical feminism which challenged both liberal and Marxist feminist accounts reached its peak in mid 20th century. Unlike liberal feminists, radical feminists argued that men and women are essentially different. Unlike early Marxist feminists, radical feminists claimed that it was patriarchy, or male-domination that cause women’s oppression, not capitalism.

**Shulamith Firestone** argued that patriarchy is the systemic subordination of women, the origins of which are based on biology, not economics as Marxist feminists claimed. She redefined the economic notion of class as “sex class” as a biological concept; i.e. men and women were two opposite sex classes. Firestone argued that just as the proletariat would be liberated once they seized the means of production, women’s emancipation would be possible via artificial reproduction technologies since women would regain control over the means of reproduction.



Other radical feminists like **Mary O’ Brien, Adrienne Rich, Andrea Dworkin, Margaret Atwood, Gena Corea, Robyn Rowland** etc. criticised Firestone’s approach and emphasised that women’s power to create life makes men so jealous that they try to control reproductive technologies, women would have to embrace their reproductive powers, realising that “the source of [their] oppression is also the source of [their] liberation”.

### **“The personal is political”**

The greatest accomplishment of radical feminism for the analysis of the state was the motto “the personal is political”. In her famous work, Sexual Politics (1969), **Kate Millet** explained that the relationship between the sexes is political. Millet argued that patriarchy is “a political institution built on status, temperament, and role [i.e. gender], a socially conditioned belief system presenting itself as nature or necessity”. According to Millet, such an

institution could be eliminated by eliminating status, temperament and role; i.e. gender as constructed under patriarchy.

Radical feminists have argued that “the basis of patriarchal power lies in male violence. Male control of women (and hence male dominance) is dependent on force – the state therefore supports male violence against women”. This means that as the legitimate monopoly of violence, it is the state that gives men the right to be violent against women.

Radical feminists are hostile to state intrusion into women’s lives as individuals. According to the radical feminist account, it is the civil society rather than the state, which is the sphere, where women should fight against patriarchy. since it is the state that makes it possible for patriarchy to develop as a system of repressive power. Hence they develop consciousness groups and nongovernmental organisations to struggle against patriarchy and help support women’s problems.

“When I look at the state it appears male to me.”  
**Catharine MacKinnon**

As **Betty Friedan** explained in her famous work, The Feminine Mystique (1963), after World War II in the West, women began to be envisaged as solely housewives and were imprisoned within their homes. In The Feminine Mystique (1963), Friedan suggested that women should participate in the labour force and spare as little time as possible to do housework.

In contrast to early liberal feminists, who believed that there was nothing that we can do to “emancipate” women other than struggling for equal rights and for the abolition of discriminatory practices, contemporary, so-called “welfare”, liberal feminists argue that it necessary to eliminate socio-economic, as well as legal, impediments to women’s progress today, via policies like preferential hiring or reverse discrimination.

Although radical feminism managed to overcome the dichotomy between the public and the private spheres and did not simply see the state as belonging to the former sphere and the family belonging to the latter, it failed to understand that the distinction between the state, the (civil) society and the market is an illusory one. As a matter of fact, through their position against the state, radical feminists undermined the role of the social as all encapsulating sphere. Still, through their slogan, **“personal is political”** and thorough their attempts to put both private and public experiences of women into the centre of the analysis of the state, radical feminists have made significant contributions to the existing feminist conceptualisations of the state.

## SOCIALIST FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

In order to overcome the biological reductionism of radical feminism and the economic reductionism of Marxist feminism, socialist feminists like **Zillah Eisenstein** analysed the society in terms of capitalism and patriarchy and saw the state as a mechanism to reconcile the two systems.

Eisenstein defined capitalist patriarchy as the existing mutual dependence of capitalist class structure and male supremacy. Within this framework, Eisenstein identified the state as serving simultaneously both bourgeois and male interests. She drew attention to the fact that there is no real distinction between the public and the private



spheres. She argued that the liberal feminist conception of the state failed to recognise that “the structural relations of women’s lives – the family, the sexual division of labour, sex-class oppression” was indeed a part of the political life of the society.

Scholars like **Kate Ferguson** and **Barett** took Eisenstein’s argument a step further. Ferguson underlined that “an exclusive focus on integrating women into state institutions produces a situation that perpetuates dominant patriarchal discourses and norms rather than challenges them”. On the other hand, Barett argued that by excluding women from certain types of work through protective legislation, by exercising control over the representation of sexuality via pornography laws, by implementing housing policies that makes it rather difficult to satisfy the needs of the nuclear-family, the state becomes a major factor in women’s oppression.

In her well-known article “Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex” another important socialist Feminist, **Heidi Hartmann** tried to make a more historical analysis of the interrelation between the state, capitalism and patriarchy. She gives some historical examples to show how the promotions of the state served male interests. For instance, she indicates that the men of the medical profession could only forestall midwifery through the state’s assistance. If it was not for the state’s promotion of “scientific” skills that are presumably gender-neutral, the medical profession could not find a legitimate base for replacing midwifery; undermining a very important occupation for women that did not only provide them economic independence but also a high social status.

Probably the greatest contribution made to feminist conceptualisations of the state came from **Catherine MacKinnon** in her 1989 dated book, Toward A Feminist Theory of the State (1989). MacKinnon argues that the state is a male institution. It institutionalised its power in its male form. The state is assumed to be and acknowledged as rational, which is popularly considered as essentially a male trait. It is seen as the most important institution of the state that is the basic tool and symbol of male power that distorts “social reality in the interest of men and [is] thus integral to patriarchal culture”. Thus, MacKinnon stresses that “even if the laws on rape, abortion and pornography are formally there, they are never fully enforced.

## **OTHER FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES**

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- **Black feminists**, criticised that both Marxist and radical feminist analyses of the state fail to address the fact that state policies are shaped also in the light of race and ethnicity, not solely in accordance with class interests as Marxists claim or not solely in accordance with gendered interests as radical feminists claim.
- **Third World feminists** have also criticized both radical and liberal feminisms with regard to the fact that they do not take into account the experiences of Third World women under post-colonial states. To the feminists of the Third World, feminist theories seemed to address only to the problems of white, middle class, First World women.
- **Ecofeminism**, which began to emerge roughly in the 1990s, was also critical of mainstream feminist accounts. Although feminists of various branches had also taken into account animal rights, it was not until the rise of ecofeminism that ecological issues began to be an integral part of feminist theory and practice. Ecofeminists argue that “the domination of women and the domination of nature are integral. Thus, establish a positive identification between women and nature.

These forms of “otherness” in feminism carries contemporary feminist literature to postmodernism as a unifying social theory.

## POST MODERN FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

**Postmodern feminists** challenged all and saw the state as a differentiated rather than a unified institution.

Postmodernism challenges the metanarratives of Western civilisation, particularly the Enlightenment ideas. They are sceptical about beliefs concerning truth, knowledge, power, the self, and language that are often taken for granted within and serve as legitimation for contemporary Western culture. Postmodernists like Foucault also reject the grand institutions of Western civilisation, which supports dominative practices.

**Postmodern feminism** defines the state as a “differentiated set of institutions, agencies and discourses” rather than a unitary body. For them, the state is not essentially patriarchal but “was historically constructed as patriarchal in a political process whose outcome is open” They claim that the state is indeed composed of “a set of arenas that lack coherence”, thus we cannot conceptualise it as a unified body. The postmodernist feminists criticise the conceptualisations of “woman” and “patriarchy” by previous feminist theories. They argue that such concepts are essentialist, and are unable to deal with questions of difference: ...Not only is there no unity to the category of “woman”, but, there are a number of overlapping, crosscutting discourses of femininities and masculinities which are historically and culturally variable.

Despite acknowledging the differences between and within states in constructing gender, postmodernism faces severe criticisms due to too much focus on discourses and undermine the role of institutions and policies. In addition, as **Walby** argues, postmodernist feminism not only neglects the social context of power relations, but also that “woman” and “man” as signifiers still have **sufficient cross-cultural continuity**.

Feminism, as one critical paradigm and various women’s struggles all over the world indicate that active involvement in state policies may carry a potential to change how the state functions. In order to develop a common sense on the relationship between the state(s), the market and the (civil) society, finding historical data that are not contaminated by malestream knowledge remains at the top of the agenda of the feminist political struggle.

**Conclusion:** In this chapter on theories of state, we have seen many perspectives that conceptualise, analyse the nature of state. Each of these perspectives gave birth to a much larger debate and analysis that proved to improve our understanding of the state and its status, prospect and aspirations according to different interests. From the emergence of the modern nation state on the ruins of medieval feudalism till now when a globalised world presents a rich picture but also suggests that the future road for the state is difficult on account of many challenges due to technology, politics, economy, and socio-cultural churn. Hence, like any other concept of political science, the debate on the nature and structure of the state will only get more and more complex. The future would hold as to the form and longevity of the institution of the nation-state as we know it today.

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## JUSTICE

PYQs:

1. Make a comparative assessment of Greek Perspective of Justice with the Rawlsian Perspective of Justice. (2020)
2. Examine Communitarian Perspectives on Justice. (2019)
3. Comment on Distributive Justice. (2018)
4. Analyze the Rawlsian justification of discrimination to achieve goals of social justice. (2018)
5. Rawls Theory is both contractual and distributive. Examine (2017)
6. Critically examine John Rawls's argument for democratic equality. (2016)
7. Comment on Difference Principle in Rawls Theory of Justice. (2015)
8. Explicate the conception of justice in the critiques of Communitarian theorists (2014)
9. Comment on Original position (2013)

### Introduction

Justice is a foundational concept of political theory and practice. The concept of Justice is often invoked in public policy and practice, in social and political movements. In fact social, political movements are essentially movements for the demand for justice. According to thinkers of political science, a harmonious, decent, or good

society must have many virtues to be so but justice is the first of them. **John Rawls** holds justice to be the first virtue of social institutions.

Justice is primarily the domain of moral philosophy but it has to be implemented by a political order. Hence, the concept has been found in the inquiries of all political thinkers and is a subject of all political dialectics.

### **The Idea of Justice**

The word 'justice' is derived from the Latin words **Jungere** (to bind/tie together) and **jus** (a bond/tie). Just like a bond, justice serves to organise people together into a right or fair order of relationships by distributing to each person his or her due share of rights and duties. So it can be said that In Political theories, justice is regarded as the property of redistribution.

As a moral political value, justice is interlinked with other values such as **liberty, equality, and fraternity**. A right or fair ordering of human relations based on each person getting his/her due rights and duties as well as due rewards and punishments. This is a traditional notion of justice that balances principles of liberty, equality, etc.

According to **D.D. Raphael**, justice is a Janus-like (two-faced) concept. It is both legal and moral.

### **Justice as a Dynamic Idea**

The term justice has been assigned different meanings by people of different times and spaces. Its implication also varies accordingly. What is just in the past may be severe injustice today. **For example, Slavery was considered to be just in ancient Greek philosophy as it served social order but today slavery is one of the worst values.** Various constitutions vow to end slavery and establish equality for human beings. An eye for an eye was the concept of justice in medieval times but today justice is seen as more of a reformatory concept.

In the Ancient classical theory of justice, **Plato** has presented a normative concept in his book "Republic". According to him, justice is completely in accordance with the nature of human beings and it can be discovered and understood on the basis of human intellectual logic. Plato contends that nature has made some people philosophers and thinkers who are called **elite**. Some have been made aggressive and brave as warriors and other good labourers or sculptures.

#### **Justice according to Plato:**

Justice demands that "every person should remain at the station allotted by nature which means he should fulfil the duties for which he is capable." When this condition is satisfied, the state is deemed to be just.

Plato's disciple **Aristotle** believed that equality is also included in the concept of justice up to a limit. According to Aristotle, political rights, special rights, wealth, property, materialistic things, prestige, etc. should be allotted on the basis of **distributive justice**. On the other hand, those prohibiting the laws made under commutative justice should be penalised and fined.

Subsequent to this Greek interest in the concept of justice, there was a general lull on this subject and often divinity or godly justice was invoked. As a result of the renaissance, reformation, and commercial revolution, new concepts of justice emerged in the works of **Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, and Kant**, etc.

For **Hobbes**, justice was following the authoritative order of the state. Utilitarianism propounded by **Bentham** sought to derive justice based on the hedonistic calculus of pleasure and pain. Marxists believed that the fundamental element of justice is the end of capitalism and class conflict. Today justice is seen in terms of redistribution of resources based on affirmative action. So, the idea of justice has been a dynamic concept and it is still evolving.

“Justice is today the central and commanding concept of current mainstream normative political philosophy.”  
- Tom Campbell

### **DISTRIBUTIVE IDEA OF JUSTICE: VARIOUS CRITERIA**

Any social value has some criteria for its nature and distribution. Justice, from the perspective of distribution, has three criteria: **Equality, Merit/Desert, and Need**.

#### **NEEDS-BASED JUSTICE**

Every person has some minimum necessities for being a human which have to be satisfied irrespective of personality or merit. Each and every person also has some fundamental rights which he/she needs to fulfil the basic necessities of life such as bread, cloth, and shelter. But there is no clear and absolute definition of what those needs are.

Health is a basic right of everybody but every society has different means, capacities, and tools to provide health facilities. According to these variables it has to allocate its resources. Necessity is one such criterion to bring in a just distribution of resources. But if necessities are the absolute criteria, it can degrade merit because of unsatisfactory distribution.

Hence need is one criterion for just redistribution but not the only one. The most famous proponent of needs-based justice is **Karl Marx** who gives the principle of: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs”. Socialists subscribe to one or another version of needs-based justice.

*“From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs”* - Karl Marx

#### **DESERT/ MERIT BASED JUSTICE**

Desert (Merit)-based justice is occasionally referred to as natural justice. It is a **non-egalitarian concept of justice**. It emphasises the idea of desert/Merit i.e. innate worth of an individual who is assumed to be god-given and unalterable.

A person's moral worth or internal characteristics are to be paid. Merit examined by the contribution is an important part of liberal justice which is expressed by the principle: equality of opportunity means everyone will get an equal opportunity to prove his merit and to contribute in the production but the reward will be given on the basis of actual merit.

**Edmund Barker and Herbert Spencer** are proponents of desert-based justice. Spencer mentions that each individual should get benefits and the evils of his own nature and conduct. These ideas serve to give a conservative, social-Darwinian defence of free-market capitalism.

### **EQUALITY BASED JUSTICE**

Since the last 200 years, with the universal recognition of human rights and human equality, equality has become the important basis of any theory of justice. The fundamental demand for justice is that everyone gets equal rights in society.

Equality before the law is an integral part of the legal arrangement. Similarly, economic, social, and political equality is a fundamental feature of any just society. This emphasis on socio-economic equality has exposed the differences between the procedural forms of justice from substantive forms of justice.

In short, it can be said that there are **no fixed criteria for justice**. Every society evolves with time and the criteria change in form and substance. It devises its proportion of these three criteria for itself. At any rate, the true criteria for justice lie in the coordination of these three criteria.

### **WHAT IS PROCEDURAL JUSTICE?**

Justice is of two types:

- 1) To give one's right which allots rights, duties and material in the society and
- 2) To amend the mistakes by punishment and penalties which are related to legal arrangement.

This approach to justice is also called **procedural justice**. This is very effective in the concept of law.

Procedural justice ensures impartiality in that process which resolves conflicts and allocates resources. According to its proponents, it is necessary to determine a just procedure for the allocation of social advantages. It means that allocation made through just procedures should be considered just.

The notion of procedural justice, though originated in **Aristotle's** thought, is closely related to the tradition of **liberalism** which gave it a formal form. It considers the function of justice is to regulate mutual relations between individuals and groups.

It doesn't matter who wins if the rules and the procedures followed in a race are just.--> **Norman Barry**



Procedural justice ensures **freedom of contract** which is protected by the state which will ensure that no individual or group would oppress another by fraud. As **Norman Barry** illustrates, It's like it does not matter who wins if the rules and the procedures followed in a race are just. It is believed that he wins who does not cheat to win and not who is morally deserving to win.

This procedural justice is ensured in various constitutions through legal principles and proceedings.

In **India**, the procedure established by law was followed until the **Menaka Gandhi case**, thereafter it is a mix between procedure established by law and due process of law.

**American constitution** envisages a due process of law as the basis of law making and gives the judicial supremacy in deciding whether the procedure is just.

Procedural justice treats the rules of the market economy as a model for human behaviour. Market devises the best mechanisms that create the necessary conditions. **Herbert Spencer, F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Robert Nozick** advocated procedural forms of justice. They even criticised John Rawls's theory of justice which is also a procedural theory for its provision for differential treatment.

It Repudiates all discrimination on grounds of caste, creed, sex, race, region, religion, etc, and accepts equal dignity and moral worth of all human beings. This is progressive but it stretches the notion of competition too far.

For example,

- **Spencer** denies state help to the handicapped. He argues that this help is unjust as it deprives capable people of their genuine share and impedes social progress.
- **Hayek** suggested that the state should positively promote competition and not go for social justice which is like a mirage.
- **Nozick** also held that the state has no authority to redistribute the property of citizens.
- **Friedman** goes to the extent of saying that competitive capitalism is an essential condition of freedom and opposes all measures of human welfare and social justice.

#### **Models of Procedural Justice:**

- **Outcome model:** It tells that impartiality of any process depends upon its working procedure which gives the right outcome. If it is a criminal case, the right outcome would be punishment on the merit of the case. If it is a law the limit of the impartial procedure is to make the right law.
- **Balance Model:** The balance model believes that it is an appropriate and impartial procedure that can create a balance between the cost of the procedure and the profit obtained by the procedure. Thus according to the viewpoint of the balance of procedural impartiality to avoid excessive expense one can be prepared to accept or tolerate the wrong decision.
- **Partnership model:** It conceived an impartial process that allows even the terrified ones also to participate in the process of creation of judgement. **For example**, during a court case, partnership model



experts that defence should also get the opportunity to present their side evidence and to ask questions from the evidence.

**C.B. Macpherson** has rightly pointed out that this strictly procedural capitalist mode destroys the creative freedom of human beings who are constrained to employ their skills and talents to cater to the needs of the market instead of pursuing their own goals. In these constrained conditions, there is no scope for justice.

**John H. Sachar** believes that talents might not be rewarded according to their intrinsic worth because of social hierarchies present. For example, in societies where military and religious qualities are rewarded more, other qualities such as that of artisans, poets go unrecognised.

Given these issues, many criticized the procedural justice method and held that the state should create adequate opportunities for and give suitable encouragements to all talents and try to eliminate any unjust discrimination.

### **SUBSTANTIVE JUSTICE**

Substantive justice refers to justice or fairness of the content or outcome of laws, policies, decisions, etc. Substantive justice **emphasises just outcomes**. Just procedure in itself is not sufficient. The procedure for making allocations of social advantages itself needs to be just. The procedure is secondary which can be adjusted to suit just distribution. Because social structures are diverse and hierarchical. Treating everyone equally in an unjust society will not lead to justice.

It holds that the **real test of justice in society is ascertaining whether the poor and the underprivileged have adequate opportunities to improve their lot**. The differences in social status and economic standing should not decide opportunities available. Substantive justice ensures that development opportunities should be progressively extended to the underprivileged sections of society.

Here comes the **role of the state in ensuring the outcomes or results are just**. The state needs to constantly distribute and redistribute resources so that there is no concentration of wealth and resulting economic deprivation. The just redistribution will bring in maximum equal opportunity and ensure that substantive justice is upheld. **Rawl's theory of justice** brings in the **Difference principle** to uphold substantive justice even if it is a procedural theory.

### **JOHN RAWLS: THEORY OF JUSTICE**

John Rawls was an American political philosopher of the liberal tradition. His theory of justice as fairness envisions a society of free citizens holding equal basic rights cooperating within an egalitarian economic system. Influenced by the social contract tradition and Immanuel Kant's concept of human dignity, John Rawls has attempted to devise a universal theory of justice that is purely procedural. Also, it is a contractual theory of justice.

His book “A Theory of Justice” is a critique of the utilitarian theory of justice Which calls for the greatest happiness of the greatest number as the basis of justice and accordingly advises the state to follow felicific calculus.

#### **How does Rawls criticize the utilitarian theory of justice?**

- For the utilitarians, the criterion of justice in a society is the aggregate sum of utility or happiness or welfare it produces and not the well-being or welfare of each member of the Society.
- Rawls derives inspiration from Immanuel Kant’s moral idea of the freedom and equality of every human being. According to Kant, every human being is to be treated as an end in himself or herself and not as means to the ends of others.
- Rawls showed the moral flaws of utilitarianism as it justifies sacrificing the good of the few for the majority. Utilitarianism hence violates liberal egalitarian moral principles and Rawls attempts to correct it through bringing in social justice.
- Both in his method or procedure of arriving at the principles of distributive or social justice and, consequently, in the content or substance of those principles, Rawls tries to give centrality to the moral principle of the freedom and equality of every person

Justice as fairness is a theory for a liberal society. As a member of the family of liberal political conceptions of justice, it provides a framework for the legitimate use of political power. Yet legitimacy is only the minimal standard of political acceptability; a political order can be legitimate without being just. **Justice** is the **maximal moral standard**: the full description of how a society's main institutions should be ordered.

#### **Primary Goods**

According to Rawls, justice is the property of distribution and it is related to the distribution of things and services in the society. Rawls has called these things **primary goods**. Rawls considers justice to be the first and fundamental characteristic of all social institutions and analyses the fact that which theories of justice can be considered best. While doing this, he created a theory of justice like **Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau** based on the social contract. According to Rawls, as justice is the foundation of any social arrangement, so all the political and legislative decisions should be taken under these rules. All this arrangement is for the distribution of these primary goods through a universal procedure.

The primary goods are of two types:

- **Social Goods:** All those goods which are distributed by the social institutions directly like wages, wealth, opportunity, material goods, rights, freedom, etc.
- **Natural Goods:** Like health, intelligence, imaginative power, and capacity which are not distributed directly by the social institutions but they are affected by these. How these goods are distributed in a

justified society — this depends upon the fact that which theory of justice is included in their arrangement of rights, legal process, and designation, etc.

Rawls's theory of justice has pointed out that a good society is characterised by a number of virtues. Justice is the first virtue of a good society. **According to Rawls, a good society is “a cooperative venture for mutual advantage.”** Along with cooperation, there is also conflict among its members regarding their share of the burdens and benefits of social living.

Therefore the purpose of principles of social justice is to ensure that the distribution of the benefits and burdens of society are just or fair to all its members. Rawls says, **“Natural distribution is neither just nor unjust, it is the institution of society controlled by human beings that makes it just or unjust”.**

John Rawls in the process of devising this just procedural theory creates an imaginary situation of the veil of ignorance where parties to the contract are in their original position.

### WHAT IS THE ORIGINAL POSITION?

Rawls suggests the original position where individuals can decide about the principles of

justice in a fair and free atmosphere. The original position aims to move from these abstract conceptions to determinate principles of social justice. It does so by translating the question: “What are fair terms of social cooperation for free and equal citizens?” into the question “What terms of cooperation would free and equal citizens agree to under fair conditions?” The move to an agreement among citizens is what places Rawls's justice as fairness within the social contract tradition of **Locke, Rousseau, and Kant.**



The original position is a thought experiment: an imaginary situation in which each real citizen has a representative, and all of these representatives come to an agreement on which principles of justice should order the political institutions of the real citizens. Were actual citizens to get together in real-time to try to agree to principles of justice for their society the bargaining among them would be influenced by all sorts of factors irrelevant to justice, such as who could appear most threatening or who could hold out longest. The original position abstracts from all such irrelevant factors. Negation of such abstractions and influence demands a veil of ignorance.

### VEIL OF IGNORANCE

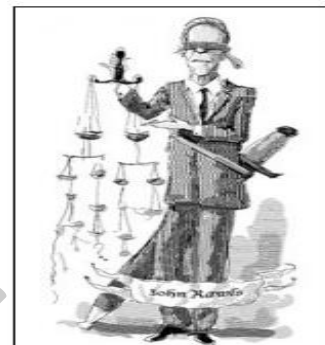
The most striking feature of the original position is the veil of ignorance, which prevents other arbitrary facts about citizens from influencing the agreement among their representatives. As we have seen, Rawls holds that the fact that a citizen is for example of a certain race, class, and gender is no reason for social institutions to favour or disfavour him. Each party in the original position is therefore deprived of knowledge of the race, class, and gender of the real citizen they represent. The veil of ignorance deprives the parties of all facts about citizens that are irrelevant to the choice of principles of justice: not only their race, class, and gender but also their age, natural

endowments, and more. Moreover, the veil of ignorance also screens out specific information about the citizens' society to get a clearer view of the permanent features of a just social system.

This is a situation of **individual wisdom and general ignorance**. Hence, this is a partial veil of ignorance. In this veil of ignorance:

**Parties do not know**

1. The race, ethnicity, gender, age, income, wealth, natural endowments, comprehensive doctrine, etc. of any of the citizens in society, or to which generation in the history of the society these citizens belong.
2. The political system of the society, its class structure, economic system, or level of economic development.



**Parties are aware of**

1. That citizens in the society have different comprehensive doctrines and plans of life; that all citizens have interests in more primary goods.
2. That the society is under conditions of moderate scarcity: there is enough to go around, but not enough for everyone to get what they want;
3. General facts about human social life; facts of common sense; general conclusions of science (including economics and psychology) that are uncontroversial.

The veil of ignorance is intended to situate the representatives of free and equal citizens fairly with respect to one another. No party can press for agreement on principles that will arbitrarily favour the particular citizen they represent, because no party knows the specific attributes of the citizen they represent.

The situation of the parties thus embodies reasonable conditions, within which the parties can make a rational agreement. Each party tries to agree to principles that will be best for the citizen they represent (i.e., that will maximise that citizen's share of primary goods). Since the parties are fairly situated, the agreement they reach will be fair to all actual citizens.

But one pertinent question that arises is,

**Why does Rawls accept the political contract?**

Its main reason was to show that the rule of justice which creates the basic structure of the society in fact should be based on the consent of the common men. These rules will be accepted by the free and reasonable person in the fundamental conditions with the objective of unceasing their benefits.

According to **Kalley**, Rawls theory of social contract is based on the assumption that political and social arrangements will be valid only when the society is created on the basis of a self-willed plan of impartial social cooperation in which people are considered free and equal.

For Rawls, the concept of the contract very resides because this provides such a reason which is inclusive of the concept of being free and equal. In short despite being imaginative social contract fulfils two objectives -

- (i) It helps in selecting two theories of justice.

(ii) It tries to show why people should accept the conditions given under these two theories.

Now let us study the theory in detail. First, we will see the two principles of justice

## THE TWO PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE AS FAIRNESS

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Under the veil of ignorance parties to the contract agree to the following two principles:

**First Principle:** Each person has the same inalienable claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties, which scheme is compatible with the same scheme of liberties for all

**Second Principle:** Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions:

- 2 (a). They are to be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity;
- 2(b). They are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society (the difference principle).

These principles are arranged by Rawls in a specific order and are subject to the priority rule.

The first principle must always come before the second, and 2a) has to come before 2b). Thus, there is no risk of individual liberty being compromised for the liberty of others. It also ensures that any departure from the principle of equality brings maximum benefit to the least advantaged; in other words, inequalities should be so arranged that they benefit the worst-off. This specific order is known as the **Lexical order**.

## ANALYSIS OF THE TWO PRINCIPLES

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### First Principle

- The first principle affirms for all citizens' familiar basic rights and liberties: liberty of conscience and freedom of association, freedom of speech and liberty of the person, the rights to vote, to hold public office, to be treated in accordance with the rule of law, and so on.
- The principle ascribes these rights and liberties to all citizens equally. Unequal rights would not benefit those who would get a lesser share of rights, so justice requires equal rights for all in all normal circumstances.
- Rawls's first principle accords with widespread convictions about the importance of equal basic rights and liberties. Two further features make this first principle distinctive. First is its priority: the basic rights and liberties must not be traded off against other social goods.
- The first principle disallows, for instance, a policy that would give draft exemptions to college students on the grounds that educated civilians will increase economic growth. The draft is a drastic infringement on basic liberties, and if a draft is implemented then all who are able to serve must be equally subject to it.
- The second distinctive feature of Rawls's first principle is that it requires the fair value of political liberties. Political liberties are a subset of the basic liberties, concerned with the rights to hold public office, the right to affect the outcome of national elections, and so on. **For these liberties, Rawls requires that**

**citizens be not only formally but also substantially equal.** That is, citizens similarly endowed and motivated should have the same opportunities to hold office, to influence elections, and so on regardless of their social class.

### **The Second Principle**

- Rawls's second principle of justice has two parts.
  1. The first part, **fair equality of opportunity, requires** that citizens with the same talents and willingness to use them have the same educational and economic opportunities regardless of whether they were born rich or poor. "In all parts of society, there are to be roughly the same prospects of culture and achievement for those similarly motivated and endowed"
  2. The second part of the second principle is the **difference principle**, which regulates the distribution of wealth and income. With these goods inequalities can produce a greater total product: higher wages can cover the costs of training and education, for example, and can provide incentives to fill jobs that are more in demand.
- The difference principle requires that social institutions be arranged so that any inequalities of wealth and income work to the advantage of those who will be the worst off.
- The difference principle gives expression to the idea that natural endowments are undeserved. A citizen does not merit more of the social product simply because she was lucky enough to be born with gifts that are in great demand. Yet this does not mean that everyone must get the same shares.
- The fact that citizens have different talents and abilities can be used to make everyone better off. In a society governed by the difference, principle citizens regard the distribution of natural endowments as an asset that can benefit all. Those better endowed are welcome to use their gifts to make themselves better off, so long as their doing so also contributes to the good of those less well endowed. **In "Justice as fairness," Rawls says, "men agree to share one another's fate."**

### **DOES RAWLS DEFEND INEQUALITY THROUGH HIS TWO PRINCIPLES?**

- According to **Rawls** certain inequalities, which serve as incentives for the greater creativity and productivity of the talented and the gifted, are not unjust if that greater creativity and productivity benefit all, especially the least advantaged members of the society.
- Rawls thinks that giving advantage to the least advantaged would invariably entail giving benefits to everyone else. Rawls maintains that a society can so structure or restructure its basic institutions as to make inequalities in income and wealth yield maximum benefits to the least advantaged – maximum in comparison to any reasonable, alternative social restructuring.
- According to the **Difference Principle**, inequalities that are advantageous to the better off but not to the least advantaged are unjust. His Difference Principle is meant not to replace inequality with equality in income and wealth, but to transform unfair or unjust degrees or kinds of economic inequalities into a fair or just kind or degree by maximising the benefits of the least advantaged.



### BUT, WHY SHOULD WE ACCEPT THE TWO PRINCIPLES?

The legitimacy of the two principles is based on two factors:

1. Rawls has refined the idea of the social contract. Justice is conceived to be what persons would agree to under conditions for choosing principles to regulate basic social structure that is fair. The original position given by Rawls is an example of a fair proceduralist standard of justification as something is believed to be fair only after an ideal procedure would accept it as right.
2. Rawls discards the idea of natural talent, saying skills and talents are the results of naturally and socially acquired advantages. These social advantages should extend to the least advantaged sections for fair justice.

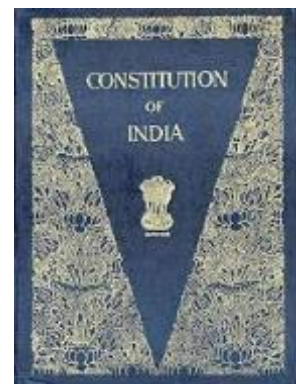
Thus, Rawls marked a departure from classical liberalism that stood for individual liberty but left the individual alone to face the market risks. He also departed from the socialist ideas that made individuals subservient to social equality. Rawls's theory of justice was in line with the needs of the liberal democratic welfare state

#### **Indian Constitution and Rawls Theory of Justice**

In the Indian context, the idea of justice propounded by Rawls has a lot of relevance.

The Indian Constitution makes systemic departures from norms of equality to achieve justice. Such modification is required to eliminate discrimination against the deprived sections in order to promote national integration. **Dr. B R Ambedkar**, as the Chairperson of the Drafting Committee of India's Constitution, argued that political democracy could not be sustained on the basis of social inequality. In line with the ideas of Aristotle, **Dr. Ambedkar** argued that if social inequality is not addressed, there could be political instability in India.

Hence, the Indian Constitution has many provisions that depart from the principle of formal equality to ensure the benefit of the least advantaged sections, mainly the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, and the Other Backward Classes. There is a provision for reservation for the deprived sections in education, administration, and legislative bodies as well.



### WHAT AFTER FINALISING THE THEORY OF JUSTICE?

After finalising the theory and priority of Justice, according to Rawls, the next step of the agreement is the creation of such a constitution that can satisfy these theories of justice and can become the basis of a just and effective judiciary.

On the constitutional level also Rawls gives priority to the rule of freedom only. After the creation of the constitution, people will have to think about making policies and laws for society. The creation of judiciary, from one side, is to the achievement of long term social and economic objectives and from another side following the



‘second rule’ of justice according to which the objective of social and economic policies will be to provide maximum benefit to the long term aspirations of the lower class of the society in the circumstances of justified equality in the opportunities.

Collectively, Rawls propagated such a theory of justice which is in accordance with the necessities of the contemporary liberal democratic welfare state and is above both the theories i.e. the theory of traditional liberalism which strongly believes in the freedom of individual and was in the favour of leaving him alone and socialism’s theory of maximum control which sacrifices the freedom of the individual in the name of social equality. Rawls principle believes in such a constitutional democracy that is limited, prestigious, and responsible. It wants to control free capitalism in many ways.

As Rawls writes, “If law and Government keep the market economy competitive in an effective way; materialistic and human resources are best utilised, wealth and money are distributed, all the minimal demands of everyone in society fulfilled, there is equality of opportunities in society on the basis of universal education; then this type of distribution will be justified.

### **EVALUATION OF RAWLS THEORY OF JUSTICE**

There is no doubt that Rawls' book ‘**A Theory of Justice**’ has given an important contribution in re-establishing interest in political philosophy but even then it is not free from criticism.

Among them, the absence of direct dialogue between the participants, and his assumption that the participants of the ‘social contract’ are mutually disinterested are criticised.

**Brian Barry** in his 1973 book, “The Liberal Theory of Justice”, has doubted the rationality of individuals as argued by Rawls in the original position. He further says that it is very difficult to define the least advantaged sections in any society.

### **C B MACPHERSON’S CRITICISM OF RAWLS**

Macpherson in his book “Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval” has contended that Rawls’s theory is essentially an elegant defence of what is essentially a liberal-democratic capitalist welfare state. Macpherson argues that Rawls does not present a universal account of justice but an account that rationalises liberal beliefs and values. He also contends that the Rawlsian individual is hardly a stripped-down abstract individual: the rational, self-interested, individualistic, and autonomous individual is too similar to the liberal conception of the individual to have any universal application.

Rawls’s acceptance of inequality in the family and the inevitability of class division is inconsistent with his initial commitment to equality according to Macpherson. Macpherson argues that such inequalities would adversely affect individual liberty by creating inequality of power in society.

### **COMMUNITARIAN CRITIQUE OF RAWLSIAN THEORY OF JUSTICE**

The communitarian theorists criticise Rawls's liberal-egalitarian conception of justice for its emphasis on individual rights at the expense of the good of the community.

The communitarian perspective rose in the critique of the liberal perspective on the individual, society, and other political concepts. Its conception of Justice is best described when **Will Kymlicka** says, "Communitarians believe that the value of community is not sufficiently recognized in liberal theories of justice or the public culture of liberal societies".

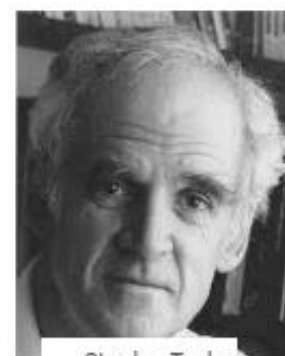


In his book, Liberalism and the Limits of Justice (1982), **Michael Sandel**, criticises what he calls Rawls's notion of disembodied or unencumbered self or subject, in opposition to which he advances the notion of the situated self, i.e. the self or subject, who is invariably a member of a community.



While, for Rawls, the right is prior to the good and justice is the first virtue of society, for **Sandel**, justice is only a remedial virtue that is needed in an individualistic society. For Sandel, moreover, the common good of the community is prior to the rights of the individuals.

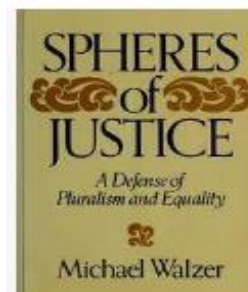
Communitarians further argue that individual choices have a social context and they may not choose Rawls's principles in the original position. **Michael Walzer** argues that we cannot distribute goods to men and women until we understand what the goods mean; what parts they play, how they are created, and how they are valued, among those same men and women. Distributions flow out of and are relative to social meanings. Hence, he says that justice can be understood only as a community principle and not as an individualistic one.



Another communitarian theorist, **Charles Taylor** criticises Rawls' atomistic conception of the individual. For Rawls, an individual comes ahead of society while for the communitarians, the society is first and then the individual. According to Charles Taylor, **the well-being of the individual depends on the good of his community**, and therefore, the recognition and protection of the group or cultural rights of the community are not less important than the just distribution of the freedom and equality rights to the individuals.



**Alasdair MacIntyre** criticised the liberal notion of individualism as "autonomous moral agents". According to him, individuals flourish only within socially established cooperative human activity. MacIntyre exhorted the people of the West to immerse themselves in the knowledge and traditions of Western culture to enable themselves to reason truly about the contents of justice, the good, and virtue. In Whose Justice? Which Rationality? (1988), MacIntyre came to realise the pitfalls of moral absolutism and conceded that liberal tolerance was itself a virtuous practice.



While Other communitarians have criticised the liberal theories of justice and particularly the Rawls theory of justice, **Michael Walzer** in his book "Spheres of Justice" gave the

communitarian theory of justice. Walzer argued that the **quest** for a universal theory of justice was misguided because it was futile to look for any principle of justice outside the community—particularly its history and culture. The requirements of justice could only be identified in the context of a particular community, its practises, and institutions.

Walzer argued that modern society includes a number of spheres of distribution in which goods are allocated each by itself; the self-interested, distribution of rewards in modern society is not confined to that of income and wealth, but there are so many sought-after things.

Walzer asserts that if the boundaries between different spheres are respected, one person's pre-eminence in, say, the sphere of money may be offset by another's higher social prestige and a third's success in holding political office. In this way, social pluralism may lead to a kind of equality in which no one decisively outranks anyone else. Thus, Walzer denies that the economic status of an individual holds key to his social prestige and power

The problem with Walzer's suggestion is that there is no reliable method to compare the value of non-economic factors like reputation, political power, education, and health, etc. with the value of income and wealth. In the absence of such criteria, it is difficult to attack the disparities created by market society.

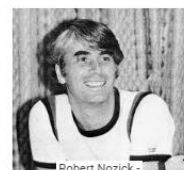
### **LIBERTARIAN CRITIQUE OF RAWLS THEORY OF JUSTICE**

Libertarian thinker Robert **Nozick's** entitlement theory of justice is in response to Rawls's distributive theory given in his 1974 book, Anarchy, State and Utopia.

#### **Nozick's Entitlement Theory**

According to this theory,

- A minimal type of state- the “night watchman” state of classical liberal theory, limited to protecting its citizens against force and fraud, can arise legitimately, without violating anyone's rights.
- According to Nozick, the minimal state is the most extensive state that can be justified and that any more extensive state does violate people's rights.
- People are entitled to their inherited assets whether or not they deserve them. As for natural talents, people do not violate anyone else's rights by having the natural talents they are born with. An artist has the right to keep a painting done by him even if his artistic talent was inherited and he did nothing to deserve it. If people's current holdings are justly acquired, then the transfer principle alone determines whether subsequent distributions are just.
- The legitimacy of one's entitlement depends on the legitimacy of the entitlement of previous owners, and theirs on those previous to them, and so on. Nozick argues that one has no obligation to help those worse off than himself. However, Nozick has nothing against voluntary donations from the rich to the poor.



Nozick contends that each individual has the moral right as one chooses on any mutually agreed terms with others so long as the person does not thereby harm non-consenting other people in ways that violate their rights. Influenced by the ideas of John Locke, Nozick held that the moral authority of the state to coerce people without their consent even just to maintain minimal public order appears problematic. The idea that society has the right to redistribute property to achieve more fair distribution is against the natural rights of individuals.

Property is owned by people, and the state, acting as the agent of society, has no more right to take from some and give to others than a robber does. Nozick justifies private property as long as it has been acquired by just means. In essence, Nozick defends market freedom and is against the welfare policies of the state achieved by redistributive taxation schemes. Such a scheme of taxation is inherently wrong which violates people's rights according to Nozick.

Nozick draws a distinction between “end-state” and “patterning” conceptions of justice on the one hand and “historical” and entitlement-based conceptions of justice on the other. The former types of justice call for social reconstruction or patterning by the state in the name of some end stage goal. Rawls's conception of justice is, according to Nozick, such an end-state and patterning conception, which by undermining the liberty rights of the individuals is unfair or unjust to them. Instead of prescribing any end-state or patterning principles of distribution, Nozick looks for justice or injustice in the history of the acquisition of the titles to our property holdings.

Nozick's ‘Theory of Justice in Distribution’ advocates no re-distributive activity of the state and a reliance on private charity. Nozick's conception of a person is different from that of Rawls, who claims that people's talents do not belong to them. Nozick argues that if I own myself then I own my talents and that if I own my talents I own the products of my self-owned talents. That is why, as a self-owning person, I have absolute rights over my property. Redistributive taxation from the talented to the disadvantaged accordingly violates self-ownership in two ways.

1. First, if we insist on the Rawlsian principle of justice that the talented ones only benefit from their talents if this also benefits the disadvantaged (the difference principle) then this is according to Nozick, a failure to treat people as equals, since the disadvantaged have partial property rights in other people, and so it is a violation of the principle of treating other people as ends and not means.
2. Second, self-ownership and property rights are necessary to enable an individual to pursue his conception of the good and his self-determined way of life. By taking away his property we are decreasing his options and limiting his possibilities. This violates his freedom and is therefore morally unjustified.

According to him, the individual has absolute liberty rights, including the right to own property and exchange it in the market, regardless of the end-state or pattern of distribution it may lead to. This entitlement theory of justice, however, includes a principle of rectificatory justice, which is meant to correct past injustices, if any, in the acquisition or transfer of property. It can be seen that Nozick's libertarian conception of justice is a defence of free-market capitalism. While it is eloquent on the defence of individual rights from state interference, it is silent on the undermining of individual freedom and equality by very rich people or corporations

#### **AMARTYA SEN'S CRITICISM OF RAWLS AND HIS IDEA OF JUSTICE**

**Amartya Sen** argues that in the Rawlsian system of justice as fairness, direct attention is bestowed almost exclusively on ‘just institutions’, rather than focusing on ‘just societies’ that may rely on both effective institutions

and actual behavioural features. Rawls thinks that the two principles are seen to both ensure the right choice of institutions and to lay the ground for the emergence of appropriate actual behaviour but this is not so obvious.

A second critique raised by Sen is connected with Rawls's perception of the primary goods

*"Poverty is not just a lack of money; it is not having the capability to realise one's full potential as a human being."*

→ **Amartya Sen**

According to Sen, Rawls fails to acknowledge the wide variation between people, with respect to their differences in health, need, and mobility. Since Rawls considers health to be a natural good, it is regarded by him as not being subject to distribution. What about differences in need? **For example**, a pregnant woman needs, among other things, more nutritional support than another person, who is not bearing a child. She can do far less with the same level of income and other primary goods. Is it then reasonable to think that individuals value a marginal increase of social primary goods equally? Sen thinks otherwise and argues that we should move our focus to the actual assessment of freedoms and capabilities.

Amartya Sen credits Rawls for revitalising the interest in the ideas of what justice means and the stress put on fairness, objectivity, equality of opportunity, removal of poverty, and freedom. However, Sen, as part of his general critique of the contractarian tradition, states that ideas about a perfectly just world do not help redress actual existing inequality. Sen faults Rawls for an over-emphasis on institutions as guarantors of justice not considering the effects of human behaviour on the institutions' ability to maintain a just society.

#### AMARTYA SEN: CAPABILITY APPROACH

Nobel laureate Amartya Sen addresses the question of what metric egalitarians should use to determine the degree to which society could realise its ideal of equality. He has addressed the debate over two candidate metrics, welfare (utility) on one hand and Rawlsian primary goods on the other.

He introduced the concept of '**capability equality**' between these two extremes where capability means what various goods do for people, apart from the welfare they achieve.

Sen objects to Rawls's belief in institutions' capability of fair redistribution arguing that persons born with different physical and psychological propensities will generally be unequally efficient transformers of resources such as primary social goods into whatever goals they might seek.

He considers two individuals with the same allotment of primary goods but one is fit, hardy, and quick-witted while the other is lame, illness prone, slow-witted lacking in physical coordination. Although the two individuals have different conditions but primary social goods metric will not show this disparity. Hence, Sen believes that we should look beyond the distribution of opportunities, income, and other primary goods

The basis of interpersonal comparisons for a theory of justice should, according to him, be a measure of people's real freedom to achieve functions they have reason to value. Capability thus represents freedom whereas Rawlsian primary goods are just means to this freedom. People have varying capabilities due to genetic, age, or other factors to convert resources into actual freedoms. These variations influence people in different ways to build freedom in their lives, despite having the same primary resources.

The capability theory doesn't give importance to commodities or the pleasure one derives from them; it stresses on people's opportunities to make use of them to achieve well-being.





Sen wants an examination of interpersonal variations in people's capabilities to pursue ends. People value different things as good and in addition, they also have varying capabilities to achieve freely the ends that they value. Rawls is sensitive to the first-mentioned diversity only. Sen adds to this a concern for variations in people's ability to convert resources into actual freedoms. Variations could be related to age, sex, or genetic endowments. These variations influence people's abilities differently to build freedom in their lives, despite having the same primary resources.

### **FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF RAWLSIAN THEORY OF JUSTICE**

The central argument of feminist analysis of justice revolves around whether there is a specifically female way of moral reasoning distinct from the universal and impersonal ethic of justice in the mainstream political theory.

Some other feminists have argued that the model of autonomous, self-interested, rational, and individualistic person is a typically male conception of human behavior and it leaves very less or no scope for values such as care, nurturing empathy, and cooperation that are typically female qualities. Hence, they argue that female qualities are not represented in Rawls's original position.

**Susan Moller Okin's** 1989 book, Justice, Gender and the Family argues that family should be considered as the main unit for any discussion on justice. The family is considered as a private sphere while as an idea; justice has a bearing on the public sphere which is outside the family. Rawls is unable to address oppression that surfaces in the so-called private sphere of government non-interference.

**Okin** argues that any theory of justice that does not address inequalities in a family is incomplete. There is an unequal division of labour in the family where women have no option but to do things like cooking, childbearing, and rearing with little or no help from the male members. Hence, they face similar inequality in the public sphere as well backed by social customs, and ultimately, women are robbed of any desire to enjoy active life outside the family. She argues that justice as fairness articulated by Rawls is not fair to women and hence, lacks credibility. She criticizes the veil of ignorance as it denies any knowledge of gender which is the basis of sexual hierarchy. She attempts to refashion the ethics of justice from a standpoint of feminism.

Most feminists today see care and justice as complementary to each other. Feminist writers like **Seyla Benhabib** argue that the feminist theory of justice should work within a framework that acknowledges that every time we generalize the other (rational, impersonal, objective, universal way of thinking about people) we should remember that this other is also a concrete other (subjective, specific way of thinking about people). Thus, feminist theories of justice seek to reconcile care and justice.

### **MARXIST CRITIQUE OF RAWLS THEORY OF JUSTICE**

Marxists have criticised liberal egalitarians for their failure to address inherent exploitative inequalities between capitalists and workers by solely focusing on fair distribution within a capitalist system.

They have also argued that Rawls's idea of the veil of ignorance is a hypothetical condition as any deliberations without the knowledge of social and economic conditions of each other are meaningless. Justice can be analysed in the light of class relations and ownership of private property.

### **RAWLS'S RESPONSE TO THE CRITIQUE**

In his book Political Liberalism, Rawls engages his critiques and accepts some of his earlier mistakes. In it, he accepts that his earlier theory of justice is not a comprehensive conception of justice but is compatible with a liberal conception of the role of justice. Meaning, the theory of justice is a liberal political concept and does not encompass the moral standpoint.

In His concept of **Overlapping consensus**, Rawls explains how complex interactions between human beings based on differing viewpoints can be converged to arrive at some common ground. The citizens despite reasonable pluralism come to respect liberal political institutions and individuals work towards liberal principles from mutually incompatible perspectives and an overlapping consensus is achieved. Rawls agrees that his theory of justice is not a comprehensive conception of the good but rather is compatible with a liberal conception of the role of justice—that is, the government should be neutral in competitions between two forces of good.

### **Conclusion**

Despite criticism, John Rawls was arguably the most important political philosopher of the twentieth century. He wrote a series of highly influential articles in the 1950s and '60s that helped refocus Anglo-American moral and political philosophy on substantive problems about what we ought to do. **His first book, A Theory of Justice**, revitalised the social-contract tradition, using it to articulate and defend a detailed vision of egalitarian liberalism. In "A Theory of Justice", Rawls attempts to solve the problem of distributive justice (the socially just distribution of goods in a society) by utilising a variant of the familiar device of the social contract. The resultant theory is known as "Justice as Fairness", from which Rawls derives his two principles of justice: the liberty principle and the difference principle.

Even one of his most significant critiques, Robert Nozick, acknowledges the significance of Rawls's theory by accepting that everyone should work within the framework provided by Rawls or else explain specifically the reasons for not doing so. This shows the comprehensive nature of this theory. It has had a transformative impact on contemporary theories of justice, policies, debates in political philosophy. Its most important contribution lies in the attempt to balance liberty, equality, and social justice. He is credited with devising a theory that is contractarian and distributive (social justice) both. Contemporary debates on social justice cannot be completed without his concepts of the veil of ignorance, original position, and the difference principle.

## **EQUALITY**

### **PYQ**

2020	Comment: Equality of opportunity.	150	10
2018	Equality means fair treatment rather than equal treatment. Comment.	200	15
2016	Comment on: Affirmative Action.	150	10
2015	Comment on: Aristotle's Conception of Equality.	150	10
2014	How is liberty a precondition for equality? Explicate the relationship between equality and liberty.	200	15



2012	Difference between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.	150	10
2012	Why is 'affirmative action' important in provision of equal opportunity?	200	15

### **Idea of Equality**

The idea of equality is the central feature of modern political thought. Classical and Medieval thinkers considered hierarchy as natural and inevitable while Modern thinkers started with the assumption that all human beings have equal moral worth. **Aristotle**, for instance, discovered that 'inequality' was a cause of rebellion in many states. He defined justice as **"treating equals equally and unequals unequally"**. It insisted on recognition and maintenance of existing inequalities in society—between master and slave, between rich and poor, between morally superior and morally inferior, and so on.

The modern idea of equality, on the contrary, seeks the reduction in inequalities insofar as they can be proved to be unjust according to the prevailing social consciousness.

Today Equality is a highly complex concept; there are as many forms of equality as there are ways of comparing the conditions of human existence. Example: moral equality, legal equality, political equality, social equality, sexual equality, racial equality and so forth.

Moreover, the principle of equality has assumed a number of forms, the most significant of which have been formal equality, **equality of opportunity and equality of outcome**. We will discuss these concepts one by one in this chapter.

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"Equality is basically a process of equalization. So first of all equality implies the deficiency of special rights. Secondly, it implies that everyone should get enough opportunities for growth."

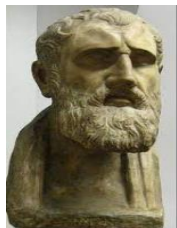
- Harold Laski

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### **HISTORY OF EQUALITY DEBATE**

In classical Greece, **Aristotle** in his book "Politics" distinguished three social classes and noted the significant difference between citizens and slaves, men and women in terms of rational and civic capacities. Participation in the Polis was restricted to the citizens only. Similarly, in Hindu Society, according to the classical text, the society was divided into four (Varnas). All rights and duties were based upon this classification.

## Stoicism



Greek philosopher **Zeno** founded the Stoic School in Athens in the early 3rd century BC and supported equality among men. It is one of the earliest examples of doctrine of equality in western political thought. The Stoics concluded that all human beings possess reason and thereby all mankind is differentiated from other animals and is united. Humanity does not admit of degree. As such all men are equal as men. The Stoic philosophers gave the idea of universal brotherhood and they were opposed to slavery.

**During medieval feudalism**, legal privileges were based upon status and birth. In short, different types of inequalities have been long enduring, giving rise to the notion that inequality is inevitable in social relations. Different ideologies justified inequality on grounds of superior race, ancestry, age, sex, religion, military strength, culture, wealth, knowledge, etc.

From the **15th to the 17th centuries**, the cry for equality was **against the landowners'** status and religious intolerance and was raised by Puritans, Levellers, doctrine of natural rights and John Locke. Simultaneously, the movements of Renaissance and Reformation raised a powerful voice against the legal privileges of the clergy and nobility based upon birth and demanded equality by birth. The French revolution and American civil war promoted the idea of equality.

*"Men are born free and equal and they are free and equal in their rights"*

In the modern world, equality has been accepted as a basic principle of organising human life. The economic and social dimension of equality emerged during the nineteenth century and was the result of conflicts and struggles between the capitalist/ industrial classes on one hand and workers and peasants on the other. As a result, along with legal equality, demand for economic and social equality was raised by liberal socialists and Marxist writers alike such as **J S Mill, TH Green, Babeuf, Karl Marx** etc

In the twentieth century, the demand for equality became more persistent. Today, it has become the sine qua non for the socio-economic mobility typical of a highly industrialist society. The national liberation movements against imperialism and colonialism, movements against apartheid, socialist revolutions in Russia, China and East European countries brought the issue of equality to the forefront.

The **Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948** extended the recognition of equality which had hitherto been accepted as the aim of all strata of industrialised countries to the people of the third world countries who had been discriminated against, thus contributing to the eventual emergence of an international society based upon socio-economic equality.

Today, every modern political constitution has some notion of human equality inscribed as a fundamental law and every political theory of any importance has contributed to the nature and feasibility of socio-economic equality.

According to **Turner**, inequality is multi-dimensional and the elimination of one aspect of inequality often leads to the exaggeration of other aspects of social, political and cultural inequalities.

### **What is equality?**

Like Liberty, rights etc the concept of Equality can also be understood in its negative and positive aspects. Ever since the rise of the idea of equality, it has been engaged in dismantling certain privileges whether they were feudal, social, economic, etc.

- Negatively, equality was associated with 'the end of such privileges'.
- Positively, it meant 'the availability of opportunity' so that everybody could have an equal chance to develop his personality.

According to **Harold Laski** equality means:

1. Absence of special privileges.
2. Adequate opportunities are laid open to all to realise the implications of one's own personality.
3. All must have access to social benefits and no one should be restricted on any ground.
4. Absence of economic and social exploitation.

Similarly, For **Barker**, 'The principle of equality, accordingly means that whatever conditions are guaranteed to me in the form of rights shall also and in the same measure be guaranteed to others and that whatever rights are given to others shall also be given to me'.

According to **E.F. Carr**, 'Equality is just to treat men as equal until some reason other than preference such as need, capacity or desert has been shown to the contrary'.

According to **Raphael**, 'The right to equality properly is a right to the equal satisfaction of basic human needs, including the need to develop and use capacities which are specifically human'.

Recently, **Bryan Turner** in his book "Equality" has given a comprehensive meaning of equality in terms of following:

#### **1. Fundamental equality of persons is:**

- a. Common to cultural, religious and moral traditions typically expressed in statements such as 'all are equal in the eyes of God'.
- b. Concerned with the equality of men as men; something called 'human nature', 'human dignity', 'personality' or 'soul' by virtue of which they must be treated as fundamentally equal.
- c. Found in the Marxist tradition, it is claimed that all human beings are defined by praxis, i.e. all human beings are knowledgeable, conscious and practical agents.

#### **2. Equality of opportunity**

- a. This means that the access to important social institutions should be open to all on universalistic grounds, especially by achievement and talent.
  - b. This type of equality believes in meritocracy, where the occupational structure of society is filled on the basis of merit in terms of universal criteria of achievement and not on the basis of age, sex, wealth, caste, religion, etc.
3. Equality of conditions where there is an attempt to make the conditions of life equal.
  4. Equality of outcome of results
    - a. It is the most radical notion of equality.
    - b. It means that through legislation and other political means, equalities of results are achieved regardless of the starting point or natural ability.

### EQUALITY: FAIR TREATMENT VS EQUAL TREATMENT

Libertarians value equal treatment, e.g. **Nozick** (Anarchy, State, and Utopia) is of the view that "unjustly taking someone's holdings for redistribution violates their rights". He speaks against "Progressive taxation" and calls it similar to bonded labour that amounts to the unjust treatment of the Rich.

However equal treatment alone does not make all in society equal, as different people have different starting points owing to historical discrimination for example, Dalits, Tribals in India or Blacks in the USA or Women, LGBTQs in general. Therefore, there is a need for positive discrimination to ensure fair treatment.

**Rawls** in his theory of justice has acknowledged equality as fair treatment and given the difference principle that makes disadvantaged ones better off. He even justifies discrimination thereby establishing Democratic equality between Liberty and Equality.

**Dworkin** has advocated resource egalitarianism. For him, internal inequalities e.g. disabilities also need to be considered. He posits that a person should be responsible only for voluntary choices and not choices made under un-chosen circumstances. Proposing the Envy test he argues that only those distributions are to be considered fair that does not give rise to envy. (*Dworkin's resource egalitarianism has been explained in detail in later part of this chapter*)

**Amartya Sen** (capability approach) argues that equal treatment is not enough as people vary in abilities to convert equal resources into functioning. For fairness, we need equal capabilities.

### DIMENSIONS OF EQUALITY

1. Legal equality
2. Political Equality
3. Economic Equality
4. Social Equality

## LEGAL EQUALITY

Legal equality can be described in two ways: Equality before law and Equal protection of law. All individuals should be treated equally by the law irrespective of their caste, race, colour, gender, religion, social background and so on. This principle ignores the fact that handicaps imposed by caste, gender or social background could be so overwhelming that individuals would not be able to benefit from the formal equality that the law bestows upon all individuals.

<u>Equality before law</u>	<u>Equal protection of law</u>
Equal subject of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts'.	Law will not make any distinction between the people
'like should be treated alike'	right to equal treatment in similar circumstances
it has a negative connotation.	It is positive in connotation
law does not discriminate on the basis of personal attributes such as birth, position, gender etc	Equal protection requires affirmative action by the state towards unequal by providing facilities and opportunities.

## POLITICAL EQUALITY

According to **Lipson**, normally, many had always been governed by few for the benefits of the few. Political equality is associated with democratic institutions and the right to participate in the political process. The demand for political equality is summarised in 'one man one vote' which is the basic principle of political equality.

Its wider dimensions are

1. The right to vote,
2. The right to stand for elections,
3. To hold public office
4. Right to express opinion
5. Right to form association/ party with no distinction (made) on the basis of caste, colour, sex, religion, language etc

According to **Laski**, political equality means the authority which exerts that power must be subject to rules of democratic governance.

## ECONOMIC EQUALITY

The economic equality of early liberals was equality of choosing one's trade or profession irrespective of his caste, creed or economic status. It was also understood as freedom of contract or that everybody is equal in so far as the contractual obligations are concerned.

According to Laski, economic equality is largely a problem of proportion. Economic equality is two folds:

1. It is a matter of status and
2. It is a matter of property and income.

With regard to property and income the issue is what methods the state should seek to correct inequality in their distribution. The liberal state through its policy of mixed economy, methods of differential taxation, regulation and raising the wages by methods of social expenditure and other welfare services has been making corrections in the wide disparities of wealth. The state taxes the rich to provide welfare to the poor.

However, **Liberal socialists** feel that in spite of the fact that state action has resulted in greater diffusion of property, the permanent ownership of capital resources and the disparity between rich and poor continues to increase.

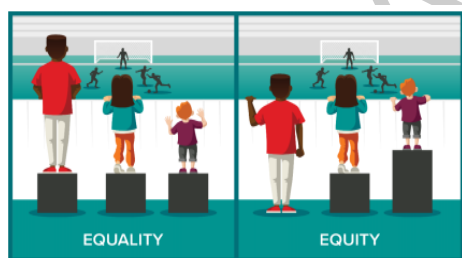
## **SOCIAL EQUALITIES**

Social equality is concerned with equality of opportunity for every individual for the development of his personality. It means abolition of all kinds of discrimination based upon caste, creed, religion, language, race, sex, education, etc.

It involves questions such as how the state should promote equality of **different classes, castes** etc. How **gender equality** can be ensured. How equal pay for equal work can be ensured removing **stereotypes of society**.

Social equality also depends on **accessibility of public services**, education, health etc on equal basis to facilitate social mobility. This can be enhanced by **affirmative action** of the state.

### **Equality Vs Equity**



The word **equality** is defined as “the state or quality of being equal; correspondence in quantity, degree, value, rank, or ability.”

The word **equity** is defined as “the quality of being fair or impartial; fairness; impartiality” or “something that is fair and just.”

In modern times, the usage of the word equity has increased due to concerns about social justice and a desire for fairness for historically oppressed groups.

In terms of the law, minority groups often have technically equal rights but are still treated unfairly due to unequal access to resources or opposition from dominant groups who deny others equal representation while still acting within the law.

## FORMAL EQUALITY:

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Most important defender of equality is English philosopher **John Locke**, who advocated natural equality. **Immanuel Kant** extended this idea by describing universalism and equality as a consequence of this universal humanity, all individuals should be treated equally.

Formal equality can be called **legal equality**. All individuals should be treated equally by the law irrespective of their caste, race, colour, gender, religion, social background and so on. While this was a welcome step in the fight against special privileges based on race, gender, social background and other similar criteria, it remained a very limited notion on its own.

**Marx** in his essay 'On the Jewish Question' contended that formal equality while being a significant step forward could not bring about human emancipation. While the market did free people from the barriers imposed by social rank and other similar categories, it did nevertheless create differences based on classes that were upheld by the existence of private property. This implied that individuals had starkly different market values and hence, Marxists describe formal equality in this context as market equality, which is little more than a façade to disguise the deeply unequal nature of society.

### Equality of What?

1. Equality of opportunity
2. Equality of capability
3. Equality of outcome

## EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

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The idea of equal opportunities can be found in the writings of **Plato**, who proposed that social position should be based strictly upon individual ability and effort, and that the educational system should offer all children an equal chance to realise their talents.

Equality of opportunity means the removal of all obstacles that prevent personal self-development, a right that should surely be enjoyed by all citizens. The implication is that equality requires that all individuals begin from a **level playing field**. **Social democrats and modern liberals** believe that such equal opportunity is the cornerstone of social justice.

Equality of opportunity points towards an meritocratic inegalitarian ideal. Thus, the consequences of this need not be egalitarian at all. Precisely because everyone started equally, unequal outcomes are acceptable and legitimized. This inequality would then be explained in terms of differing natural talents, ability to work hard or even luck.

This idea rests on the distinction between nature and convention, the argument being that distinctions that emerge on the basis of different natural qualities like talents, skills, hard work and so on are morally defensible.



However, differences that emerge out of conventions or socially created differences like poverty, homelessness are not.

The underlying assumption is that so long as the competition has been fair, advantage itself is beyond criticism. **Egalitarians** work with a wider definition of equality of opportunity that would give everyone the means to develop their capacities in a satisfying and fulfilling way. An egalitarian society would not deny to some people the genuine opportunity to develop their capacities.

However, some have argued that a rigorous and consistent application of the principle may lead to widespread state intervention in social and personal life, threatening individual liberty and perhaps violating the principle of formal equality. For example, the **family** could be regarded as one of the major obstacles to the achievement of equal opportunities through the inheritance of wealth and the provision of different levels of parental encouragement, social stability and material affluence.

#### THE CAPABILITY APPROACH: AMARTYA SEN

Amartya Sen's capability approach is a moral framework for deciding the type of equality we want to achieve. It proposes that social arrangements should be evaluated primarily according to the extent of freedom people have to promote as well as achieving functions they value.

Amartya Sen's capability theory approach is a theoretical framework that involves two core normative claims.

1. First, the assumption that freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance.
2. Second, that freedom to achieve well-being must be understood in terms of people with capabilities.

The capability theory doesn't give importance to commodities or the pleasure one derives from them; it stresses on people's opportunities to make use of them to achieve well-being.



The capabilities approach goes directly to the quality of life that people can actually achieve. This quality of life is analyzed in terms of the central concepts of "functioning" and "capability". Sen argues that the correct approach to assessing how well people are doing

is their ability to live a life that we have reason to value, not their wealth of resources or subjective well-being. But to begin to assess how people perform in terms of capacity, we first need to determine which functions are important to the good life and how much, or at least we need to specify an assessment procedure to determine this.

The scope of this approach is quite vast; all factors that can potentially affect people's capabilities are relevant for consideration. Included in the domain of capability theory are all possible factors – social and political processes, gender, inequality, discrimination of all types, social exclusion, disability, environmental conditions, personal and psychological factors – that can possibly influence human capabilities, which is the prime measure of human well-being. In this sense, it is a complete human development model.

## EQUALITY OF OUTCOMES

The idea of an equality of outcome is the most radical and controversial face of egalitarianism. Whereas equal opportunities require that significant steps are taken towards achieving greater social and economic equality, far more dramatic changes are necessary if 'outcomes' are to be equalised. It shifts attention away from the starting point of life to its end results, from chances to rewards.

Defenders of equality of outcome believe that the guarantee of all other equalities would be inadequate so long as equality of outcome is not ensured. **Marx**, for instance, was of the opinion that any right to equality circumscribed by a bourgeois economy can only be partial. He, thus, argued for absolute social equality, possible only if private property was abolished

**Critics** of equality of outcome point out that such a pursuit would only lead to stagnation, injustice and worse of all tyranny. Stagnation results from the fact that social 'levelling' serves to cap aspirations and remove the incentive for enterprise and hard work. **Hayek**, for instance, has argued people being very different have different aspirations and goals and any system that treats them equally actually results in inequality. The drive for equality, it is argued, is at the cost of individual liberty. The imposition of socialist egalitarian measures, it is argued, undermines the dignity and self-respect of the individual and the inherent paternalism accompanying such measures denies the ability of the individual to be a rational chooser. Policies that aim to promote equality by redistributing wealth do little more than rob the rich in order to pay the poor.

### Egalitarian principles

1. Every individual has a right to the satisfaction of his or her basic needs,
2. involve democratic control of the economy and the workplace,
3. Political equality, needless to add, is not just the right to vote or to stand for any public office, but a wide network of civil rights and a democratic participation in all aspects of life so that individuals are enabled to control and shape their lives in a more significant way,
4. Sexual, racial, ethnic and religious equality are some of the other components of the complex idea of equality.

## INEQUALITY

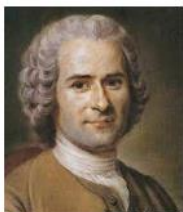
The existence of social inequalities is probably as old as human society and the debate about the nature and cause of inequalities is an ancient topic of political philosophy.

Inequality becomes a ground of complaint and resentment only when it is thought to be unjust. In other words, inequality in society may be thought to be 'reasonable' or 'unreasonable', according to the prevalent idea of social justice. According to the prevalent view of ancient slave-owning society, medieval feudal society and early

capitalist society, inequality between master and slave, lord and serf, capitalist and the worker was regarded as reasonable.

But with the development of the socialist view of justice, especially the Marxian view, this inequality was regarded unjust and unreasonable, and hence challenged. **Marx and Engels** have amply demonstrated that the division of society into classes of capitalists and workers, bourgeoisie and proletariat, haves and have-nots involves 'exploitation' and that this is prejudicial to the development of conditions of human happiness.

**J.J. Rousseau**, in his Discourse on the Origin of Inequality (1755), drew an important distinction between **the two types of inequalities** found in social life: **natural inequality and conventional inequality**. Natural or physical inequality, as a statement of fact, consists in the differences of age, health, bodily strength and qualities of mind and soul.



Jean-Jacques Rousseau ...

Conventional inequality, on the other hand, consists in the different privileges that some men enjoy to the exclusion of others, such as inequalities of wealth, prestige and power. It follows that one form of inequality is not dependent upon human choice, being more or less ordained by nature. The other form of inequality is largely man-made; it emanates from the social order more or less deliberately designed by men themselves.

**Liberals** reject sex, race, or class as the relevant criteria for treating people differently, but they do believe that it is just and fair if inequalities are earned and deserved by virtue of their different desert or merit.

Liberal theory holds that as long as inequality can be justified on the basis of merit, abilities or special contribution to society, it is acceptable. However, what is meritorious, special or a contribution to the society, are all circumscribed by the specificities of the society in question. Moreover, it is very difficult to isolate the worth of an individual's contribution.

In recent times, however, modern liberals such as **Rawls and Dworkin** have rejected merit and desert as criteria for justifying inequality. Instead, they advocate an equality of consideration based on the equal moral worth of all individuals, irrespective of their differing individual talents or skills. They base this equality on the idea that all human beings are equally endowed with the ability to make choices and formulate life plans.

**Rawls** advocates the treatment of the natural abilities as a social asset so that the 'basic structure of society can be arranged so that these contingencies work to the good of the least fortunate'. The so-called '**Difference Principle**' that Rawls enunciates, is to his mind, the best principle for ensuring that natural assets do not lead to unfair advantages. This Principle requires that social and economic inequalities should be so arranged that Justice they are both

1. To the greatest benefit of the least advantaged and

2. Attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity

Unequal rewards are justified not on the basis of differing abilities, but as incentives so that they benefit the least advantaged.

**Macpherson** has criticised Rawlsian equality on the grounds that it assumes the inevitability of institutionalized inequalities between classes. In doing this, Rawls ignores the fact that class based inequalities create unequal power relationships among individuals of different classes and would, thus, impinge on other aspects of equality.

Thus, equality ultimately demands a progressive reduction of inequalities where they are thought to be unreasonable; it does not imply literal equalization.

## **LIBERTY/ FREEDOM, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE**

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### **LIBERTY/FREEDOM AND EQUALITY**

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Liberty and equality are considered as antithetical to each other, as attempts to establish equality imply coercion and loss of liberty.

Early liberal thinkers like **Locke, Adam Smith, Bentham, James Mill, and Tocqueville** felt that there should be minimum restrictions on the liberty of the individual. Example, Locke did not include equality in the list of three natural rights. **De Tocqueville** considers equality as a danger for liberty. It is implied that since individuals are different in terms of their skills and abilities, differences in their lives are bound to exist, and any attempt to correct this will have to be accompanied by authoritarian suppression and hence, loss of liberty.

However, the above conception of liberty is **negative liberty** i.e. absence of interference in the life of an individual. Liberalism, during this era was based upon the **concept of free market and open competition** among the **egoistic rational individuals** and it believed that the outcome of economic competition, though unequal, is benevolent and progressive.

Early liberals believed that no individual will voluntarily give up wealth and privileges in an unequal society and as a result, programmes of social equalisation must interfere with the democratic rights of the individual. In the modern era this is supported by scholars like **Bagehot, Hayek, Milton Friedman, Mosca, Pareto etc.**

The supporters of the **elite theory of democracy** believe that people are politically unequal and to save democracy and liberty from monocracy, it is essential that only elites should participate in the political process. Thus, early liberals considered Liberty and Equality as incompatible.

The demand for economic and social equality rose in the 19th century by the **socialists and positive liberals** made equality the prime requirement of liberty. **Positive liberty** stated that equality enhances the freedom to make choices and helps in fulfilment of material and economic requirements of society. Positive liberals maintained that

liberty and equality are complementary to each other and the state was assigned the task of correcting the social and economic imbalances through legislation and regulation.

Inequality in the access to the resources and essential services such as education will have adverse effects on the liberty of individuals and can be a limitation on the individual's ability to lead a meaningful life. The supporters of this viewpoint are **Rousseau, Maitland, T.H. Green, Hobhouse, Lindsay, R.H. Tawney, Barker, Laski, Macpherson**, etc. They supported the doctrine of equality of opportunity which would help one realise his real personality.

Without the satisfaction of economic needs, liberty cannot be realised. Equality, which aims to put an end to gross inequalities of wealth and power, is the true basis of liberty. Whenever there is inequality, liberty is thwarted.

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As Laski wrote, an interest in liberty begins when men have ceased to be overwhelmed by the problem of sheer existence;

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Inequality of wealth results in the division of society between rich and poor where the rich use their wealth to capture power and use it for their selfish ends. Likewise, if there is a social inequality, people cannot enjoy liberty. For example, the untouchables, scheduled castes and tribes who are both socially and economically unequal cannot enjoy liberty.

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Pollard writes, 'There is only one solution of liberty and it lies in equality'

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**Positive liberals** did not agree with the view that state regulations in the economic and social spheres will lead to authoritarianism. Both equality and liberty are complementary and one is not complete without the other. Both have a common end; the promotion of individual personality and the spontaneous development of his personality. In this context, both liberty and equality complement and supplement each other.

#### Liberty a precondition for equality

- Liberty acts as a catalyst to actions generated or lay according to equality. Scholars are united in their advocacy of liberty because without liberty it will be impossible for an individual to achieve his or her position and overcome social impediments and achieve equality with fellow citizens in status and opportunity.
- If a person has no liberty, he would not be able to achieve his full personality and would not be in position to raise his/her voice for equality. **JS Mill** has argued that no state can become great by dwarfing its Citizens.
- **Rawls** arranges the principles of justice in 'lexical priority', prioritising in the order of the Liberty Principle, Equality of Opportunity and the Difference Principle. This order determines the priorities of the principles if they conflict in practice. Thus liberty comes before equality when there is conflict.

- Liberty is the availability and the ability to make choices that are meaningful and effective. This links to the issues of access to structures of social and institutional power, fulfilment of material and economic requirements, and of course, the possession of education and knowledge. **Amartya Sen's** Capability approach of achieving equal human development to being a successful person should have liberty to acquire the skills and capability.

Thus, Liberty and equality are the cardinal normative values in the discipline of political theory.

## **JUSTICE AND EQUALITY:**

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Like liberty, the relation between equality and justice is also a controversial one. The issue of equality has provoked particularly intense debate when it has been applied to the distribution of wealth or income in society, what is commonly referred to as '**social justice**'. Whereas some insist that an equal, or at least more equal, distribution of rewards and benefits is desirable, others argue that justice demands that natural differences among humankind should be reflected in the way society treats them.

As we have discussed earlier, our society consists of number of inequalities based upon age, sex, caste, ability, education, social status, wealth, opportunity etc. Historically, such inequalities have not only been justified but also perpetuated. Early liberalism, while championing the cause of legal and political equality, did not bother about the economic and social inequalities resulting from freedom of contract, open competition and private property.

However, with the advent of socio-economic equality, the struggle against the prevailing inequalities became an important element of justice. Justice demands that politics should operate to produce equality of opportunity, equality of treatment, uniform distribution of goods and services, one-man one-vote etc.

In the discussion of Equality and Justice, the contribution of **John Rawls** is most important. For Him a **just society** would involve the maximisation of equal basic liberties where the liberty of one person would not be in conflict with the liberty of others. To develop the sense of justice in case of social and economic inequalities, he wanted to arrange these inequalities in such a way that they contribute to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged in the society. Thus he preferred that all essential social goods should be distributed equally among all, unless an unequal distribution of these goods would be to the advantage of the least favoured members of the society.

According to **Kymlicka**, the relationship between equality and justice is also found in the works of **Karl Marx**, **Robert Nozick** etc. While **libertarianism** believes that equality means equal rights over one's labour and property, the **Marxists** take it as equality of income and wealth. Thus, it can be summed up with the thought of Dworkin that equality lies at the heart of all contemporary theories of justice.

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'Every plausible political theory has the same ultimate value, which is equality and that 'each person matters equally' is at the heart of all contemporary theories of justice'.  
-- Dworkin

### **DWORKIN'S VIEW ON EQUALITY:**

**Ronald Dworkin** has given the **theory of resource equality**. Resources Equality means the possibility of having equitable resources so that everyone can carry out their conception of what is good or well being. For a variety of reasons, well-being is too subjective and we don't know what that means.



Imagine a situation where hundred shipwrecked people landed on a desert island, so they have to organize themselves as a society and they have to decide how to distribute the resources that are given by the island.

The Dworkin's idea is to organize an auction in which each person receives a hundred shells. The one hundred shipwrecked people will be auctioned off with their shells and there are a number of lots to be auctioned off. In front of each of the lots, each will put the number of shells he is willing to use to finance his desire.

In Dworkin's idea, there is no inequality because everyone will have the same resources so no one will be able to buy everything, there will be no monopoly story, and everyone will have to make calculations about what he is willing to put in his resources. From the moment he chooses, the person commits his special responsibility. The end of the auction will be considered fair as long as each person does not envy the other's endowment.

As an outcome we arrive hypothetically at a situation where there is no envy because everyone has been able to buy their own conception of the good, then, at that point, we will be in a hypothetical situation of non-injustice.

What about those people who would have been injured, and what do we do for people who will inevitably get sick and who at some point, what about those who ended up wasting their resources in wrong choices? In other words, what do we do about things that are not choices, but are bad luck? This is explained through division of luck in two types: **Optional luck and Brute luck**. In optional luck, the risks are taken through rational choices and hence the disadvantages are a person's own choice. But in Brute luck, a person has no choice such as being born in a lower caste in India. Here, we have to be conscious about brute luck and the state will have some kind of role. This whole concept is known as **Luck Egalitarianism**.

Way forward for those would be the idea of insurance. People should buy insurance for any such bad luck or wrong choices. Thus the **Strict Equality of resources** holds that a distribution of property rights in resources is just if and only if it results in everyone having the same amount of resources while **Dworkin's equality of resources** says that a distribution of rights and responsibilities is just if and only if it is a result of people's free choices after an initial strictly equal resources distribution coupled with insurance against natural handicap.

### **COMPLEX EQUALITY: MICHAEL WALZER**



Complex equality is a theory of justice outlined by **Michael Walzer** in his 1983 work Spheres of Justice. It is considered innovative because of its emphasis on the broader conceptualization of distribution, which covers not only tangible goods but also abstract goods such as rights. The theory is distinguished from simple equality since it allows certain inequalities in social goods.

The theory posits that inequalities in several spheres of society should not invade one another. **Walzer's** definition of complex equality is: "In formal terms, complex equality means that no citizen's standing in one sphere or with regard to one social good can be undercut by his standing in some other sphere, with regard to some other good." In this state of affairs, there are a variety of goods and these are distributed according to the appropriate principles that are inherent in their social meanings. The idea is that the resulting multiple inequalities that consistently do not favour any group serve as the equalizer.

A reading of **Walzer's** notion is that it is culturally relative. For instance, in the case of a caste society, complex equality is characterized by the integration of meanings attached to goods in all spheres, effectively subjecting prestige, wealth, office, occupation, clothing, food, and knowledge to the same hierarchy.

## MARXIST CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

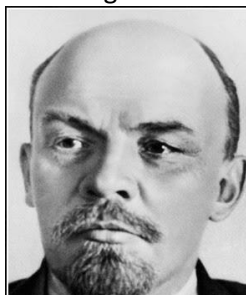
The central objective of **Marx** was 'abolition of classes and equal social status for all'. It denotes identical conditions of people in a society

While in **liberal society**, equality has been taken as equality before law, and economic and political inequality and rights of the working people in reality remains absent. Liberal theory proceeds from the right of every man to own property, but the main concern i.e. relation of the means of production is not taken into account.

**Marxism** proceeds from the premise that whether it is economic equality, i.e. in the sphere of material wealth, or political equality or cultural equality – all of them are impossible without the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and liquidation of exploiting classes.

As **Marx** wrote, 'we want to abolish classes and in this sense we are for equality'. Similarly, **Engels** wrote that the demand for equality has either been the spontaneous reaction against the crying social inequalities among rich and poor, feudal lords and serfs, slaves and masters, surf - fitters and the starving;

In the same vein, **Lenin** felt that only the abolition of classes will achieve social equality and help promote the all round development of human personality



The constitution of Soviet Russia must insure equal rights for all citizens regardless of sex, creed, race, or nationality.

— Vladimir Lenin —

The question of establishing equality in socialist/communist societies came to the forefront after the Russian Revolution. However, during the phase of the Dictatorship of the proletariat, **Lenin** declared that the socialist system retains some elements of social inequalities owing to the inadequate development of material production, the survival of substantial distribution between mental and physical labour, between town and country. Political inequality must also operate to the detriment of the former class of exploiters for whom there would neither be democracy nor rights.

Later **Stalin** declared that all the citizens had the same political rights; all enjoyed electoral franchise and eligibility for getting elected to the soviets. On the other hand, on the political leadership front there would be no equality for the nonconformists or equal opportunities for the potential opposition – an aspect which was criticised by **Rosa Luxemburg** after the revolution.

The Constitution of the (erstwhile) USSR established equality of rights of Soviet citizens in all spheres of economic, cultural, social and political life. During the early years after the revolution, the policies of the state were tilted towards equality. However, subsequently, when industrialisation was launched, the demands of technology necessitated the training and employment of skilled labour and specialisation. This in course of time led to the emergence of a new class of intelligentsia with the result that several scientists, artists, leading party functionaries, senior government officials etc which were paid much more than the working class.

Thus, Marxism attempted to achieve equality in theory, but in practice the Soviet system of socialism or Chinese system of communism couldn't achieve the desired equality.

## **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

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Affirmative action refers to a **set of policies that support members of disadvantaged groups that have previously suffered discrimination in any form**. Public policy which accords special concession in matters of admission to sought-after courses of education and training, appointments, promotions, housing, health-care, etc. to those who were deprived of adequate opportunities in an open competition, particularly due to some discriminatory practices of the past. It is meant to compensate the relevant sections (e.g. women, blacks, backward communities) for the injustice meted out to them in the past.

The starting point for any analysis for affirmative action is the '**principle of non-discrimination**' that all persons be treated with equal consideration. However, because of historical discrimination against some sections of society due caste, class, gender, race etc, and the need for 'creating equal field' arises, which is then corrected by affirmative action policies.

Policies of Affirmative action have often been criticised on different grounds like underplaying merit, exacerbating prevalent social divisions, benefits cornered by undeserving sections etc. **Ashwini Deshpande** in her book "Affirmative Action in India" calls for reforming Affirmative action by instituting self-liquidating features like strong provisions at entry-level & gradually lowering of the same.

Despite all its imperfections, it will be imprudent to abandon the imperative of justice via affirmative action. As **Ashok Acharya** argues, we need to commit ourselves to take responsibility for past injustices & thus affirmative action is indeed justified but only in morally compelling cases.

### **India and affirmative actions**

In India the issue of 'reverse discrimination' is not raised as loudly as in America, because Indian society is particularly sympathetic towards the deprived sections. But here, too, the problem of identification of deserving cases is quite serious.

In India we find broadly three types of preferences sanctioned by the constitution:

1. **Reservations:**
  - a. Reserved legislative seats for SC/ST
  - b. Quotas in government jobs and educational institutions.
2. Schemes, scholarships, grants, loans, healthcare legal aid etc. targeting disadvantaged groups.
3. **Protection from exploitation.** E.g., SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

In a country afflicted by widespread poverty and acute scarcity, there is always the danger that the more alert and vocal sections of the so-called backward classes might corner all the benefits meant for the deprived sections.

In order to remedy this situation the Supreme Court of India has ruled that the '**creamy layers**' among the backward classes should be excluded from the benefits of reservation meant for these classes so that they accrue to the genuine and deserving cases only.

The Supreme Court in Indira Sawhney & Others v. Union of India also ruled that total reservation for all eligible categories should not exceed 50 per cent; otherwise it would result in 'reverse discrimination'. Again, in order to save the new generation from utter frustration and lack of incentive, it is strongly felt that the backward classes should be provided with adequate opportunities of educational and professional development thereafter they should be obliged to compete with the general category. Indeed the question of reverse discrimination demands a very cautious solution.

### **DEBATE ON REVERSE DISCRIMINATION**

When some sections are entitled to a privileged access to job opportunities and higher education or professional training, it involves reverse discrimination toward other sections. It is argued that if equality means 'removal of discrimination', there is no justification for turning the existing discriminatory practice on the basis of race and sex in the reverse direction champions of 'affirmative action' for the deprived sections argue that since blacks and women were deprived of adequate opportunities of their development in the past, they should now be compensated for the loss.

Others contend that preferential treatment for these sections will help in fulfilling the objective of equality. For instance, an increase in the number of black doctors and lawyers would establish their real equality with the whites. Still others claim that since the opportunities of advancement in social life are so scarce, these should be allocated not merely on the grounds of 'merit' but also on the basis of 'need'. The need of the deprived sections is so pressing that if they have the minimum required qualifications, they should be given preferential treatment in the allocation of jobs and educational opportunities to enable them to escape the tough competition.

### **Opponents of 'affirmative action'**

The champions of neo-conservatism hold that the principle of equality in society can only be applied in the sphere of 'equality of opportunity'. An attempt to establish literal equality by affirmative action would be disastrous because it would erode the spontaneous respect for merit and authority which is the foundation of social stability and progress.

Others argue that such affirmative action is inimical to procedural justice. If blacks and women collectively get favoured treatment over whites and men, rather than individually as deprived persons, it is quite likely that rich and socially advantaged blacks and women—who happen to be the opinion leaders of these categories of persons—get preference over poor and underprivileged whites and men.

It is also argued that whites and men of the present generation are not responsible for the injustice meted out to the older generation of blacks and women. To penalize them for no fault of theirs is tantamount to departure from substantive justice. Finally some opponents of affirmative action contend that personal dignity and self-respect are the cornerstones of the philosophy of equality. If a person knows that his or her position is the reward of preferential treatment rather than his or her merit, it will hurt his or her self-respect and give rise to a feeling of inferiority.

### **Conclusion**

The politics of egalitarianism in the 20th century was instrumental in justifying the idea of a welfare state, among other things. That idea, successful in its heyday, has declined over the past two decades. The legitimacy of the welfare state was called into question and it was largely discredited for having given short shrift to individual responsibility, creativity and economic efficiency. The politics of globalization has further caused a setback to the practices of redistribution and the idea of welfare-state policies. Further, with the rise of political struggles of identity groups.

**The 'equality of what?' debate is being replaced by 'equality of whom?'** Egalitarians are increasingly shedding their individualist bias and are keener to engage in concerns surrounding inequality between groups that owe more to non-material factors.

The struggles for greater equality by women, minorities, Dalits, linguistic groups and others are a pointer to the continuing relevance of the bases of social equality and a corresponding search for new paradigms of group-sensitive equality.

## RIGHTS

### PYQs

1. Assess the Significance of Right to property in political theory. (2020)
2. Discuss the doctrine of 'rights as trumps'. (2019)
3. What do you understand by three generations of Human Rights ? (2018)
4. "The implementation of human rights is regarded as a matter of changing the conduct of States." Comment. (2016)
5. Comment on: Idea of Natural Rights (2015)
6. Analyse the relationship between natural rights and human rights. (2013)
7. Examine the multi-cultural perspectives on rights. (2012)

### Introduction

In everyday life, We talk about rights. There are many rights that are in contention often, such as, right to free speech, right to life, religious rights, most famous being human rights. Apart from these well recognised rights people make new demands such as the right to gender recognition, right to privacy, the right to clean environment, refugee rights, etc. Rights are claimed even for unborn foetuses and animals. The concept of rights is invoked every now and then in different contexts by different people.



The Founding Fathers of the United States were convinced that certain rights were inalienable and The US formed the Bill of Rights. The First Amendment to the US constitution is considered not less than sacred in the US. Likewise, Indian freedom fighters fought for the rights of the Indian people and it was reflected in the Nehru report, demanded by all the spectrum of freedom struggle. The Constitution of India recognizes the fundamental rights of its citizens. Thus, rights are an important fulcrum around which the politics and policy of the modern state revolves.

### RIGHTS: MEANING AND NATURE

A right is essentially a justified claim or entitlement.

Right emphasizes what we are entitled to as citizens, as individuals, and as human beings. It is something due to us and which must be recognized by the rest of society as a legitimate claim to be upheld. In other words, rights are something to which every individual in the community is morally permitted.

In the study of political science, the notion of rights is under contestation for a long time now. The **nature of the relationship between individuals and the state** is an important question of political theory. Under this discussion of the state-individual relationships, the **theory of rights emerges**.

Political philosophers since ages have debated as to who, whether the state or the individual, is more important and who owes what to whom. The ancient idealist philosophers like **Plato** believed that the state is natural and it alone can give justice and citizens have to obey it and do their essential duties in order to live in peace and harmony. On the other hand, modern thinkers like **John Locke** consider that the state is a means to an end and that end is individual. He held that individual rights are inviolable and sacrosanct.

**Any political theory which holds that an individual cannot have rights is no theory of rights.** Rights come into the picture only when the authority of the state is sought to be limited. Absence of rights makes individuals' life subject to whims or benevolence of the state. This emphasis on individuals with rights rose in 15th-16th century Europe. Rights belong to the individuals and hence they do not belong to the state. These are conditions necessary for their development.

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"Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek in general, to be himself at his best."

- Harold Laski

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In consequent times, political thinkers argued that as the state is human creation to serve human ends, it must have a function of protecting rights. The state remains as long as it protects rights. **Locke justified a peaceful revolution if the right to life is not protected by the state which was agreed during the social contract.**

"To help in the development of the personal power of the individual is the ultimate goal and supreme political value of the state. The law of the state remains right and just till the time they guarantee the security to the people for the development of their personality from the external circumstances. All these circumstances fixed and guaranteed by the state are rights."

- Ernest Barker



As we have seen, rights are also seen from moral perspectives. **T.H. Green** holds that **"Rights are powers necessary for the fulfillment of man's vocation as a moral being."** Other moral theorists like **Isaiah Berlin** define rights in terms of negative and positive rights.

As the nature of state changed, the theory of rights also evolved. It included many dimensions of rights of citizens such as political, social, economic, cultural, etc. Traditionally, the state needed to protect only the rights of its citizens but today, there is a growing consensus about recognizing the rights of non-citizens such as refugees, asylum seekers, etc. also. The universal theory of human rights emerged after the horrors of the Nazi and Fascist

regimes. It was recognised that the global human community has a responsibility to protect some inalienable human rights of all the citizens of the world.

From this discussion, some important **features of rights** can be summarised:

- Rights are **claims of the individuals recognized by society** as common claims of all and exist for their development in society. Rights are the result of the right and just normal arrangement of any society on which state and laws are based. According to Gilchrist, 'rights arise from individuals as members of society, and from the recognition that, for society, there is ultimate good which may be reached by the development of the powers inherent in every individual.'
- Rights, in a sense, have a **pre-political character**. They may be independent of the state but not of society. Social recognition comes first.
- Rights are **rational and moral claims that the people make on their society**. Rights are the results of his moral personality and his social nature. In these contexts, rights can be called natural or human.
- Rights are **to be exercised by the people for their development** which really means their development in society by the promotion of social good. Rights can never be exercised against social good.
- The **contents of rights keep on changing with the passage of time**. Similarly, the subject matter of the same right can be different for the different countries.
- Rights **need enforcement** and only then these can be really used by the people. These are protected and enforced by the laws of the state. It is the duty of a state to protect the rights of the people.

### Defining Rights

"This is that power of working of a man to achieve his objectives which is defined by the social community on the condition that he will do the welfare of the community also through these works." -- **T.H. Green**

"Legal right is such a benefit which is recognized and secured by the legal rule and to follow it is a legal duty. They are an interest recognized and protected by the rule of legal justice". --**Sir John Salmond**

"Right is a claim which society accepts and the state imposes." -- **Bernard Bosanquet**

In a nutshell, rights consist in claims of individuals which seek to restrict arbitrary power of the state and which are required to be secured through legal and constitutional mechanisms. In addition, these may include some benefits which the state may extend to its citizens to improve the quality of their life.

### Rights and Duties



*Rights that do not flow from duty well performed are not worth having.* -- **Mahatma Gandhi**

Rights are **not absolute and can be curtailed for the greater social good**. These rights are never unlimited and uncontrollable. These are influenced by some social welfare. They expect some moral duties from the individual while using the rights, a person should always keep in mind that these rights are equally applicable for the other persons also.

The corollary of the above feature is that **Rights and duties are complementary to each other**. Every right is a duty from the social viewpoint. These are the two sides of the same coin. The importance of rights can be identified in the context of rights only. Rights are not the selfish demands of a person. Rights are equally given to everybody in society. As **Mahatma Gandhi** says, Real rights are a result of the performance of duty.

## WHAT ARE NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE RIGHTS?

As seen above, the concept of rights is dynamic in nature. The **rights are always demanded and granted as “rights of man”**. With the spread of modern consciousness, the nature of rights got divided into two forms:

1. Negative rights and
2. positive rights

### NEGATIVE RIGHTS

- Negative theory protects the **sphere of freedom where the individual is autonomous** and state cannot interfere in this sphere. That is to say, the state has a negative role and it cannot encroach upon this sphere.
- The negative rights **cannot be restricted by the state** under normal circumstances. Thus freedom of speech and expression is one such area where the state shall not impose any restrictions.
- Examples of negative rights are the Right to property, Freedom of speech, freedom of religion, etc.
- To understand it further, the state cannot take away the right to property which liberal theorists consider a basic right of a rational egoistic man. Hence, It is in the sense of the limited role of the state that these rights are called negative rights.

### POSITIVE RIGHTS

- As against the negative theory of rights, Positive rights **prescribe responsibility to the state to take positive measures for the protection of the weaker sections**. Here, the state has a positive function that enables individuals to live a good life and enjoy other rights substantially.
- When we say that the state shall provide basic education and health facilities to its citizens irrespective of their capacity to pay for these services, it gives an **enabling role to the state and the state has a role to play in this sphere of rights**.
- E.g.: the right to education, right to work, right to health, right to have a good environment

A capitalist state gives precedence to negative rights while a socialist state gives precedence to positive rights. Modern welfare states aim to combine positive and negative rights and always try to find the right balance.

### **WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF RIGHTS?**

- **Political Rights:** Political rights relate to people's participation in the affairs of the state. This includes, right to vote, contest in elections, associate for a political cause, etc. It also includes the right to hold public offices.
  - All able and qualified citizens irrespective of any difference on the grounds of religion, race, caste, creed, etc. should have the right to hold a public office. Finally, this category also includes people's right to appreciate or denounce the actions of their government so that they may renew their confidence in their rulers or change them in case they forfeit their trust or goodwill.
- **Civil Rights:** They are called 'civil' rights as they relate to the essential conditions of civilized life. This includes a number of rights like those relating to life, personal liberty, thought and expression, property, religion.
  - Of all the civil rights, the right to life is the most important, since the enjoyment of all other rights depends upon it. Equality before the law and Equal protection of law also constitute an important civil right. The right to freedom of religion is also a significant civil right. According to this right, a person should have the right to profess and practice any religion as per his conscience. Right to free expression, right to property are some other rights that come under civil rights.
- **Economic Rights:** This right includes man's freedom of vocation of his choice. Every person should have a right and opportunity to work so that he may earn a livelihood. These rights also include the right against the concentration of wealth and monopoly in welfare states. It also includes the right to rest and leisure. Workers must have the right to form unions, bargain for better conditions of work, etc.
- **Moral Rights:** Moral rights are the claims recognized by the conscience of the community. Moral rights have the support of the good sense of society.
  - There is no coercive power to enforce them. Thus, one cannot move the courts for seeking enforcement of a moral right. When moral rights are recognized by the state and translated into legal terms, they become legal rights enforceable by the coercive power of the state. Any violation of law invites punishment.

Apart from these, there are other kinds of rights such as cultural rights, human rights, etc which will come in further discussion.

### **What is the basis of the theory of rights?**

- The development of rights in modern times took place as **a response to the medieval socio-political arrangement** where despotic and autocratic rule neglected the rights of its citizenry.
- In the wake of the industrial revolution, the **middle class, historically, is responsible for raising the demand for personal rights**. This took a definite shape in the American Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of the Man.

- Thinkers such as **Hobbes, Locke, Bentham, Rousseau, JS Mill, T.H. Green, Laski, etc** wrote extensively on the theory of rights. All of these thinkers have tried to define the basis of the rights of the individual against the state. These various justifications can be seen in the following different theories of rights.

### The Theory of Natural Rights

- The natural theory of rights was **popular in the 17th and 18th centuries**, It treats the **rights of man as self-evident truth**. John Locke, the main proponent of the natural rights theory declares that an individual is born with certain rights and they are not dependent on or given by the state or society. They are intrinsic to man's own self.
- Natural rights are included in the personality of an individual. These are non-transferable, non-viable sacred, and non-changeable rights for which an individual is not dependent on society, instead the state was created to save these rights.
  - The natural theory of rights was developed by two important bases:
    - Contractual and Teleological

### Contractual Basis

- The contractual basis of natural rights **stems from the concept of the social contract**. According to the social contract tradition, **certain rights were enjoyed by men in the state of nature**. So, the origin of rights is not in the formation of state or civil society but it precedes both.
- Transforming the social contract of **Thomas Hobbes** who gave a very gloomy picture of the state of nature, **John Locke** held that the state of nature was not a war of all against all. It was peaceful as men were rational. Hence, he had natural rights under the state of nature.
  - **When social contract happened, man only surrendered some of his rights but retained the most fundamental of them** on a condition that the state shall protect his right to life, liberty, and property. In case of failure, the man had the right to overthrow the government.
- Hence, Locke demonstrated that **natural rights form the basis of governance**. In fact, Locke justifies his doctrine of limited government by advocating that a restrained government is the best way to protect rights. For example, the right to property is one of the natural rights and therefore pre-political. As a result, the government cannot violate this right.

There can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative, to which all the rest are and must subordinate, yet the legislative being only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them."

— John Locke



### Teleological basis

- **Teleology** means the explanation of phenomena in terms of the purpose they serve rather than of the cause by which they arise. It is a **doctrine of final cause**. This basis of right seeks to relate the rights of man with the purpose of human life.
- According to the teleological theory of natural rights, the **rights ensue from the very nature of man and serve the purpose of his life**. They do not depend on any institutional arrangement.
- **Tom Paine** in his work "Rights of man" rejected the doctrine of the social contract for its eternally binding nature and for being a clog on the wheel of progress. He held that rights to liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression are the proud possessions of man in civil society and derive their sanction from the natural rights pre-existing in the individual.
- Further, **T. H. Green** argued the moral theory of rights on a teleological basis. He criticized the transcendental origin of rights and argued that **rights come from the moral character of the man himself**. Individuals, impelled by their moral consciousness, recognize others' claims to pursue the ideal when they form the state together. While rights depend on recognition, for Green the recognition comes not from the social contract but from individual moral compass which is common to all in the community.

### **Evaluation of Natural Rights Theory**

- The theory of natural rights played an important role in modern history. It served as a source of **inspiration for the American and French Revolutions**. Having said that, it is also criticized on many grounds.
- The very first criticism arises in the **definition of "natural"**. **Aristotle** saw slavery as natural. Patriarchal structure considers the natural superiority of men to women. Such concepts are no longer considered valid.
- Further, the right to property was seen as natural in the period of the first industrial revolution but as we move towards the fourth industrial revolution, there is a building consensus that property cannot be held in monopoly and there needs to be a just redistribution on account of rising inequality.
- Scholars held that Rights cannot be natural simply because they were the possessions of men in the state of nature. **There can never be rights before the emergence of society: the notion of pre-society rights is a contradiction in terms**.
- If at all there was anything in the state of nature, they were mere physical energies and not rights. **Thomas Hobbes** thinks that in the state of nature man only had power and insecurity, not rights.
- To say that natural rights existed in the state of nature is to make them absolute or beyond the control of society.
  - **For Bentham, the doctrine of natural rights was 'a rhetorical nonsense upon stilts.'** He condemns natural rights as an invention of fanatics, which are dogmatic and unintelligible, devoid of reasoning.
  - **Edmund Burke** said that we cannot enjoy the rights of civil and uncivil rights at the same time.
  - **Harold Laski** objects to the idea of natural rights. Rights, as natural rights, are based on false assumptions that we can have rights and duties independently of society.

Rights 'are not natural in the sense that a permanent and unchanging catalogue of them can be compiled, rather they are natural in the sense that under the limitations of a civilised life, facts demand their recognition.'

- Harold Laski



Hence, natural rights theory is rarely invoked today. Even modern states, international organizations, and movements widely invoke human rights, instead of natural rights, to determine their policy objectives or goals.

Even then, the theory of natural right was a special theory influenced by the circumstances of the time. This laid the foundation of the values like the freedom of individuals, self-reliance, expression of thought, and labor in the opposition of an authority based on traditions and blind religious beliefs. This theory tried to save the individual from the interference of the state in the economic field and in its contemporary context, this remained as an inspiration for many revolutionary movements.

## LEGAL THEORY OF RIGHTS

According to legal rights theory, rights are **neither absolute nor given by nature**. They are the creations of the law of the state. Hence, the state is the only source of rights and all rights of man depend on the state for their existence. It provides the machinery to guarantee the enjoyment of rights. Any defilement of any legal right is punished by law.

According to the legal theory, no rights are absolute nor are they inherent in the nature of man.

The theory of legal rights has three specialities:

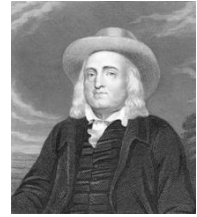
1. **State defines the rights and finalises them** in the form of Bill of Rights. Rights are not before the state instead the state is the source of rights.
2. State provides that legal and institutional structure which is necessary to use these rights. State implements these rights. As the **state law is the source of rights, no right can exist beyond the legal framework of the state**
3. As the creation and implementation of the rights is done by state, so **whenever the change in law comes, then comes a change in rights also**.

The legal theory of rights, which is **also called the positive theory of rights**, finds its exposition in the works of **Jeremy Bentham** who decries natural rights as 'rhetorical nonsense' and insists that rights are the creature of law and of organized society.

Apart from it, these **rights are contextual** i.e., these are given to only those citizens who came under their area. These rights exist till the related laws exist or till the court declares them against law.

“Rights, properly so called, are the creatures of law properly so called; real laws give birth to real rights. Natural rights are the creatures of natural law; they are a metaphor which derives its origin from another metaphor...”

- **Jeremy Bentham**



It holds that mere social authority is not enough, there must be a coercive authority to protect moral rights. Law, therefore, serves the desired purpose. **Thomas Hobbes** is a significant thinker of this tradition. He argued that the only fundamental right of the individual, viz. the right of 'self-preservation', is better maintained by the state than by the individual himself. It is under the state created through a social contract with absolute authority to govern the social life that the rights of man exist

### **Evaluation of Legal Rights theory**

The theories which point out rights having originated from the state are criticised in numerous ways. The state, though defends and protects our rights, it does not create them as the advocates of these theories state. If we admit that the rights are the creation of the state, we will have to accept the view that if the state can give us rights, it can take them away as well. This would make the state absolute and we would have only those rights which the state would like to give us.

**Harold Laski** in his work “**A Grammar of Politics**” criticised the legal rights theory on two accounts.

1. People use rights, not only as members of the state but as members of society also. Thus, to limit the right to only the state is to destroy the personality of an individual and its protection.
2. The theory of legal rights takes account of the factual position only; it takes note of what rights are legally recognized and guaranteed in a particular state. Political philosophy would like to inquire as to what rights must be recognized by the state according to the community's conception of justice.

**Ernest Barker** has summed up these dilemmas about rights in his book “*Principles of Social and Political Theory*”. He argues that rights will always be derived simultaneously from two sources: Individual personality and state law. If in actual practice, rights are derived from only one of these sources, it will not be a right in its fullest sense. It will be a **quasi-right** (either derived from individual personality or the law of the state). Such a situation demonstrates the difference between the ideal and the actual position.

The gulf between legal and ideal rights can be bridged by fixing the responsibility of the state on this behalf. Once ideal rights are conceived by the community through its moral consciousness, steps must be taken to secure legal sanction for those rights; otherwise, such rights are bound to remain but an empty form.

### **HISTORICAL THEORY OF RIGHTS**

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According to this theory, **rights are the creation of time**. They are based on long-established usages and customs. The essential sanction behind a right is a tradition or customs recognized on account of its long observance. Historical rights differ from state to state on account of different levels of historical development.

**Robert MacIver** explains the role of customs in creating rights for people. The Law of today is nothing but the crystallization of age-old customs into the form of legal sanctions that the state enforces with coercive power at its command.

**Conservative political thinkers of the 18th century are the proponents of the historical theory of rights**. Hence it is **also known as conservative theory of rights**. They deprecated the revolutions and defended the evolutionary social changes.

**Edmund Burke**, the greatest champion of the historical theory of rights, criticized the French Revolution for it was provoked by a conception of abstract rights of man—liberty, equality, fraternity. He said that the **French Revolution was influenced by the formless theories of freedom, equality, and brotherhood**. These abstractions were not part of the group awareness of the people and hence they were not successfully implemented.

On the other hand, the **golden revolution of England in 1688** was based on the traditional rights, on those rights which were being used by the citizens of England for a long time. It sought to reassert the customary rights that Englishmen had enjoyed from very early days and which had found expression in such documents as the **Magna Carta (1215), the Petition of Right (1628)**, etc.

Thus, rights are the result of historical development. All those rules which are implemented on the historical theory of law can be implemented on the rights.

According to the Historical theory of rights

- Rights are **not universal but are limited to time, circumstances, and social groups**.
- The basis of rights is a historical process instead of intellect and tolerance and a specific individual has no role in its construction.
- It is **impossible to reform and it is better to give chance to the historical process** without any interference.
- It is right to replace the idea of transcendent natural order with the concept of order eminent in the historical process.

#### **Evaluation of Historical Theory of rights**

- The historical theory of rights is important in so far as it condemns the legal theory of rights. It suggests that the state cannot create rights at its own will, nor is it required to follow abstract and subjective conceptions of natural rights.
- The state recognises, the advocates of the historical theory of rights argue, what (the rights including) comes to stay through long usage. It is also important in so far as it denies the theory of natural rights



- But this theory suffers from its own limitations. It **cannot be admitted that all our customs result in rights**: the Sati system does not constitute a right nor does infanticide.
- All our rights do not have their origins in customs. Right to social security, for example, is not related to any custom. That is to say, it **does not ensure that the rights are based on a sense of justice**.

## **SOCIAL WELFARE THEORY OF RIGHTS**

In the 20th Century all the basis of rights like natural, legal, historical, and idealistic got included in one broad theory which was called the concept of rights related to social welfare. This concept of social welfare was recognized by liberal writers like **T.H. Green, G.D.H. Cole, L.T. Hobhouse, Laski, Barker, etc.**

**Hobhouse** writes, "Real rights are the conditions of the social welfare and the reason of the various rights is one the fact that what role they play for the coordinated development of the society"

According to **Laski** (A Grammar of Politics), "Rights are those circumstances of social life, without which a person cannot attain his best. The state helps in doing good for both individuals and society by securing these rights. Laski writes that the question of rights rises only in the context of society. Through rights are the demands of an individual yet these demands are common with the others.

Further, according to **Laski**, for the security of these rights, it is necessary that the state is of democratic, limited, and decentralized because due to this there could be better and more believable coordination between the individual and the state.

In short, the concept about social welfare believes that

- Rights are the condition of social life.
- The question of rights arises only in society.
- No person can get any right against social welfare.
- Rights are given to an individual so that he can contribute to the social benefits.

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**Every state is known by the rights it maintains. – Harold Laski**

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If every state is known by the fact that how many rights does it give to its citizens then rights are also known by the fact that up to what limit, social welfare was obtained through them.

## **Evaluation of Social Welfare Theory of Rights**

- Social-welfare theory seems to be quite reasonable because no theory of rights can be held valid until it serves the cause of social justice. But this theory presents practical difficulties.
- There is a lack of democracy in deciding the framework of social work. Usually, It is an elite—a group of the chosen few—who assume the power to interpret the requirements of social welfare.
- It dwells on the factor of social welfare, a term too vague to be precise. If Bentham is to decide the nature of social welfare, he will say that the greatest happiness of the greatest number will be the best formula. And according to Marxists, the end of state and society based on communist principles will ensure social welfare.
- A critic like Wilde is of the view that 'if rights are created by the consideration of social expediency, the individual is without an appeal and helplessly dependent upon its arbitrary will.
- At best, the social-welfare theory of rights is a relative theory, and its merit is dependent on the condition that the oppressed sections have a due share in power and get the opportunity to define social welfare for determining the scheme of rights in a given society.

### **LIBERTARIAN THEORY OF RIGHTS**

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Libertarian theory of rights emerged in response to the social welfare measures proposed by the welfare state concept. It criticised the welfare state theory for its neglect of the liberal principle of primacy of individual rights. There are two important thinkers who give the libertarian concept of liberal individualistic rights concept: **Robert Nozick and Ronald Dworkin.**

#### **Robert Nozick**

**Nozick's "Anarchy, State and Utopia"** is a classic work to understand the libertarian theory of rights. It is a kind of reply to Rawls's theory of justice.

According to **Nozick**, the **main source of rights is the rule of Natural Right of self-ownership** which means that every individual should be considered as an end in itself.

Society has to compulsorily honour these rights because an individual is an end in itself. **Rights are the mark of the independent existence of the individual** and if taken seriously their meaning is that man is not the means to fulfil others' selfish deeds. To honour the rights means to honour the claim of being everyone equal.

In **Nozick's** concept of property, there is no place for the welfare rights of the individual and their security by the state. According to him **each individual is his own lord of himself and his capabilities and is free to use his capacities.**

Every person has a personal free area in which there should be no interference without his consent. If the property is acquired justly, then he is entitled to that property and the state is wrong in redistributing that property in the name of social justice.

All the political institutions are basically suppressive, so they should obtain the common acceptance of those who are ruled. These institutions should be based on free will. **The state has no appropriate work except arrangement, security and justice. Rights are before the civil laws and the law of the state is for their safety.**

According to him, **there is no need to do welfare for the poor** from the things produced by the able people because "if I have complete right on myself, then I am the sole owner of my capability and the produce made by my capability." Thus, it is wrong to re-distribute these sources by tax process.

Hence, **Nozick** gave primacy to liberty and individual autonomy or freedom without any consideration to the re-distributional aspect or equalizing factor argued by many egalitarian scholars. He wanted individuals to be given maximum liberty, regardless of its consequences on the collective welfare or economic implications of such liberty.

### **Significance of Right to Property**

Ancient Greeks like **Plato and Aristotle** engaged in the debate of the value of the right to property. If **Plato considered private property as a source of conflict** and corruption and proposed communism of property for the ruling class, **Aristotle considered property, of a certain amount, as a source of virtue**. If Plato dealt with the impact of private property on social organization, Aristotle considered the impact on personal morality.

**Machiavelli** too considered private property as sacred and advised the Prince not to harm the property rights of the people (man forgets death of father sooner than his loss of property).

**Liberal political thought** has given a very important place to the right to property. Both Hobbes and Locke considered that the state has a role to protect people's right to property. **Locke in his "Second Treatise on Civil Government" gave the natural rights theory of property**.

**Adam Smith and Bentham** regarded the institution of private property as an essential instrument of social progress.

Liberals like **J S Mill and T.H. Green**, while agreeing to the importance of the right to property, held that the **absolute right to property will create hindrances** to the exercise of freedom in society.

**Harold Laski** held that the right to **property should be the function of one's services rendered** to society. **Laski** deals with the right to property as a part of his theory of rights. In his *A Grammar of Politics* (1938), Laski observes:

If the property must be possessed in order that a man may be his best self, the existence of such a right is clear . . . I have the right to property if what I own is, broadly speaking, important for the service I perform. I have the right to own if what I own can be shown to be related to the common welfare as a condition of its maintenance.

Even **Gandhi** held that property should be held in the trust of the public and propounded the **bread labor theory** and **trusteeship** as a moral imperative.

**Marxist political thought** has considered private property not as a right of an individual but as a **condition that determines relations of production**. It is a means of exploitation and a cause of the alienation of human beings. Marx and Engels called for the abolition of bourgeois property in their *Communist Manifesto*.

Contemporary scholars like **Nozick held property as entitlement**, scholars like **Rawls, Amartya Sen** have tried to negate the ill effects of the right to property by emphasizing society's role in man's achievements and holding that proper redistribution of property is the basis of a just society.

### **Ronald Dworkin**

Dworkin has described another theory of Rights in his book '**Taking Rights Seriously**.' According to him a man has only two rights which can be justified on the moral level:

1. the right of equality for every individual
2. the right of respect to human status.

He **criticised the utilitarian argument** that it is ok to curtail or limit individual freedom if they benefit a larger population. In this sense, he is asking the theorists to take rights seriously. **Dworkin** criticizes the liberal thinkers and says that they do not accept any common right of freedom. According to him, the idea of limitations to the right of freedom is a wrong conception, which has brought harm to political thinking.

Another specialty of **Dworkin's** theory is their aggressive individualism. In the context of freedom of expression, he writes that in any public demonstration there should be no ban on loudspeakers even in the name of security because this can hinder the expression of thoughts of any individual or the demonstrators. This takes the form of the argument of **Rights as Trumps**.

### **Rights as Trumps**

**Dworkin** in this doctrine contends that there are some constitutionally recognized rights like free speech that must represent rights against governments in a strong sense. This means that governments would do wrong to repeal such fundamental rights, even if they were persuaded that the majority would be better off that way. Certain interests of individuals are so important that it would be wrong for the community to sacrifice those interests just to secure an overall benefit".

The doctrine **rejects the consequentialist grounds** on which the community or majority utility is considered superior to rights. In a way, he gives priority to rights over the good.

According to this doctrine, **rights are not subject to weighing**. **Dworkin** says that "If the relevance of fundamental rights can be weighed at every new upcoming factual scenario and like any other social interest, then balancing is a confusion that threatens to destroy the concept of individual rights". This is similar to **Mill's** absolute right to freedom of speech.

However, **Dworkin** here does not demand absolute trumping of social benefits for rights. He gives conditions **when the rights can be compromised**

1. Values encompassed by the original right are not really at stake
2. If there is a possibility of catastrophe if the rights are not compromised.

The doctrine is important in a democracy where some rights must be held sacrosanct so as to protect the dignity, freedom of the individual and at the same time, hold governments accountable based on those rights as trumps.

But, his absolutist nature of the right is not subscribed in most of the countries today as there are agreed reasonable restrictions, in some cases mentioned under the constitution as in the case of the Indian constitution.

**Communitarians** think that man is not an atomic self as considered by individual right-oriented liberals. As an individual is an encumbered self within a society, **some of his/her rights are protected when the society is served.**

**Joseph Raz** says that the weight and importance of the rights depend on their value to others, and not on the benefit that this, in turn, secures to the right holder.

In third world countries, there is a huge **developmental deficit that necessitates state intervention, intense diversity that necessitates balancing of different rights.** In such cases, it is difficult to hold rights as aces that trump other important social goods.

## COMMUNITARIAN THEORY OF RIGHTS

Communitarianism **developed as a critique of liberal individualism** and **atomistic theory** of man in liberalism. This difference of opinion is also reflected in the theory of rights.

Communitarian thinkers **criticize the universal theory of rights** based on abstract individualism. In every culture and society, there are different sets of rights. Therefore, rights are also culture-bound. They differ based on gender, ethnicity, etc. Hence, there cannot be a rights theory based on an abstract individual stripped off from his society.

If rights are considered universal then the minority rights are under threat. Communitarians have criticized the liberal concepts of rights on the basis that they consider individuals as units for the distribution of resources. Every individual is deeply embedded in his own culture. Therefore, attention should be paid to his identity connected to the community, despite paying attention to the individual.

Communitarians don't have a problem with emphasis on individualism per se but with excess emphasis on individualism. Individual freedom and welfare are possible within society only.

**Michael Sandel** in his book, "Liberalism and the Limits of Justice" says that Liberalism rests on a series of mistaken metaphysical and meta-ethical views of individual absolutism and universalism. They think that it is not possible for individuals to know each other well enough to share common ends and that we define our personal identity independently of socially given ends. Against this, Communitarians argue that it is rather required to accept the 'politics of common good' than 'politics of right'.

Communitarians agree on the importance of rights and justice but criticize the "ahistoric" and external criteria to criticize other cultures. Liberals, utilitarians, and libertarians think that their theory of justice is the best and every society must be modelled on it.

**Michael Walzer** argues that this quest for a universal theory of rights is misguided. The requirements of rights and justice must be examined through analyzing how each particular community understands the value of social goods. A society is just if it acts in accordance with the shared understandings of its members.

Hence, the identifying principle of rights and justice is more a matter of cultural interpretation than of philosophical argument. Walzer asserts that the shared understandings in our society require '**complex equality**' i.e. a system of distribution that doesn't try to equalize all goods but rather seeks to **ensure that inequalities in one 'sphere' do not permeate other spheres**. However, he acknowledges that other societies don't share this understanding of justice and for some societies justice may involve virtually unlimited inequality in rights and goods.

### THE MULTICULTURAL CHALLENGE TO THE LIBERAL THEORY OF RIGHTS

Multiculturalism rose out of the **liberal-communitarian debate**. According to **Bhikhu Parekh**, multiculturalism occupies a middle position between monism (naturalism) which holds human nature to be similar irrespective of culture and society, and pluralism (culturalism) which says that individuals are culturally constituted.

Multiculturalism, according to **Bhikhu Parekh** is a creative interplay of the cultural embeddedness of human beings, cultural plurality and its inescapability, and the plural and multicultural constitution of each society.

Multiculturalists criticized the formal and difference-blind idea of universal citizenship calling it "not real". Multiculturalists try to ensure real equality through recognition of social and cultural location and not through uniform equality.

In multicultural societies, **recognition of differences and genuine treatment of equality** is essential. Not only recognition but accommodation of equality is the essence of true equality. This true equality is ensured through **group-specific rights**. As against popular conception, group-specific and minority rights eliminate inequality.

Multiculturalists argue that the principles of neutrality and liberal equality cannot promote equality for minority cultural communities and their members. A system of special rights is, therefore, advocated to protect minority cultures from discrimination in the polity. **Will Kymlicka** states that liberalism does not simply value individual autonomy and freedom to make choices. It wants individuals to have an opportunity to rethink and revise what they have received from society. **Autonomy and freedom are valued only because they enable individuals to reflect upon the beliefs and institutions that they have inherited.** However, revising our cultural inheritances is only possible when culture is secure within the nation-state.

According to **Kymlicka**, we need, therefore, as liberals to be concerned about the fate of minority cultures in our society. **In order to protect and promote liberal ethos, it is necessary to have special minority rights.** Any plausible theory of rights should recognize the fairness of protection for minorities. Giving minority rights to members of minority cultures may eliminate the disadvantages faced by them. **Group-differentiated rights** - such as land claims and language rights - can help rectify these disadvantages by alleviating the vulnerability of minority cultures and their differences; they demand special rights that are essential for preserving their culture.

This differentiated rights regime is to be strengthened through **differentiated citizenship**. The concept of differentiated citizenship rejects the liberal ideal of universal citizenship. They call universal citizenship colour-blindness. Multiculturalists maintain that universal citizenship assumes that all persons are alike. This assumption of homogeneity eclipses group differences. Hence, differentiated citizenship is devised to reject fears of assimilation of minorities and give them cultural security.

Within this framework differentiated citizenship, multiculturalists, specifically, Will Kymlicka advocates a **hierarchy of differentiated rights**:

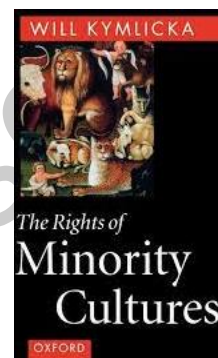
1. Cultural rights
2. Self-government rights
3. Special representation rights

But again, Kymlicka makes a **distinction between national minorities and immigrants** and says that immigrants cannot claim such rights. National minorities who consider themselves a nation must be accorded such rights.

### **Criticism of Multicultural Rights**

Though Multiculturalism is a strong and justified case for progressive rights for minorities, it is not without problems. Its concept of differentiated citizenship and special rights for minorities has come under the scanner. There are four kinds of criticisms:

1. It **empowers traditional communities and structures of authority** and neglects individuals who may suffer within those communities.





2. While recognizing special minority rights, it **neglects heterogeneity within the minority culture**. Also, today an individual may see himself as a part of many different cultures at the same time hence there is ambiguity in assigning those rights.
3. Multiculturalism can lead to the **weakening of the nation-state**. By recognizing minorities as a nation within nations they undermine the possibility of a shared culture of the people in the nation-state.
4. **Marxists** argue that multiculturalists ignore the issue of redistribution. It considers minority marginalization merely a cultural phenomenon and neglects multiple injustices done to the minority community.

## MARXIST THEORY OF RIGHTS

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The Marxist theory of rights is understood in terms of the economic system at a particular period of history. A particular socio-economic formation would have a particular system of rights. The state, being an instrument in the hands of the economically dominant class, is itself a class institution and the law which it formulates is also a class law.

- The feudal state, through feudal laws, protects the system of rights (privileges, for example) favoring the feudal system.
- Likewise, the capitalist state, through capitalistic laws, protects the system of rights favoring the capitalist system.

Marxists argue, **securing rights for all is not the object of the class state**; rather its aim is to protect and promote the interests of the class wielding economic power. According to **Marx**, the class which controls the economic structure of society also controls political power and it uses this power to protect and promote its own interests rather than the interests of all.

In the socialist society, as the Marxian framework suggests, **the socialist state, through the proletarian laws, would protect and promote the interests/rights of the working class**. As the socialist society is a classless society, its state and laws protect the rights not of any particular class but of all the people living in the classless society.

The socialist state, as an instrument of social and political, and economic change, would seek to establish socialism which will be based on the principle of **‘from each to his ability to each according to his work’**, the system of rights for all would follow the following order:

1. Economic rights (work, social security)
2. Social rights (education)
3. Political rights (franchise rights).

The Marxist theory of rights **suffers from its deterministic ideology**, though it emphasizes non-exploitative socialist systems. **Neither the economic factor alone provides the basis of society** nor the superstructure is the reflection of only the economic base; non-economic forces also play their role in determining the superstructure.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

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The two world wars and the genocide by the Nazi and the Fascist governments provided the foundation for the next concept of rights known as human rights. The nature of destruction and the horrendous crimes perpetrated by these regimes on its citizens meant that there was a consensus that there must be some basic rights that must be available to all the people of the world because they are human irrespective of their nationality. They are available to all under every circumstance or deficiency. Also, it is a responsibility of international community to protect these rights.

If seen from the **philosophical viewpoint**, then these rights are influenced by the concept of natural rights of the **seventeenth century** but in the twentieth century, these were called human rights because today they are believed to be based on human needs rather than human intellect. The inspiring source of these human rights is the reality that an individual, who is hungry, is behind the bars, is illiterate, is not getting appropriate wages for work, is exploited; this individual is living a life not appropriate for a human being. In a sense, they are inspired by the natural rights tradition which claims rights based on moral and contractual foundations.

According to **Dworkin**, human rights are those rights that cannot be prohibited in the name of public benefit and can be utilized even in the absence of the law of the state. Practicability means that human rights are some such demands which are impossible and cannot be limited only to some countable number of society. On the practical level, human rights can be followed only under the legal structure of the state which grants some rights to its citizens.

### Human Rights: A Moral Claim

Human rights are **moral entitlements** that every individual in the world possesses simply in virtue of the fact that he or she is a human being. In claiming our human rights, we are making a moral claim, normally on our own government, that you cannot do that because it is a violation of my moral sphere and my personal dignity. No one – no individual, no government – can ever take away our human rights.

### What are the characteristics of Human Rights?

- **Inalienable-** This means that you cannot lose them, because they are linked to the very fact of human existence, they are inherent to all human beings. But In particular circumstances some – though not all – may be suspended or restricted.
- **Indivisible, Interdependent, and Interrelated-** This means that different human rights are intrinsically connected and cannot be viewed in isolation from each other. The enjoyment of one right depends on the enjoyment of many other rights and no one right is more important than the rest.
- **Universal:** This means that they apply equally to all people everywhere in the world, and with no time limit. Every individual is entitled to enjoy his or her human rights without distinction of "race" or ethnic

background, color, sex, sexual orientation, disability, language, religion, political or another opinion, national or social origin, birth, or another status

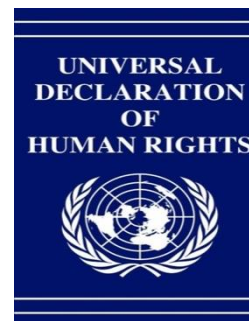
#### **Implementation of Human Rights: A matter of changing the conduct of States**

- The promotion & protection of human rights by individual states intrinsically depends upon various internal & external factors which lead to changes in the conduct of states
- After the Universalisation of Human Rights with the creation of UDHR, 1948, states are morally compelled by an obligation to protect human rights to cement their international standing.
- Adoption of modern Constitutions by nation-states made them sympathetic towards civil, political, socio-economic rights & to human rights as a whole
- The conduct of nation-states changed with the acceptance of Non-state actors as conduits to people. These non-state actors like Amnesty International pressured the state to act upon human rights violations.
- With medieval notions of state sovereignty being transformed, Globalization has aided to change the conduct of states making their borders porous to the human rights regime.
- However, scholars have also expressed concern regarding the non-implementation of human rights due to changing nature of states.
- Lack of consensus over the meaning of 'Human' and what should constitute the universal human rights regime poses different questions-for e.g. Should the terrorists be considered human & given human rights? Can torture of terrorists be justified for sensitive information if the lives of a large population are at stake?
- Another problem in contemporary times is the increasing trend of politicization of human rights, seen in third world countries. Any attempt to implement human rights produces a complex situation that requires a fine balance between respecting the state sovereignty as well as convincing states to change their conduct to ensure human rights through its policies and acts such as protection of child labor etc.
- Not ignoring the risks of human rights inflation, states must be conscious that they are prime actors in the human rights paradigm & must hold an uncompromising attitude towards human rights protection & implementation.

In 1948 the United Nations issued an elaborate list of human rights, known as '**Universal Declaration of Human Rights**'. It advised its member-nations to give wide publicity to these rights in their respective countries, particularly in schools and other educational institutions. This declaration is best suited to building up a free, democratic, welfare state. It embodies the best scheme of human rights.

The declaration letter of UNO talks about two types of rights

- **Civil and political rights**- include rights of life, freedom, security, freedom from slavery, same legal security, freedom to move, expression, conscience, and religious freedom, make groups, participating in election on the basis of adult voting rights
- **Economic, social, and cultural rights**- include rights of social security, work, to rest, minimal life standard, education and to participate in the cultural heritage of their community



From the benefit of hindsight, we can gather that there are three specific generations through which human rights have evolved. The division of human rights into three generations was initially proposed in 1979 by the Czech jurist **Karel Vasak** at the International Institute of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights includes rights that are thought of as second generation as well as first-generation ones, but it does not make the distinction in itself.

### THE THREE GENERATION OF RIGHTS

<b>First Generation Human Rights:</b> Focus on Liberty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Sometimes called "<u>blue rights</u>" deal essentially with liberty and participation in political life.</li><li>• They are <u>civil and political</u> rights</li><li>• Include the right to life, equality before the law, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, property rights, the right to a fair trial, and voting rights.</li><li>• <b>Articles 3 to 21 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights</b> and later in the <b>1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political</b></li></ul>
<b>Second Generation Human Rights:</b> Focus on Equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Sometimes referred to as "<u>red</u>" rights. They impose upon the government the duty to respect and promote and fulfill them, but this depends on the availability of resources.</li><li>• Related to equality and began to be recognized by governments after World War II.</li><li>• <u>Economic, social, and cultural</u> in nature.</li><li>• Guarantee different members of the citizenry equal conditions and treatment.</li><li>• Secondary rights would include a right to be employed in just and favorable conditions, rights to food, housing, and health care, as well as social security and unemployment benefits.</li><li>• Embodied in <b>Articles 22 to 28 of the Universal Declaration</b>, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.</li></ul>
<b>Third Generation Human Rights:</b> Focus on Fraternity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Go <b>beyond</b> the mere civil and social,</li><li>• expressed in many progressive documents of international law, including the <b>1972 Stockholm Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development</b></li><li>• Generally aspirational "<b>soft laws</b>". Also known as <b>Solidarity human rights</b>.</li><li>• The term remains largely unofficial just as the also-used moniker of "<b>green</b>" rights and thus houses an extremely broad spectrum of rights.</li><li>• Group and collective rights include:<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Right to self-determination</li><li>2. Right to economic and social development</li></ol></li></ul>

- |  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>3. Right to a healthy environment</li><li>4. Right to natural resources</li><li>5. Right to communicate and communication rights</li><li>6. Right to participation in cultural heritage</li></ol> |
|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

### CHALLENGES TO THE IDEA OF HUMAN RIGHTS: ASIAN VALUES

Theories of human rights over the past half-century have broadly appeared to perpetuate a rigid dichotomy between a universalistic conception of human rights and a relativistic approach. The former so-called “**Western**” model has been accused of advocating an individualistic approach to rights that prioritizes the individual’s rights against society; by contrast, the “**Asian values**” approach emphasizes social stability, privileging community and duties over the rights of the individual.



The **post-colonial states and the eastern countries** oppose the forced universalization and implementation of the human rights concept without giving scope for the Asian way of life.

The post-colonial thinkers call human rights a mode of cultural imperialism. The Islamic world, especially the Arab countries have strongly opposed the human rights theory for its interference in the cultural and national sovereignty of the non-western communities.

Against the universal nature of human rights, they prefer a **cultural relativist model**. They argue that the west should have the ability to understand the other cultures as they are and not judge based on prejudices. The notion of Asian value comes in this argument.

**Asian Values** emerged in the 1990s after the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the East Asian countries. According to Lee Kuan Yew, The origin of ‘Asian values’ are can be traced in doctrines such as **Confucianism**. Confucianism protects group rights rather than those of individuals; it also states the duties or obligations owed to society by the individual.

In 1993, thirty-four Asian and Middle Eastern states adopted the **Bangkok Declaration** claiming that human rights ‘must be considered in the context of a dynamic and evolving process on international norm-setting; bearing in mind the significance of national and regional peculiarities and various historical, cultural, and religious background’. This sentence was added to the **1993 Vienna Declaration of Human Rights**.

**Mahathir Mohammed and Lee Kuan Yew** are the main proponents of this argument.

**Communitarianism** is a vital pillar at the heart of Asian values and shapes the defenses of its champions. **Lee Kuan Yew** criticized unfettered Western liberalism, stating that an ordered state, rather than one of contention and anarchy, is needed for true freedom to flourish. Also, he argued that Asians have 'little doubt that a society with communitarian values where the interests of society take precedence over that of the individual suits them better than the individualism of America.'

According to **Hoon Chang Yau**, Consensus, harmony, unity, and community are values commonly proposed as the essence of Asian culture and identity. There are four claims that come with the theory:



- Human rights are not universal and cannot be globalized
- Asian societies are centred not on the individual but on the family. It supposedly comes naturally for Asians to let the combined interest of the family and the nation go before the interests of each individual.
- Asian societies rank social and economic rights over an individual's political rights
- The right of a nation to self-determination includes a government's domestic jurisdiction over human rights. "This implies that other nations should not interfere with the internal affairs of a state, including its human rights policy."

### **Amartya Sen on Asian Values**

The notion of human right builds on our shared humanity. These rights are not derived from the citizenship of any country, or the membership of any nation, but are presumed to be claims or entitlements of every human being. They differ, therefore, from constitutionally created rights guaranteed for specific people.

**Amartya Sen**

**Amartya Sen** noted the death of Cambodian despot Pol Pot, stating that the genocide carried out under the Khmer Rouge illustrated the danger of monolithic thinking. Pol Pot's communist ideology was a monolithic reading of what Cambodia needed; no deviation from doctrine was tolerated. On the other hand, the policies that permitted Pol Pot's rise to power, a reference, presumably, to U.S. intervention in Indochina, were also monothematic and destabilized Southeast Asia. The clash of these "univocal" themes resulted in catastrophe.

Hence, he focuses on the convergence of the basic philosophy of tolerance and human dignity between human rights and Asian values. He says **the view that the basic ideas underlying freedom and rights in a tolerant society are "Western" notions, and somehow alien to Asia, is hard to make any sense of**, even though that view has been championed by both Asian authoritarians and western chauvinists. **If at all the debate between the two concepts must go on, the real issue to be pondered is not whether non-freedom perspectives are present in Asian traditions, but whether the freedom-oriented perspectives are absent there.**

### **CONCLUSION**

In the contemporary world, the scope of human rights needs to be expanded further. The problems of protecting life and health in present-day society have become more complex. The spread of terrorism, drug trafficking, and environmental pollution is now threatening the life of people. It is the duty of the state to save people from that threat. This duty of the state must be included in the list of human rights. Whereas the efforts of nation-states might have been sufficient to protect the traditional human rights, the new human rights can be maintained only through the global effort.

Again, on the backdrop of the fourth industrial revolution, ironically, the role of the state has become more important and it is the state which has to protect the rights of the citizenry against the technological autocracy of the so-called enlightened despots. Also, on account of fundamental changes in the relations of productions due to AI and ML, there is a demand that basic rights of food, shelter, and health must be fulfilled by the state to universal basic income and similar measures.

The issues of climate change, ongoing COVID pandemic also alter the nature of rights and expose the faultlines and limitations of universal human rights and the commitment of the countries to promote and protect them. On account of all this, the theoretical and philosophical debate on the concept of rights will have to evolve and new teleologies will have to be formed.

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To paraphrase **Andrew Hacker**, "the nature of rights is a subject of never-ending debate and it will remain so in the future."

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## DEMOCRACY

### PYQs

2020 Deliberative democracy. (10)
2019 Comment on: Deliberative democracy (10)
2018 Comment on: Substantive Democracy. (10)



2018 Critically examine Macpherson's views on Democracy. (15)
2017 Deliberative democracy does not have its salience without participation and participatory democracy does not have its credence without deliberations. Comment. (15)
2016 The goal of good governance will be achieved only by strengthening the grass root level democracy. (20)
2016 Explicate the features of Representative Democracy. (15)
2015 Comment on: Difference between Participatory and Deliberative Democracy. (10)
2014 Explicate the features of deliberative democracy. (15)
2012 Issues of debate in contemporary democratic theory. (10)
2010 Assess the deliberative theories of democracy. (30)

### **'Who should rule?'**

Since the dawn of political thought, the question 'Who should rule?' has been a recurrent issue of argument and debate. Since the twentieth century, however, the question has tended to elicit a single, almost universally accepted, response: the people should govern. The concept of democracy is at the center of fierce debates in political theory as well as in commonplace discussions on politics. Perhaps no other political ideal is accorded the unquestioning approval, even reverence, currently enjoyed by democracy. Democracy has been described as one of the "characteristic institutions of modernity", and as such it was the result of a complex and intertwined processes of ideological, social and economic change.



This chapter examines the ways in which democracy has been conceptualized, defended and critiqued. In doing so, it discusses the evolution of democracy as a concept, the various criticisms levelled against the concept, followed by perspectives and debates in contemporary democratic theory. It concludes with some of the key debates which characterize democratic theory today.

### **Origin of Democracy**

In reality, a number of competing models of democracy have developed in different historical periods and in various parts of the world. These have included direct and indirect democracy, political and social democracy, pluralist and totalitarian democracy and so on. Let us look into the origin of democracy.

The origins of the term democracy can be traced back to Ancient Greece. Democracy is derived from the Greek word **kratos**, meaning power, or rule. Democracy thus means 'rule by the demos' (the demos referring to 'the people').

The classical conception of democracy, which endured well into the nineteenth century, was firmly rooted in the ideal of popular participation and drew heavily upon the example of Athenian democracy. The cornerstone of

Athenian democracy was the direct and continuous participation of all citizens in the life of their polis or city-state.

## CLASSICAL NOTION OF DEMOCRACY

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**Plato and Aristotle** saw democracy at work in some of ancient Greek city-states, especially at Athens. Its salient features were:

- **Equal participation by all** freemen in the common affairs of the polis(city-state) which was regarded as an essential instrument of good life;
- **Arriving at public decisions** in an atmosphere of free discussion; and
- **General respect for law** and for the established procedures of the community.

### But Plato decried democracy. Why?

**People were not properly equipped with education** 'to select the best rulers and the wisest courses'. **Democracy enabled the men with the gift of eloquence and oratory to get votes of the people** and secure public office, but such men were thoroughly selfish and incompetent who ruined the state.

### For Aristotle democracy was 'the rule of the many'

That is of the more numerous members of the community, particularly the poor ones. In his classification of governments into normal and perverted forms, Aristotle **placed democracy among perverted forms** since it signified the rule of the mediocre seeking their selfish interests, not the interest of the state.

Aristotle observed that **no form of government prevalent during his times was stable and this led to frequent upheavals**. In his search for a stable form of government, Aristotle tried to analyze the merits and demerits of various forms of government.

In the process, he made very interesting observations about the merits and demerits of democracy:

"This rule by the poor has some advantages. The people, though **individually they may be worse judges than those who have special knowledge**, are **collectively as good**.

Moreover, there are some artists whose works are best judged not by themselves alone but by those who do not possess the art; for example, the user or master of a house will be a better judge of it than the builder ... and the **guest will be a better judge of a feast than the cook**.

### Demerits of Democracy according to Aristotle:

Democracy is based on a **false assumption of equality**, means those who are equal in one respect, are equal in all respects.

Here the problem is that the **ability is sacrificed to numbers, while numbers are manipulated by trickery**. Because the people are so easily misled and so fickle minded in their views, the **ballot should be limited to the intelligent**. With this line of argument, Aristotle came to recommend a **mixed constitution**, i.e., a **combination of aristocracy and democracy**, as the **best possible form of government**.

### In Modern Times:

In the modern age, Britain is regarded as the first democracy. In the aftermath of the Civil War in the seventeenth century royal absolutism was brought to an end and powers were transferred from the crown to the two houses of parliament.

The impact of enlightenment, reformation and industrial revolution, the idea of man as the owner of his own destiny took root and the two revolutions in France and America proved to be powerful push for the idea of democracy. The ideas of **Locke, Tom Paine** and documents like **French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789)**, and the **'American Declaration of Independence (1776)'**, expressed the important ideas and principles that have underpinned democracy in the modern world.

**John Locke's** Second Treatise on Government (1681) is an important source book of classical liberal ideas. The social contract, founded in the consent of every individual, is the basis of legitimate government. If the government fails to discharge the purposes for which it was created, the people have the right to resist and replace it. It is this statement of the core principles of classical liberalism - individualism, popular sovereignty and limited government - that provided the foundation for liberal democracy.

### Characteristics of Classical Liberal Democracy

- **This theory gives importance to person's desire, assumes public supreme,** it assumes men rational, moral, from political point of view active and selfish.
- It is **completely against of old monarchism and aristocracy.** It for **protection of person's right, participation of public is government and gives emphasis on hard control.**
- For the complete development of person political participation is inevitable.
- The gist of democracy is in participation. By this **men's thinking is increased,** his **knowledge is extended,** his approach does not remain narrow. National political participation works for intellectual, emotional and moral education also.
- This theory believes in representative government **at institutional level,** elected leadership, regular election, confidential vote, constitutional state, independent judiciary, majority rule, personal right, and citizen's freedom, expression of thought etc.
- This theory **at economic level** is based on economic inequality and political equality. It believed in competition, arbitrary market-system, private property and private ownership of factors of production.

### Criticism of Classical Liberal Democracy

- The assumption of classical-liberal theory is that for every political problem, public has specific and rational opinion and elected through representative they practice their opinions so that their views can be implemented.

- But this theory does not give correct definition or clarification for both 'people' and 'rule', which is the central point of rule by the people. According to critics **rule by people is nothing but only a political myth**. In reality people do not formulate rules **rather rules mold people according to its way**.
- Classical liberal theory assumes that persons self development and the purpose of common good are the basis of democracy which can be defined easily and each person can understand in his own way. Although **Schumpeter** states that **there is no particular public interest on which everybody agrees**.
- Classical liberal theory observes the complicated process of decision making in politics. Formulation of laws, implementation and explanation work is so complicated and technical that it is beyond scope of masses who busy with their daily works.

Perhaps a more helpful starting point from which to consider the nature of democracy is **Abraham Lincoln's** Gettysburg Address, delivered in 1864 at the height of the American Civil War. Lincoln extolled the virtues of what he called '**government of the people, by the people, and for the people**'.

The first, 'government by the people', is based upon the idea that the public participates in government and indeed governs itself: popular self-government. The second, 'government for the people', is linked to the notion of the public interest and the idea that government benefits the people.

However, the simple notion of 'rule by the people' does not get us very far. The problem with democracy has been its very popularity, a popularity that has threatened the term's undoing as a meaningful political concept. In **Bernard Crick's (1993)** words, 'democracy is perhaps the most promiscuous word in the world of public affairs'. A term that can mean anything to anyone is in danger of meaning nothing at all.

Different meanings that have been attached to the word 'democracy':

- a form of government in which the people rule themselves directly and continuously, without the need for professional politicians or public officials
- a society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege
- a system of rule that secures the rights and interests of minorities by placing checks upon the power of the majority
- a means of filling public offices through a competitive struggle for the popular vote
- A system of government that serves the interests of the people regardless of their participation in political life.

Democracy has taken many forms throughout the history. Most conceptions of democracy are based on the principle of 'government *by* the people'. The nature of participation by the people is the main differentiator in this.

In the case of **direct democracy**, popular participation entails direct and continuous involvement in decision-making, through devices such as referendums, mass meetings, or even interactive television.

In **representative democracy**, citizen's vote, they do not as much make the decisions that structure their own lives as to choose who will make those decisions on their behalf. What gives voting its democratic character is that the election is competitive, and it thus makes politicians publicly accountable.

The most criticized example of this was found in the so-called '**totalitarian democracies**' that developed under fascist dictators such as **Mussolini and Hitler**. The democratic credentials of such regimes were based on the claim that the 'leader', and the leader alone, articulated the genuine interests of the people, thus implying that a 'true' democracy can be equated with an absolute dictatorship.

Although **totalitarian** democracies have proved to be a travesty of the conventional notion of democratic rule, they demonstrate the tension that can exist between 'government *by* the people' (or popular participation), and 'government *for* the people' (rule in the public interest).

Advocates of representative democracy, for example, have wished to confine popular participation in politics to the act of voting, precisely because they fear that the general public lacks the wisdom, education and experience to rule wisely on their own behalf.

### **Definition and meaning of democracy**

Democracy can be defined as such a political system which gives representatives of government changing after a fixed interval of time by constitutional methods.

It is also on social system which having given permission to select major part of population, governments post candidature and given opportunity to affects main decisions. **-Lipset**

Democracy as a form of government implies that the ultimate authority of government is vested in the ordinary people so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people and to serve the interests of the people.

Democratic form is such on institutional management of reaching of political decision that gives on opportunity to get his general interest by selecting their representative. **- Schumpeter**

Democracy is only a instrument of, selection of government, to rule or make law by different methods and taking political decision. **- Macpherson**

Democracy is the worst form of government except all the other forms that have been tried from time to time.' **- WINSTON CHURCHILL** Speech, UK House of Commons (1947)

John Austin, James Bryce, A.V. Dicey, John Seeley, A.L. Lowell etc., are some of the prominent supporters of the view that democracy chiefly is a form of government.

### **JUSTIFICATION FOR DEMOCRACY: INTRINSIC AND INSTRUMENTAL**

When we value democracy as a good in itself and for itself, we assert the intrinsic value of democracy. Here it is argued that democracy is valuable for its own sake, because it is the fairest way of giving expression to equality among citizens.

On the other hand, democracy may also be valued instrumentally, i.e., as a means to some other end. Thus, it may be argued that democracy is good because

Democracy is justified through below instrumentalities:

- It fosters competition among political leaders
- Gives us a better choice of leadership.
- It makes everyone feel that they were a part of the decision-making process.
- Is a way of minimizing the abuse of political power, by distributing it equally among citizens
- For its role in human Development,
- It encourages people to take responsibility for their political lives.

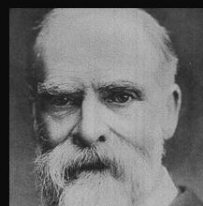
Democracy may have instrumental value, but its intrinsic value derived from its moral superiority as a way of giving effect to political equality

## UNDERSTANDING THE DEMOCRACY AND ITS DEFECTS

**Dicey**, in his famous work Law and Opinion in England (1905), treated democracy as a form of government under which majority opinion determines legislation. According to him, it would be unwise in a democracy to enforce laws not approved by the people.

### BRYCE'S ACCOUNT OF DEMOCRACY

- He chiefly treated democracy as a form of government. He defined **democracy as 'the rule of the people expressing their sovereign will through the votes'**. Ultimately, he reduced it to 'the rule of the majority'. According to Bryce, **the test of government is the welfare of the people**.
- Thus, the standard of merit of any form of government can be judged by the adequacy with which it performs the chief functions of government. **For example:** securing of justice, efficient administration etc.
- History shows that these functions can be carried out by democracies as well as any other form of government. But **democracy has an additional merit in that it stimulates men to self-education**, because participation by the people in government activities opens wider horizons for the individual and tends to broaden his interests.



No government demands so much from the citizens as democracy and none gives back so much.

~ James Bryce

This participation is the essence of democracy. It is not actual 'rule by the people'. The people in a democracy exercise their authority in two ways:

- (a) They determine the ends towards which their government shall aim; and
- (b) Watch over those into whose hands they have placed the actual power of administration.

## DEFECTS OF DEMOCRACY

Bryce has enumerated six outstanding evils of the existing form of democracy:

1. The power of money interests to pervert administration or legislation
2. The tendency to allow politics to become a trade, entered for gain and not for service
3. Extravagance
4. The failure to evaluate properly the skilled man, and to abuse the doctrine of equality
5. Party politics
6. The tendency of politicians to play for votes.

However, Bryce points out, the **first three of these evils are common to other forms of government** also—they are not specific evils of democracy. The **last three are, of course, more closely associated with democracy, but they are by no means insurmountable**. Democracy has closed some of the old channels of evil; it has opened some new ones; but it has not increased the stream.

Major problems of democracy include **self-interest and irresponsibility of power**. Democracy has two powerful weapons to fight against these evils: (a) law, and (b) opinion. **The weapon of opinion is a peculiar safeguard; no other form of government provides for it.**

The **future of democracy depends upon development of human wisdom**. While no other government gives to the citizen as does a democracy, at the same time no other government demands so much.

## **TYPES OF DEMOCRACY**

### **DIRECT DEMOCRACY**

- Direct democracy is based on the direct, unmediated and continuous participation of citizens in the tasks of government. It is a form of self-government in which all collective decisions are taken through participation of all adult citizens of the state.
- It is a system of popular self-government. It was achieved in ancient Athens through a form of government by mass meeting. Deliberations are important because decisions arrived at through discussions are better informed, logical and rational.
- Its most common modern manifestation is the use of the referendum. Its Indian manifestation can be seen in the institution of Gram Sabha introduced through 73<sup>rd</sup> amendment of the constitution.

### **The merits of direct democracy include the following:**

- It heightens the control that citizens can exercise over their own destinies, as it is the only pure form of democracy.
- It creates a better-informed and more politically sophisticated citizenry, and thus it has educational benefits.
- It enables the public to express their own views and interests without having to rely on self-serving politicians.
- It ensures that rule is legitimate, in the sense that people are more likely to accept decisions that they have made themselves.



Despite the merits, the direct democracy is not feasible in the modern age for its simplistic nature, which cannot be applied in the large and complex societies. Hence, the representative democracy was conceived.

## **REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

Representative democracy is a limited and indirect form of democracy. In representative democracy, the popular participation in government is mostly restricted to the act of voting every few years. It is indirect in a sense that the public do not exercise power themselves; they merely select those who will rule on their behalf.

For early social contract theorists, such as **Hobbes and Locke**, representative government was a form of government authorized by the people to act on its behalf. For **Rousseau**, however, sovereign power over the state should rest in the hands of the citizenry and its "general will", because the opinions and interests of representatives could never be identical to those of the electorate.

This form of rule is democratic only insofar as representation establishes a reliable and effective link between the government and the governed. This is sometimes expressed in the notion of an electoral mandate. Hence, the essential conditions of a representative democracy are in political pluralism and open competition between political parties and a vibrant civil society, autonomous institutions to maintain the legitimacy of the democratic system like the Election Commission of India.

### **The merits of representative democracy:**

- It offers a practicable form of democracy (direct popular participation is achievable only in small communities).
- It relieves ordinary citizens of the burden of decision-making, thus making possible a division of labor in politics.
- It allows government to be placed in the hands of those with better education, expert knowledge and greater experience.
- It maintains stability by distancing ordinary citizens from politics, thereby encouraging them to accept compromise.

### **Criticism of Representative Democracy:**

- There are two kinds of critiques of representative model of democracy: those who consider it unrealistic (Schumpeter and the elite theorists) and those who consider it inadequate (participatory democrats)
- To **Joseph Schumpeter**, the classical theory of democracy assumes - mistakenly - that sovereignty lies in the hands of the people who elect individuals to an assembly where their will can be carried out. Democracy is projected as an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good in this way.
- But **Schumpeter** argues, democracy is not about popular sovereignty. It is not really the case that the primary task of democracy is to vest political power in the hands of a sovereign electorate, and its secondary task to elect leaders.
- The main purpose of democracy seems to be to elect leaders from among a given set of candidates, who compete with each other for the people's vote. Leadership is the driving-force and the people merely

give their endorsement to one or the other leader. This has been called the "realist" theory of democracy.

## **PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY**

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### **The classical theory of participatory democracy**

It was given by the writings of **Rousseau and John Stuart Mill**.

**Jean-Jaques Rousseau** the exponent of popular sovereignty, is regarded the pioneer of participatory democracy. Rousseau asserted that sovereignty not only originates in the people, it is also retained by the people in spite of their transition from the state of nature to civil society. Sovereignty cannot be represented, because it cannot be alienated.

**Government is only an instrument to carry out instructions of the general will.** The people must constantly deliberate on public policy and issue necessary instructions to the government. They should also make sure that government does not depart from these instructions; otherwise, it should be revoked and replaced immediately

1. Why is participation needed?
2. How and which extent this participation is possible?

**Rousseau's** theory depends upon the participation of every individual citizen in political decision-making. The relationship between citizens is one of interdependence, such that each individual is equally dependent upon all the others viewed collectively as sovereign. Participation is important not only in decision-making, but also as a way of protecting private interests and ensuring good government.

For **Mill**, as for Rousseau, participation has an educative function for citizens. **J.S. Mill** justified this participation on two bases

- It protects common people from ruler's dictatorship and
- This is a means of whole mankind's development and progress.

Popular democratic government is Mill's ideal polity, in which participatory institutions foster active citizenship and a public-spirited character. This is the mechanism through which the individual is made to take public interest into account and to make decisions guided by the idea of the common good, rather than by his own selfish interests. Thus, democratic institutions - especially local ones - are "a school of political capacity".

In large and complex societies, direct participatory democracy is clearly impossible. Nevertheless, contemporary democratic theorists - such as **Carole Pateman and Benjamin Barber** - have argued in favour of participatory or "strong" democracy, in which the ordinary citizen is more fully involved in decision-making processes than is possible within the limits of representative democracy. This could take the form of strengthening local democracy, so that-citizens are involved in community affairs and social movements.

Advocates of participatory democracy generally follow Mill in attaching importance to civic education as a way of creating a more active and politically engaged citizenry. Above all, they believe that political participation is central to the good life for human beings and that helps to restrain the abuse of power by public officials.

In contemporary political theory, citizen participation is sought to be justified mainly on three grounds:

- (a) **Instrumental view** asserts that citizen participation is aimed at promoting or defending the interests of the participant. Before entering in participation, persons calculate the anticipated benefits and costs, and the prospects of attaining their objectives;
- (b) **Developmental or educational view** of participation holds that it enhances the participants' general moral, social and political awareness; and finally,
- (c) **Communitarian view** of participation justifies it on the ground that it contributes to the common good.

Conventional mode of political participation includes voting, standing for office, campaigning for a political party or contributing to the management of a community project like public safety, cleanliness drive, or the maintenance of a public park, etc.

- Participation changes it is men's thinking. It making people social in them established new belief, view and values.
- According to **cook and Morgan**, participation increase political efficiency and make to person able to control over own circumstances.
- By participation can be got more information about public subjects. People can think over more alternatives to solve problem. Participation can rigid people's community unity sentiments and can be helpful to less the tensions of modern life.
- Another advantage of participation is by this **better decision can be taken**.

### **Characteristics of Participatory Democracy**

1. Democracy is **not only a form of rule, but also a means of self-development**. This right of self-development **achieved only in participatory society**. Such a society that **promotes political efficiency** is worried about public problems and creates such a citizen who continuously interested in administration process.
2. Such Political party systems are responsible to people directly.
3. Only such a type of 'real' political parties should have permission to run parliamentary government.
4. 5. For protection of possibility of new dimension of democratic controlling, state's institutional systems should be opened.
5. By redistribution of economic right and physical resources, **it wants to increase social community's minimum source means**.
6. It wants in public and private life power of un-responsible bureaucracy to be less.

### **Problems of Participatory Democracy**

1. Participatory democracy is based on this hypothesis that people want to increase his control on government affairs.

2. Participator theory does not give answer of questions like: -If people do not want to take part, then what will be happened? If he does not to take part in controlling of his social and economic issues then he, should have subjected to part in that? If he does not want to become a part of democratic ideology and awareness then should have with him forcefully?
3. Champions of participatory democracy argue that representative democracy gives little opportunity to its citizens for any significant participation in the decision-making process.

## DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

The Deliberative democracy values public deliberations on the issues of common concern. It starts from the assumption of individuals as autonomous persons, but does not view the social relationships between these autonomous persons as relationships of conflict of interest. Rather, it sees people as relating to each other and seeking to influence each other through reasoned argument and persuasion.

For advocates of deliberative democracy, persuasion is the best basis for political power, because it alone respects the autonomy of individuals and values their capacity for self-government. It also gives individuals control over an important aspect of their lives, and makes for greater and continuous accountability of political power.

Unlike participatory democracy, which requires individuals to be constantly engaged in making decisions, deliberative democracy allows for a political division of labour between citizens and professional politicians, though citizens are involved in deliberation about public issues.

In this way, Concept of deliberative democracy embodies an attempt to reconcile two different models of democratic thought:

1. 'Democracy as a popular rule' and
2. 'Democracy as the bulwark of personal freedom'

Because, Defenders of deliberative democracy tell me that my autonomy doesn't simply consist in living according to my choice. It requires me to have a share in political decisions also, which affect me as well as others. This is made possible only through the mechanism of deliberative democracy.

Exponents of deliberative democracy include **Michael Walzer** (*Spheres of Justice*), **J. Cohen** and **J. Rogers** (*On Democracy: Toward a Transformation of American Society*), etc

**Joshua Cohen** in his book "The Good Polity" gives following features of deliberative democracy:

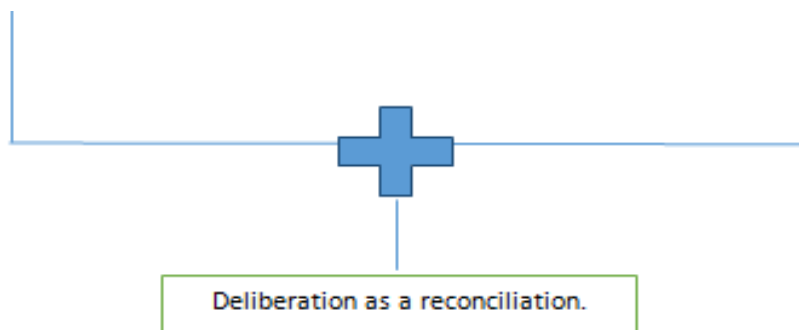
- An ongoing independent association with expected continuation.
- The citizens in the democracy form institutions in such a way that deliberation is the deciding factor in the creation of the institutions and the institutions allow deliberation to continue.
- There is a commitment to and respect for a pluralism of values and aims within the polity.
- The citizens consider deliberative procedure as legitimate, and focus on transparent law making and easily traceable deliberative history
- Each member recognizes and respects other members' deliberative capacity.

Cohen presents deliberative democracy as more than a theory of legitimacy, and forms a body of substantive rights around it based on achieving "ideal deliberation".

It an attempt to reconcile two different models of democratic thought: 'Democracy as a popular rule' and 'Democracy as the bulwark of personal freedom'

- Defenders of deliberative democracy tell that one's autonomy doesn't simply consist in living according to own choice. It requires one to have a share in political decisions also, which affect one as well as others. This is made possible only through the mechanism of deliberative democracy.
- While it requires the citizens to participate in deliberation on public issues and thereby supplement the wisdom of politicians, it also demands constant public accountability of politicians.
- Exponents of deliberative democracy include **Michael Walzer, Bernard Manin, J.S. Fishkin.**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Advocates of democracy</b> as a popular rule argue that democratic decision-making should reflect popular will as if people are ruling themselves as free and equal citizens rather than being ruled by the arbitrary will of public officials.</li><li>• Accordingly, the <b>notion of democracy as a popular rule</b> is primarily concerned with the content of democratic decision-making so that it conforms to the popular will. Institutions and procedures of democracy can be adjusted to meet this requirement.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Advocates of personal freedom</b> argue that democratic decision-making should be the outcome of people's exercise of personal freedom, which implies freedom of thought, speech, press, association and religion, right to hold personal property, freedom to vote and hold public office, freedom from arbitrary arrest and seizure as defined by the concept of rule of law.</li><li>• The <b>notion of democracy as the bulwark of personal freedom</b> accords priority to the liberties of individuals. Any decision taken by the institutions which respect these liberties will be treated as legitimate.</li><li>• This view of democracy gives due recognition to the institutions of judicial review, separation of powers, checks and balances, etc., which are designed to protect personal freedom of the citizens.</li></ul>
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### Deliberative democracy requires that

1. Democratic decision-making should embody an element of popular rule.
2. It should be used as a means of encouraging public deliberation on issues that are best understood through open, deliberative processes.
3. Deliberative democracy does not subscribe to the model of politics where each individual is fighting to secure his self-interest. It rather promotes a model of politics where each individual is trying to persuade others to find a reasonable solution of public issues.
4. In other words, people in a deliberative democracy try to influence each other through an accepted mode of reasoned argument, i.e., to win their heart through an appeal to the prevalent value system.
5. At the same time, it pays due regard to personal freedom of every individual.

### PROCEDURAL DEMOCRACY VS SUBSTANTIVE DEMOCRACY

In large and complex societies, it is not always possible for people to gather together to make decisions on each and every issue, as they did in the direct democracy of ancient Athens. This is why **modern democracy works through representative institutions**. People elect their representatives to a legislature or assembly, and these representatives are authorized to take decisions on behalf of those who elected them. Ultimate **sovereignty, however, remains with the people**, who can hold their representatives accountable, and refuse to re-elect them when the next election comes around. Representative government is almost synonymous with the idea of democracy today.

However, **democracy should not be seen merely as a set of institutions** - e.g., free and fair elections, legislative assemblies, and constitutional governments arising out of these. This view of democracy is described as procedural democracy, because it emphasizes only the procedures and institutions of democracy. It **fails to see that notwithstanding formal political equality, some citizens may be more equal than others**, and may enjoy a greater voice than others in the determining of decisions.

More often than not, it would be the poorer, less educated, and the socially disadvantaged citizens who would be unable to fully practice their democratic rights. Social and economic inequalities make it difficult for a formal participation to be effective.

This is why theorists emphasize the importance of **substantive democracy**. This ideal suggests a **society of truly equal citizens, who are politically engaged, tolerant of different opinions and ways of life, and have an equal voice in choosing their rulers and holding them accountable**. The outcomes and decisions of the democratic process would then be mindful of the interests of all, rather than the interests of a few powerful groups and individuals in society.

This also means that **democracy is and should be the principle of organization not only of government, but also the organizing principle of all collective life in society**. We could argue, however, that this is not possible unless and until the background conditions for equality are met, because social inequality makes formal political equality relatively meaningless.

Even the free exercise of the franchise, for example, may require freedom from caste superiors, from dominant landlords, or, in the case of women, from the male head of the household. This freedom may be curtailed when people do not have the power of independent decision-making or adequate access to relevant information; and, above all, when despite their exercise of the franchise, they are unable to get a responsive administration.

In societies where there are minorities based on religion, language and ethnicity, the majority principle tends to work to the disadvantage of minorities, for they may be systematically outvoted and may never have a real or equal opportunity to influence the outcome of the decision-making process.

### **Contemporary Theories of Democracy**

**Traditional theories of democracy** were chiefly concerned with democracy as a form of government and they looked for ethical justification of democracy.

**Contemporary theories of democracy** largely focus on the nature of democracy in the light of recent sociological findings, and its ethical critiques.

### **ELITIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY**

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Elitism developed as a critique of egalitarian ideas such as democracy and socialism. It draws attention to the fact of elite rule, either as an inevitable and desirable feature of social existence, or as a remediable and regrettable one.

The First position i.e., an inevitable and desirable feature of social existence was taken by Classical elitists, such as **Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels**. For them, democracy was no more than a foolish delusion, because political power is always exercised by a privileged minority: an elite.

Elitist theories hold that every society consists two categories of men:

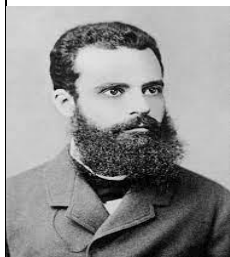
- The **elite** or the minority within a social collectivity which exercises a preponderant influence within that collectivity; and
- The **masses** or the majority which is governed by the elite.

Gaetano Mosca in his book ***The Ruling Class*** postulated that the **people are necessarily divided into two groups**: the rulers and the ruled. The **ruling class** controls most of the wealth, power and prestige in society



and exercises all power, whatever form of government might be adopted. **The ruled** are not competent to replace it.

**Robert Michels** propounded his famous '**Iron law of oligarchy**' which implied that every organization—whatever its original aims—is eventually reduced to an 'oligarchy', that is the rule of the chosen few, based on their manipulative skills. This notion of bureaucratic power was later developed by James Burnham, who, in *The Managerial Revolution*, argued that a **Managerial class** dominated all industrial societies, both capitalist and communist, by virtue of its technical and scientific knowledge and its administrative skills. Majority of human beings are apathetic, indolent and slavish and they are permanently incapable of self-government.



**Vilfredo Pareto** argued that the '**elite**' (foxes and lions) show highest ability in their field of activity whatever its nature might be, while masses are characterized by the lack of qualities of leadership and fear from responsibility. They feel safe in following the direction of the elite. The elite theory had empirically demonstrated that democracy as the government of the people is incapable of realization. The champions of democracy found it difficult to repudiate the arguments advanced by the elitist theories. They, therefore, sought to accommodate the elite theory in the framework of democratic theory which led to its revision. The elitist democratic theory or '**democratic elitism**' was developed.

**Karl Mannheim**, who had initially equated elite theories with fascism and with anti-intellectualist doctrines, later championed the reconciliation between the elite theory and the democratic theory. Mannheim argued that society did not cease to be democratic by entrusting the actual shaping of policy to the elites.

- **People cannot directly participate in government**, governed can always act to remove their leaders or force them to take decisions in the interests of the many, this is sufficient for democracy.
- **Joseph A. Schumpeter**, argued that in a democracy, **political decisions are taken by the 'leadership', not by the people themselves**; and there is a free competition among the leaders for winning people's votes.
- In other words, democracy is not a government of the people, nor is it a means to give effect to the will of the people; rulers comprise a different set of individuals than the common people. The role of the **people is reduced to choosing their rulers from the competing elites**.
- But the advantage of democracy is that it does not allow political leadership to wield absolute power. It must draw up policies with an eye on gaining a larger support of the electorate than its opponents can obtain.

Whereas classical elitists strove to prove that democracy was always a myth, modern elitist theorists have tended to highlight how far particular political systems fall short of the democratic ideal. The second position discussed above i.e. a remediable and regrettable feature of social existence.

This can be seen from **C Wright Mills'** influential account of the power structure in the USA. While criticizing the pluralist notion of wide dispersal of democratic power, Mills, in *The Power Elite* (1956), offered a portrait of a USA dominated by a nexus of leading groups. In his view, this 'power elite' comprised a triumvirate of big business (particularly defence/arms lobby), the US military, and political circle surrounding the President. Drawing on a combination of economic power, bureaucratic control, and access to the highest levels of the executive branch of government, the power elite is able to shape key 'history-making' decisions, especially in the fields of defence and foreign policy, as well as strategic economic policy.

The power-elite model suggests that liberal democracy in the USA is largely a sham. Electoral pressures tend to be absorbed by the 'middle levels of power' (Congress, state governments and so on), and groups such as organized labour, small businesses and consumer lobbyists are able to exert influence only at the margins of the policy process.

#### **Criticism to elitist theory of democracy**

- Democracy elite theory has been criticized by several writers. Among this main are: **Macpherson, Barry Holden, B.J. L. Waker, Robert Dahl** etc.
- Elite theory is **too much assumption theory and it disobeys the fundamental characteristics of democracy**. According to **Barry Holden**, **if we define democracy in form of taking decision by people then elite theory is not democratic**. If people's role is limited to selection and elimination of elite and they are not given any role in policy formation then it is not democratic system. It means that public has no voice to rule the country.
- The gist of classical liberal theory was its moral purpose. **Elite theory deprived democracy from moral values completely.**
- For elite theory, **active participation of common people has no importance**. All types of elite theories ignore this fact about "rule by the people". The meaning of public government in classical liberal theory was active contribution of adult citizen in public politics
- An important factor at elite theory is presence such passive persons who watch political drama silently, follow the rule of ruler, and who have no time from their personal life
- The priority of elite theory security of stability of democratic government, protection of democratic system and developing such a system that can construct an efficient administration of implementation of public policies.

#### **PLURALIST THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY**

Pluralist ideas can be traced back to early liberal political philosophy, and notably to the ideas of **Locke** and **Montesquieu**. Their first systematic development, however, is found in the contributions of **James Madison**.

- The pluralist theory of democracy was a **reaction against the non-democratic character of elitism**. The pluralist theory of democracy was formulated as part of the rejection of the elitist analysis of politics.
- According to these writers, **political power is divided among diverse interest groups, associations, classes and organization in the society and elites which lead them**. These groups raise their demands directly or through the mediating agencies of political parties.
- Pluralist democracy means a political system in which policies are made by mutual consultation and exchange of opinions between various groups so that **no groups or elite is so powerful as to dominate the government** to such an extent that it may implement all its demands completely.
- The theory believes that power should be shared by all groups in the society and all organizations and groups must have their share in the policy making. **No, social class should really control the machinery of the government to the total exclusion of other competing classes or groups.**

**The gist of pluralistic democracy may be given as follows:**

- The policy-making process, however centralized it may appear in form, is, in reality, a highly decentralized process of bargaining among relatively autonomous groups. In other words, public policy is not a product of the will of the *elite* or the chosen few, as the elitist theories of democracy hold.
- On the contrary, **it is an outcome of the interaction of all groups who make claims upon or express interest in that particular issue**. The extent to which different groups will get their way, is a function of the strength of the groups and the intensity of their participation.
- In its view, **policy-making is actually a product of the interaction among the groups.**

**Characteristics of Pluralist Democracy**

1. Pluralist democracy is such a political system which is **run by competitive minority because only in their hands can be preserved**.
2. In the process of **decision formation should not be monopoly of any one person** or group power should be decentralized, participated, competitive and divided.
3. To check the centralizations of power, should be checks and balances on different departments of governments as a legislative, executive, judiciary and in bureaucracy.
4. **State's duty is to establish coordination** and to make agreement among different groups of society.
5. In society a number of centers should be of power, influence and competition and these centers have so much sources and facilities that they can affect policy formation.
6. Among **these various groups there should be common consensus over democratic process**, policy alternatives delimited and political field.

## DAHL'S POLYARCHY

- **Robert Dahl** in his work (*Who governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*) carried out an empirical study of the distribution of power in New Haven, Connecticut, USA. He concluded that, although the politically privileged and economically powerful exerted greater power than ordinary citizens, no ruling or permanent elite was able to dominate the political process. He developed a model of the democratic process which he described as *polyarchy* (rule by many) with **Charles Lindblom**.
- According to him common people take part in both election process and group process. These type of democracy, whom Dahl named as polyarchy, in which there are a number of centers taking decision such as a business class, industrialist group, federation of commerce, groups of farmers, consumer political leader voter etc. besides this many types of community and organization are tried also to effect government policies.
- Dahl explains this concept of polyarchy of democracy, **such a political system in which all valid and active groups, in different stage of policy formation have capacity to say their matters**. In polyarchy rule is done by minority groups.
- He writes in American context that it can be said emphatically it is based on democratic competition and majority elite comes from many fields of society.
- Government laws are the result of agreement among capital, labour and other groups' organized power. However, **in both democracy and dictatorship rule is in the hands of minority, rather than in polyarchy number of minorities**, size, and differences are very vital and their demand and interest is affected, government and law formation. System of rule by multiple minorities may simply have been a device to prevent the majority. (The propertyless masses) from exercising political power.
- A further problem is in the danger of "Pluralist stagnation". This occurs as organized groups and economic interests become so powerful that they create a logjam or "government overload". In such circumstances, a pluralist system may simply become ungovernable.
- Hence, the relationship between pluralism and democracy may not be a secure one. **Dahl** in later works such as *A Preface to Economic Democracy*, noted this problem and agreed that the unequal ownership of economic resources tends to concentrate political power in the hands of the few, and deprive it from the many. This line of argument runs parallel to the conventional Marxist critique of pluralist democracy, and has given rise to neo pluralism.



## NEO-PLURALIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

Building on pluralist understanding and limitations, neo-pluralist theory of the state has been developed by writers such as **J. K. Galbraith and Charles Lindblom**. In their view, the modern industrialized state is both complex and less responsive to popular pressures than the classic pluralist model suggests.

While agreeing with the notion of the state as an umpire acting in the public interest or common good, they hold that this picture needs qualifying. Neo-pluralists argue that it is impossible to portray all organized interests as

equally powerful since in a capitalist economy business enjoys advantages which other groups clearly cannot rival.

**Galbraith**, in the book "The Affluent Society", emphasized the ability of business to shape public tastes and wants through the power of advertising, and drew attention to the domination of major corporations over small firms and, in some cases, government bodies. **Lindblom**, in "Politics and Markets", identified that, as the major investor and largest employer in society, business is bound to exercise considerable sway over any government, whatever its ideological leanings or manifesto promises.

Thus, according to neo pluralists, Polyarchy in the USA is deformed. It is tilted in favour of the corporate class as they exert more pressure on the decisions of the government. This analysis comes closer to the Marxist analysis.

Another Neo-neo pluralist **Eric Nordlinger** says that it is the State that monopolizes all the power. This analysis is relevant with respect to the third world countries where state is the most prominent actor

### Criticism of Pluralist theory of democracy

**Michael Margolis** argued that pluralist democracy does not give the answer of following question:

1. It shows no suggestion to control over vast bureaucracy by elected legislature.
2. This does not check control of army over budget sources any many types technical information's.
3. This does not possess the ability to check wealth, income and opportunities of employment centered by some private corporation and multinational companies.
4. It shows no suggestions for redistribution of social sources so that traditionally backward class as a minority, women class and lower class from social and economic point of view, can get chance to take part in politics and become equal to others.

### MACPHERSON'S CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY/ RADICAL THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

- Macpherson argued that the liberal societies which grant universal suffrage, a choice between political parties, and civil liberties, have no exclusive claim to the title of democracy. Democracy is a wider phenomenon.
- **Macpherson** identifies three variants of democracy which are equally valid, if they fulfil certain conditions.
  1. **Liberal democracy** which needs a more humane touch.
  2. **Communist** countries might qualify as democracies if they granted full intra-party democracy and opened up their closed bureaucratic systems.
  3. **Third World** countries, which have no experience of Western individualism, could also conform to the ideals of some historical theories of democracy as far as their governments are legitimized by mass enthusiasm.
- Thus, in Macpherson's view different types of systems which undertake responsibility to fulfil the aspirations of the masses, enjoy support of the masses and provide for an opportunity for the amelioration of the condition of the masses, qualify as democracies irrespective of the structures and procedures adopted by them for serving these purposes.

- In Macpherson's view, **it is a distorted view where democracy is reduced from a humanist aspiration to a market equilibrium system.**
- **Elitist-Pluralist theory of democracy** identifies democracy with a static political system which takes the dominant groups in society for granted, whether they are elite groups or strong interest groups. With the acceptance of this principle of domination, the principle of equality is relegated to the background, or even considered redundant.

Macpherson has pointed to the existence of two elements in the Western democratic theory:

- **The principle of utility-maximization**: which treats the human being as a consumer of utilities.
- **The principle of power-maximization**: concept which interprets man as a *doer* and *creator*, rather than merely as a consumer and satisfaction-seeker.

Macpherson draws a distinction between two types of power:

(a) **Developmental power**: **signifies** man's ability to use his own capacities creatively, for the fulfilment of his self-appointed goals.

(b) **Extractive power**: man's ability to use other men's capacities to extract benefits for himself.

Macpherson has pointed out that the capitalist system creates conditions under which non-owners of property enjoy **negligible amount of developmental power** whereas **extractive power remains the sole preserve of the owners of land and capital.**

## **GLOBALIZATION AND COSMOPOLITAN DEMOCRACY**

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The advance of globalization has meant that the idea of cosmopolitan democracy has received growing attention and there is evident 'hollowing out' of domestic democratic processes focused on the nation-state.

If global interconnectedness means that policy-making authority has shifted from national governments to international organizations, Democracy needs to be recast in a global model too. In this attempt, two basic models have been advanced.

The first would involve the construction of a world parliament, a body whose role would be to introduce greater scrutiny and openness to the process of global decision-making by calling to account established international organizations, such as the **United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund** and so forth. Very few advocates of such an idea contemplate the creation of a fully-fledged world government or global state; most, instead, favour a multilevel system of post-sovereign governance in which no body or level is able to exercise final authority.

**David Held** proposed a package of measures, including the establishment of a 'global parliament', reformed and more accountable international organizations, and the 'permanent shift of a growing proportion of a nation state's coercive capacity to regional and global institutions. **Monbiot** backed the creation of a popularly elected world parliament, composed of 600 representatives, each with a constituency of about 10 million people, many of which would straddle national borders.



The alternative model of cosmopolitan democracy is less ambitious, relying less on the construction of new bodies and more on the reform of existing international organizations, often linked to the strengthening of global civil society. This model places its faith in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to reconfigure global power by offering an alternative to top-down corporate globalization. This idea of 'globalization from below' amounts to a bottom-up democratic vision of a civilizing world order.

Such an approach would be effective to the extent that NGOs and transnational social movements could introduce an element of public scrutiny and accountability to the working of international bodies, conferences, summits and the like, meaning that global civil society functions as a channel of communications between the individual and global institutions.

**But, is it possible to have such a cosmopolitan model in the Westphalian nation-state system of the world?**

The prospects for cosmopolitan democracy are far from rosy. Firstly, major states, are likely to block any trend towards global democracy, or ensure that any 'alternative' bodies that may be created will lack credibility and remain peripheral to global decision-making. The egalitarian thrust implicit in the idea of cosmopolitan democracy is simply out of step with the deep economic, political and military disparities of the existing global system.

Apart from the obstacles to the transition to cosmopolitan democracy, critics have argued that the project itself may be profoundly misconceived. Howsoever structured and composed, any global institution that is tasked with ensuring public accountability is doomed to failure. The inevitable 'gap' between popularly-elected global political institutions and ordinary citizens around the world would mean that any claim that these institutions are democratic would be a mere pretense.

Democracy, in this light, is perhaps only meaningful if it is local or national, and all international organizations, whether these are regional or global, are destined to suffer from a debilitating 'democratic deficit'. Second, the democratic credentials of NGOs and, for that matter, social movements may be entirely bogus.

Large memberships, committed activists and the ability to mobilize popular protests and demonstrations undoubtedly give social movements and NGOs political influence, but they do not invest them with democratic authority. Quite simply, there is no way of testing the weight of their views against those of the population at large.

## CONCEPT OF POWER

### PYQs

2020 Examine the nature and meaning of power

2019 According to Gramsci, "Hegemony is primarily based on organization of consent". Comment

2018 Explain the relationship between power, authority and legitimacy.

2017 Comment on Hobbesian notion of political obligation.

2015 Distinguish between Power and Authority



2015 Discuss the “Crisis of Legitimacy” in capitalist societies.

2014 “Power is never a property of individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the groups keep together” (Hannah Arendt). Comment

2014 Examine the conditions that are required for the maintenance of legitimacy in modern societies.

### **What is power?**

- “There is a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceased only in death.”  
**Hobbes**
- "The proper scope of political science is not the study of the state or of any other specific institutional complex, but the investigation of all associations insofar as they can be shown to exemplify the problem of power"  
**Frederick Watkins**
- "It is with power in society that political science is primarily concerned—its nature, basis, processes, scope and results ... The 'focus of interest' of the political scientist is clear and unambiguous; it centers on the struggle to gain or retain power, to exercise power or influence over others, or to resist that exercise"  
**William A. Robson**
  - “Political science is 'the study of the shaping and sharing of power’”  
**H. Lasswell and A. Kaplan**

Before going to understand what power is, we need to know that in Political science and in particular, Political theory, one of the most contested and debated topic has been to define power and its characteristics. It is said that the concept of power holds the same status in the realm of political science as held by the concept of money in the realm of economics.

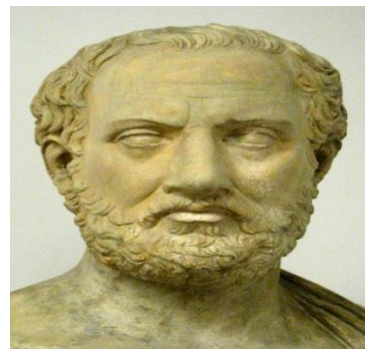
Whether it was Plato who talked about Philosopher King who wasn't lured by power rather knowledge, or Hobbes who tried to create the most powerful state called Leviathan, or about Machiavelli whose work “The Prince” was mostly surrounded about the question how to get more power? Political Philosophy and Political Theory has been the battleground of different conceptions of power.

Even during the early phase of development of modern political science, Frederick Watkins in his work *The State as a Concept of Political Science* had observed, ***“The proper scope of political science is not the study of the state or of any other specific institutional complex, but the investigation of all associations insofar as they can be shown to exemplify the problem of power.”***

- Power is normally understood as the possession of control, authority, or influence over others, a relationship in which an individual or a group is able to exert influence over the minds and

actions of others. Some people have more powers than others, and that power is an object of desire, a 'utility'

- **"Power denotes the ability of a person to fulfil his desires or to achieve his objectives" -Bertrand Russell**
- **"Power is 'the ability to get one's wishes carried out despite opposition" -- H.V. Wiseman**



- Both of the above definitions of power talk of the power of man over nature or material things, and the power of man over man and hence restrict its use. Hence these definitions only give one sided view of power and it is only power over unwilling man.
- So, apart from this, **Hannah Arendt** opines that power is communication not coercion and control: power radically differs from control, domination or violence in that it cannot be exercised over someone; it can only be exercised with others through communication and cooperation. Political power is shared power, collective action by members of a political community with an understanding of power as communication not as coercion.
- Apart from this sociological cum political notion, we need to understand that apart from one sided view of Power, to make Power more effective and stable, we need to look into the concept of Authority and legitimacy. That is why one argues to **understand the relation between Power, authority and legitimacy in the subsequent pages of the same chapter.** Max Weber tried to do it.
- Politics as 'authoritative allocation of values' is deeply interlinked with power and authority.
- Before we move ahead to understand various perspectives and thoughts on power, we need to know that what all forms of power are present.

#### **UNDERSTANDING OF POWER: SINCE GREEK TO MODERN**

- The earliest idea of Power can be found on the works of **Thucydides** who posited that the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must". For him, power is not defined by material possession rather Athenian uniqueness of power resides in its qualities of habit and convention.
- After that, **Kautilya** wrote a book on Statecraft or Management of Power in the name of '**Arthashastra**' that is regarded as one the masterpieces on how to use power.
- Later wards, the idea of power was found in the works of **Machiavelli (The Prince)** who wrote in similar terms to that of Kautilya but with the Western connotation. For this, he was regarded as the Father of Political Realism. His work tells any enterprising person how to come to power and stay in power and that the Goal of prince is achieving power.
- Thereafter, a line of thought emerged in the political science with the emergence of modern political science started with Machiavelli, and then took by Hobbes who even tried to create a state who is the most powerful of all, as he termed it as Leviathan. This made Political science a subject where power was found to be hotly debated either as a political theory or as an individual trait.
- In contemporary times, we see that Hannah Arendt gave a broader aspect of Power followed by Foucault, etc.



- Power as a political theory found even its applicability in Comparative Politics and International Relations where States prime motive was to acquire power as argued by **Hans Morgenthau** in his work **Politics Among Nation**. If you relate it to present context of IR, you will be able to see how Cold War and now the New Cold War is emerging between US and China where we see how assertive China has become to gain more and more power, especially in Asia as seen from the Galwan Border dispute with India.
- So, we need to understand power in the broadest and most applicable way as possible.

## **DIFFERENT FORMS OF POWER**

### **Political power**

- According to **Alan Ball (Modern Politics and Government; 1988)**, *"the concept of political power. . . is a key concept in the study of politics for if politics is the resolution of conflict, the distribution of power within a political community determines how the conflict is to be resolved, and whether the resolution is to be effectively observed by all parties."*

### **Economic power**

- Economic power is the power emanating from the possession of material things, especially the major means of production and distribution. It is a potent factor behind politics. For instance, big landlords, industrial tycoons and business magnates are able to influence public decisions regarding the fixation of priorities in economic development in a liberal democracy. In India itself the organized economic interests have been able to secure priority of colour TV for the urban rich, over drinking water for the rural poor.

### **Ideological power**

- Political ideology involves not only a set of beliefs; it is always action-oriented. It puts forward a 'cause' for which people are prepared not only to fight but to make a lot of sacrifices. Ideological power provides a subtler base of political power. The ideas upheld and promoted by the ruling class in a given society regarding the 'best system of government' constitute political ideology. Ideology may be defined as 'a systematic set of arguments and beliefs used to justify an existing or desired social order' (**Joseph Dunner in Dictionary of Political Science**).
- An outstanding feature of political ideology is that it provides legitimacy to the ruling classes and helps them maintain their stronghold on political power. **Marx and Engels (The German Ideology; 1846)** had noted that 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas'. According to them the class which owns the means of material production in any society also controls the means of mental production. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), an Italian Marxist, gave the concept of 'hegemony' to explain the phenomenon of ideological domination, particularly of the capitalist class, in the contemporary society.

## **THREE DIMENSIONAL VIEW OF POWER BY STEVEN LUKES**

Political and social theorist, Steven Lukes, defines power in terms of, what he calls 'dimensions'. These dimensions or faces of power are approaches that can be used to study power relations. Lukes looks at the theory of power in three dimensions of what he calls a "conceptual analysis. Lukes' three dimensions of power can thus be used to study corporate power; an issue of growing concern and discourse space in the contemporary world.

Steven Lukes's "Concept of Power: A Radical View" was a very important contribution when it appeared in 1974.

Lukes emphasized several important points that became landmarks in subsequent discussions of the social reality of power: that power is a multi-dimensional social factor, that power and democracy are paradoxically related, and that there are very important non-coercive sources of power in modern society.

In the second edition in 2005 he left the 1974 essay unchanged, but added a substantive introduction and two new chapters: "Power, Freedom and Reason" and "Three-Dimensional Power".

Lukes offers a generic definition of power along these lines:

*I have defined the concept of power by saying that A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests.*

But this definition is too generic, and Lukes attempts to provide a more satisfactory interpretation by constructing a "three-dimensional" account of power. What are the "dimensions" of power to which Lukes refers?

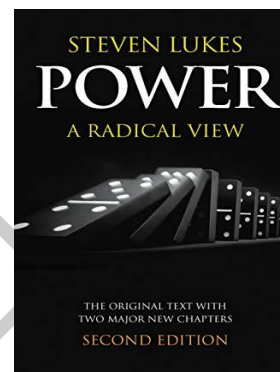
He begins his account with the treatment of power provided by the pluralist tradition of American democratic theory, including especially **Robert Dahl in 1957 in "The Concept of Power"**. This is the one-dimensional view: power is a behavioral attribute that applies to individuals to the extent that they are able to modify the behavior of other individuals within a decision-making process. The person with the power in a situation is the person who prevails in the decision-making process.

**The second dimension** that Lukes discusses was brought forward in rebuttal to this pluralist theory; critics pointed out that it is possible to influence decisions by shaping the agenda, not merely by weighing in on existing decision points. He talks about Agenda setting as an element of power projection. He quotes from **Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz in their 1962 "Two Faces of Power"**: "to the extent that a person or group -- consciously or unconsciously -- creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts, that person or group has power". So shaping the agenda is an important source of power that is overlooked in the pluralist model, the one-dimensional view.

The three-dimensional theory of power turns to a different problem -- the fact that people sometimes act willingly in ways that appear contrary to their most basic interests. So **the third dimension** is the set of ways in which the powerful transform the powerless in such a way that the latter behave as the former wish -- without coercion or forcible constraint -- for example, by creating a pervasive system of ideology or false consciousness. This is considered as the feature of Thought control.

Both pluralists and their critics overlook an important point, in Lukes's view:

***The trouble seems to the pluralists suppose that because power, as they conceptualize it, only shows up in cases of actual conflict, it follows that actual conflict is necessary to power. But this is to ignore the crucial***



Luke's Three Dimensions of Power in *Power: A Radical View*:

- 1-dimensional power: We can see power in action. We can observe conflict between interests.
- 2-dimensional power: When conflict is not obvious and remains unresolved. Less powerful group's issues don't reach the agenda.
- 3-dimensional power: When less powerful people have internalized the idea that they are less worthy or important.

***point that the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place.***

When Lukes returns to the three-dimensional theory in the final essay in the second edition, he shifts the language slightly to refer to "**power as domination**." Domination can occur through explicit coercive means, but it can also occur through unconscious mechanisms. This allows Lukes to address the theories of people like James Scott (Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts) and Michel Foucault (The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction).

Overall, Lukes comes closer to offering a semantic analysis of the use of the term "power" rather than offering a sociological analysis of the causal and structural reality of power.

## **VARIOUS PERSPECTIVES ON POWER**

### **MARXIST APPROACH**

**"The question of power cannot be evaded or brushed aside, because it is the key question determining everything in a revolution's development, and in its foreign and domestic politics"**

**-Lenin**

**"The passing of state power from one class to another is the first principal, the basic sign of revolution, both in strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of the term".** --Lenin

Marxism recognises a class struggle as fully developed, nation-wide only if it does not merely embrace politics but takes in most significant thing in politics-the **organisation of state power**.

- Lenin differentiated between Power and state and argued that social power existed before the origin of the state, and would continue to be there long after the "state withers away"
- In response to **Pyotr Struve** who held that state would continue to exist even after abolition of classes, **Lenin** argued that **coercive power is not the distinguishing feature of the state**: there is a coercive power in every human community; and there was one in the tribal system and in the family, but there was no state...the **distinguishing feature of the state is the existence of the separate class of people in whose hands power is concentrated**"
- According to this theory political power is the product of economic power.
- Depending on the ownership of the means of social production society get organized into the 'dominant class' and 'dependent class. The dominant class resorted to intense exploitation of the dependent class in order **to strengthen its power and position**.
- The dependent class could also organize itself and launch a struggle against the dominant class in order to put an end to the regime of exploitation. This would lead to the emergence of class conflict or class struggle -- it results into revolution.

### **WESTERN APPROACH TO THE POWER**

<b>Biological concept of power</b>	Aristotle viewed power as a natural condition of society, nature determining the character and process of society.  “For that some should rule and, others be ruled is a thing, not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule” -- Aristotle
<b>Radical view of power</b>	<b>Steven Lucas</b> , in his book “ <b>Power: A Radical View</b> ” talks about three phases or dimensions of power. According to him, power has the ability <b>to influence the pattern and the process of decision-making framework</b> . It has also the ability to influence political agenda and control people’s thoughts  In his book <b>One Dimensional Man</b> , <b>Herbert Marcuse</b> talks about this aspect of power in advanced industrial societies in which the needs of the society could be manipulated through modern technology.

## ELITE THEORY OF POWER

### Exponents :Pareto, Mosca, and Michels

- This theory accepts a broad division of society into dominant and dependent groups like Marxists but this division they argue is natural and based on competence and aptitude unlike Marxist claimed division due to emergence of private property.

### Pareto -Circulation of elites

- Further **Pareto** distinguished between 'governing elite' and 'non-governing elite'. -- '**Governing elite**' is one that wields power for the time being while '**non-governing elite**' constantly endeavours to replace it by showing greater ability and excellence.
- There is competition between governing and non-governing elites which results in what is called '**circulation of elites**'.
- In any way masses have no chance of getting into power, hence **Power is always held by Elites**

- **Elite class** : Indicate a superior social group of people who show highest ability in their field of activity whatever its nature might be
- **Masses** : group of people characterized by the lack of qualities of leadership and the fear from responsibility. They feel that it would be safe to follow the elite.

### Gaetano Mosca - dominance of the ruling class was essential



- **Gaetano Mosca** in his **The Ruling Class** postulated that the people are necessarily divided into two groups: the rulers and the ruled. The ruling class controls most of the wealth, power and prestige in society. The ruled are not competent to replace it.
- Whatever form of government might be adopted, it is **always this minority which exercises all power in society**.
- **Mosca** also held that a **constant competition between the upper and lower strata** of society led to the '**circulation of elites**'
- Mosca argued that the **dominance of the ruling class was essential to provide for proper organization of the unorganized majority**. Members of the ruling minority always enjoy a high degree of esteem in the eyes of the people because of their outstanding qualities.



### Robert Michels - 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'

- **Robert Michels** argued that every organization—whatever its original aims—is eventually reduced to 'oligarchy', that is the **rule of the chosen few**.
- He held that **majority of human beings** are apathetic, indolent and slavish. They are permanently **incapable of self-government**. So they have to bank upon their leaders for pursuing their social objectives.
- This 'iron law of oligarchy' rules out the possibility of 'circulation of elites' as envisaged by Pareto and Mosca. Michels argued that **all forms of government are destined to be reduced to oligarchy**.

### C. Wright Mills -- 'Power elite'

- Concept of '**power elite**' implied a **combination of several groups who exercised all power by virtue of their high status in all important spheres of social life**. It signified an inner circle of power holders in modern American society.
- According to Mills, the **power elites do not owe their power to fulfilling social demands**. They themselves are capable of creating such demands.
- They occupy the strategic command posts within the social structure.
- Power elites constitute a self-conscious class whose **members help each other on the basis of mutual understanding, tolerance and cooperation** in order to strengthen each other's power and position.
- They project their image of high moral character only with a view to commanding respect in society, but **they are scarcely sensitive to their moral or social responsibility**.

### James Burnham "Managerial Revolution"

James Burnham's book *The Managerial Revolution*, published in 1941, speculated on the future of capitalism. It theorized about the future of world capitalism based upon its development in the interwar period. Burnham weighed three possibilities:

- (1) That capitalism was a permanent form of social and economic organization and would continue indefinitely;
- (2) That it was temporary and destined by its nature to collapse and be replaced by socialism;
- (3) That it was currently being transformed into some non-socialist future form of society.

Analyzing the emerging forms of society around the world, Burnham saw certain commonalities between the economic formations of Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, and America under Roosevelt's New Deal. Burnham argued that in the short period since the First World War, a new society had emerged in which a social group or class of "managers" had waged a "drive for social dominance, for power and privilege, for the position of ruling



class. Burnham expanded this concept, arguing that whether ownership was corporate and private or statist and governmental, the essential demarcation between the ruling elite (executives and managers backed by bureaucrats and functionaries) and the mass of society was not ownership so much as control of the means of production

### GROUP PERSPECTIVE ON POWER - PLURALIST THEORY OF POWER

- Whereas class perspective, elite perspective and gender perspective on power maintain that the **exercise of power divides the society into two broad categories**—dominant and dependent groups, pluralist theory of power does not subscribe to this view.
- According to this theory, power in society is not concentrated in a single group, but it is dispersed amongst a wide variety of social groups. These groups are largely autonomous and almost independent centres of decision.
- Since these groups are more or less interdependent within the social organization, they tend to balance each other's power.
- Modern pluralist society **encourages citizens to form autonomous groups**. These groups are **not required to compete with the authority of the state**. They are designed to serve as intermediate bodies between individuals and the state.
- In pluralist society individuals may be divided into several competing groups according to their status and interests, but politically they continue to be the members of the same community. They owe allegiance to the same state. They are governed by the same law and public policy. They enjoy equal rights as citizens.
- **Robert Dahl's model of democracy**, described as 'polyarchy', postulated that society is controlled by a set of competing interest groups, with the government as little more than an honest broker in the middle.

### HANNAH ARENDT ON POWER – A CONSTRUCTIVE VIEW OF POWER

Hannah Arendt (1906-75), who was a German Jew philosopher, distinguished between 'violence' and 'power' to arrive at a constructive view of power. In her view, when rulers use force to fulfil their design against the wishes of the people, it may be called 'violence'. On the other hand, power essentially belongs to the people. Analysis of power in society is not concerned with the question: 'Who rules whom?' It has nothing to do with 'command-obedience relationship'. Hannah views political institutions as 'manifestations and materializations of power'. In other words, when people act according to the principles of power, their achievements take the form of political institutions.

In her notable work **On Violence (1969)** Hannah Arendt gives some hints of her very complex concept of power. She suggests that power is 'not the property of an individual'. It 'corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert.' She believes that power relations are essentially cooperative. Power in this sense belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group holds together. Power is the quality of individuals acting and speaking together. While the outcome of their power may be retained in the shape of various political institutions, power itself cannot be stored or held in possession.



Power and violence are opposites; where the one rules absolutely, the other is absent. Violence appears where power is in jeopardy, but left to its own course it ends in power's disappearance.

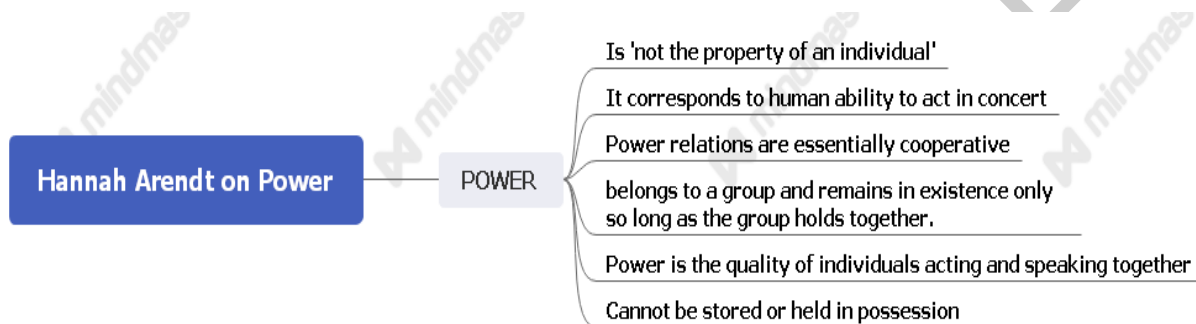
(Hannah Arendt)

Arendt argues that traditional political philosophy misrepresents power as ruling and confuses power with domination. This misrepresentation of power legitimizes fascism in politics and obscures the possibilities for political community in the absence of coercion. According to Arendt, politics exists not merely as a means for achieving objectives (if so, domination and violence would be preferred as more efficacious). Politics transcends immediate objectives for it enables community, interdependency, identity and freedom.

Overall we can say that there remain certain differences:

- Distinction between two types of power is often described as '**power over**' and '**power to**'.
- **Conventional view** of power was primarily concerned with '**power over**'
- **Modern view** insists on including in this analysis the concept of '**power to**'
- **Exponents of this view** - Hannah Arendt, C.B. Macpherson and Mahatma Gandhi

### Hannah Arendt



### Hannah Arendt distinguishes between Power and violence

Power	Violence
Keeps the public realm together	Threatens the existence of public realm
It is the quality of the people constituting the <b>public realm</b>	Violence is the <b>property of the state</b> which is used against the people.
Power can not be held in possession	Violence relies on the instruments of its application , hence it can be possessed

**"Where genuine power is absent, violence may emerge to fill the gap."**

**-- Hannah Arendt**

### AUTHORITY AND POWER

Though one might don't point out in layman analysis that Power is what authority is and vice versa. However, we cannot simply put both on equating terms. In political science, there is a wide field of debate between the differences of power and authority.

### AUTHORITY

The German word “Herrschaft”, used by Weber, has been variously translated. Some sociologists term it as ‘authority’, others as ‘domination’ or ‘command’. Herrschaft is a situation in which a ‘Herr’ or master dominates or commands others. Raymond Aron (1967: 187) defines Herrschaft as the master’s ability to obtain the obedience of those who theoretically owes it to him.

Elements of Authority according to Max Weber

- i) An individual ruler/master or a group of rulers/masters.
- ii) An individual/group that is ruled.
- iii) The will of the ruler to influence the conduct of the ruled which maybe expressed through commands.
- iv) Evidence of the influence of the rulers in terms of compliance or obedience shown by the ruled.
- v) Direct or indirect evidence which shows that the ruled have internalized and accepted the fact that the ruler’s commands must be obeyed.

For Weber, authority implies legitimacy. He argued about three systems of legitimation, each with its corresponding norms, which justify the power to command. It is these systems of legitimation which are designated as the following types of authority.

- Traditional authority
- Charismatic authority
- Rational-legal authority



### **Traditional Authority**

- This system of legitimation flows from traditional action. In other words, it is based on customary law and the sanctity of ancient traditions. It is based on the belief that a certain authority is to be respected because it has existed since time immemorial. In traditional authority, rulers enjoy personal authority by virtue of their inherited status.
- Their commands are in accordance with customs and they also possess the right to extract compliance from the ruled. Often, they abuse their power. The persons who obey them are ‘subjects’ in the fullest sense of the term. They obey their master out of personal loyalty or a pious regard for his time-honored status.
- Traditional authority does not function through written rules or laws. It is transmitted by inheritance down the generations. In modern times, the incidence of traditional authority has declined. Monarchy, the classic example of traditional authority still exists, but in a highly diluted form. Briefly, traditional authority derives its legitimacy from longstanding traditions, which enable some to command and compel others to obey. It is hereditary authority and does not require written rules. The ‘masters’ exercise their authority with the help of loyal relatives and friend. Weber considers this kind of authority as irrational. It is therefore rarely found in modern developed societies.

### **Charismatic Authority**

- Charisma means an extraordinary quality possessed by some individuals. This gives such people unique powers to capture the fancy and devotion of ordinary people. Charismatic authority is based on extraordinary devotion to an individual and to the way of life preached by this person. The legitimacy of such authority rests upon the belief in the supernatural or magical powers of the person. The charismatic leader ‘proves’ his/her

power through miracles, military and other victories or the dramatic prosperity of the disciples. As long as charismatic leaders continue to 'prove' their miraculous powers in the eyes of their disciples, their authority stays intact.

- Germany under Hitler, Italy under Mussolini, etc are some examples. Charismatic authority is not dependent on customary beliefs or written rules. It is purely the result of the special qualities of the leader who governs or rules in his personal capacity.

### **Rational-legal Authority**

- The term refers to a system of authority, which are both, rational and legal. It is vested in a regular administrative staff who operate in accordance with certain written rules and laws. Those who exercise authority are appointed to do so on the basis of their achieved qualifications, which are prescribed and codified.
- Those in authority consider it a profession and are paid a salary. Thus, it is a rational system. It is legal because it is in accordance with the laws of the land which people recognise and feel obliged to obey. The people acknowledge and respect the legality of both, the ordinance and rules as well as the positions or titles of those who implement the rules.
- Rational-legal authority is a typical feature of modern society. It is the reflection of the process of rationalisation. Remember that Weber considers rationalisation as the key feature of western civilisation. It is, according to Weber, a specific product of human thought and deliberation. By now you have clearly grasped the connection between rational-legal authority and rational action for obtaining goals.

### **Joseph Raz's thoughts on Authority**

According to Raz, the concept of authority as it is generally used is divided by philosophers into two classes, generally called in the analytic literature 'theoretical' authority and 'practical' authority. Theoretical authority is the authority of experts and those with greater knowledge to say what is or is not the case in their area of knowledge or expertise. Practical authority is the authority to direct the behavior of others. Put another way, those with theoretical authority give you good reason to believe something they say to be the case, while those with practical authority give you good reason to behave in the way they direct.

### **So, overall, Authority and Power can be differentiated as:**

One of the major questions that often rise in any study of political science is the precise relationship between power and authority. In **Cicero's** phrase, "*power lies with the people, authority in the Senate*". His neat contrast between power and authority gets blurred as we analyze the various dimensions of these two concepts over the decades, and confront the realities behind these concepts. Interpretations of power and authority have varied with the growth of ideological dimensions of political systems.

There are good reasons to suspect the exercise of 'power' and 'authority' in contemporary international systems. Although some of the researchers are very critical of Hannah Arendt's essay on Authority in her book, *Between Past and Future*, Carl Friedrich's study of Tradition and Authority, and **Robert Nisbet's** reflection on *The Twilight of Authority* as their reactions to radical egalitarianism and to the Marxist tradition, one must not forget to see the streams of progressivism in these writings.

Hannah's revolutionary politics, Friedrich's faith in reason, and Nisbet's weakness for pluralism have revolutionized thinking in the field of social movements. Contemporary reflections on power and authority are more in tune with grass-root oriented approaches towards the process of human empowerment.

1. Power is central to the understanding and practice of politics. It can be exercised on three levels: through the ability to make or influence decisions; through the ability to set agenda and prevent decisions being made; and through the ability to manipulate what people think and want.
2. Power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others, based upon the capacity to reward or punish. By contrast, authority is the right to influence others, based upon their acknowledged duty to obey. Weber distinguished between three kinds of authority: traditional authority based upon custom and history; charismatic authority, the power of personality; and legal-rational authority derived from the formal powers of an office or post.
3. Authority provokes deep political and ideological disagreements. Some regard it as essential to the maintenance of an ordered, stable and healthy society, providing individuals with clear guidance and support. Others warn that authority tends to be the enemy of liberty and undermines reason and moral responsibility; authority tends to lead to authoritarianism.
4. Legitimacy refers to the 'rightfulness' of a political system. It is crucial to the stability and long-term survival of a system of rule because it is regarded as justified or acceptable. Legitimacy may require conformity to widely accepted constitutional rules and broad public support; but it may also be manufactured through a process of ideological manipulation and control for the benefit of political or social elites.

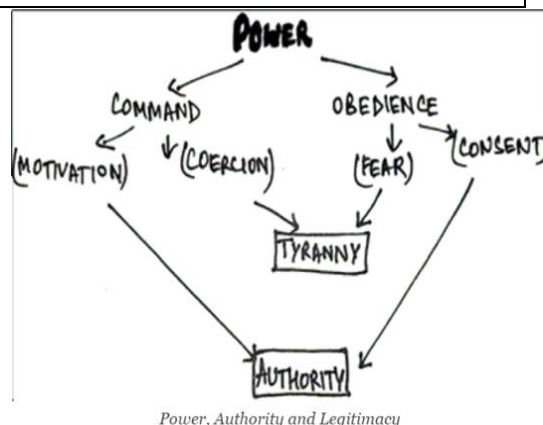
<u>Authority</u>	<u>Power</u>
Is linked with command-obedience relationship	Power belongs to the people
It gives rise to a hierarchical order	It creates an egalitarian order
It is based on violence, hence it corresponds to the sphere of the state	It is based on consensus and persuasion hence it corresponds to the public realm

### CONCEPT OF POWER, HEGEMONY, AND LEGITIMACY

As we have already understood what Power is all about and how it is linked with authority. But we missed the debate of how Power is linked with Legitimacy vis a vis authority and at the later stages, what is makes of ideology and hegemony.

#### Hegemony

Traditionally, Power is understood to be the legitimate use of authority. However, one cannot easily accept that legitimacy always bring good use of power. There are certain internal utilizations in illegitimate ways that looks like legitimate in their exercise. It is this concept that is being defined as Hegemony where the powerful makes or coerces the other to obey the authority with or without legitimation. USA's Hegemony from 1991 till 2001 is a testimony to this fact. Hegemony and Power are more closely analyzed by Gramsci.



### Gramsci's concept of Hegemony

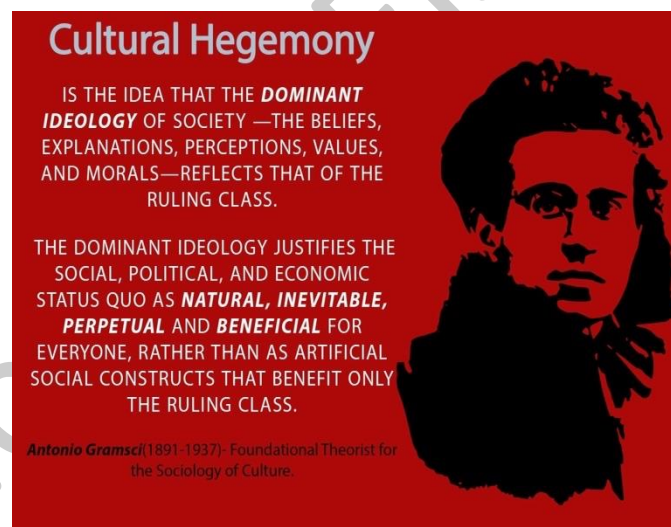
Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) admired the Bolshevik Revolution (1917) of Russia as a victory of the will power over economic conditions. But he also warned that this strategy would not be suitable under the conditions prevailing in Western society where the working class had come to accept the existing arrangements. He set aside certain assumptions of classical Marxism and produced a new analysis of the bourgeois state.

In all societies there are two classes: the class which owns the means of production and the class which owns only labour power. The class which owns the means of production establishes its rule over (the class which owns labour power and exploits it.

Thus, in the Marxian scheme, the capitalist state is the managing committee of the bourgeoisie, which facilitates and legitimizes the exploitative processes in the society. It is the economic power (or the ownership of means of production) that enables the ruling class to remain in power.

Gramsci contested this Marxian position. He argued that the ruling class maintains its domination in diverse ways including the use of force, use of its economic power and the consent of the ruled. In other words, the bourgeois class maintains its domination not merely by force, but in several non-coercive ways.

Thus, in short, For Gramsci, hegemony refers to the exercise of indirect power where the oppressed starts enjoying the dominance of the hegemon as the Values of dominant class become common sense.



To break this hegemony, Gramsci suggests two step revolution

- War of position – which is directed against the civil society where the people come together to develop counter hegemony. This is known as hegemony of subaltern class.
- Was at manoeuvre – that is the direct attack on state

### POWER AND LEGITIMACY

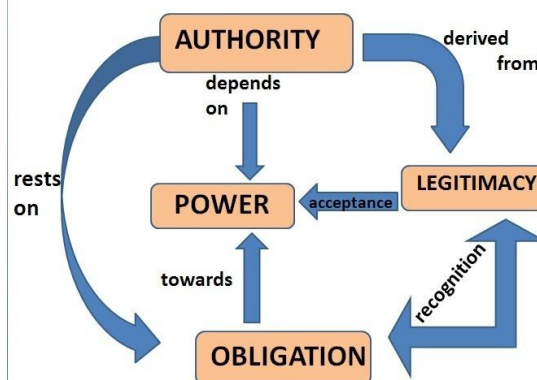
The ideas of authority and legitimacy are integral to the understanding of state, politics and civil society. We must bear in mind that authority and legitimacy are reflective of the manner in which the political community is organized. All human organizations are based on a set of rules. Authority and legitimacy refer to how and why these rules are acknowledged by members of the community as being worthy of obedience and having a binding character.

Simply put, authority is understood as a form of power. While power denotes the capacity or the ability to affect and change one's environment, authority refers to both the capacity to change as well as the right to change. Authority may, therefore, be seen as a modified form of power, where power is acknowledged as rightful. This means that authority does not depend on any form of coercion or manipulation, and invokes instead, a duty of obedience and compliance.



In order to elicit voluntary or willing obedience, essential to effect changes, authority has to lay claims to being right. Legitimacy provides to authority, the quality of correctness and justness, invoking thereby, obedience and compliance as a matter of duty rather than as an outcome of coercion and force. Thus, authority when associated with legitimacy, may be thought of as “legitimate power”.

The issue of legitimacy, or the rightfulness of a regime or system of rule, is linked ultimately to one of the most fundamental of political debates, the problem of political obligation. It addresses the following questions: why citizens feel obliged to acknowledge the authority of government, and whether they have a duty to respect the state and obey its laws. In modern political debate, however, legitimacy is also understood in terms of political behaviors and beliefs. In other words, it addresses not only the question of why people should obey the state in an abstract sense, but also the question of why they obey a particular state or a system of rule and not others. In other words, it explores the problem of the conditions or processes, which encourage people to obey, or, in other words, to see authority as rightful.



**According to Max Weber,**



Authority and legitimacy have been among the most basic and enduring issues in political analysis. Political philosophers, political scientists and sociologists have for long occupied themselves with exploring these concepts as useful tools for

understanding public authority and government. These concepts must, however, be seen as having evolved over the last few centuries, constituted and reconstituted at particular historical conjectures. They can, thus be, seen as reflecting the various strands, which have historically contributed to their evolution.

## THEORIES OF LEGITIMACY

### Social Contract Theories on Legitimacy

- Contract theorists like Hobbes and John Locke started from the basic premise that all human beings were and are equal, had authority over their own selves, and had, therefore, the capacity as well as the right to take decisions affecting themselves.
- These free and equal human beings, in order to create suitable conditions in which they could exercise economic freedom, take the decision to transfer some of their self-determination rights to others, authorizing the latter to rule them on their behalf. When this transfer takes place on a large scale, i.e., a large number of people transfer their natural right to self-government, political authority takes form.
- This political authority or government, which ensues as a result of renunciation of certain rights and freedoms, is said to possess legitimacy. The legitimate power of the government to rule, is demonstrated by the consent of the governed, which is expressed and renewed periodically.



### **Montesquieu's Alternative Views on Legitimacy**

- Rejecting the individualist framework of legitimation espoused by the contractualists, Montesquieu (1689-1775), in his work *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), counterpoised alternative forms of legitimacy. This alternative form intended to curtail the arbitrariness of an individualist free will placing the exercise of authority within the social context.
- Montesquieu included in his framework a socially responsible role for the state by including elements of social reform, constitutionalism, and the safeguard of basic civil liberties. All of these were seen as contributing towards or constituting the essence of legitimate authority.

### **Rousseau: Going beyond Montesquieu**

- In his theory of false contract in the *Second Discourse*, Rousseau attempted to build where Montesquieu had left. Pointing to the limits of a liberal individualist theory of society and politics, Rousseau, like Montesquieu attempted to cover and thus included in his formulation, the broader sphere of social issues.
- Going beyond Montesquieu's formulation however, Rousseau sought to include within this social sphere, the aspirations of those sections of society, that did not find an expression within the liberal framework.
- For him, legitimacy, could be achieved only through the democratization of political authority. Democratization was to be achieved through the active participation of people, and the recognition of their social and political needs. In Rousseau's scheme, the legitimacy of government, and of the exercise of power, hinged on the active participation of citizens.

### **Karl Marx's Views**

- He did not share Rousseau's optimism about the relationship between active participatory citizenship and political authority. For Marx, the modern state represented the interests of the bourgeoisie and was not therefore, representative of the common will of the people. The people could at best only 'imagine' themselves as citizens as their participation in 'politics' was dependent upon and constrained by their subordinate position in a class differentiated society.
- Marx felt that in the framework of general will, one was distracted from the real issues i.e., the evils of society and the inegalitarian structures of capitalism, which produced them. Thus, a capitalist state could never be legitimate and the 'locus of public will'; because it was inherently exploitative. In Marx's framework, therefore, legitimacy of political authority in a capitalist society was a myth.
- In Marxist analysis, the problem was one of analysing the conditions under which the working class would organize itself into a collective force to transform the capitalist system.

### **Weber and the Belief in Legitimacy**

- Weber's study of legitimacy is considered useful for understanding the complexities of political rule. Weber considered legitimacy as fundamental to a systematic study of power relations. Weber pointed out, 'custom, personal advantage, purely effectual or ideal motives of solidarity', were not the sufficient basis for its sustenance.
- In order to sustain a given system of domination, there was normally a further element i.e. 'the belief in legitimacy'. In other words, where there is a general recognition of the legitimacy of authority, its commands were bound to be followed.

### **David Beetham's Critique of Max Weber**

- Unlike Weber who would try and fit regimes into the three typologies, or alternatively, see regimes as mixtures of two types, Beetham prefers a broad framework for understanding the processes and grounds of obedience. His framework consists of three levels or standards for understanding political authority.
- Political authority is legitimate, says Beetham, to the extent that:
  1. it is acquired and exercised according to established rules (legality);
  2. the rules are justified according to socially accepted beliefs about:
    - (i) the rightful source of authority,
    - (ii) the proper ends and standards of government (normative justifiability) and
  3. the position of authority is confirmed by express consent or the affirmation of appropriate subordinates, and by recognition from other legitimate authorities (legitimation).

### LEGITIMATION CRISIS

- It is essential to understand for the maintenance of any system of political rule whether legitimacy is conferred by **willing consent** or is **manufactured by ideological indoctrination**.
- Therefore, along with the machinery through which legitimacy is maintained, the **circumstances in which the legitimacy of a regime is called into question** and collapses **must also be focused upon**.

Jurgen Habermas in **Legitimation Crisis** argued that within liberal democracies there are 'crisis tendencies' which challenge the stability of such regimes by undermining legitimacy.

#### Why legitimation crisis occurs?

- In democracies the **democratic process forces government to respond to popular pressures**, either because political parties outbid each other in attempting to get into power or because pressure groups make unrelenting demands upon politicians once in power.
- This results into inexorable **rise of public spending** and the **progressive expansion of the state's responsibilities**, especially in economic and social life.
- **Anthony King** argued that **in an attempt to meet the demands of people** government faces the problem of being **overload**.
- Growing public spending created a **fiscal crisis** in which **high taxes** became a disincentive to enterprise, and **ever-rising government borrowing** led to permanently **high inflation**.
- **Habermas** argued that **there is limit to which liberal democracies can satisfy the demands** beyond that it cannot permanently satisfy both popular demands for social security and welfare rights, and the requirements of a market economy based upon private profit.
- **Authority of the government is being challenged** and finally displace the theories and values which had previously legitimized the progressive expansion of the state's responsibilities.
- **Habermas** claimed to identify '**crisis tendencies**' which are beyond the capacity of liberal democracies to control. In practice, however, the **electoral mechanism allows liberal democracies to adjust** policy in response to competing demands, thus enabling the system as a whole to retain a high degree of legitimacy.

#### Example of legitimation crisis

The **collapse of orthodox communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union**, 1989–91, provides a particularly good example of a legitimation crisis or a series of legitimation crises. These crises had a Power, Authority and Legitimacy, political, economic and social dimension.

- **Politically**, orthodox communist regimes were one-party states dominated by a 'ruling' communist party whose influence extended over virtually all groups in society.
- **Economically**, the centrally planned economies that operated within such regimes proved to be highly inefficient and incapable of generating the widespread, if unequal, prosperity found in the capitalist West.
- **Socially**, orthodox communist regimes were undermined by their very achievements: industrialization and the expansion of mass education created a better informed and increasingly sophisticated body of citizens whose demands for the civil liberties and consumer goods thought to be available in the West simply outstripped the capacity of the regime to respond.

Such factors progressively undermined the rightfulness or legitimacy of orthodox communism, eventually precipitating mass demonstrations, in 1989 throughout Eastern Europe, and in the Soviet Union in 1991.

### **C.B. Macpherson concept of developmental power**

He makes a distinction between two components of power: **extractive power** and **developmental power**.

**Extractive power** : A person's ability to use others' capacities to serve his own purpose or 'power over' others. It implies the ability to extract benefits from others.

**Developmental power**: A person's ability to use his own capacities for the fulfilment of his self-appointed goals.

Thus developmental power of a person enables him to develop his truly human capacities.

**For example** : Capacity for rational understanding, for moral judgment and action, for aesthetic or artistic activity, for love and friendship and, of course, the capacity for materially productive labour.

The concept of developmental power treats a person as *doer* and, *creator*.

**Macpherson** points to three impediments to the maximization of a person's developmental power:

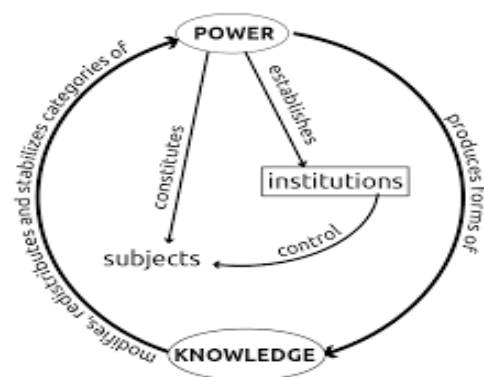
1. Lack of adequate means of life
  2. Lack of access to the means of labour
  3. Lack of protection against invasion by others.
- **Macpherson** is quite convinced that these problems cannot be resolved within the framework of a market society based on capitalist social relations.
  - He suggests that the solution to these problems can be found in a new system which would combine the protection of civil liberties with a socialist mode of production. Only then individual would be able to make full use of his developmental power and thereby achieve his '**creative freedom**'.

### **Mahatma Gandhi's concept of Swaraj – Power to the people**

- Gandhi insisted on 'power to the people'.
- Gandhi wrote in **Young India** argued that "Real *Swaraj* will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, *Swaraj* is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."
- Gandhiji sought to define power from the point of view of the ruled. It implied that the **rulers should never gain or exercise absolute power over the ruled**. If the ruled felt that their rulers were becoming too powerful, they would use their moral power to **challenge the authority of the rulers**.

### **Foucault's concept of Power**

- **Michel Foucault**, the French postmodernist, has been hugely influential in shaping understandings of power, leading away from the analysis of actors who use **power as an instrument of coercion**, and even away from the discreet structures in which those actors operate, toward the idea that **'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth'**.
- Power for Foucault is what makes us what we are, operating on a quite different level from other theories: 'His work marks a radical departure from previous modes of conceiving power and cannot be easily integrated with previous ideas, **as power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them'**
- **Foucault challenges the idea that power is wielded by people or groups** by way of 'episodic' or 'sovereign' acts of domination or coercion, seeing it instead as dispersed and pervasive.
- **'Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere'** so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure. Instead it is a kind of 'meta-power' or 'regime of truth' that pervades society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation.
- Foucault **uses the term 'power/knowledge' to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and 'truth'**:  
'Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power.'
- **Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth**: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true'
- **Foucault is one of the few writers on power who recognise that power is not just a negative, coercive or repressive thing** that forces us to do things against our wishes, **but can also be a necessary, productive and positive force in society**
- 'We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'.
- In fact **power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth**. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production'
- Power is also a major source of social discipline and conformity. In shifting attention away from the 'sovereign' and 'episodic' exercise of power, traditionally centered in feudal states to coerce their subjects, Foucault **pointed to a new kind of 'disciplinary power'** that could be observed in the administrative systems and social services that were created in 18th century Europe, such as prisons, schools and mental hospitals.
- Their systems of surveillance and assessment no longer required force or violence, as people learned to discipline themselves and behave in expected ways.
- A key point about Foucault's approach to power is that **it transcends politics and sees power as an everyday, socialized and embodied phenomenon**. This is why **state-centric power struggles**, including revolutions, do not always lead to change in the social order.



## REVOLUTION

The concern of a political scientist is not only confined to the study of authority, but also extends to the problem of power being acceptable to the people over whom it is exercised. A study of the concept of political obligation necessarily leads to an investigation of related terms—political legitimacy and revolution. While the concept of political obligation constitutes an important touchstone of political philosophy, it finds a significant place in association with the notions of legitimacy and effectiveness.

### **POLITICAL OBLIGATION AND REVOLUTION: THE INTER-RELATEDNESS OF THESE COMPLEMENTARY TERMS**

The concern of a political scientist is not only confined to the study of authority, but also extends to the problem of power being acceptable to the people over whom it is exercised. A study of the concept of political obligation necessarily leads to an investigation of related terms—political legitimacy and revolution. While the concept of political obligation constitutes an important touchstone of political philosophy, it finds a significant place in association with the notions of legitimacy and effectiveness. After this, we pass on to the study of the idea of revolution.

The relation between authority and obligation is inseparable, since one of the essential features of authority is the right to receive obedience. It is a well-established fact that people obey only a legitimate authority; otherwise, they may overthrow it. For eg, protests in Hong Kong today against the authoritarian Chinese government which is lacking legitimacy to govern.

Study of revolution becomes important as politics is described as a study of the struggle for power, whether by peaceful or violent means, where political obligation and revolution have important ramifications.

The term '**obligation**' originates from a Latin word '**obligate**' implying something that binds men to perform what is enjoined upon them. This has various connotations. In the realm of ethics, it informs a man to discharge his duties, which he accepts on the basis of his rational understanding. In the field of jurisprudence, the social life of men is regulated by law. And in the world of politics, man is bound to live under some authority and obey his command. This is based on the maxim of common prudence.

Political obligation is, thus, a frame through which people accept the commands of the "men in authority". This means that it has certain distinct characteristics. They are:

- **Management of public affairs** -The art of running any government is not easy. It is a difficult and extensive task and any wrong move or incorrect policy decision would entail serious consequences. On the contrary, a positive and right step taken by the government for the people would bring good results for the development of a nation. Thus, it becomes a duty of every conscientious person to take serious interest in the management of public affairs, government policies and political questions. This interaction would be for the general good. Political obligation, thus, calls for honesty, integrity and public spirit, both on the part of the government and the people.
- **Political Legitimacy**- A study of the concept of political obligation necessarily leads to the investigation of the related theme of political legitimacy and effectiveness. The stability of a democratic political system not only depends upon economic development, but also upon its legitimacy. Legitimacy includes the capacity to produce and maintain a belief that the existing political institutions or forms are the most appropriate for society and is said to rest on the general will.

- **Resistance to authority** -The idea of political obligation not only tells people to obey authority, but also desires them to be critical about the way authority is exercised. The people should scrutinize the action of their rulers and resist an invasion on their liberties. Thus, the idea of political obligation also involves the idea of resistance to authority. But of course, the right to protest against the state must be founded on a relation to social well-being in terms intelligible to the masses and the consequences of disobedience should not lead to a total breakdown of the state system. The **ongoing Farmer protests in India against the three farm Bills** is a testimony that the waning of public was a cause of concern against the public authority. And the authority finally answered to the protests that might have taken the form of a revolution by repealing the three Farm acts recently.

Thus, it is the combination of void of all or either any of the above characteristics of authority which can force the people to take violent action and take the form of a revolution. **Arab spring** since 2011 in West Asia and Gulf states is a testimony to the application of such waning of authority that has originated various coloured revolutions in the West Asia and North Africa.

While on the other hand, we also need to see the idea of revolution from not only the political, but also the economic, the social and the cultural dimensions of human life. A precise definition of the term involves different ramifications ranging on the implications of change, whether peaceful or violent, total or partial, minor or major. In political theory, it has a typical connotation signifying alteration in government along with changes in related associations and structures. In its core meaning, it 'constitutes a challenge to the established political and the eventual establishment of a new order radically different from the preceding one.

It is true that numerous revolutions have taken place in different part of the world, yet it is impossible to establish an objective and general pattern of revolution or even an adequate definition applicable to all periods. We should, thus, confine our attention to the implication and general characteristics of revolution, to gain a better understanding of the concept. They are:

- Beginning of a process
- Implies a change
- Signifies a coherent programme
- Myth to Political leadership

Apart from this, there are various theories of revolution like Liberal Theory, Marxian theory, etc.

The most popular sociological explanations of revolutions are functionalist explanations. The basic premise of this approach is as follows: The stability of society depends on social order continuing to fulfil the requirements of its citizens.

We can relate this to the present stage of Farmer protests in India that was conducted successfully by the farmers over the unjust three farm acts.

### **Conclusion**

From the above detailed discussion, it can be understood that, the nature and meaning of power is deeply contested within different contexts, by different interests and in different time and space. The ideas of power, authority, legitimacy and obligation still find newer meanings and dimensions on account of monumental changes in state apparatus and structure, the newer basis of socio-political participation and most importantly, the continued exponential changes in technology. There is no single framework of understanding the complete nature



of power. From barrel of gun (Mao) to capillary flow (Foucault) to sui generis nature (Arendt) the dialectics only makes its understanding more nuanced and complex.

**Note:**

The note on ideology and its meaning will be dealt under political ideologies where it is pertinent and in flow for the sake of understanding

## IDEOLOGIES

### PYQs

2019 Comment on: End of ideology debate (10)

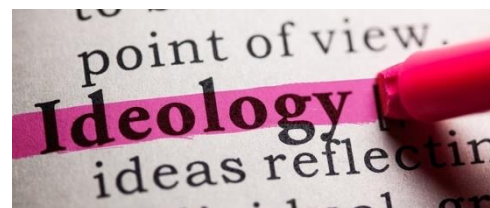
2017 Write a brief note on The End of History debate. (10)

2016 Discuss Hannah Arendt's analysis of the role of Ideology in modern totalitarian regimes. (20)

### Ideology

**Ideology** has no agreed definition, rather there are various definitions which are having diverse views and equally confronting too.

In fact, not all political thinkers have accepted that ideas and ideologies are of much importance. Politics has sometimes been thought to be little more than a naked struggle for power. If this is true, political ideas are mere propaganda, a form of words or collection of slogans designed to win votes or attract popular support. Ideas and ideologies are therefore simply 'window dressing', used to conceal the deeper realities of political life.



A very similar view also informed '**dialectical materialism**', the crude form of Marxism that dominated intellectual enquiry in the Soviet Union and other orthodox communist states. This held that political ideas could only be understood in the light of the economic or class interests of those who express them. Ideas have a 'material basis'; they have no meaning or significance on their own.

Against this line of thought, some hold that Political ideas are not merely a passive reflection of vested interests or personal ambition, but have the capacity to inspire and guide political action itself and so can shape material life. At the same time, political ideas do not emerge in a vacuum; they do not drop from the sky like rain. All political ideas are moulded by the social and historical circumstances in which they develop and by the political ambitions they serve.

Any balanced and persuasive account of political life must therefore acknowledge the constant interplay between ideas and ideologies on the one hand, and historical and social forces on the other.



Ideas and ideologies influence political life in a number of ways:

1. **Structure political understanding** and so set goals and inspire activism- ideologies provide a perspective, or 'lens', through which the world is understood and explained. People do not see the world as it is, but only as they expect it to be: in other words, they see it through a veil of ingrained beliefs, opinions and assumptions.
2. **Shape the nature of political systems**- They help to shape the nature of political systems. Systems of government vary considerably throughout the world and are always associated with particular values or principles. Absolute monarchies were based on deeply established religious ideas, notably the divine right of kings. The political systems in most contemporary western countries are founded on a set of liberal-democratic principles.
3. **Act as a form of social cement**- Political ideas and ideologies can act as a form of social cement, providing social groups, and indeed whole societies, with a set of unifying beliefs and values. Political ideologies have commonly been associated with particular social classes – for example, liberalism with the middle classes, conservatism with the landed aristocracy, socialism with the working class, etc.

#### Defining Ideology:

**David McLellan** said, 'Ideology is the most elusive concept in the whole of the social sciences.

The term was coined by **Antoine Destutt de Tracy**, who conceived it as the "science of ideas" to develop a rational system of ideas to oppose the irrational impulses of the mob.

**Hippolyte Taine** describes *ideology* as rather like teaching philosophy via the Socratic method, though without extending the vocabulary beyond what the general reader already possessed, and without the examples from observation that practical science would require.

According to **Karl Mannheim** **the modern meaning of the word ideology was born when Napoleon used it to describe his opponents as "the ideologues."**

In the century following Tracy, the term *ideology* moved back and forth between positive and negative connotations. **Karl Marx** adopted Napoleon's negative sense of the term, using it in his writings.

#### Various views on ideology

##### **Ideology: Science of ideas**

The term 'ideology' was coined in 1796 by the French philosopher **Antoine Destutt de Tracy**, He used it to refer to a new 'science of ideas' (literally, an idea-ology) that set out to uncover the origins of conscious thought and ideas. De Tracy's hope was that ideology would eventually enjoy the same status as established sciences such as zoology and biology.

But before Tracy, **Francis Bacon** had insisted that knowledge should come from careful and accurate observation. He held that the knowledge deduced from less scientific methods of inquiry was distorted by false impressions or 'idols'. So, it can be said that Bacon and Tracy focused on the validity of knowledge obtained by scientific method, and cautioned us against distorted forms of knowledge.

Ideology: Different Meanings	
Ideology is	A political belief system
	An action-orientated set of political ideas
	The world-view of a particular social class or social group
	The ideas of the ruling class
	Set of Ideas that situate the individual within a social context and generate a sense of collective belonging an officially sanctioned set of ideas
	An abstract and highly systematic set of political ideas.
	Set of political ideas that embody or articulate class or social interests
	Ideas that propagate false consciousness among the exploited or oppressed
	an all-embracing political doctrine that claims a monopoly of truth

### Karl Marx on Ideology



**Karl Marx** gave a more enduring meaning that became the most famous definition of ideology.

Ideologies are ideas of ruling class', ideas that therefore uphold the class system and perpetuate exploitation. In his early work *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels wrote the following:

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force in society, is at the same time the ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of mental production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production"

### **According to Marx, ideology has following crucial features:**

First, ideology is about *delusion* and *mystification*: it perpetrates a false or mistaken view of the world, what Engels later referred to as 'false consciousness'. Marx used ideology as a critical concept, whose purpose is to unmask a process of systematic mystification. His own ideas he classified as scientific, because they were designed accurately to uncover the workings of history and society.

Second, ideology is linked to the class system. Marx believed that the distortion implicit in ideology stems from the fact that it reflects the interests and perspective on society of the ruling class. The ruling class is unwilling to recognize itself as an oppressor and, equally, is anxious to reconcile the oppressed to their oppression. Hence, it devices a false consciousness of ideology.

Third, ideology is a manifestation of power. In concealing the contradictions upon which capitalism, in common with all class societies, is based, ideology serves to disguise from the exploited proletariat the fact of its own exploitation, thereby upholding a system of unequal class power. Ideology literally constitutes the 'ruling' ideas of the age.

Finally, Marx treated ideology as a temporary phenomenon. Ideology will only continue so long as the class system that generates it survives. The proletariat – in Marx's view, the 'gravedigger' of capitalism – is destined not to establish another form of class society, but rather to abolish class inequality altogether by bringing about the collective ownership of wealth.

### Lenin on ideology

For Lenin and most twentieth-century Marxists, **Ideology** --referred to the **distinctive ideas of a particular social class**, ideas that advance its interests regardless of its class position. Lenin thus, In *What is to be Done?* ([1902] 1988), described the **ideas of the proletariat as 'socialist ideology'** or 'Marxist ideology'.

**Ideology no longer implied necessary falsehood**, and **no longer stood in contrast to science**; indeed '**scientific socialism**' (Marxism) was recognized as a form of **proletarian ideology**.

Lenin argued that **class consciousness** can't be achieved on its own because that requires a '**vanguard**' party to guide the working masses towards the realization of their revolutionary potential.



Marx on Ideology	Lenin on ideology
Ideologies are ideas of ruling class	Ideas of the proletariat as 'socialist ideology' or 'Marxist ideology' and acknowledge the concept of ideology
Ideology is false consciousness	Ideology no longer implied necessary falsehood and mystification
Ideology and science are in contrast	'Scientific socialism' (Marxism) was recognized as form of proletarian ideology and science not necessarily contradicts ideology
Marx uses the term ideology in negative connotation	Lenin used the Marxist ideology to generate 'revolutionary consciousness'

### Gramsci on ideology

**Gramsci argued** that **ideology is embedded at every level in society** in its art and literature, in its education system and mass media, in everyday language and popular culture. Capitalist class system is upheld not simply by unequal economic and political power, but by what he termed the '**hegemony**' of bourgeois ideas and theories.



Gramsci argued that ideas of the ruling class are conveyed by intellectuals in such a way that it sounds common sense and it appeals to people and they accept it as if it is true.

In [Prison Notebooks](#) Gramsci laid emphasis on the importance of the political and intellectual struggle to challenge bourgeoisie through the establishment of a rival '**proletarian hegemony**'.

Inspired by the Gramscian thought, the **Frankfurt School**, a group of mainly German neo-Marxists who fled the Nazis and later settled in the USA. Its most widely known member, **Herbert Marcuse** argued in *One-Dimensional Man* (1964) that advanced industrial society has developed a 'totalitarian' character in the capacity of its ideology to manipulate thought and deny expression to oppositional views.

By manufacturing false needs and turning humans into voracious consumers, modern societies are able to paralyse criticism through the spread of widespread and stultifying affluence. According to **Marcuse**, even the apparent tolerance of liberal capitalism serves a repressive purpose in that it creates the impression of free debate and argument, thereby concealing the extent to which indoctrination and ideological control take place.

### George Lukacs on Ideology

According to **George Lukacs**, ideology refers both to bourgeois and proletarian consciousness, without implying a necessary negative connotation. Marxism itself is the ideological expression of the proletariat. Lukacs held that bourgeois ideology is false, not because ideology itself is 'false consciousness', but because bourgeois class situation is structurally limited.



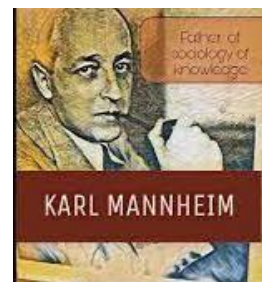
In other words, the bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) cannot stand on its own. It must exploit the proletariat (the working class) to maintain itself. Bourgeois ideology is deplorable because it dominates and contaminates the psychological consciousness of the proletariat. However, Lukacs has warned that ideological struggle should not become a substitute for class struggle.

### Karl Mannheim on ideology

**Marx** in historical materialism argued structure constrains the choices and economic structure is the basic structure of the society which shapes the ideas and choices of society.

Like Marx, **Karl Mannheim** acknowledged that people's **ideas are shaped by their social circumstances**.

He introduced the term '**sociology of knowledge**' to focus on **social determination of knowledge**. He sought to generalize Marxist framework as a tool of analysis.



In **Ideology and Utopia** Mannheim defined: -

- **Ideologies**: As thought systems that serve to defend a particular social order, and that broadly express the **interests of its dominant or ruling group**.
- **Utopia**: Is an idealized representation of the future that implies the need for radical social change, invariably serving the interests of **oppressed or subordinate groups**.

#### **'Particular' and 'total' conceptions of ideology**

1. **'Particular' ideologies**: are the ideas and beliefs of specific individuals, groups or parties.
2. **'Total' ideologies**: encompass the 'world-view', of a social class, society or even historical period.

**Mannheim nevertheless** held that all ideological systems, including utopias, are distorted, because each offers a partial and necessarily self-interested view of social reality. However, he argued that the attempt to uncover objective truth need not be abandoned altogether.

#### **IDEOLOGY AND TOTALITARIANISM**

Emergence of totalitarian dictatorship gave impetus to the debate about ideology and during the cold war period ideological tension heightened.

When ideology is conceived as an instrument of motivating people for the achievement of predetermined goals, it comes close to totalitarianism.

Liberals argued regimes that developed in Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia as **oppressive systems of rule**, and '**official' ideologies** have played great role developing such regimes by **suppressing debate and criticism and promoting regimented obedience**.

Western liberal thinkers like **Karl Popper** and **Hannah Arendt** use the word ideology in restrictive manner, with respect to fascism and communism.

**Karl Popper** in The Open Society and Its Enemies argued that, **"Ideology is the characteristic of totalitarianism; it has nothing to do in an open society"**

#### **Views of Karl Popper**

Open society	Totalitarian society
science and freedom flourish together	There is no freedom
It is willing to accept new ideas	Claims that it has already found the absolute truth, and strives to implement it ruthlessly
Citizens absolutely free to criticize the existing institutions and structures of power	It does not allow anyone to oppose or criticize the public policy
Do not need an ideology for working smoothly	It uses ideology to mobilize people for the cause determined by the state and its exclusive elites.

However, not all political creeds are ideologies by this standard. For instance, liberalism, based as it is on a fundamental commitment to freedom, tolerance and diversity, is the clearest example of an 'open' system of thought.

### **Hannah Arendt**

The greatest contribution of **Hannah Arendt** to political thought is her analysis of the rise of the twentieth-century totalitarian state. She underscored the role of ideology in perpetuating totalitarian regimes.

Arendt analyses the role of ideology with regard to totalitarianism in her book "Origins of Totalitarianism." Totalitarianism as she describes is a monstrous lie which has created a totally fictitious world. Ideology is a tool which consolidates this lie. Hannah Arendt defined totalitarianism as a system of total domination, characterized by ideology and terror.

### **Her analysis of ideology can be seen through following points:**

- Arendt didn't believe that totalitarian regimes behaved in an arbitrary manner. They functioned on deliberate design of ideology. In her words, **"Ideology proceeds with a consistency that exists nowhere in the realm of reality."**
- Ideology & Mobilization of masses: Arendt was concerned about how the classes could be mass mobilized and convinced by such oppressive regimes. Nazi Germany achieved this by propagating supremacy of nationalism, Aryan supremacy theory, anti-semitic ideas etc.
- Ideology and terror: Totalitarianism for Arendt was bureaucratization of terror in the enforcement of an ideology. Ideology creates a curtain of illusion around terror.
- Legitimacy for governance: It is through ideology that totalitarian states gain legitimacy to govern & also commit human atrocities. E.g., Anti-Semitism led to the persecution of millions of Jews.
- Preventing counter ideologies: As Arendt says, it becomes difficult to think than to act in totalitarian regimes.

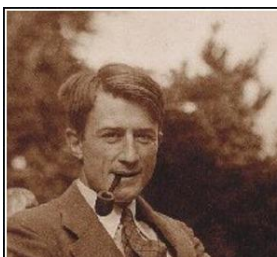
- Furthermore, dissent is repressed in the most brutal way possible. Such exploitation of the realm of ideas that perpetuate falsehood & victimize the vulnerable sections, unfortunately, continues even in 21stC. Thus, Arendt's fair warning against the dangerous adoption of unqualified ideology stand relevant even today.

### Conservative concept of ideology

- The world is viewed as infinitely complex and largely beyond the capacity of the human mind.
- It has skeptical attitude towards rationalism and progress

**Michael Oakeshott** is exponent of this view in his [Rationalism in Politics](#) he argued

- Conservatives see ideologies as **abstract systems of thought**, sets of ideas that are destined to simplify and **distort social reality** because they claim to explain what is, frankly, incomprehensible.
- Ideology is thus equated with dogmatism, fixed or doctrinaire beliefs that are divorced from the complexities of the real world.



In political activity, then, men sail a boundless and bottomless sea; there is neither harbour for shelter nor floor for anchorage, neither starting-place nor appointed destination. The enterprise is to keep afloat on an even keel.

Conservatives have therefore rejected the 'ideological' style of politics, based on attempts to reshape the world in accordance with a set of abstract principles or pre-established theories.

### END OF IDEOLOGY DEBATE

The idea of the 'end of ideology' became fashionable in the 1950s and 1960s. The most influential exponent of this view was **Daniel Bell**.

After World War 2, politics in the west was characterized by the broad understanding among the various political parties and there was absence of ideological division or tussle.

Ultimately economics triumphed over politics as all nations of the west now focused on the question of delivering the affluence. Questions of moral or philosophical nature were sidelined and all the purpose and intent of ideologies became irrelevant.

**Edward Shils'** report titled '[The End of Ideology](#)'. The conference urged its participants to forget their minor differences and discover common grounds to face the danger of Communism.

**Ralph Dahrendorf** in [Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society](#) argued that the Western societies had entered a new phase of development. They were no longer capitalist societies; they had become 'post-capitalist societies'.



The coincidence of economic conflict and political conflict, which was the foundation of Marx's theory, had ceased to exist in the post-capitalist societies.

**Seymour M. Lipset** observed that in the Western democracies the differences between the left and the right are no longer profound; the only issues before politics are concerned with marginal increase in wages, marginal rise in prices, and extension of old-age pensions, etc. He maintained that the fundamental political problems of the revolution have been solved.

Lipset, in Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics significantly observed that Democracy is not only or even primarily a means through which different groups can attain their ends or seek the good society; it is the good society itself in operation.

Further, **W. W. Rostow**, in The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-communist Manifesto built a unidimensional model of economic growth which was applicable to all countries irrespective of their political ideologies.

**J.K. Galbraith**, in The New Industrial State, too, identified certain characteristics of advanced industrial societies which correspond to the end of ideology thesis. Galbraith observed that all industrialized societies are destined to similar development. This involves greater centralization, bureaucratization, professionalization and technocratization. These characteristics were visible in the Russian as well as American systems although they had adopted divergent ideologies as communism and capitalism respectively. It means that a country's techno-economic structure is shaped by the level of its industrialization, and not by its distinctive political ideology.

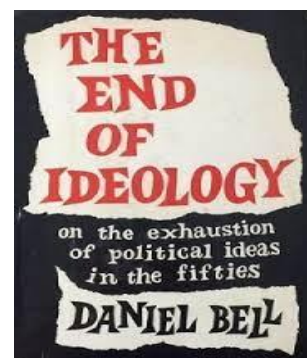
#### Views of Daniel Bell

##### Influence of ideologies has largely exhausted.

**Daniel Bell** suggested that although ideologies still had some general appeal, the influence of ideologies as political instruments and economic ideals had essentially become exhausted.

The modern state, **Bell** believed, had eluded the classical problems of industrial societies simply because it had evolved into a post-industrial society, whereby political compromise, the welfare state, and corporations- all buttressed by technical reasoning and interest groups- could channel social expectations into political realities.

By no means did Bell simply assume that America was exempt from class tensions, but he did assert that the structure of the state, fostered from a legacy of pragmatism and liberalism, had provided the necessary channels for social problems and economic inequalities to be addressed institutionally and, more importantly, without radical reform of the underlying system.



Thus, the west, as embodied by the United States, had provided for Bell the template for the post-industrial state, a place where class struggles and political exploitation were diffused by economic prosperity and political bargaining.

However, socialist scholars like **C Wright Mills, Macpherson, McIntyre** have criticized the above notion. For them the end of ideology debate is nothing but a concealed defence of western way of life. Also, **McIntyre held that end of ideology is in itself an IDEOLOGY.** According to **Titmuss**, the end of ideology debate ignores social disorganization, concentration of economic power, new social movements etc.

### Views of C. Wright Mills

#### Ideology still relevant

Mills addressed the political apathy and national conformity that marked the **post-war era**, when Mills believed that a patriotic celebration dulled, or even silenced, the radical elements of a liberal democracy.

Whereas figures like Bell assumed that **pluralism and social mobility** were reinforced by a **competitive marketplace**, Mills believed the compounded demands of the people were crowded out by a select, often self-perpetuating elite, who in turn used their power to manipulate the masses into self-serving agendas, whether it was buying products or contributing to a military-based economy.

When considering Bell's thesis in the context of Mill's arguments, one must ask if Bell was simply presupposing the end of ideology in the west, or if he was proposing that there should be an end of ideology in the west. Even if there was indeed an end of ideology in the west, what of the east and the rest of the world?

Thus, the process to which Bell drew attention was not the 'end of ideology' so much as the emergence of a broad ideological consensus among major parties, and therefore the suspension of ideological debate. In the postwar period, representatives of the three major western ideologies – liberalism, socialism and conservatism – came to accept the common goal of managed capitalism. This goal, however, was itself ideological as it reflected an enduring faith in market economics, private property and material incentives.

In effect, an ideology of '**welfare capitalism**' or '**social democracy**' had triumphed over its rivals, although his triumph proved to be only temporary. The 1960s witnessed the rise of more **radical New Left ideas**, reflected in a revival of interest in **Marxist** an anarchist thought and the growth of modern ideologies such as **feminism and ecologism**.

The end of the ideology thesis had a message for the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It implied that they should focus on their industrial development, and should not run after the mirage of communism as a remedy of their ills.

With the collapse of communist systems in East European countries in 1989 (which was followed by a similar collapse in the then Soviet Union in 1991), this view got a new impetus in the form of the '*End of History*' thesis.

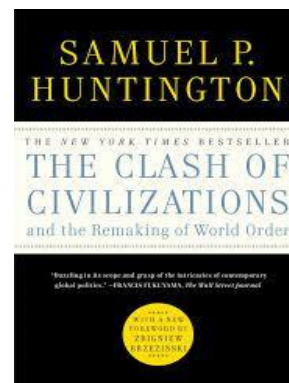
## END OF HISTORY DEBATE

In the light of the collapse of communism, **Francis Fukuyama** in his article 'End of History' proclaimed the worldwide triumph of liberal democracy, describing it as the end of history. Its victory has heralded an end to the long historical struggle which had obstructed its expansion in the past.

Unlike Bell, Fukuyama did not suggest that political ideas had become irrelevant, but that one particular set of ideas, western liberalism, had triumphed over all its rivals. Fascism had been defeated in 1945, and Fukuyama clearly believed that the collapse of communist rule in eastern Europe in 1989 marked the passing of Marxism-Leninism as an ideology of world significance. By the 'end of history', Fukuyama meant that the history of ideas had ended, and with it, fundamental ideological debate.

Fukuyama took inspiration from Hegel who contended that the end of history would arrive when humans will achieve the kind of civilizations that satisfied their fundamental desires.

By end of history, Fukuyama meant the history of systemic thought about legitimate first principles governing political and social organization has ended. At the end of the twentieth century, the combination of liberal democracy and capitalism proved superior. This is because of the ability of the capitalist liberal system to satisfy the basic desires of human nature.



Underlying Fukuyama's thesis was the optimistic belief, inherited from classical liberalism, that industrial capitalism offers all members of society the prospect of social mobility and material security, encouraging every citizen to regard it as reasonable and attractive.

### Criticism of End of History thesis:

Various Western commentators have described the thesis of The End of History as flawed because it does not sufficiently take into account the power of ethnic loyalties and religious fundamentalism as a counter-force to the spread of liberal democracy, with the specific example of Islamic fundamentalism, or radical Islam, as the most powerful of these.

**Benjamin Barber** wrote a 1992 article and a 1995 book, Jihad vs. McWorld, where he described "McWorld" as a secular, liberal, corporate-friendly transformation of the world and used the word "jihad" to refer to the competing forces of tribalism and religious fundamentalism, with a special emphasis on Islamic fundamentalism.

Critics argue that the end of history debate is a design to protect the supremacy of the liberal capitalist system in theory as well as practice.

**Samuel P. Huntington** wrote a 1993 essay, "The Clash of Civilizations", in direct response to The End of History; he then expanded the essay into a 1996 book, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.

In the essay and book, Huntington argued that the temporary conflict between ideologies is being replaced by the ancient conflict between civilizations. According to him the collapse of communism has given rise to new challenges of nationalism, racialism, and religious fundamentalism.

After the September 11, 2001, attacks, **Fareed Zakaria** called the events "the end of the end of history", while **George Will** wrote that history had "returned from vacation".

Responding to the criticism, Fukuyama explained that what he meant by "End of History" was the evolution of the human political system, toward that of the "liberal-democratic West". He also noted that his original thesis "does not imply a world free from conflict, nor the disappearance of culture as a distinguishing characteristic of societies."

### Looking Forward

Despite such diverse views including the notion of false consciousness and end of ideology, ideologies continue to impact and influence our everyday existence. Significance of a particular ideology may change according to the rise and fall of its political relevance of that time but ideology in some form continues to have a role in our socio-political life. The reasons for this resilience of ideologies can be traced in their flexibility, intellectual renewal, reformulation and revision.

Moreover, these ideologies have influenced and enriched each other with time. Also, ideology touches those aspects of political life that other political forms cannot. Ideology as discussed in the beginning forms a social cement giving a sense of purpose, rallying point for a group-based action, and makes people believe in something larger than life to achieve: may it be communist society or a liberal society.

An age without a political ideology will be an age without hope, without vision. In this basis of hope and vision, ideologies will continue to exist and evolve according to the contextual changes.

## LIBERALISM

### PYQ

2016 "The Political ideology of Globalization is Neo-liberalism." Comment.

## IDEALISM

At the earliest level of Political Theory, the ideologies were considered utopian ideas and thus equated with Idealism. The terms “idealism” and “idealist” are by no means used only within philosophy; they are used in many everyday contexts as well.

The term “idealism”, at least within philosophy, is often used in such a way that it gets its meaning through what is taken to be its opposite: as the meaningful use of the term “outside” depends on contrast with something considered to be inside. Thus, an idealist is someone who is not a realist, not a materialist, not a dogmatist, not an empiricist, and so on.

Idealism developed into two traditions:

1. Hegelian and
2. Immanuel Kant Tradition

**Hegelian tradition** gives primacy to the State. This later on led to the justification of Fascism. In the words of **Mussolini**, “nothing above the state, outside the state and against the state”. **Rousseau** and **Hegel** developed the concept of Moral Freedom which led to the concept of positive freedom. This view postulated that the laws of the state represent the real will of man.

The **Kantian tradition** of Idealism gave importance to society/morality and not that to the state. This tradition emphasizes human dignity and led to the rise of the British School of Idealism (Oxford School) represented by **TH Green, Bradley**, etc. It led to the development of Positive Liberalism and the Theory of Welfare State with the concept of Positive Liberty.

### Plato's political idealism

Plato was an idealist, for he laid down the basis for political idealism in the West. He was a philosopher, for he had seen the forms beyond those which could be seen as appearances. He was a rationalist, for he gave his philosophy a definite vision, starting from the general and coming down to particular.

An idealist, as Plato really was, he was more interested in the future than in the present; in a model that its state can be than in the actual state; in the form of the state rather than in a state that appears at present. This does not mean that the idealists do not take into account what the present or the actual state is. In fact, idealists build the fabric of the future on the basis of the present; it is the present that dictates their future.

He was a revolutionary, for he attempted to build a new and novel fabric on the ruins of the society around him. However, in the process, Plato drifted away from the prevailing system, and was, thus, consequently damned as a utopian, impracticable, idealist and the like.

Plato's idealism was grounded in the circumstances of the then city-states; it was the movement to change the Greece of his own times, not for the past. Accordingly, Plato can be described as an idealist, but not a utopian; a physician and not a life-giver; a reformer and not a dreamer.

Some admire Plato while others condemn him, but none dare ignore him. It is here where Plato's greatness lies. He was, indeed, the idealist among the idealists, the artist among the artists, the philosopher among the philosophers, and the revolutionary among the revolutionaries

## LIBERALISM

Liberalism is a principle of politics which insists on 'liberty' of individual as the first and foremost goal of public policy. Liberty, in this sense, implies 'liberation from restraints—particularly, from the restraints imposed by an authoritarian state.

Liberalism is an intellectual movement which seeks to accommodate new ideas in order to face new situations and new challenges.

### Origin of Liberalism

As a systematic theory, liberalism may not have existed before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it was based on ideas and theories that had developed during the previous 300 years. Indeed, as **Paul Seabright (2004)** argued, the origins of liberalism can perhaps be traced back as far as to early agricultural societies, when people started living in settled communities and were forced, for the first time, to find ways of trading and living with strangers.

Nevertheless, **liberalism as a developed ideology** was a product of the breakdown of feudalism in Europe, and the growth, in its place, of a market or capitalist society. In many respects, liberalism reflected the aspirations of the rising middle classes, whose interests conflicted with the established power of absolute monarchs and the landed aristocracy.

Liberal ideas were radical: they sought fundamental reform and even, at times, revolutionary change. The English Revolution of the seventeenth century, and the American Revolution of 1776 and French Revolution of 1789 each embodied elements that were distinctively liberal, even though the word 'liberal' was not at the time used in a political sense.

**Liberals challenged the absolute power of the monarchy, supposedly based on the doctrine of the 'divine right of kings'.**

- In place of absolutism, they advocated constitutional and, later, representative government.
- Liberals criticized the political and economic privileges of the landed aristocracy and the unfairness of a feudal system in which social position was determined by the 'accident of birth'.
- They also supported the movement towards freedom of conscience in religion and questioned the authority of the established church.

The nineteenth century was in many ways the liberal century. As industrialization spread throughout western countries, liberal ideas triumphed.

- Liberals advocated an industrialized and market economic order 'free' from government interference, in which businesses would be allowed to pursue profit and states encouraged to trade freely with one another.

- This was known as the classical strand of liberalism.

Liberal ideas, too, could not stand still. From the late nineteenth century onwards, the progress of industrialization led liberals to question, and in some ways to revise, the ideas of early liberalism. Whereas early or classical liberalism had been defined by the desire to minimize government interference in the lives of its citizens, modern liberalism came to be associated with welfare provision and economic management. As a result, some commentators have argued that liberalism is an incoherent ideology, embracing contradictory beliefs, notably about the desirable role of the state.

### **Basic tenets of liberalism**

- Man is a rational creature and possesses immense potential to contribute to social progress as well as to his own good;
- **There is no basic contradiction between an individual's self-interest and the common interest.**
- In fact the common interest denotes a point of reconciliation between the interests of different individuals;
- Man is endowed with certain natural rights which cannot be transgressed by any authority;
- **Civil society and the state are artificial institutions created by individuals to serve the common interest.** They are entitled to demand obedience to their orders from individuals on the condition of fulfilling this function;
- Liberalism **promotes civil liberties of the individual, including freedom of thought and expression, freedom of association and movement**, personal freedom (which rules out search or arrest without a warrant) and strict compliance with legal and judicial procedure. Any restriction on individual freedom should be meant to ensure equal freedom for others;
- Liberalism **upholds freedom of contract. No individual can accept any obligation without his own consent, and without consideration of mutual benefit.** The state would function as umpire in the enforcement of contracts.
- Liberalism holds that **public policy should be the product of free bargaining between groups of individuals formed to pursue their common interests.**

The moral and ideological stance of liberalism is embodied in a commitment to a distinctive set of values and beliefs. The most important of these are:

1. Individualism
2. Freedom
3. Reason
4. Justice
5. Toleration

### **Individualism**

- Individualism is the belief in the supreme importance of the individual over any social group or collective body. In the form of methodological individualism, this suggests that the individual is central to any political theory or social explanation – all statements about society should be made in terms of the individuals who compose it.
- **Thomas Hobbes** and utilitarians such as **Jeremy Bentham** are proponents of this nature of man based on the egoistic and utilitarian nature of man.



### **Freedom**

- A belief in the supreme importance of the individual leads naturally to a commitment to individual freedom.
- Individual liberty (liberty and freedom being interchangeable) is for liberals the supreme political value and, in many ways, the unifying principle within liberal ideology. For early liberals, liberty was a natural right, an essential requirement for leading a truly human existence.
- It also gave individuals the opportunity to pursue their own interests by exercising choice: the choice of where to live, for whom to work, what to buy and so on.

### **Reason**

- The liberal case for freedom is closely linked to a faith in reason.
- Liberalism is, and remains, very much part of the Enlightenment project. The central theme of the Enlightenment was the desire to release humankind from its bondage to superstition and ignorance, and unleash an 'age of reason'.
- Key Enlightenment thinkers included **Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham.**
- Enlightenment rationalism influenced liberalism in a number of ways. In the first place, it strengthened its faith in both the individual and freedom.
- To the extent that human beings are rational, thinking creatures, they are capable of defining and pursuing their own best interests.

### **Justice and Equality**

- Human beings are seen to be 'born' equal in the sense that each individual is of equal moral worth, an idea embodied in the notion of natural rights or human rights. Justice is intricately linked to the idea of equality since the beginning.
- Classical liberals subscribe to a belief in equality of opportunity. Each and every individual should have the same chance to rise or fall in society.
- Liberals believe social equality to be undesirable because people are not born the same. They possess different talents and skills, and some are prepared to work much harder than others.
- Classical liberals believe that it is right to reward merit (ability and the willingness to work); indeed, they think it is essential to do so if people are to have an incentive to realize their potential and develop the talents with which they were born. Classical liberals have endorsed strict meritocracy on both economic and moral grounds.
- Economically, they place heavy stress on the need for incentives. Morally, justice requires that unequal individuals are not treated equally.

### **Toleration**

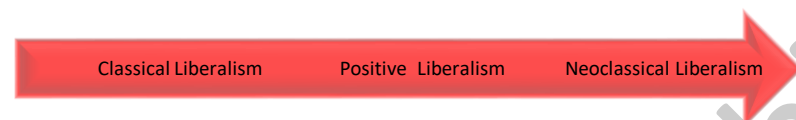
- The liberal social ethic is characterized very much by a willingness to accept and, in some cases, celebrate moral, cultural and political diversity.
- Indeed, an acceptance of pluralism can be said to be rooted in the principle of individualism, and the assumption that human beings are separate and unique creatures. However, the liberal preference for diversity has been associated more commonly with toleration.

- This commitment to toleration, attributed to the French writer **Voltaire** (1694–1778), is memorably expressed in the declaration that, 'I detest what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it.'
- Liberal case for toleration first emerged in the seventeenth century in the attempt by writers such as **John Milton (1608–74)** and **John Locke** to defend religious freedom.
- Locke argued that, since the proper function of government is to protect life, liberty and property, it has no right to meddle in 'the care of men's souls'. Toleration should be extended to all matters regarded as 'private', on the grounds that, like religion, they concern moral questions that should be left to the individual.

## STREAMS OF LIBERAL THOUGHT

In short, **liberalism treats market society as the model of social organization where role of the state should be confined to the protection of individuals' life and property, enforcement of contracts, and maintenance of minimum common services** which would not be undertaken by private entrepreneurs.

In liberal view, the state is a necessary evil. Liberalism treats the state as the means and individual as the end. It rules out absolute authority of the state.



## CLASSICAL LIBERALISM/NEGATIVE LIBERALISM

It contemplates negative role of the state in the sphere of mutual interaction of individuals.

"Classical liberalism" is the term used to designate the ideology advocating private property, an unhampered market economy, the rule of law, constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion and of the press, and international peace based on free trade.

- This theory argues that individual is endowed with the faculty of **reason** which enables him to find what is most conducive to his interests hence advocated individual's right to freedom of trade, freedom of contract etc.
- It advocated *laissez-faire* means 'leave alone' signified non-intervention by the state in the economic activities of individuals.
- From this perspective, liberalism is not simply an ideology but a 'meta-ideology'; that is, a body of rules that lays down the grounds on which political and ideological debate can take place. However, this does not mean that liberalism is simply a philosophy of 'do your own thing'. While liberalism undoubtedly favours openness, debate and self-determination, it is also characterized by a powerful moral thrust.

## INTELLECTUAL SOURCE OF CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

<u>Human Nature</u>	<u>Society</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Rights</u>
Atomistic individualism  <u>Rational</u>	No common good, good of individual is good of society.	<u>Limited state</u>	Natural rights (Locke)

<p>Men are by nature rational beings, impelled by their inner nature to treat humanity. (John Locke)</p> <p><b><u>Possessive individualism</u></b></p> <p>An individual is conceived as the sole proprietor of his or her skills and owes nothing to society for them. (C B Macpherson)</p>	<p>Interest of the community as the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it.</p> <p><b><u>Negative liberty</u></b></p> <p><b><u>Herbert Spencer (concept of negative liberty)</u></b></p> <p>Individual tends to equilibrate himself with his social environment by adaptation and by inheritance of that adaptation, until he attains, in a perfect equilibrium</p>	<p>It advocated <i>laissez-faire</i> means 'leave alone' signified non-intervention by the state in the economic activities of individuals.</p> <p><b><u>Night-watchman</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>State's role is erection and maintenance of public works and running certain public institutions.</li> <li>And also to provide protection to property of individual.</li> <li>Role of state extends to only law and order, external security</li> </ul> <p><b><u>State is necessary evil</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is evil because it imposes regulations and restricts the freedom of the individual</li> <li>It is necessary because, without its regulation, the freedom of the individual cannot be safeguarded</li> </ul>	<p>Legal rights (Hobbes and Bentham)</p> <p><b><u>Equality</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Equality before law</li> <li>Equality of opportunity</li> <li>Formal</li> <li>Procedural</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Justice:</u></b> Based on merit</p>
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Adam Smith	Jeremy Bentham	John Lock
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Smith sought to find out the policy of the state would be conducive to increasing the wealth of a nation and to promote national prosperity.</li> <li>Adam Smith postulated a system of 'natural liberty'—implying perfect freedom of commerce and industry—in order to promote national prosperity.</li> <li>Advocated the abolition of restrictions imposed on commerce and industry by the government in pursuance of the policy of mercantilism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It held that the satisfaction of individual should furnish the yardstick of <b>utility</b>, and when a decision is to be taken for the whole society, the controlling principle should be the <b>'greatest happiness of the greatest number'</b>.</li> <li>Interest of the community as the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it. (It gives primacy to individual over society)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Property' as a fundamental natural right which cannot be surrendered to the government.</li> <li>He postulates that the government should take only what is necessary to carry on its business. It has no power to take anything more without the owner's consent.</li> </ul>

### **Exponents of classical liberalism**

On political side, liberalism promotes democracy; on economic side, it promotes capitalism. Democracy is concerned with fulfilling needs and aspirations of ordinary people, but capitalism results in the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few who may use it against the interests of ordinary people.

This situation is sought to be rectified by the mechanism of **the welfare state**.

- Liberalism tended to accommodate some tenets of socialist and idealist thought, which was responsible for the emergence of the theory of 'welfare state'.
- The principle of liberty was sought to accommodate the principles of equality and justice within the liberal frame of thought.

## **POSITIVE LIBERALISM OR WELFARE STATE**

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### **Why liberalism sought to accommodate socialist thoughts?**

- The working class not only increased in size, its condition also deteriorated. Its voice could not be suppressed any longer. The socialists were incessantly pressing for a solution of the problems of the working class.
- The liberals were also forced to realize that their insistence on freedom and human rights had created conditions of oppression in society.
- They must resolve the contradictions of the liberal theory—as evidenced by the oppressive character of the capitalist system—otherwise the whole edifice would tumble down. As a result, the tenets of the liberal theory were revised

## **EXPONENTS OF POSITIVE LIBERALISM OR WELFARE STATE**

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### **Harold J. Laski**

- He sought to achieve the socialist goal through the mechanism of liberal democracy
- He was so critical of the capitalist system and its underlying principles that at times he advocated the abolition of the right to property which was the mainstay of the capitalist system.



***Rights are necessary conditions without which no individual can in general seek to be at his best.***

***Every state is known by the rights it maintains***

- But he was so deeply attached to liberal democratic values that ultimately he compromised in favour of making necessary changes in the capitalist system so as to make it an instrument of securing social justice.
- He wrote *Authority in the Modern State* (1919) and *The Foundations of Sovereignty, and Other Essays* (1921). In both works he attacked the notion of an all-powerful sovereign state, arguing instead for political pluralism.

***The social order which is not based on claims of person is based on sand.***

- In his *Grammar of Politics* (1925), however, he defended the opposite position, viewing the state as “the fundamental instrument of society.

### Thomas Hill Green



- As a leading exponent of liberalism and a member of the Liberal Party from 1876 until his death in 1882, T. H. Green had a significant impact on his community and those whom he inspired through his idealist philosophy. Green's liberalism was characterised by his religious beliefs and his idea of the state as a mechanism for moral improvement, as he sought to address poverty and social injustice.
- He is one of the thinkers of positive liberalism his theory was inspired by idealist theory, developed from the teachings of **Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel**.
- His Theory of liberty is characterized by moral freedom. He proceeds his studies by distinctive between negative and positive freedom. As we know that Negative liberty is freedom from interference from other people. It is primarily concerned with the possession of the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices. Whereas positive liberty is having the power and resources to fulfill one's own potential as opposed to negative liberty, which is freedom from external restraint
- Positive freedom consists in acting according to reason, achieving self-realization or self-perfection.

***An individual is free when he has the capacity to fulfill the law of his being***

- True liberty or positive freedom of man, therefore, consists in the act of 'good will'.
- According to Green's line of argument

***Human consciousness postulates liberty; liberty involves rights; rights demand the state***

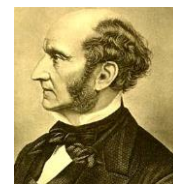
- The state is, therefore, an instrument of perfection as the liberal theory holds; it is not an embodiment of perfection—as the idealist theory claims.

***Will not force is the basis of the state***

***State hinders the hinderances***

- Green exalts society or the community as the primary and eternal source of moral consciousness. The state is something secondary, a means or an instrument.
- Green argues that the freedom of the individual postulates freedom to acquire and possess material goods according to one's potentiality to contribute to the social good.

### John Stuart Mill



- He was contemplating a positive role for the state in securing community welfare even if it implied curbing the liberty of the individual to some extent.
- He argued that the right to property was not absolute or sacrosanct, because **no man made the land**; it was the original inheritance of all mankind.
- He argued that incomes of landlords continued to increase without any effort, risk or sacrifice on their part. Hence, if the state appropriated the increase of their wealth or a part thereof for diverting it to the use of the community it was no violation of the principles on which the right to private property was founded or justified.
- Mill argued that these additional riches should properly be diverted to the welfare of their real authors that is the working class who were the real producers of wealth from the land.
- This approach to the problem of taxation and the limitation of the right to property, heralded a new era of positive liberalism.

## NEO-LIBERALISM

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(1970s – till date)

### **What is Neoliberalism?**

It means rolling back the state. The vacuum left by the state has to be filled by the private sector. Neoliberalism (sometimes called 'neoclassical liberalism') is widely seen as an updated version of classical liberalism, particularly classical political economy. Its central theme is that the economy works best when left alone by the government, reflecting a belief in free market economics and atomistic individualism.

While unregulated market capitalism delivers efficiency, growth and widespread prosperity, the 'dead hand' of the state saps initiative and discourages enterprise. In short, the neoliberal philosophy is: 'market: good; state: bad'.

Key neoliberal policies include privatization, spending cuts (especially in social welfare), tax cuts (particularly corporate and direct taxes) and deregulation. Neoliberalism is often equated with a belief in market fundamentalism; that is, an absolute faith in the capacity of the market mechanism to solve all economic and social problems.

Indian Political Economy entered a neoliberal phase when it brought in the 1991 New Economic Policy ushering in LPG reforms.

### **Neo-liberals seek to:-**

- To restore laissez-faire individualism not only in the economic sphere, but also in the social and political sphere. It upholds full autonomy and freedom of the individual.
- To Liberate an individual from all institutions which tend to restrict his vision of the world, including the institutions of religion, family and customs of social conformity apart from political institutions.
- It is hostile to all social and legal restrictions on an individual's freedom of action and treats man as the maker of his destiny.
- It denounces the welfare state, opposes state intervention and control of economic activities. Champions of neo-liberalism stand for 'rolling back' the state which has immensely expanded its sphere of activities.
- For neo-liberals government's regulation amounts to curtailing their freedom. For them, the market is the best channel to distribute resources.

## CONTEXT OF ORIGIN OF NEO-LIBERALISM

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Neoliberalism was a product of the end of the 'long boom' of the post-1945 period, which shifted economic thinking away from Keynesianism and reawakened interest in earlier, free-market thinking. In this, it has operated at a national level but also at an international level, through what is called neoliberal globalization.

In the second half of the twentieth century, liberal thinkers realized that the theory of welfare state was inimical to individual liberty, as it involved the forced transfer of resources from the more competent to the less competent.

The welfare state came to be called the nanny state. Because of the introduction of Universal adult franchise there was the growth of populist policies which resulted in huge fiscal deficit and it became unsustainable for states.

**TINA Factor** - "There is no alternative" (TINA) was a slogan often used by the Conservative British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. The phrase was used to signify Thatcher's claim that the market economy is the best, right and only system that works, and that debate about this is over.

Britain under Margaret Thatcher brought the first neoliberal reforms. She gave the TINA factor which means only alternative is that there is no alternative. Later, the USA under Ronald Reagan moved towards the ideology of neoliberalism. The highest point of neoliberalism was in the 1990s. The policies based on neoliberalism came to be known as Washington Consensus.

### **WASHINGTON CONSENSUS**

The Washington Consensus is a set of ten economic policy prescriptions considered to constitute the "standard" reform package promoted for crisis-wracked developing countries by Washington, D.C.-based institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and United States Department of the Treasury. The term was first used in 1989 by English economist **John Williamson**.

It consists of ten broad sets of relatively specific policy recommendations:

1. **Fiscal policy discipline**
2. **Redirection of public spending** from subsidies ("especially indiscriminate subsidies") toward broad-based provision of key pro-growth, pro-poor services like primary education, primary health care and infrastructure investment;
3. **Tax reform**
4. **Interest rates** that are market determined
5. **Competitive exchange rates**;
6. **Trade liberalization**
7. Liberalization of inward **foreign direct investment**;
8. **Privatization** of state enterprises;
9. **Deregulation**: abolition of regulations that impede market entry or restrict competition.
10. **Legal security for property rights**.

### **EXPONENTS OF LIBERTARIANISM**

#### **Friedrich von Hayek**

An Austrian economist and political philosopher, Hayek was a firm believer in individualism and market order, and an implacable critic of socialism.

His pioneering work, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) developed a then deeply unfashionable defense of laissez-faire and attacked economic intervention as implicitly totalitarian. He called planning a road to serfdom and it is bound to fail.



He argues that through the pretense of planning, the state increases its power. Due to bureaucratic inefficiency, it cannot allocate goods efficiently. The redistribution based on the idea of social justice is mirage as justice is a character of an individual not of the state. Only the market can do the optimal allocation of resources.

### **Robert Nozick**

A US political philosopher, Nozick developed a form of rights-based libertarianism in response to the ideas of John Rawls. Drawing on Locke and nineteenth-century US individualists, he argued that property rights should be strictly upheld, provided that property was justly purchased or justly transferred from one person to another.

His major work, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (1974), rejects welfare and redistribution, and advances the case for minimal government and minimal taxation. Nozick states that the term 'distributive justice' is not a neutral one.

He concludes that progressive taxation is bonded labour. He doesn't agree with Rawls's compromise on liberty for the sake of affirmative action. Through his theory of entitlement, he promotes the best interests of the market so as to bring in liberty.

He held that minimal state is both inspiring and right. Nozick rejected the notion of Social Justice that requires distribution of society's income and wealth. He argued that the right to property should be strictly upheld provided that the wealth has been justly acquired.

### **Milton Friedman**

Nobel Prize winner Friedman is known as an ardent champion of free market economy, criticizing the inefficiency of Keynesian economy. He highlighted the failure of state-sponsored welfare schemes.

He supported low taxation and denationalization and also favoured abolition of rent controls, minimum wages and all the barriers to the efficient functioning of the market economy. He envisaged the limited role of government to provide law and order, defense and provision of essential services.

Friedman is a proponent of freedom in essence. In his "Capitalism and Freedom", he said that Freedom is possible only when capitalism exists.

### **Criticism of neoliberalism**

- A long-standing criticism of neoliberalism is that it presupposes an unrealistic and undesirable conception of individual identity and of the conditions necessary for human flourishing. Opponents of libertarianism often refer to libertarian individualism as "atomistic," arguing that it ignores the role of family, religious community, and state.
- Critics have argued that laissez-faire capitalism does not necessarily produce the best or most efficient outcome, and that libertarianism's philosophy of individualism and policies of deregulation fail to prevent the abuse of natural resources.
- Criticism of left-libertarianism is instead mainly related to anarchism and includes allegations of utopianism, tacit authoritarianism and vandalism towards feats of civilization. Left and right-libertarians also engage in criticism of each other.
- According to the critics of Nozick, his entitlement theory is not a plausible theory of justice in holdings and does not qualify as an adequate theory of distributive justice. The principles that make up the entitlement theory, the principle of justice in acquisition, the principle of justice in transfer, and the principle of

rectification, are not beyond criticism. Nozick's entitlement theory is neither historical nor is it a workable theory of distributive justice.

- The Marxist school and the social liberals are among the most prominent critics of neoliberals. Marxist like Immanuel Wallerstein have compared neoliberalism with barbarism in his World Systems theory. In 2001, WTO was forced to adopt Doha Development Agenda which reflected the victory of social liberalism.
- Scholars like Joseph Stiglitz called for Post Washington Consensus. Amartya Sen has given the concept of Humane Governance in place of good governance given by World Bank. He argued about the necessity of states for taking up capacity building roles.
- Many criticize neoliberalism for structuring society around the market, commodifying market relations, and in general manipulating people into serving the ends of what is best for commerce or economic production. In this way, neoliberalism builds society around a cash nexus.
- But unlike full capitalism, neoliberalism does so in a covert way that takes serious scholarly work to demonstrate. Neoliberalism itself is not an ethos, as noted above, but neoliberalism might be seen to give rise to an excessively capitalist/transactional relationship between persons.
- While she rejects this characterization of neoliberalism, Jessica Whyte argues that it is often characterized as "an amoral economic ideology that subordinates all values to an economic rationality."
- One central concern about neoliberalism is that, even if it boosts economic growth, it also increases economic inequality, which is problematic in several ways.
- Two kinds of inequality criticisms are generally offered:
  1. The more well-known are the empirical criticisms that neoliberal regimes lead to dangerous inequalities just from the data, such as Thomas Piketty's book, Capital (2014), which holds that economic inequality is growing and is a threat to democracy, much as Martin Gilens' (2014) work on inequality and the responsiveness of democratic policy-making to the richest 10%.
  2. The other kind of critique of inequality under neoliberalism is derived from Rawls's work. As is well-known, Rawls rejected welfare-state capitalism and a more robust form of capitalism which he called the system of natural liberty on the grounds that they do not satisfy Rawls's two principles of justice.
- Another kind of inequality that has been raised as a concern for neoliberal societies is the imbalance of political power within the firm between bosses and workers. Elizabeth Anderson (2019) has argued, for instance, that this is a form of tyrannical "private government" and that the institutions defended by neoliberals (though she does not use this term) are insufficient to equalize the freedoms of capitalists and workers.

### **Critical evaluation of Amartya Sen**

Social liberals like Amartya Sen criticize neo-liberals for being anti-poor. As neoliberal policies have resulted into growth of interstate and intrastate disparities instead of Trickle down effect of growth.

Amartya Sen's work Development as Freedom based on his idea of social liberal society, while representing a major break with the dominant neoliberal position reproduced in most national and international development agencies, is insufficient to explain the key relationship between freedom and development. The absence of an

analysis of the power relations that cause and reproduce underdevelopment through national and international political institutions leaves Sen's work wanting.

### Views of Joseph Stiglitz

Stiglitz in his article *The End of Neoliberalism* (2008) explains:

The market fundamentalism that underlay Thatcherism, Reaganomics, and the so-called "Washington Consensus" in favor of privatization, liberalization, and independent central banks focusing single-mindedly on inflation helped only the few elite.

For a quarter-century, there has been a contest among developing countries, and the losers are clear: countries that pursued neo-liberal policies not only lost the growth sweepstakes; when they did grow, the benefits accrued disproportionately to those at the top.

Though neo-liberals do not want to admit it, their ideology also failed another test. The mixture of free-market rhetoric and government intervention has worked particularly badly for developing countries.

They were told to stop intervening in agriculture, thereby exposing their farmers to devastating competition from the United States and Europe. Millions in the developing world still cannot afford the minimum nutritional requirements.

Neo-liberal market fundamentalism was always a political doctrine serving certain interests. It was never supported by economic theory. Nor, it should now be clear, is it supported by historical experience. Learning this lesson may be the silver lining in the cloud now hanging over the global economy.

### GLOBALIZATION AND NEO-LIBERALISM

Scholars have been discussing neo liberalism as the political ideology of globalization considering that it has forced the political hand of states to adopt neo-liberal policies and limit its interference, letting the market greater room.

Neo-liberal policies have transformed states into corporate states. As **Professor Jorge Heine** and **Ramesh Thakur** claim that globalization is the soft underbelly of corporate imperialism.

Furthermore, Neo-liberal faith in international institutions to establish restriction-free trade framework worldwide is shared by Globalization and resulted in the formation of bodies like WTO. Globalization led by neo-liberal ideology has also resulted in the growth of inter and intra-state disparities. Lastly, the push for disinvestment of public sector undertaking and Labour reform have all been guided with neo liberalism, in turn, to open national borders to the world, embracing Globalization.

Contrasting views of Globalization have been presented by economists. **Amartya Sen** criticises globalization for its uneven distribution of benefits & ignorance of developing capabilities of people. **Market fundamentalism of Neoliberalism has led to profit maximisation, reduction of social securities and creation of monopolies**.

**Jagdish Bhagwati** argues that globalization has brought the unprecedented rate of growth and inequality is diminishing down. Reductions in government regulations may lead to more efficient allocation of resources. If properly governed, globalization would certainly emerge as the most powerful force for social good today.

## SOCIAL LIBERALISM

The basic premise of social liberalism is found in the pretext of **revival of welfare state**. The twentieth century witnessed the growth of state intervention in most western states and in many developing ones.

Much of this intervention took the form of social welfare: attempts by government to provide welfare support for its citizens by overcoming poverty, disease and ignorance.

If the minimal state was typical of the nineteenth century, during the twentieth century modern states became welfare states. This occurred as a **consequence of a variety of historical and ideological factors**.

- Governments, for example, sought to achieve national efficiency, healthier work forces and stronger armies.
- They also came under electoral pressure for social reform from newly enfranchised industrial workers and, in some cases, the peasantry.
- Within liberalism, the case for social welfare has been made by modern liberals, in marked contrast to classical liberals, who extol the virtues of self-help and individual responsibility.

Modern liberals defend welfarism on the basis of equality of opportunity.

- If particular individuals or groups are disadvantaged by their social circumstances, then the state possesses a social responsibility to reduce or remove these disadvantages to create equal, or at least more equal, life chances.
- Citizens have thus acquired a range of welfare or social rights, such as the right to work, the right to education and the right to decent housing. Welfare rights are positive rights because they can only be satisfied by the positive actions of government, through the provision of state pensions, benefits and, perhaps, publicly funded health and education services.
- During the twentieth century, liberal parties and liberal governments were therefore converted to the cause of social welfare. For example, the expanded welfare state in the UK was based on the Beveridge Report (1942), which set out to attack the so-called 'five giants' – want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness.
- It memorably promised to protect citizens 'from the cradle to the grave'. In the USA, liberal welfarism developed in the 1930s during the administration of F. D. Roosevelt, but reached its height in the 1960s with the 'New Frontier' policies of John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson's 'Great Society' programme.

### CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

The general umbrella of political thought that favors **individual liberty** over the power of central government.

### SOCIAL LIBERALISM

Takes from Classical Liberalism to focus on **social liberties**.

### AMERICAN CONSERVATISM

Takes from Classical Liberalism to focus on preserving **economic liberties**.

### PROGRESSIVISM

Support or advocacy for improvement of society through political reform—especially with the help of government.

### LIBERTARIANISM

Belief that people should be mostly free to make their own economic and social decisions, **free of government**.

DANIEL MIESSLER 2019

Social liberalism was further developed in the second half of the twentieth century with the emergence of so-called social-democratic liberalism, especially in the writings of John Rawls. Social-democratic liberalism is distinguished by its support for relative social equality, usually

seen as the defining value of socialism. In **A Theory of Justice (1970)**, Rawls developed a defence of redistribution and welfare based on the idea of 'equality as fairness'. He argued that, if people were unaware of their social position and circumstances, they would view an egalitarian society as 'fairer' than an inegalitarian one, on the grounds that the desire to avoid poverty is greater than the attraction of riches. He therefore proposed the 'difference principle': that social and economic inequalities should be arranged so as to benefit the least well-off, recognizing the need for some measure of inequality to provide an incentive to work. Nevertheless, such a theory of justice remains liberal rather than socialist, as it is rooted in assumptions about egoism and self-interest, rather than a belief in social solidarity.

Prominent scholars of this school are:

- John Rawls,
- Ronald Dworkin,
- Amartya Sen,
- Joseph Stiglitz

### **LIBERALISM AS AN AMORPHOUS IDEOLOGY**

Sartori writes that a liberalism is "a concept so amorphous and changeable as to be left readily at the mercy of arbitrary stipulations."

"Liberalism" is not a static creed or dogma, for dogmatism provides its own restraints. It is rather a tentative attitude towards social problems which stresses the role of reason and human ingenuity. On the basis of its changing tendencies, it has been called negative and positive liberalism. Sometimes it is associated with individualism, and at others with democracy or social democracy.

### **PRESENT STATUS OF NEOLIBERALISM**

#### **NEOLIBERALISM: THE IDEA THAT SWALLOWED THE WORLD**

*The word Neoliberalism has become a rhetorical weapon, but it properly names the reigning ideology of our era – one that venerates the logic of the market and strips away the things that make us human.*

*- Stephen Metcalf*

- There is a dominant "neoliberal agenda" for pushing deregulation on economies around the world, for forcing open national markets to trade and capital, and for demanding that governments shrink themselves via austerity or privatisation. The authors cited statistical evidence for the spread of neoliberal policies since 1980, and their correlation with anaemic growth, boom-and-bust cycles and inequality.

- Neoliberalism is an old term, dating back to the 1930s, but it has been revived as a way of describing our current politics – or more precisely, the range of thought allowed by our politics. In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis
- Over the past few years, as debates have turned uglier, the word has become a rhetorical weapon, a way for anyone left of centre to incriminate those even an inch to their right.
- the political thinkers most admired by Thatcher and Reagan helped shape the ideal of society as a kind of universal market and of human beings as profit-and-loss calculators. The goal was to weaken the welfare state and any commitment to full employment, and – always – to cut taxes and deregulate.
- But “neoliberalism” indicates something more than a standard rightwing wish list. It was a way of reordering social reality, and of rethinking our status as individuals.
- In short, “neoliberalism” is not simply a name for pro-market policies, or for the compromises with finance capitalism made by failing social democratic parties. It is a name for a premise that, quietly, has come to regulate all we practise and believe: that competition is the only legitimate organising principle for human activity.
- There was, from the beginning, an inevitable relationship between the utopian ideal of the free market and the dystopian present in which we find ourselves; between the market as unique discloser of value and guardian of liberty, and our current descent into post-truth and illiberalism.
- **Adam Smith’s “invisible hand”** had already given us the modern conception of the market: as an autonomous sphere of human activity and therefore, potentially, a valid object of scientific knowledge.
- **In classical liberalism, merchants simply asked the state to “leave us alone” – to laissez-nous faire. Neoliberalism recognised that the state must be active in the organisation of a market economy.** The conditions allowing for a free market must be won politically, and the state must be re-engineered to support the free market on an ongoing basis.
- That isn’t all: every aspect of democratic politics, from the choices of voters to the decisions of politicians, must be submitted to a purely economic analysis. So, ideally, the state provides a fixed, neutral, universal legal framework within which market forces operate spontaneously. The conscious direction of government is never preferable to the “automatic mechanism of adjustment” – i.e. the price system, which is not only efficient but maximises liberty, or the opportunity for men and women to make free choices about their own lives.

#### WE MUST MOVE ON FROM NEOLIBERALISM IN THE POST-COVID ERA

No event since World War II’s end has had as profound a global impact as COVID-19. The pandemic has triggered a public health and economic crisis on a scale unseen in generations and has exacerbated systemic problems such as inequality and great-power posturing.

The only acceptable response to such a crisis is to pursue a **“Great Reset” of our economies, politics, and societies.** Indeed, this is a moment to re-evaluate the sacred cows of the pre-pandemic system, but also to defend certain long-held values.

Need of the hour is sustainable development, of thinking of health, education, environment, etc in the cycle of progress. Misuse of Technology should be stopped and 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution should be wisely crafted.

**Neoliberal ideology of global economic system should be re-thinked.** Free-market fundamentalism has eroded worker rights and economic security, triggered a deregulatory race to the bottom and ruinous tax competition, and enabled the emergence of massive new global monopolies. Trade, taxation, and competition rules that reflect

decades of neoliberal influence will now have to be revised. Otherwise, the ideological pendulum – already in motion – could swing back toward full-scale protectionism and other lose-lose economic strategies.

Specifically, we will need **to reconsider our collective commitment to “capitalism”**. We must **rethink what we mean by “capital”** in its many iterations, whether financial, environmental, social, or human.

COVID crisis has demonstrated that companies that invested in strengthening their long-term vitality have been better equipped to weather the storm. In fact, the pandemic has hastened the **shift toward a stakeholder model of corporate capitalism**.

To meet that need, the WEF’s International Business Council has developed a set of **“Stakeholder Capitalism Metrics,”** so that businesses can get on the same page when it comes to assessing value and risks.

The Great Reset should seek to lend a voice to those who have been left behind, so that everyone who is willing to “co-shape” the future can do so. The reset that we need is not a revolution or a shift to some new ideology. Rather, it should be seen as a pragmatic step toward a more resilient, cohesive, and sustainable world. Some of the pillars of the global system will need to be replaced, and others repaired or strengthened. To achieve shared progress, prosperity, and health requires nothing more – or less.

## FASCISM

### PYQ

1. Examine the conception of the State in the ideologies of Fascism and Marxism. (2014) 15M
2. Comment on: "Nothing against the State, nothing over it, nothing beyond it." – Mussolini (2018) 10M

### FASCISM

The defining theme of fascism is the idea of an organically unified national community, embodied in a belief in ‘strength through unity’. The individual, in a literal sense, is nothing; individual identity must be entirely absorbed into the community or social group. The fascist ideal is that of the ‘new man’, a hero, motivated by duty, honour and self-sacrifice, prepared to dedicate his life to the glory of his nation or race, and to give unquestioning obedience to a supreme leader.



### What is fascism?



Word **fascia** was being used in Italy to refer to a political group or band, usually of revolutionary socialists. Mussolini employed the term to describe the paramilitary armed squads he formed during and after the First World War that fascism acquired a clearly ideological meaning.

**Robert Paxton** says that fascism is "a form of political behavior marked by obsessive preoccupation with community decline, humiliation, or victimhood and by compensatory cults of unity, energy, and purity, in which a mass-based party of committed nationalist militants, working in uneasy but effective collaboration with traditional elites, abandons democratic liberties and pursues with redemptive violence and without ethical or legal restraints goals of internal cleansing and external expansion".

- **Ernst Nolte** tried to define fascist core as a 'resistance to transcendence'
- **A. J. Gregor** belief that it looks to construct 'the total charismatic community'
- **Roger Eatwell** asserted that it is a 'holistic-national radical Third Way'.

### Evolution of Fascism



liberalism, conservatism  
and socialism - 19th  
century ideologies

Fascism - 20th century  
ideology

Whereas liberalism, conservatism and socialism are nineteenth-century ideologies, fascism is a child of the twentieth century; some would say specifically of the period between the two world wars. Indeed, fascism emerged very much as a revolt against modernity, against the ideas and values of the Enlightenment and the political creeds that it spawned. The origins and meaning of fascism have provoked considerable historical interest and often fierce

disagreements. No single factor can, on its own, account for the rise of fascism; rather, fascism emerged out of a complex range of historical forces that were present during the inter-war period.

In the first place, democratic government had only recently been established in many parts of Europe, and democratic political values had not replaced older, autocratic ones. Moreover, democratic governments, representing a coalition of interests or parties, often appeared weak and unstable when confronted by economic or political crises. In this context, the prospect of a strong leadership brought about by personal rule cast a powerful appeal.

Second, European society had been disrupted by the experience of industrialization, which had particularly threatened a lower middle class of shopkeepers, small businessmen, farmers and craftsmen, who were squeezed between the growing might of big business, on the one hand, and the rising power of organized labour, on the other. Fascist movements drew their membership and support largely from such lower middle-class elements. In essence, fascism was an '**extremism of the centre**' (Lipset, 1983), a revolt of the lower middle classes, a fact that helps to explain the hostility of fascism to both capitalism and communism.

The period after the First World War was deeply affected by the Russian Revolution and the fear amongst the propertied classes that social revolution was about to spread throughout Europe. Fascist groups undoubtedly drew both financial and political support from business interests. As a result, **Marxist** historians have **interpreted fascism** as a form of **counter-revolution**, an attempt by the **bourgeoisie to cling on to power by lending support to fascist dictators**.

The **world economic crisis of the 1930s** often provided a **final blow to already fragile democracies**. Rising **unemployment and economic failure produced an atmosphere of crisis and pessimism that could be exploited by political extremists and demagogues**

The **First World War** had **failed to resolve international conflicts and rivalries, leaving a bitter inheritance of frustrated nationalism and the desire for revenge**. Nationalist tensions were strongest in those 'have not' nations that had either, like Germany, been defeated in war, or had been deeply disappointed by the terms of the Versailles peace settlement, for example Italy and Japan. In addition, the experience of war itself had generated a particularly militant form of nationalism and imbued it with militaristic values.

### **Fascist Rule:**

Fascism emerged very much as a revolt against modernity, against the ideas and values of the Enlightenment and the political creeds that it spawned.

In Italy a Fascist Party was formed in 1919, its leader, **Benito Mussolini**, was appointed prime minister in 1922, and by 1926 a one-party Fascist state had been established.

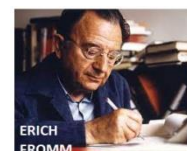
The National Socialist German Workers' Party, known as the Nazis, was also formed in 1919, and under the leadership of **Adolf Hitler**. It consciously adopted the style of Mussolini's Fascists. Hitler was appointed German chancellor in 1933 and in little over a year had turned Germany into a Nazi dictatorship.



During the same period, **democracy collapsed or was overthrown in much of Europe**, often being supplanted by right-wing, authoritarian or openly fascist regimes.

Some scholars regard fascism as an ever-present danger, seeing its roots in human psychology, **Erich Fromm called fascism 'the fear of freedom'.**

Modern civilization has produced greater individual freedom but with it the danger of isolation and insecurity. Individuals may flee from freedom, seeking security in submission to an all-powerful leader or a totalitarian state during times of crisis like **political instability** or an **economic crisis** could therefore **produce conditions in which fascism could revive**.



### **Is Fascism an ideology?**

Fascism is a difficult ideology to analyze, for at least two reasons.

**First**, it is sometimes doubted if fascism can be regarded, in any meaningful sense, as an ideology. Lacking a rational and coherent core, fascism appears to be, as Hugh Trevor-Roper put it, **'an ill-assorted hodge-podge of ideas'**.

Fascists were drawn to ideas and theories less because they helped to make sense of the world, in rational terms, but more because they had the capacity to stimulate political activism. Fascism may thus be better described as a political movement or even a political religion, rather than an ideology.

**Second**, fascism has been a complex historical phenomenon that it has been difficult to identify its core principles or a 'fascist minimum', sometimes, seen as generic fascism. Doubt has been cast on whether Imperial Japan, Vichy France, Franco's Spain, Perón's Argentina and even Hitler's Germany can be classified as fascist. Controversy surrounds the relationship between modern radical right groups, such as the Front National in France and the

British National Party in the UK, and fascism: whether these groups can be called as 'fascist', 'neo-fascist', 'post-fascist', 'extreme nationalist'.

It's also difficult to call fascism as an ideology because

1. It emphasis upon action not ideas,
2. Emphasis on the soul not the intellect
3. Was itself a product of a backlash against the rationalist ideas of the Enlightenment

Perhaps the best we can hope to do is to identify a collection of themes that, when taken together, constitute fascism's structural core. The most significant of these include:

1. Anti-rationalism
2. Struggle
3. Leadership and elitism
4. Socialism
5. Ultra-nationalism.

### **Anti-rationalism**

Although fascist political movements were born out of the upheavals that accompanied World War I, they drew on ideas and theories that had been circulating since the late nineteenth century. Among the most significant of these were anti-rationalism and the growth of Counter-Enlightenment thinking.

Generally, the Enlightenment, based on the ideas of universal reason, natural goodness and inevitable progress, was committed to liberating humankind from the darkness of irrationalism and superstition. In the late nineteenth century, however, thinkers had started to highlight the limits of human reason and draw attention to other, perhaps more powerful, drives and impulses.

For instance, **Friedrich Nietzsche** proposed that human beings are motivated by powerful emotions, their 'will' rather than the rational mind, and in particular by what he called the 'will to power'. In "Reflections on Violence", the French syndicalist **Georges Sorel** highlighted the importance of 'political myths', and especially the 'myth of the general strike', which are not passive descriptions of political reality but 'expressions of the will' that engaged the emotions and provoked action.

**Henri Bergson** (1859–1941), the French philosopher, advanced *the theory of vitalism*. This suggests that the purpose of human existence is therefore to give expression to the life force, rather than to allow it to be confined or corrupted by the tyranny of cold reason or soulless calculation.

The rejection of the enlightenment gave fascism a predominantly negative or destructive character. Fascists, in other words, have often been clearer about what they oppose than what they support. Fascism thus appears to be an 'anti-philosophy': it is anti-rational, anti-liberal, anti-conservative, anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois, anti-communist and so on. In this light, some have portrayed fascism as an example of nihilism. Nazism, in particular, has been described as a 'revolution of nihilism'. However, fascism is not merely the negation of established beliefs and principles. Rather, it is an attempt to reverse the heritage of the Enlightenment.

### **Struggle**

The ideas that the UK biologist **Charles Darwin** (1809–82) developed in **On the Origin of Species** ([1859] 1972), popularly known as the theory of 'natural selection', had a profound effect not only on the natural sciences, but also, by the end of the nineteenth century, on social and political thought.

The notion that human existence is based on competition or struggle was particularly attractive in the period of intensifying international rivalry that eventually led to war in 1914.

**Social Darwinism** also had a considerable impact on emerging fascism. In the first place, fascists regarded struggle as the natural and inevitable condition of both social and international life. Only competition and conflict guarantee human progress and ensure that the fittest and strongest will prosper.

Fascism is perhaps unique among political ideologies in regarding war as good in itself, a view reflected in **Mussolini's** belief that 'War is to men what maternity is to women.' Fascism's conception of life as an 'unending struggle' gave it a restless and expansionist character. National qualities can only be cultivated through conflict and demonstrated by conquest and victory. This was clearly reflected in **Hitler's** foreign policy goals, as outlined in **Mein Kampf** and 'Lebensraum [living space] in the East', and the ultimate prospect of world domination.

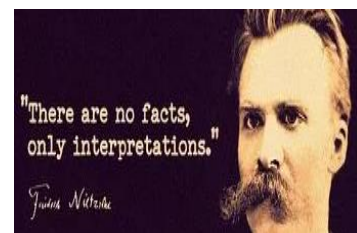
### Leadership and elitism

Fascism also stands apart from conventional political thought in its radical rejection of equality. Fascism is deeply elitist and fiercely patriarchal; its ideas were founded on the belief that absolute leadership and elitism are natural and desirable. Human beings are born with radically different abilities and attributes, a fact that emerges as those with the rare quality of leadership rise, through struggle, above those capable only of following.

Fascists believe that society is composed, broadly, of **three kinds of people**.

1. First and most importantly, **there is a supreme**, all-seeing leader who possesses unrivalled authority.
2. Second, there is a '**warrior elite**', exclusively male and distinguished, unlike traditional elites, by its heroism, vision and the capacity for self-sacrifice.
3. Third, **there are the masses**, who are weak, inert and ignorant, and whose destiny is unquestioning obedience.

The fascist approach to leadership, especially in Nazi Germany, was crucially influenced by **Friedrich Nietzsche's** idea of the **Übermensch**, the 'over-man' or 'superman', a supremely gifted or powerful individual.



- **Nietzsche** portrayed the 'superman' as an individual who rises above the 'herd instinct'
- conventional morality and lives according to his own will and desires. Fascists, however, turned the superman ideal into theory of supreme and unquestionable political leadership.
- In this way, leadership became exclusively an expression of charismatic authority emanating for the leader himself. According to **Max Weber** charismatic authority is
- potentially unlimited. As the leader was viewed as a uniquely gifted individual, his authority is absolute.

### Socialism

At times, both Mussolini and Hitler portrayed their ideas as forms of 'socialism'. Mussolini had previously been an influential member of the Italian Socialist Party and editor of its newspaper, Avanti, while the Nazi Party espoused a philosophy it called 'national socialism'.

To some extent, undoubtedly, this represented a cynical attempt to elicit support from urban workers. Nevertheless, despite obvious ideological rivalry between fascism and socialism, fascists did have an affinity for certain socialist ideas and positions. In the first place, lower-middle-class fascist activists had a profound distaste for large-scale capitalism, reflected in resentment towards big business and financial institutions.

Fascists also despise the materialism that capitalism fosters: the desire for wealth or profit runs counter to the idealistic vision of national regeneration or world conquest that inspires fascists.

### Ultra-nationalism

Fascism embraced an extreme version of chauvinistic and expansionist nationalism. This tradition regarded nations not as equal and interdependent entities, but as rivals in a struggle for dominance. Fascism seeks to promote more than mere patriotism, it wishes to establish an intense and militant sense of national identity, which **Charles Maurras** called '**integral nationalism**'.

Fascist nationalism did not preach respect for distinctive cultures or national traditions, but asserted the superiority of one nation over all others. In the explicitly racial nationalism of Nazism this was reflected in the ideas of Aryanism. Between the wars, such militant nationalism was fuelled by an inheritance of bitterness and frustration, which resulted from World War I and its aftermath.

***Human beings are motivated by powerful emotions, their 'will' rather than the rational mind, and in particular by what he called the 'will to power'.***

-- Friedrich Nietzsche

### Fascism as nihilism

- Fascism is literally a belief in nothing, it rejects established moral and political principles. Nazism, in particular, has been described as a 'revolution of nihilism'.
- However, fascism is not merely the negation of established beliefs and principles. Rather, **it is an attempt to reverse the heritage of the Enlightenment**. It represents the darker underside of the western political tradition, the central and enduring values of which were not abandoned but rather transformed or turned upside-down.
- For example, in fascism, 'freedom' came to mean **unquestioning submission**, 'democracy' was equated with absolute dictatorship, and 'progress' implied constant struggle and war.
- Moreover, despite an undoubted inclination towards nihilism, war and even death, fascism saw itself as a creative force, a means of constructing a new civilization through 'creative destruction'.

### AUTHORITY

Fascists regard authority as a manifestation of personal leadership or charisma, a quality possessed by unusually gifted (if not unique) individuals. Such charismatic authority is, and should be, absolute and unquestionable, and is thus implicitly, and possibly explicitly, totalitarian in character.

### Collectivism - 'Common Good before Private Good'

Despite obvious ideological rivalry between fascism and socialism, fascists did have an affinity for certain socialist ideas and positions.

1. Lower **middle-class fascist activists** had a profound distaste for capitalism,
2. Fascism, like socialism, **subscribes to collectivism**, putting it at odds with 'bourgeois values' of capitalism. Fascism places the community above the individual
3. Fascist regimes often **practiced socialist-style economic policies** designed to regulate or control capitalism. Capitalism was thus subordinated to the ideological objectives of the fascist state.

***'Capitalism is a system by which capital uses the nation for its own purposes. Fascism is a system by which the nation uses capital for its own purposes.'*** -----**Oswald Mosley**

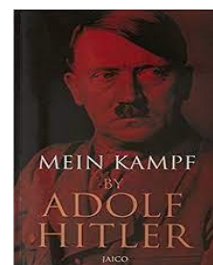
Both the Italian and German regimes tried to bend big business to their political ends by policies of nationalization and state regulation.

### Fascism and the state

Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany represented different versions of fascism and were inspired by distinctive and sometimes rival beliefs.

Fascist regimes and movements have therefore corresponded to one of two major traditions:

1. **Italian Fascism**: Emphasizes their deal of an all-powerful or totalitarian state;
2. **German Nazism** stresses the importance of race and racialism



### Fascism as a totalitarianism

***'Everything for the state; nothing against the state; nothing outside the state.'***

**--Mussolini**

### Totalitarianism

- Totalitarianism is an all-encompassing system of political rule that is typically established by pervasive ideological manipulation and open terror and brutality.
- It differs from autocracy, authoritarianism and traditional dictatorship in that it seeks 'total power' through the politicization of every aspect of social and personal existence.
- Totalitarianism thus implies the **outright abolition of civil society**: the abolition of 'the private'.
- Fascism and communism have sometimes been seen as left-and right-wing forms of totalitarianism, based upon their rejection of toleration, pluralism and the open society. However, radical thinkers such as **Marcuse** have claimed that liberal democracies also exhibit totalitarian features.

Generic fascism tends towards totalitarianism in at least two respects.

1. **Extreme collectivism** that lies at the heart of fascist ideology, the goal of the creation of 'fascist man' – loyal dedicated and utterly obedient – effectively obliterates the distinction between 'public' and 'private'



existence. The good of the collective body, the nation or the race, is placed firmly before the good of the individual: collective egoism consumes individual egoism.

2. **Leader with unlimited authority:** Fascist leader principle invests the leader with unlimited authority, it violates the liberal idea of a distinction between the state and civil society. An unmediated relationship between the leader and his people implies active participation and total commitment on the part of citizens; in effect, the politicization of the masses

### **Adolf Hitler**

In **Mein Kampf** (My Struggle) **Hitler** drew together expansionist German nationalism, racial anti-Semitism and a belief in relentless struggle into a near-systematic Nazi programme.

Fascism's conception of **life as an 'unending struggle'** gave it a restless and expansionist character. National qualities can only be cultivated through conflict and demonstrated by conquest and victory.

**Fascism is deeply elitist and fiercely patriarchal;** its ideas were founded upon the belief that absolute leadership and elite rule are natural and desirable. Human beings are born with radically different abilities and attributes, and it rejects equality

Such a pessimistic view of the capabilities of ordinary people put fascism starkly at odds with the ideas of liberal democracy

### **BENITO MUSSOLINI**

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**'Everything for the state; nothing against the state; nothing outside the state.'**

- Mussolini's belief that human existence is only meaningful if sustained and determined by the community. This, however, required that the state be recognized as 'the universal ethical will', a notion embodied in totalitarianism.
- Outside the state, 'no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value'.
- The individual's political obligations are thus absolute and all-encompassing. Nothing less than unquestioning obedience and constant devotion are required of the citizen.
- This fascist theory of the state has sometimes been associated with the ideas of the German philosopher **Hegel**. Because Hegel's political philosophy amounted to an uncritical reverence of the state.

### **State as an instrument of modernization**

- Fascist state saw state as an agent of modernization. Italy was less industrialized than many of its European neighbors, and many fascists equated **national revival** with **economic modernization**.
- All forms of fascism tend to be backward-looking, highlighting the glories of a lost era of national greatness. However, Italian fascism was distinctively forward-looking, extolling the virtues of modern technology and industrial life and looking to construct an advanced industrial society.
- **Filippo Marinetti**— that glorified factories, machinery and industrial life.
- This inspired tendency influenced fascism for futurism.



### Case study for fascism

#### Fascism today

- The world has not seen a resurgence in the radical right since fascism was defeated in the first half of the 20th century. But new proponents of this global right-wing upsurge markedly differ from the fascist leaders of the past century; they seem to espouse a new type of fascist ideology.
- Almost a century ago, classical fascism abandoned democratic liberties in order to pursue internal cleansing and external expansion without ethical or legal restraints. Although Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco pursued these internal and external goals in different ways, they all set themselves in opposition to a series of "others" that were not only ideological (liberals and communists) but also ethnic (Jews, Roma and other minorities).
- The contemporary socio-political context is quite different from that of the first half of the 20th century.
- The main difference between the classical and contemporary incarnations of fascism is that the version we observe today is operating within democratic systems rather than outside them. Proponents of 20th-century fascism wanted to change everything from above; Mussolini defined it as "revolution against revolution". But fascism today aims to transform democratic systems from within.
- Thus over the past decade, racist, homophobic, and xenophobic laws have resurfaced within democratic regimes through democratic procedures across the globe. These recrudescences are potentially more dangerous than surviving pockets of classical fascism's anti-democratic ideology because mainstream conservative forces tend to ignore and even support them.

## MARXISM

### Marxism

*This handout covers Karl Marx as a political thinker and also Marxism as an ideology. (These two topics are merged together)*

#### PYQ

- 2003- The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle (Karl Marx). Comment.
- 2006- Comment on: that the anatomy of this civil society, however, has to be sought in political economy (Marx).
- 2013- Discuss in what sense Marx's understanding of state can be considered as materialistic.
- 2014- Examine the conception of the State in the ideologies of Fascism and Marxism.
- 2015- Discuss the 'crisis of legitimacy' in capitalist societies. (Habermas)
- 2016- Explain Marx's understanding of Human Alienation.

- 2019- What is the contemporary relevance of Marxism?
- 2020- Discuss Marx's concept of class

Karl Marx was one of the great critics in the Western intellectual tradition. His ideas exerted a decisive influence on all aspects of human endeavor and transformed the study of history and society. By developing a theory of **praxis**, i.e. unity of thought and action, Marx brought about a sea change in the entire methodology of the social sciences.

Marxism, like Liberalism, has become an **umbrella ideology**. However, from its very inception Marxism was faced with a variety of criticism and critical acclaim.

In the context of Marx's writings, scholars spoke of two Marx: the young and the old. The young Marx was concerned with alienation, human nature and morality; the old was more deterministic, with his in-depth study of the workings of capitalism.

### **Background of Marxism**

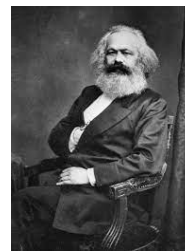
- Marxism emerged in context of failure of classical liberalism to fulfill its own promises.

The liberal theory hinged on two principles,

1. Politics as involving **non-coercive solutions** to antagonistic interests, and
  2. The importance of **democratic methods** as being effective in making these adjustments.
- However, Classical liberalism, with its **doctrine of laissez-faire and free market economy**, had failed to create conditions of human freedom. The legal and political equality sought by the exponents of liberalism had been achieved with tremendous economic inequalities and consequent injustice.
  - Working classes were living under the constant threat of insecurity, malnutrition, discomfort, disease and death. These developments belied all the humanitarian hopes of **universal economic progress**.
  - Marx interpreted liberalism and classical economics as articulating and defending the interests of the ruling class. He proposed to create a social philosophy that was in tune with the **aspirations of the rising proletariat**.

### **Early socialist ideas:**

Early socialists like **Saint-Simon** and **Louis Blanc** in France advocated a more or less **centralized economy** under state control. Early socialism was influenced by French Revolution. **Francois Noel Gracchus Babeuf** was the first to point out the contradictions within the revolutionary slogans of liberty and equality of French revolution. He advocated socialization of industry and land to complete the Revolution that began in France in 1789.



**Robert Owen** and others sought to project images of model communities governed by the principle of 'free cooperation' instead of 'free competition'

According to **Louis Blanc**, the competitive capitalism then developing in France tended to stunt the human personality, pitting one man against another and driving the weaker to the wall. Thus, he proposed establishing **"social workshops"** financed by the state to guarantee work for everyone. These workshops, controlled by the workers themselves, would gradually take over most production until a socialist society would come into being.

Their critique of capitalism was both **practical and ethical**. They looked down on capitalism as a wasteful and inefficient system, for it led to poverty, unemployment and squalor. Capitalism was evil because it produced a **class-divided society**. It made human beings selfish, acquisitive and ruthlessly competitive, making them lose their natural instincts of compassion, fellow-feeling and solidarity.

**Blanqui** was convinced of the inevitability of class struggle, in which he regarded the rich as the aggressors. Similarly, in '**What Is Property?**', **Proudhon** declared, "**Property is theft!**".

It must be noted that, early socialist could not visualize the mechanisms of changing capitalism, as they wrote at a time when it was too early to foresee the course of development of capitalism. Thus, sought to bring about the desired changes by appealing to the feelings of human brotherhood and solidarity.

#### **Marx's understanding of early socialists:**

Marx called the Socialists who preceded him as "**Utopians**", for their emphasis on class harmony and non-revolutionary politics. According to Marx, destruction of capitalism was inevitable due to inherent contradiction in the theory of liberalism and capitalism. In his words, '**Capitalist dig their own graves**'

**Marx and Engels** sought to replace Utopian socialism by **scientific socialism** for the analysis of social problems and finding their solution. The solution came in the form of an elaborate philosophy which is now recognized as Marxism.

#### **Defining Marxism**

Marxism may be defined as a set of political and economic principles founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in order to lay scientific foundations of socialism. It seeks to understand the problems of human society through historical analysis and treats history as a process of conflict between antagonistic forces and classes.

#### **Influence on Marx**

Marx inherited and integrated three legacies—**German philosophy, French political thought and English economics**—in his theoretical construct.

1. From the German intellectual tradition, he borrowed the **Hegelian method of dialectics** and applied it to the material world.
2. From the **French Revolutionary tradition**, he accepted the idea that apocalyptic change motivated by a "messianic" idea was not only desirable, but also feasible. He applied his method with a view to bringing about large-scale changes within the industrialized capitalist economy.
3. He used the writings of the **English classical economists** to understand the dynamics of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution. In the preface to the **Capital** (1861-1879), he spoke of the "**natural laws of capitalist production**". England, being the most developed society in his time, was the subject of his study.

#### **Tenets of Marxism**

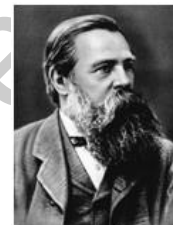
1. Dialectical Materialism

2. Historical Materialism
3. Doctrine of Class Conflict
4. Theory of Surplus Value.

### Dialectical materialism

**“Everything is and is not, for everything is fluid, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away. All is flux and nothing stays still. Nothing endures but change.” --Engels**

Dialectical materialism is the **philosophical programme** of Marxism. Marx's idea of dialectical materialism was influenced by G.W.F. Hegel's dialectics of ideas and Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophical materialism.



Hegel

### What is dialectics?

“Dialectics” is a term used to describe a method of philosophical argument that involves some sort of contradictory process between opposing sides. It is a discourse between two or more people holding different points of view about a subject but wishing to establish the truth through reasoned methods of argumentation.

- It uses the concepts of **thesis, antithesis and synthesis** to explain the growth and development of human history.
- According to **Hegel**, idea evolves into new forms because of its inherent tension, exemplified in the clash between thesis (partial truth) and antithesis (opposite of thesis—again a partial truth) resulting in synthesis (which is nearer the truth). As long as synthesis itself contains partial truth, it takes the role of thesis and undergoes the same process until this process reaches absolute truth, exemplified in '**absolute idea**' or '**absolute consciousness**'.
- Based on dialectics, Hegel postulated that 'idea' or 'consciousness' was the essence of universe, and that all social institutions were the manifestation of changing forms of idea.
- In Hegelian philosophy, dialectics applied to the process, evolution and development of history. Hegel viewed **history as the progressive manifestation of human reason**, and the development of a **historical spirit**.

### Marx and dialectics

- Marx acknowledged Hegel's great contribution, which was to recognize world history as a process, as constant motion, change, transformation, and development, and to understand the internal connections between the movement and its development.
- **Marx agreed with Hegel that there was a constant movement in the dialectical process, but emphasized the real rather than the ideal, the social rather than the intellectual, matter rather than the mind.** For Marx, the key idea was not the history of philosophy, but the **history of economic production and the social relations** that accompanied it.
- Secondly, Marx as a materialist believed that **consciousness was determined by life**, and not the other way around. Unlike the latent conservatism and idealism of Hegelian philosophy, Marxism rejected the status quo—capitalism—as intolerable. In **German Ideology**, he observed that, “It is not the consciousness of men

that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their existence". Thus, Marx postulated that material conditions of man determine his consciousness.

- Marx believed that **'matter' (and not the idea) was the essence of universe, and that social institutions were the manifestation of changing material conditions.** Matter underwent the dialectical process because of its inherent tension, until perfect material conditions, exemplified by a **'rational mode of production'**, come into existence. This rational mode of production is **Communism**.

**Engels**, in his **Anti-Duhring** postulated three laws of material dialectics (or dialectical materialism):

1. The transformation of quantity into quality, and vice versa
2. The interpenetration of opposites
3. The negation of negation.

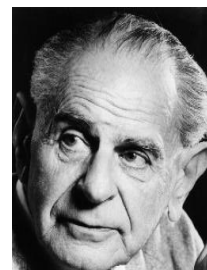
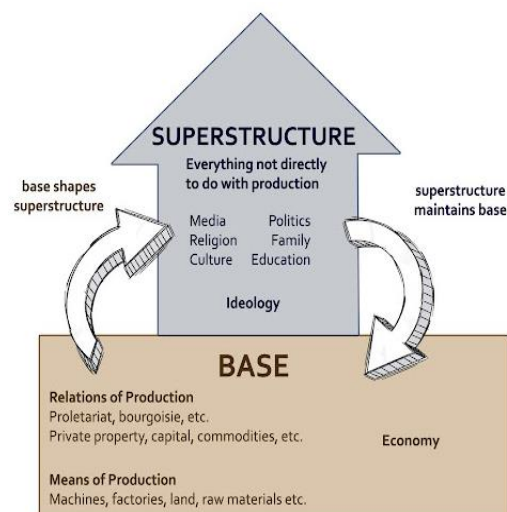
These principles signify the process of resolving contradictions of material conditions of human life which paves the way for social progress. **Class conflict is also a manifestation of this process.**

### Historical Materialism

- While dialectical materialism represents the philosophical basis of Marxism, historical materialism represents its **scientific basis**. Historical Materialism implies that in any given epoch, the economic relations of society—production, distribution and exchange of material goods for the satisfaction of human needs—play important role in shaping their social, political, intellectual and ethical relationships.
- Marx's theory, which he called **"historical materialism"** or the **"materialist conception of history"** is based on Hegel's claim that history occurs through a dialectic, or clash, of opposing forces.
- Marx accepted this notion of the dialectic, but rejected **Hegel's idealism** and held that **historically and socially specific ideologies prevented people from seeing the material conditions of their lives clearly.**
- Marx noted that **each generation inherited a mass of productive forces, an accumulation of capital, and a set of social relations which reflected these productive forces.** The new generation modified these forces, but at the same time these forces prescribed certain forms of life, and shaped human character and thought in distinct ways.
- According to Marx, the **mode of production and exchange was the final cause of all social changes and political revolutions**, which meant that for minds or thoughts to change, society would have to change.



- According to the Marxist perspective, the structure of society may be understood in terms of **its base and superstructure**. Base consists of the mode of production while superstructure is represented by its legal and political structure, religion, morals, social practices, literature, art and culture, etc.
- While Hegel viewed national cultures as the driving force of history, for Marx it was the social classes whose antagonism supplied the motive power for change. Thus, **class conflict is logical conclusion of Marx's historical materialism**.
- According to Marx, the first human act is not contemplation but production. In his words, **"the first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy human needs, the production of material life itself"**.
- Secondly, Marx, in his analysis of history, mentioned the important **role of ideology** in perpetuating false consciousness among people, and demarcated the stages which were necessary for reaching the goal of Communism. In that sense, both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were performing their historically destined roles.
- His materialistic conception of history **emphasized the practical side of human activity**, rather than speculative thought as the moving force of history. Thus, historical materialism is considered as scientific basis of Marxism.
- However, it is also criticized as **economic determinism**. The underlying assumption of the materialistic conception was the role played by economic factors, which formed the base. Everything else belonged to the superstructure and are considered irrelevant.
- According to **Karl Popper**, it is impossible to have first-hand knowledge based on some set of laws that governed society and human individuals. Secondly, Popper also rejected **Marx's social engineering as dangerous**, for it treated individuals as subservient to the interests of the whole. Thus, for Popper, along with Plato and Hegel, Marx was also an **enemy of the open society**.
- Secondly, **Popper** claimed that Marx's scientific socialism and base and superstructure model was wrong not only about society, but also about science. The capitalism that Marx described never existed. Marx made the economy all-important, ignoring factors like religion, nationality, friendship.



#### DOCTRINE OF CLASS CONFLICT

- Marx's class theory rests on the premise that **"the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."**
- As per base and superstructure model of Marx, relations of production in any given epoch are determined by the pattern of ownership of the means of social production. This gives rise to two contending classes—**haves and have-nots**.



- Changes in the mode of production bring about changes in the nature of contending classes, but they do not bring about an end of the class conflict. **Change in the nature of contending classes is itself brought about by a social revolution.**
- When **material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, these relations turn into their fetters.** The new social class which comes to own new means of production, feels constrained by these fetters and overthrows the old dominant class in a revolution.
- **As a result of social revolution, an old social formation is replaced by a new social formation.** In this process old contending classes are replaced by new contending classes, **but class conflict continues on a new plane.**
- With the development of forces of production, one mode of production is replaced by another, but class conflict (between the new social classes) reappears under the new social formation. Thus, ancient slave-owning society was characterized by class conflict between master and slave; medieval feudal society, by class conflict between lord and serf; and the modern capitalist society, by class conflict between bourgeoisie (capitalists) and proletariat (workers).
- Marx, in his '**communist manifesto**' declares that, class conflict in modern capitalist society has appeared in more **crystallized form** and the historical class conflict has entered a **decisive phase.**
- According to Marx the proletarian movement is different from earlier movements as it is **self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority**, in the interest of the immense majority.
- According to Marx and Engels, this revolution would bring about the **final emancipation of mankind** because there is no class below the proletariat which could be subjected to exploitation when the proletariat comes to power.
- It would place all means of social production under social ownership, make **work compulsory** for everyone, and develop the forces of production to their full potential. This will pave the way for the emergence of **communism** i.e. classless society which will mark the end of class conflict.
- While Dialectical materialism forms the philosophical basis of Marxism, Historical materialism forms the philosophical basis of Marxism, Class Conflict is **sociological basis of Marxism**. However, according to critics, Marx is **making politics out of history.**

### Stages of History and Class Conflict at Each Stage

Stage	Oppressing Class	Oppressed Class
Primitive Communism	No classes = No Conflict	
Slavery	Slave Owners	Slaves
Feudalism	Landowners	Serfs
Capitalism	Bourgeoisie	Proletariat
Socialism	State Managers	Workers
Communism	No Classes = No Conflict	

### Theory of Surplus Value

- Theory of surplus value represents **economic basis** of Marxist critique of capitalism. It is meant to demonstrate how the capitalist mode of production involves the exploitation of working class. Marx himself considered his theory of surplus-value his most important contribution to the progress of economic analysis.
- It is through this theory that he was able to place the capitalist mode of production in his historical context, and to find the root of its inner economic contradictions.
- According to Marx, **labour is the sole creator of value**. Of the four elements of production, viz. land, labour, capital and organization, three elements—land, capital and organization are sterile because they are capable



of reproducing only what is put in them. **Labour is the only element which produces value in society.** In other words, the value of a commodity is the product of labour.

- **In a free market society, fostered by capitalism, the worker is forced to sell his labour at the market price. When more and more job-seekers come to the market place, the market price of their labour, i.e. their wage-rate declines.**
- Their employer -the capitalist exploits their full potential to work but pays them only subsistence wages for their own and their families' sustenance. This means that Marx's theory of surplus-value is basically a deduction (or residual) theory of the ruling classes' income.
- **Thus, the value produced by the worker may be split into two parts:**
  1. One part is paid to the worker toward his wages;
  2. Other part is pocketed by the capitalist as his profit.
- This second part is described by Marx as 'surplus value'. Rent and interest are paid from the surplus value.
- In other words, surplus value denotes the value of the labour done by the worker for which he is not paid at all; it forms part of the capitalist's profit, rent and interest on the sterile elements of production (organization, land and capital). It is, therefore, a glaring example of the worker's exploitation under capitalism.

### **Analysis of Capitalism**

- Marx defined capitalism by two factors,
  1. First, by the use of **wage labour**. In the Capital, he pointed out that "capitalism arises only when the owners of the means of production and subsistence meet in the market with the free labourer selling his labour power". The basis of capitalism was wage labour.
  2. The second defining characteristic of capitalism was **private ownership** of the means of production, which was distinct from personal property. The ownership of the means of production was the crucial feature of capitalism, for it was restricted to a few. Those who did not own anything were forced to sell their labour power and became wageearners.
- In the **Critique of the Gotha Programme**, Marx implied that even if the state owned the means of production, wage labour would still continue. This was not real Socialism, but a new variation of capitalism, namely state capitalism. Many critics often argued that the former Soviet Union was not a true Socialist state, but a tyrannous form of state capitalism.
- In the Communist Manifesto, Marx has highlighted three reasons that made capitalism attractive.
  1. It brought **remarkable economic progress** by revolutionizing the means of production and developing technology as never before.
  2. In its search for markets and raw materials, capitalism and the bourgeoisie **crossed national boundaries** and penetrated every corner of the world, drawing the most backward nations into their fold. Capitalism was **cosmopolitan and international**.
  3. Capitalism has successfully created an **urban civilization**. It eliminated the distinction between the town and country, and enabled the peasants to come out of what Marx called "the idiocy of rural life".

- In spite of these achievements, Marx contended that capitalism had outlived its use because of the sufferings and hardships it caused. He has highlighted 3 disadvantages of capitalism
  1. The **eviction of peasants** from their land, the loss of their sources of income and the creation of the proletariat.
  2. The exploitation of the proletariat that can be measured with the help of **surplus value theory**. The capitalist squeezed the working class like a sponge to extract the last drop of profit.
  3. **Alienation of the worker**- To Marx, labour had to be satisfying and fulfilling, which was not possible under capitalism. The reason was the lack of control the worker had over the productive process. Division of labour and specialization of skills had made the worker a specialist, preventing the full development of all his talents, thereby stifling his potential.
- To Marx, exploitation and alienation made possible the revolutionary transformation of capitalism. Capitalism divided society into two hostile camps. The proletariat grew larger and larger, with their miseries and pauperization attenuated, while the bourgeoisie would become numerically small, prosperous and well-off.
- With wages pushed low, small entrepreneurs were forced to join the working class or merge with giant monopolies. The **ever-increasing appetite** of the capitalist class led to an ever-increasing demand for markets, raw materials and profits, representing a crisis within capitalism.
- Marx argued that the increase in productivity did not benefit the worker, who only received exchange, and not use value. The surplus value was appropriated by the capitalist. With polarization of society, class struggles became sharper, making a revolution on a world scale inevitable. Marx conceived of a worldwide transformation, for capitalism was truly international and global in impact.
- Due to these inherent contradiction within Capitalism, Marx asserted that capitalism contained within itself seeds of its own destruction. In his words, **“capitalist dig their own graves”**. Within capitalism, increase in monopolies led to growing exploitation, misery and pauperization of the working class. Simultaneously, as the working class increased in number, it became better organized and acquired greater bargaining skills. This initiated a revolutionary process, leading to a new socialist arrangement in which common possession replaced private ownership of the means of production.
- Lastly, for **Marx**, basis for revolution was **moral imperative of emancipation and freedom**. According to him, unless private property was abolished, the worker could not be truly free. But once this was achieved, human nature would undergo a transformation, as a true Communist society is based on socialized humanity.

### **Marx's Analysis of the State**

- Marx critically dissected the **Hegelian** theory of the modern state and its institutions in his **Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right**. According to Marx, the state was not, as Hegel described, a **“march of God on earth”**, but an instrument of the dominant economic class exploiting and oppressing the other sections of society.
- Marx also rejected the dichotomy between civil society and the state in Hegelian philosophy, and concluded that the state and bureaucracy did not represent universal interests.
- Marx regarded the state as an **evil**, because it was a product of a society corrupted by class struggles.
- Secondly, the state belonged to the **realm of the superstructure**, as it was conditioned and determined by its economic base.

- Thirdly, in the course of history, each mode of production would give rise to its own specific political organization, which would further the interests of the economically dominant class. In a capitalist society, the state, as defined in the Manifesto, was **"the executive committee of the bourgeoisie"**.
- However, in **Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte**, Marx talked about **relative autonomy** of state. As per the theory of **Bonapartism**, the state apparatus served the ruling class, but acquired independence and became autonomous when the adversary classes were in a state of temporary equilibrium.
- In the **Anti Duhring** (1878), **Engels** regarded the state as an unnatural institution arising when society was divided into **"two irreconcilable and antagonistic classes"**. In such a situation, a state could not be democratic, for a true democratic society would have to be both classless and stateless.
- Thus, Marx envisaged a **classless, stateless society of true democracy** and full communism, in which the political state disappeared.

### **Marx's Concept of communism and Socialism**

- For **Marx and Engels**, Communist society eliminated all forms of alienation for the human individual, from nature, from society and from humanity. It did not merely mean consumer satisfaction, but the abolition of all forms of estrangement, the liberation of human forces and enhancement of personal creativity. The institution of private property and division of labour, identified as the source of alienation, would be destroyed as a prerequisite for the new and truly human phase in history.
- The **transitional phase**, the phase between the destruction of the bourgeois state and the inauguration of a communist society, symbolized by the **dictatorship of the proletariat**.
- According to Marx, the first phase (dictatorship of proletariat) would still be **"stamped with the marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges"**. The principle of distribution with regard to consumer goods would still be the principle of performance. Thus, Engels clarified that the **"strictest centralization of state power"** was necessary during this phase to fill the vacuum as a result of the destruction of the old order till the creation of the new one.
- In the second phase i.e. under communism, production would be abundant, and distribution would be on the basis of one's needs. The principle of distribution would be **"from each according to his ability to each according to his needs"**. Lenin characterized these two phases as "socialism" and "communism" respectively.
- In the Communist Manifesto, Marx described the nature of Communist society as one in which the classes and its antagonisms would have disappeared. The bourgeois society would be replaced by "an association, in which the **free development of each is the condition for the free development of all**".
- In the Communist society as portrayed in the **German Ideology**, Marx hoped that "each can become **accomplished in any branch he wishes**", allowing a person to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner." The anti thesis between mental and physical labour would be abolished, for labour would become not only a means of life, but also a **prime want of life**. Thus, communism for Marx would be **humane and moral**, leading to real emancipation of man from alienation. It will also be end of ideological evolution of man.
- For Marx, communism is the true solution of the conflict between **existence and essence**, between **objectification and self-affirmation**, between **freedom and necessity**, between **individual and species**. It is a solution of the riddle of history and knows itself to be this solution".

- However, Marx did not specify the mechanisms of change from stage I to stage II in the post-revolutionary phase of human history. Even Engels in the **Anti Duhring**, introduced the notion of the **“withering away of the state”**, and the fact that “government of persons would be replaced by administration of things”. However, he too did not provide elaborated blueprint for shift from socialism to communism.

### **Marx's concept of freedom**

Marx's concept of freedom is an ethical **foundation of the dialectic** that he develops throughout his works. Marx objects to liberal understanding of freedom as **‘absence of restrictions.’** According to Marx, liberal concept of freedom mistakes the negative tendencies of human beings and their egoism for their **true essence**. He also claims that liberal approach to human nature is both totally ahistorical and excludes the social-political situation in which man shapes his true nature. In **‘On the Jewish Question: Zur Judenfrage,’** he says that the liberal concept of freedom is wrong because it regards a human being as **“an isolated monad”** that pursues his own private happiness while avoiding conflict with others. By criticizing this negative and abstract liberal understanding of human beings, Marx refuses the dualistic distinction between individuals as isolated atoms and a society as just arithmetic aggregate of parts.

His concept of freedom can be understood in 4 parts

#### **1. As individuals' collective use of rationality to reconcile individual freedom and public freedom**

- In comparison with classical economists' concept of freedom which consists in the maximal absence of restraints on the individuals' choices for increase of their interests, Marx's concept of freedom lies in individuals' collective use of rationality that can develop their concrete social relations as a proper sphere of realization of human freedom.
- Marx posits that the reconciliation between individual freedom and communal freedom can be accomplished through the abolition of private property on the one hand and the communistic regulation of production on the other hand. For this, “the process of material production should be managed by freely associated men, and stands under their conscious and planned control.”

#### **2. As an aesthetical appreciation of the result of labour and a normative reflection of the relations of the production.**

- Highlighting the exploitation of workers by capitalists in his theory of ‘surplus value’, Marx held that workers can be free only if they are capable of abolishing the wage-labor system that forces them to sell their labour power to the owners of the means of production in the labour market.
- In **‘Capital’**, Marx's concept of freedom suggests that workers should collectively participate in governing social wealth and socially own the means of production. Due to this, workers will be able to improve their aesthetical capabilities to appreciate the products created by them and also develop critical abilities to judge the social relations reproduced by them.

#### **3. As realization of all-round human and increase of disposable leisure time.**

- Contrary to Bentham's one principle of utility, Marx includes morality, cooperation, and expression of the subject in order to achieve freedom as an actualization of all-round human beings.
- Marx suggests that the necessary labor time should be reduced to the extent of guaranteeing increase of free disposable time to develop other aspects of human beings. Therefore, for Marx, the true realm of freedom, **“the development of human powers as an end in itself”** can be achieved through the absolute **reduction of**

**necessary labor time** and the comparative increase of the disposable time needed in developing all-round aspects of the human beings.

#### 4. As critical awareness of commodity fetishism and overcoming it.

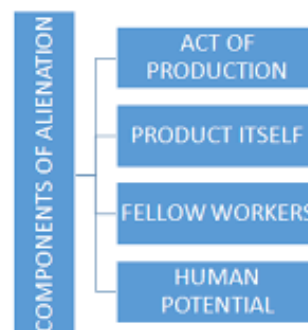
- In this, Marx has highlighted the importance of generating the '**true consciousness**' among workers to free them from alienation. For Marx, freedom can be achieved by understanding the critique of ideology of capitalism by workers. According to him, human's work as an objective expression of one's free mind degenerates into alienated labor under the capitalist process of production. Thus, the alienated workers should understand the whole process of alienation under the capitalism and apprehend the origin of fetishism.
- Marx believes that freedom can be achieved through the **restoration of the workers into a master of the products of their labor**.

#### Marx's theory of alienation

- Marx, in his **Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts** laid down the ethical basis of socialism and humanist foundations of freedom.
- He severely criticized the capitalist system for its **dehumanizing effect**. He demonstrated that the capitalist system deformed the productive activity of man and caused his alienation in several ways. Accordingly, the alienation of man in contemporary society was an outcome of the system of commodity production, division of labour, private ownership, market economy, monetization of exchange and similar features of the capitalist system.
- In the capitalist mode of production worker invariably loses the ability to determine life and destiny when deprived of the right to think (conceive) of themselves as the director of their own actions; to determine the character of said actions; to define relationships with other people; and to own those items of value from goods and services, produced by their own labour.

#### Alienation of the worker from their product

The design of the product and how it is produced are determined, not by the producers who make it (the workers), nor by the consumers of the product (the buyers), but by the capitalist class who besides accommodating the worker's manual labour also accommodate the intellectual labour of the engineer and the industrial designer.



#### Alienation of the worker from the act of production

- Generation of products (goods and services) is accomplished with an endless sequence of discrete, repetitive motions that offer the worker little psychological satisfaction for "**a job well done**".
- By means of commodification, the labor power of the worker is reduced to wages (an exchange value).
- The **worker is alienated from the means of production via two forms**;
  1. wage compulsion and
  2. The imposed production contents.

- The **worker is bound to unwanted labour as a means of survival, labour is not "voluntary but coerced" (forced labor)**. Work does not give him a sense of satisfaction as a creative worker; under mechanization, the work tends to become increasingly routinized and monotonous. This leads to product alienation.

#### **Alienation of the worker from other workers**

- Capitalism **reduces the labour of the worker to a commercial commodity** that can be traded in the competitive labour-market, rather than as a constructive socio-economic activity that is part of the collective common effort performed for personal survival and the betterment of society.
- Man is alienated from other men through the competitive character of the economic system which forces everyone to live at someone else's expense and divides society into **irreconcilable class interests**.

#### **Alienation of the worker from himself**

- After alienation from product, process and fellow workers, man is ultimately alienated from himself.
- Man is alienated from himself because the **realm of necessity dominates his life** and reduces him to the level of animal existence, leaving no room for the taste of literature, art and cultural heritage.
- He elaborates that because of alienation, society splits into two classes e.g. **"the toiling masses"** and **"the non-workers"** and he terms them as **"the haves"** and **"the haves-not"** classes. Even the capitalist, according to Marx, experiences alienation, but as a "state", differently from the worker, who experiences it as an "activity".
- According to **Marx**, alienation is the objective structure of experience and activity in capitalist society. Capitalist society, in its very essence, requires that people be placed into such a structure and, even better, that they come to believe and accept that it is natural and just. The only way to get rid of alienation would be to get rid of the basic structure of separation of the producers from the means of production and establish communism.
- Alienation is one of the central concepts in the young Marx's philosophy, providing an analysis of what is perceived to be an essential feature of the capitalist way of production and how it relates to us as human beings. Moreover, it enables us to see Marx's normative approach, how labor should be characterized in a non-alienated sense.

#### **LATER DEVELOPMENT: POST MARX**

##### **Lenin**

- Later on, **Lenin** tried to resolve the contradiction in moving from socialism to communism in his own theory of state given in his work **"The State and Revolution"**. Lenin elaborated theory of a **party consisting of professional revolutionaries**, on the plea that the workers were capable of only trade union, rather than revolutionary consciousness.
- According to **William Ebenstein**, Lenin's most important contribution to Marxism is his concept of the **professed revolutionary**.
- There was a misconception (before Lenin) that the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat would end the very existence of state. Lenin warned his followers and detractors that it was a wrong conception. Only the establishment of communism will end the state.





- The proletarian state, according to Lenin, is the **bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie**. He also makes a distinction between anarchist theory of the destruction of state and Marxist theory of withering away of state.
- Marx thought that class-consciousness would develop in working class spontaneously due to economic misery and leadership would come from their ranks. Lenin on the other hand, considered that a disciplined communist party could only arouse political consciousness amongst workers.
- For that purpose, Lenin believed that first workers were to form labour organisations with primarily economic objectives, operating openly, legally and as publicly as conditions allow. Side by side with such organisations, there are to be small groups of professional revolutionaries, patterned after the army and the police, highly select and entirely secret.
- Lenin's concept of political party was based on principle of '**democratic centralisation**'. Lenin described party as **Vanguard of socialism**.

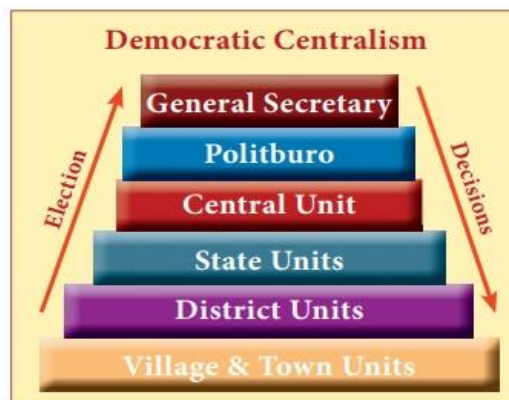
### Features of Lenin's party

The party had three main characteristics that became distinctive of communist parties everywhere.

1. The party was assumed to possess in Marxism a unique type of **knowledge and insight**, with a uniquely powerful method, the dialectic. Therefore, the party had something of the quality of a **priesthood**, and it demands of its members corresponding submission of judgment and a total subjection of private ends to the ends of the organization.
2. Its ideal was one of **total dedication**, first to the revolution and then to completing the construction of the new society for which the revolution had opened the way.
3. Lenin's party was designed to be a tightly **centralized organization**, excluding any form of federalism or autonomy for any local or other constituent bodies. It was to have a quasi-military organization, subjecting its rank and file to strict discipline and rules of obedience and its leaders to a hierarchical chain of authority from the top down.

From the beginning to the end of his career Lenin was convinced that the success of his movement depended on two factors

1. **Material union** through rigid organization and discipline, and
2. **Ideological union** through Marxism as a kind of creed or faith.



However, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in practice, was reduced to the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party over the proletariat. Both **Kautsky** and **Rosa Luxemburg** were critical of the Leninist experiment. Kautsky characterized the Bolshevik revolution as a **coup d'état**, and its socialism as "**barrack socialism**", for it had nothing to do with majority rule and parliamentary democracy. Luxemburg expressed solidarity with Lenin and Trotsky for pre-empting a socialist revolution, but was critical of their abrogation of spontaneity, freedom of opinion and socialist democracy.





### **Imperialism The highest stage of capitalism:**

Lenin in his work Imperialism The highest stage of capitalism tried to explain the lease of life which capitalism in the west had received.

Capitalism, in his view, had grown so much that raw material and domestic markets in the capitalist countries; were not enough to permit its further growth. Therefore, it had become necessary for these countries to find raw material and new markets for investment in Asia, Africa and South America. Thus, capitalism was exported from Europe. It had acquired a monopolistic position and had become reactionary. Due to colonization of Asia, Africa and South America, capitalism had acquired a parasitic position.

Thus, capitalism had reached its highest stage (imperialism) and had exhausted the historical mission of creating conditions for a proletarian revolution in different capitalist countries. However, capitalism in its imperialist manifestation had created conditions for a socialist revolution at the global stage.

## **MAOISM**

Mao is the second Marxist revolutionary (Lenin being the first) who brought about a successful revolution in a backward country like China. Moreover He did so primarily with the help of the peasant class which **Marx** thought had no revolutionary Potential. Even **Lenin** had not placed much faith in the present class Mao like Lenin was both a practitioner and theoretician of Marxism.



His Philosophy was that, **the Power flows through barrel of gun**. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the laboring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

### **Mao's understanding of social contradictions**

Mao reformulated the idea of social contradictions in Marxist thought. For him contradictions or the unity of opposites (**thesis and antithesis**) leading to **synthesis**. Both fundamental of historical development but Mao projected the idea of contradictions in Chinese conditions.

In his famous essay on **Correct handling of contradictions** he talked of two kinds of contradictions **Antagonistic and non antagonistic**.

1. **Non antagonistic contradictions**- contradiction between the peasantry and proletariat also contradiction between various communist parties
2. **Antagonistic contradictions** - Between **Chinese people and comprador bourgeoisie** also between **socialist and capitalist camps** and **colonial and imperial countries**

### **Peasant Revolution**

While the Marxist Leninist legacy greatly influenced him, Mao was a great innovator in his own right. He modified Marxism Leninism by relying heavily on the peasantry's revolutionary potential.

It needs to be remembered that Marx has treated the peasantry with some degree of contempt. For the most part, peasantry for him was conservative and reactionary; it was no more than a bag of potatoes unable to make a revolution. Even Lenin had relied mainly on the proletariat in the urban centres of Russia for mass insurrections and had not placed much faith in the peasantry's revolutionary potential.

Mao's Fundamental contribution, therefore, was to bring about a successful revolution in China mainly with the help of the peasantry. More than anything else, his revolutionary model became relevant for several Afro-Asian peasant societies.

Secondly, Mao in his cultural revolution's phase drew some lessons from the course of post revolutionary reconstruction in the Soviet Union and warned against the emergence of the new bourgeois class who were beneficiaries of the transitional period. Mao was aware that the party's top hierarchy could itself become a new class.

### **United Front and New Democracy**

Mao realized that the peasantry in China was not strong enough to win the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Therefore, it was necessary to seek the help of the other classes of Chinese society. It was in this context that Mao emphasized the concept of a United Front. It was seen as an alliance between different partners who had some common interest like opposition to imperialism.

The nature of such a United Front would depend on the historical situation. Its object would be to pursue the resolution of the principal contradiction. Such a United Front strategy was employed by Mao by establishing the alliance of Chinese peasantry with the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie. It also intended the non-party elements among the Chinese intellectuals.

In pursuance of his **United Front strategy**, Mao gave a call in 1940 for a new democratic republic of China. It was to be a state under the joint dictatorship of several classes. In 1945, he proposed a state system which is called New Democracy. While the united front consisted of an overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, the leading position in the alliance had to be in the hands of the working class. It meant that the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie would not only be partners in the United Front, they would also be partners of the ruling alliance, but they had to be only junior partners. He called such a state as the 'People's Democratic Dictatorship'.

It was a combination of two aspects - democracy for the people and dictatorship over the 'enemies of the people' or the 'running dogs of imperialism'. In concrete terms, it meant that the Chinese democratic state would incorporate the peasantry, the working class, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in the ruling alliance. In doing so Mao deviated from the classical Marxist notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, he combined Marxism and nationalism.

### **NEO-MARXISM**

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- Broadly speaking, contemporary Marxist thought—better known as neo-Marxism—has developed in two directions: **humanist and scientific**.
- While **Humanist** school, also known as **critical school**, was developed in Frankfurt, **scientific** or **structuralist** school was developed by **Althusser** and was influenced by **Gramsci**.

#### FRANKFURT SCHOOL

- Critical/Frankfurt school is philosophical movement originated in Germany but shifted to **university of Colombia** in the US due to Hitler.
- Their primary focus was on inquiring about reasons for decline of labour and communist movements in the West. They also attempted to analyse mass's attraction towards fascism.
- They were primarily influenced by Marx's concept of alienation and freedom. The humanist strain of neo-Marxism draws particularly on the work of the Young Marx and constitutes the mainstream of critical theory. **Its dominant themes are the problems of alienation and ways to human emancipation.**
- They also focus on the relative importance of its basic tenets and identification of some new forms of domination and conflict emerging in the present-day society. They no longer believed that the superstructure is wholly dependent on the base.
- Recognition of a sort of interdependence between base and superstructure has led to extensive analysis of various aspects of superstructure.
- **Scholars of this institute were hostile to capitalism**; they were also disillusioned with Soviet socialism. They were critical of soviet Marxism for totalitarianism and for neglecting most important concern of Marx i.e. **Freedom**. They sought to evolve an alternative path for social development in accordance with the essence of Marxism as understood by them.
- They were also **critical of science and rationality**. According to critical theorists, science kills reasoning and degrade human values. Secondly, criteria of science is 'true' or 'false', instead of 'right' or 'wrong'. Thirdly, science creates instrumental rationality i.e. materialism.
- **Freedom and Emancipation**- Neo Marxists were influenced by Marx's concept of alienation. Their primary area of study was study of loss of freedom in capitalist society and post capitalist societies. They focused on **emergence of mass society** and problems associated with consumerist culture.
- However, they also **moved beyond Marx**. For Marx, freedom is emancipation from necessity. However, for critical school theorist, Marx's analysis was relevant for 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 20<sup>th</sup> century, capitalist have deployed culture and technology as new tools of domination which they call as '**technological domination**' and exploitation. Consumerism has become new culture. Thus, workers have lost revolutionary potential and are getting pleasure in consumerist goods.
- They were concerned with the way in which social interests, conflicts and contradictions are expressed in thought, and how they are produced and reproduced in systems of domination.
- Through an examination of these systems they hoped to enhance awareness of the roots of domination, undermine ideologies and help to compel changes in consciousness and action.
- **Theodor Adorno (1903-69), Max Horkheimer**-They have analyzed impact of culture industry, mass media and advertisement industry. According to them, they create false needs and desires. Mass media has created **mass society and homogenized persons**. This create demand for mass production and leads to thriving of

Capitalism. Secondly, they were also critical of science for creating **instrumental rationality** under which workers find happiness in commodities rather than generating revolutionary consciousness.

- **Herbert Marcuse- One Dimensional Man-**

- He has underlined subjective, critical and humanist dimension of Marxism and rejected Soviet Marxism as distorted form of Marxism. He sought to revive original humanist interpretation of Marxism as tool of analysis as well as instrument of social change.
- In his '**One Dimensional Man**' he has pointed out that, capitalists exercise monopolistic control not only on production and distribution but create false desires and demands by cleaver manipulation of mass media. This results in craze for consumer goods which develops into distorted second nature of man in which people behave like herds of sheep and goats. Thus, under capitalism, only 1 dimension of man i.e. **consumer side is remaining**.
- Further, consumer capitalism renders oppressed sections insensitive to their original discontent by **stimulating trivial and material desires** which can easily be satisfied. This leads to alienation of man and eliminates possibility of generating revolutionary consciousness among proletariat. Thus, he was very pessimistic about revolution.
- Marcuse argued that human beings should first be made aware of their **condition of unfreedom where after they will easily find their way to freedom**.

- **Jurgen Habermas- The Theory of Communicative Action**

- He is considered as **2<sup>nd</sup> generation critical school theorist**. According to him, mass media has hijacked public sphere and distorted our views and choices. This has reduced citizens into spectators by killing diversity and creating homogenized subjects.
- He has given theory of **public sphere and communicative action**, in which he has advocated deliberative democracy and participation in civic affairs in ideal speech situation.

- They have provided a cultural critique of bourgeois society—particularly in terms of **technological domination** rather than capitalist domination.

#### STRUCTURALIST SCHOOL

- It was originated in Marx and later on developed by Gramsci. The scientific strain of **neo-Marxism is primarily concerned with its scientific and explanatory character**. It is **particularly interested in structures as well as relative importance of cultural, ideological and social factors**. Their core concern was to improve the methodology of Marxist analysis.
- While Marx gave base and superstructure model in his **Historical Materialism**, Gramsci who is also known as theoretician of superstructure established importance of superstructure by highlighting role of civil society in generating false consciousness.
- Thus **Louis Althusser** (1918-90), a French communist and philosopher, challenged the humanist themes of Marxist thinking in the early 1960s, and asserted the importance of analysing the deep structures of human societies—especially their modes of production.



- While emphasizing role of instruments of superstructure like culture, society, religion in shaping history, he has proposed '**Multi Sectoral Analysis**' as a methodology of analysis of capitalist society. He was critical of economic determinism of Marx.
- He has also given example of Russian revolution where economic structure and not political structure was primary cause of revolution.
- Under the concept of "**ideological interpellation**", he has analyzed the necessary relationship between state and subject such that a given economic mode of production might subsist. It includes not only an analysis of the state and its legal and educational systems but also of the psychological relationship which exists between subject and state as ideology. This narrative of subjectification was intended explain how regimes or states are able to maintain control by reproducing subjects who believe that their position within the social structure is a natural one.
- These ideologies are instantiated by institutions or "Ideological State Apparatuses" like family, schools, church, etc., which provide the developing subject with categories in which she can recognize herself.
- Based on this, Althusser argued that a Dictatorship of the Proletariat is necessary so that Ideological State Apparatuses productive of the bourgeois subject can be replaced with those productive of proletarian or communist subjects.

### **Conclusion**

At present, it is now becoming increasingly clear that the problem of fighting out the forces of domination and exploitation is no longer confined to the struggle of working class against capitalist class, as originally envisaged in late nineteenth century.

The relevance of Marxism in contemporary times was under question because:

1. Collapse of communism in 1991(fall of USSR)
2. Marxism never implanted in western societies, therefore being utopian

The upholders of '**dependency theory**' have been arguing that in the twentieth century the focus of struggle has shifted to the fight of the developing nations against the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Contemporary relevance of Marxism could be understood in following ways

1. As a mode of Analysis: Marxism as a mode of analysis in relevant times. Marx's historical materialism gives an important analysis of history and politics. Marxism is applied in context of International politics to understand World systems theory and dependency school. Though it suffers biases, yet it is accepted as important to understand political reality.
2. Marxism as political and program of action: It influenced East European countries, 3rd world countries like that of Africa, Asia and Latin America till 1990's
3. Post the USSR disintegration, the attraction towards Marxism got reduced and since the one of Global financial crisis, there is renewed interest. We see popularity of Marxism in Latin America and some parts of Europe.

4. Other neo-Marxists have amply demonstrated that domination and exploitation in human society assume many complex forms. In this context, neo-Marxist have pointed out that framework of Marxism must be modified suitably to tackle all these problems in the contemporary context.
5. While **Thomas Piketty** in his book 'The capital in 21st century' has discussed the relevance of Marxist ideas. The growing inequalities in US and EU can be solved by global progressive wealth taxes. Eg: Occupy wall street, Yellow vest movement etc highlight the relevance of Marxism.
6. **Richard Wolff** had mentioned that the rise of homelessness in US is because of Capitalism. Therefore, we can conclude that despite the baseness, Marxism will remain relevant in the contemporary times.

## SOCIALISM

### PYQ

2017: Define Socialism. Discuss the salient features of Fabian Socialism. 15M

2014: Comment on the view that socialism in the 21st century may be reborn as anti-capitalism. 20M

2009: Comment on: Socialism is a much used hat, whose original shape no one can define (C E M Joad). 20M

### Socialism

**Socialism** is a social and economic doctrine that calls for **public rather than** private ownership or control of property **and natural resources**. According to the socialist view, **individuals do not live or work in isolation but live in cooperation with one another**. Furthermore, **everything that people produce is in some sense a social product**, and everyone who contributes to the production of a good is entitled to a share in it. Society as a whole, therefore, should own or at least control property for the benefit of all its members.

The term 'socialism' is variously understood and defined by various thinkers and schools of thought. **C.E.M. Joad**, in his Introduction to Modern Political Theory (1924) significantly observed:

*Socialism proves to be a different creed in the hands of its exponents, varying with the temperaments of its advocates and the nature of abuses which have prompted their advocacy ... Socialism, in short, is like a hat that has lost its shape because everybody wears it.*

The **Oxford English Dictionary** defines socialism as 'a theory or policy that aims at or advocates the ownership or control of the means of production—capital, land, property, etc.—by the community as a whole and their administration in the interests of all'.

Socialism stands for an **economic system under which the major instruments of social production** (that is the instruments by which production is carried out for consumption by the larger society) **are placed under the ownership and control of public authority in order to ensure that they are properly utilized to secure the public interest.**

*"From each according to his ability, to each according to his contribution."*

### **Origin and Evolution of socialism**

- Although socialists have sometimes claimed an intellectual heritage that goes back to **Plato's Republic or Thomas More's Utopia**, as with liberalism and conservatism, the origins of socialism lie in the nineteenth century.
- Socialism arose as a reaction against the social and economic conditions generated in Europe by the growth of industrial capitalism. Socialist ideas were quickly linked to the development of a new but growing class of industrial workers, who suffered the poverty and degradation that are so often features of early industrialization.
- Although socialism and liberalism have common roots in the Enlightenment, and share a faith in principles such as reason and progress, socialism emerged as a critique of liberal market society and was defined by its attempt to offer an alternative to industrial capitalism.

### **Socialism before Marx**

#### **Robert Owen**

- Robert Owen was the first to use the word Socialist in 1827 in his Cooperative Magazine. He was a self-made Scottish Cotton Manufacturer who believed Industry-Factory could work as the liberator of mankind from poverty and ignorance.
- This could happen only if, as he showed, production is organised on cooperative principles implemented by the state and not on competition.
- He also believed that human nature could be transformed, if environment could be reconstructed. In this reconstructed environment, education would be a powerful conditioning influence.
- He also advocated the formation by public authorities of "villages of cooperation" to put the unemployed to work. He looked at cooperation not merely as a better alternative to competition in production, but also looked at it as a way for moral improvement of human beings.
- Owen was also a strong advocate of the right to work.
- His ideas caught the imagination of the working classes in Britain who moved on to build popular movements around his ideas leading eventually to the formation of trade unions which in his times, were considered illegal.

#### **Charles Fourier**

- A different socialist vision emerged from Charles Fourier who came from a merchant family made impoverished during the French Revolution.
- Wastage, inefficiency, boredom, and inequality of modern work appalled Fourier.



- His main interest was in making work pleasant and adjusted to the character of the individual. Therefore, he found division of labour unacceptable because it broke up work into minute repetitive operations.
- Unlike Robert Owen, he did not believe in the efficacy of big industry. Work should be concentrated in the countryside and small shops in towns where family life can be lived in continuities and where all can know each other. Work can be varied and enjoyable only if competition is eliminated and organised in cooperatives of small producers.

### **Saint Simon**

- Saint-Simon was, in contrast to Fourier, a man of science, industry and large administration. He was Rousseauian in spirit in that he believed the common man of work to be good, honest and virtuous.
- He disliked both aristocrats (corrupt) and scholars (arrogant) may be because he came from an impoverished junior branch of an aristocratic family.
- He was all for people's causes. Like Owen, he was a great believer in science, technology and Industry.
- But in contradiction to his distrust of scholars as arrogant, he believed that social reconstruction should follow the advice of what he called 'luminaries' - a learned elite. They must work towards the redesigning of social institutions with the aim of moral, intellectual and physical improvement of the poorest who also happen to be the most numerous class in society.
- In all of this, the state has to play a central role. The state must find work for all because all are capable of and want to work. What made him a socialist was his conviction that there is room only for one class in society, the workers. Wages should be according to one's capacity to work for the good of society. The non-workers are layouts and should be weeded out. Through state control of education and propaganda, the state should seek to bring about harmony.

The character of early socialism was influenced by the harsh and often inhuman conditions in which the industrial working class which was characterized by:

1. Low Wages
2. child and female labour
3. Working day often lasted up to twelve hours and
4. Threat of unemployment was ever-present.

In addition, the new working class was disorientated, being largely composed of first-generation urban dwellers, unfamiliar with the conditions of industrial life and work, and possessing few of the social institutions that could give their lives stability or meaning.

As a result, early socialists often sought a radical, even revolutionary alternative to industrial capitalism. For instance, Charles Fourier (1772–1837) in **France** and **Robert Owen** in the UK subscribed to utopianism in founding experimental communities based on sharing and cooperation.

**Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels** (1820–95) developed more complex and systematic theories, which claimed to uncover the 'laws of history' and proclaimed that the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism was inevitable.

In the late nineteenth century, the character of socialism was transformed by a gradual improvement in working-class living conditions and the advance of political democracy.

The growth of trade unions, working-class political parties and sports and social clubs served to provide greater economic security and to integrate the working class into industrial society. In the advanced industrial societies of Western Europe, it became increasingly difficult to continue to see the working class as a revolutionary force.

Socialist political parties progressively adopted legal and constitutional tactics, encouraged by the gradual extension of the vote to working-class men. By World War I, the socialist world was clearly divided between those socialist parties that had sought power through the ballot box and preached reform, and those that proclaimed a continuing need for revolution.

The **Russian Revolution of 1917** entrenched this split: revolutionary socialists, following the example of V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, usually adopted the term 'communism', while reformist socialists described their ideas as either 'socialism' or 'social democracy'.

The twentieth century witnessed the spread of socialist ideas into African, Asian and Latin American countries with little or no experience of industrial capitalism. Socialism in these countries often developed out of the anti-colonial struggle, rather than a class struggle. The idea of class exploitation was replaced by that of colonial oppression, creating a potent fusion of socialism and nationalism. India, a developing country, adopted a moderate form of Socialism based on the outlook of Congress Party.

### **Core Themes in Socialism**

One of the difficulties of analysing socialism is that the term has been understood in at least three distinctive ways.

- From one point of view, socialism is seen as an economic model, usually linked to some form of collectivization and planning. Socialism, in this sense, stands as an alternative to capitalism. Modern socialist tend to view socialism not so much as an alternative to capitalism, but as a means of harnessing capitalism to broader social ends.
- The second approach treats socialism as an instrument of the labour movement. Socialism, in this view, represents the interests of the working class and offers a programme through which the workers can acquire political or economic power. From this perspective, the significance of socialism fluctuates with the fortunes of the working-class movement worldwide.
- In a third and broader sense as a political creed or ideology, characterized by a particular cluster of ideas, values and theories. The most significant of these are:
  1. Community
  2. Cooperation
  3. Equality
  4. Class politics
  5. Common ownership

### **DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM**

	<b>Capitalism</b>	<b>Socialism</b>
<b>Equality</b>	Capitalism is unconcerned about equity. It is argued that inequality is essential to encourage innovation and economic development.	Socialism is concerned with equality in a sense of equal outcomes through redistribution of wealth.

<b>Ownership</b>	Private businesses will be owned by private individuals/companies	The state will own and control the main means of production. In some models of socialism, ownership would be by worker co-operatives.
<b>Efficiency</b>	It is argued that the profit incentive encourages firms to be more efficient, cut costs and innovate new products that people want. If firms fail to keep up, they will go out of business. This leads to unemployment due to structural changes.	It is argued that state ownership ensures efficient redistribution of outcomes and as in private sector, it is not concerned with profit for the sake of it.
<b>Unemployment</b>	In capitalist economic systems, the market is responsible for creating jobs. Due to business cycles, there are cyclical recession cycles which makes labour market unstable	Employment is often directed by the state. Therefore, the state can provide full employment even if workers are not doing anything particularly essential.
<b>Price controls</b>	Prices are determined by market forces. Firms with monopoly power may be able to exploit their position and charge much higher prices.	In a state-managed economy, prices are usually set by the government this can lead to shortages and surpluses.
<b>Taxation</b>	Limited taxes based on individual income	High taxes necessary to pay for public services

### REVOLUTIONARY AND EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

- When the workers' revolution did not take place, as Marx had foreseen that it soon will, there emerged strong reservations about Marxism as a body of doctrines. One who expressed this in systematic terms was a long time German Marxist **Eduard Bernstein**.
- In a book entitled **Evolutionary Socialism**, he elaborated a wholly different route to and tactics for achieving a socialist society. The other line of development took shape not because revolution did not come about, but because a large group of British Socialists had intrinsic reservations about Marxism.
- To further an alternative way-of achieving socialism together with strengthening democracy, leading socialists formed themselves into a Fabian Society in the middle of the 1880's and this version eventually came to be known as Fabian Socialism.
- Important names within this tradition are **Sydney and Beatrice Webb, G.D.H. Cole, Bernard Shaw, Laski, Tawney**, and many others.

Revolutionary socialism	Evolutionary socialism
<b>Revolutionary socialists believe strongly that the state and its' capitalist system are an obstacle in the path of progress and must be abolished.</b>	Evolutionary socialists agree that changes need to be made to society, but <b>believe in more 'gradualist' methods of realising socialism through existing political institutions</b>

<p><b>Revolutionary socialism</b> believe in controlling wealth on the whole</p>	<p>Evolutionary socialists take a more understated approach such as <b>taxation for redistribution of wealth</b></p>
<p><b>Revolutionary socialism, particularly defined by Karl Marx</b>, believes that the capitalist state cannot change society sufficiently because of its structure, and that creating a new socialist regime is the only way to make an equal society.</p> <p><b>Marx believed normatively in a "classless society"</b>, where people are sociable, co-operative and absolutely equal.</p>	<p>Evolutionary socialism, or social democracy as it is also known, <b>seeks to use current political processes to bring about an acceptance of socialist values, by reforming rather than restructuring the state entirely.</b></p> <p><b><u>Eduard Bernstein</u></b>, an early advocate of evolutionary socialism, considered Marx's call for revolution unnecessary and believed that <b><u>"success lies in a steady advance than in the possibilities offered by a catastrophic crash"</u></b></p>
<p><b>Revolutionary socialism is extremely critical of capitalism. It believes that capitalism is exploitative of the common man, who is often forced to work long hours for little personal gain.</b></p>	<p>Social democrats <b>do not agree with communists in believing that capitalism is inherently bad for society.</b> With a position that "capitalism as an economic system seems to have won... as organisation of economic activity is concerned"</p>
<p>State ownership system for industry is advocated, to provide a fairer deal to the people <b>by ensuring that everyone benefits from it, instead of only the wealthy 'bourgeoisie'.</b></p>	<p>Evolutionary socialism does advocate some state authority over industry through <b>"economic...intervention", though – because as socialists, they still believe that capitalism is a "morally defective means of distributing wealth".</b></p> <p>Social democrats believe that combining their belief in equality with a capitalist system to form a "mixed economy" is the best way of ensuring growth.</p>

## FABIANISM

*"For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did, most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless."*

- **Fabianism**, socialist movement and theory that emerged from the activities of the Fabian Society, which was founded in London in 1884.
- The name Fabian derives from **Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus**, the Roman general famous for his delaying tactics against Hannibal during the Second Punic War.
- The **early Fabians rejected the revolutionary doctrines of Marxism**, recommending instead a gradual transition to a socialist society.
- **Sydney Webb** maintained that the mission of the **socialists was to acquire knowledge by means of specialized research into the various manifestations of economic and social life**, to acquaint themselves with the machinery of legislation and administration, and **to put their knowledge and experience at the disposal of all political agencies.**

- This was the first systematic **doctrine of 'evolutionary socialism'**, as a substitute for the Marxian '**revolutionary socialism**'.
- **They sought to introduce socialism, not in a single stroke, but by degrees through state and cooperative ownership of industry, increasing power of labour in legislative and executive offices, growth of trade unions and educational movements and development of social consciousness—** through gradual democratization of society in the political, economic and intellectual fields.
- **They rely on the middle class unlike Marxist who rely on the working class for bringing about social change.**
- Two pioneers of Fabian theory—**Shaw and Sidney Webb**—were each advocates of the strategy of permeation. Webb insisted that unconscious socialism had already proceeded through public control of services, largely by the municipalities. He thus believed that the **Fabians should strive to influence the mainstream Liberal Party.**

Marxism	Socialism
It had envisaged revolution as an essential medium of change from capitalism to socialism.	It regarded <b>the</b> transition from capitalism to socialism <b>as a gradual process</b> ; it looked forward to the socialization of industry by the peaceful use of economic and political agencies already in hand.
<b>Marxian socialism</b> had relied on the working class to bring about the transition from capitalism to socialism;	Fabian socialism sought to make use of the services of the <b>middle class for developing the technique of bringing about a new social order</b> ; it considered arousing the social conscience of the community in favour of the socialist ideal as a significant achievement.

#### **What Fabian socialism strives for?**

Reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and vesting them in the community for the general benefit, so that the natural and acquired assets of the community could be equitably shared by all.

#### **REVISIONISM**

- **Eduard Bernstein** the exponent of Revisionism believed that **Liberal democracy was, the very substance of socialism**. According to **Bernstein** instead of class struggle and class rule, **democracy was a genuine partnership of all adult citizens in a limited government as their joint enterprise.**
- **Bernstein** pointed that the **class struggle had become less intense because the conditions of the working class had improved and middle class had expanded rather than shrunk.**
- According to **Bernstein**, revolution is neither possible nor needed. Bernstein supported the **idea of parliamentary road** to socialism. He rejected **Marx's** materialist interpretation of history which implies the inevitability of class conflict as the road to socialism.

#### **SYNDICALISM**

- **Syndicalism**, also called **Anarcho-syndicalism**, or **Revolutionary Syndicalism**, a movement that advocates direct action by the working class to abolish the capitalist order, including the state, and to establish in its place a social order based on workers organized in production units.
- The syndicalist, like the Marxist, was **opposed to capitalism and looked forward to an ultimate class war from which the working class would emerge victorious.** To the syndicalist, the state was by nature a tool of

capitalist oppression and, in any event, was inevitably rendered inefficient and despotic by its bureaucratic structure.

- As an appendage of the capitalist order, then, the **state could not be used for reform with peaceful means and must be abolished.**
- The structure of the ideal syndicalist community was generally envisioned somewhat as follows.
  - The unit of organization would be the local **SYNDICAT**, a free association of self-governing “producers.”
  - It would be in touch with other groups through the local **BOURSE DU TRAVAIL (“labour exchange”)**, which would function as a combination of employment and economic planning agency.
  - When all the producers were thus linked together by the **BOURSE**, its administration—consisting of elected representatives of the members—would be able to estimate the capacities and necessities of the region, could coordinate production, and, being in touch through other **BOURSES** with the industrial system as a whole, could arrange for the necessary transfer of materials and commodities, inward and outward.
- In keeping with their conception of the state as a tool of capitalist oppression, the syndicalists shunned political means of achieving their goals. This **reliance upon direct industrial action stemmed from practical considerations as well: outside the mine or factory, the syndicalists realized, political differences among workers would come into play, possibly hindering mass action.** Inside, their similar employment gave workers a sense of solidarity.
- **Georges Sorel**, a leading syndicalist theoretician, developed the concept of the “social myth,” which could be used to stir workers to revolutionary action. The general strike, the preeminent syndicalist tool, was conceived of in these terms. **If successful, it inspires workers with a sense of power; if unsuccessful, it impresses upon them the servility of their lot and the need for better organization and wider aims.**

#### Green Syndicalism

Green Syndicalism is a synthesis of anarcho-syndicalism and environmentalism, arguing that protection of the environment depends on decentralization, regionalism, direct action, autonomy, pluralism and federation.

#### GUILD SOCIALISM

- Guild socialism is a political movement **advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public"**
- It originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century. It was strongly associated with **G. D. H. Cole** and influenced by the ideas of **William Morris**.
- The Guild Socialists **stood for state ownership of industry, combined with “workers’ control” through delegation of authority to national guilds organized internally on democratic lines.**
- About the state itself they differed, some believing it would remain more or less in its existing form and others that **it would be transformed into a federal body representing the workers’ guilds, consumers’ organizations, local government bodies, and other social structures**
- **Admiration of guild socialism led to a more "individualistic" form** of it being suggested as a natural outcome for a united humanity in the science fiction work of **Olaf Stapledon**—although hundreds of years in the future.
  - a. It **upheld the Marxian emphasis on class struggle**
  - b. It stood for the **abolition of the wage system and demanded representation of the workers in industrial control**
  - c. It **sought to modify Syndicalism by introducing the importance of consumer side by side with the worker**
  - d. It **sought to abolish the old state which was an instrument of exploitation.**



### **Understanding Equality under Socialism**

A heightened commitment to equality is in many respects the defining feature of socialist ideology that most clearly distinguishes socialism from its rivals, notably liberalism and conservatism.

Socialist egalitarianism is characterized by a belief in **social equality, or equality of outcome**. Socialists have advanced at least three arguments in favour of this form of equality. First, social equality upholds justice or fairness.

Socialists are reluctant to explain the inequality of wealth simply in terms of innate differences of ability among individuals. Socialists believe that just as capitalism has fostered competitive and selfish behaviour, human inequality very largely reflects the unequal structure of society.

They do not hold the naïve belief that all people are born identical, possessing precisely the same capacities and skills. Socialists believe that the most significant forms of human inequality are a result of unequal treatment by society, rather than unequal endowment by nature.

Justice, from a socialist perspective, therefore demands that people are treated equally (or at least more equally) by society in terms of their rewards and material circumstances. Formal equality, in its legal and political senses, is clearly inadequate in itself because it disregards the structural inequalities of the capitalist system. Equality of opportunity, for its part, legitimizes inequality by perpetuating the myth of innate inequality.

Social equality underpins community and cooperation. Equal outcomes therefore strengthen social solidarity. Social inequality, by the same token, leads to conflict and instability. This also explains why socialists have criticized equality of opportunity for breeding a 'survival of the fittest' mentality. R. H. Tawney, for example, dismissed the idea of equal opportunities as a 'tadpole philosophy', emphasizing the tiny proportion of tadpoles that develop into frogs.

Socialists support social equality because they hold that need satisfaction is the basis for human fulfilment and self-realization. A 'need' is a necessity: it demands satisfaction; it is not simply a frivolous wish or a passing fancy. Basic needs, such as the need for food, water, shelter, companionship and so on, are fundamental to the human condition, which means that, for socialists, their satisfaction is the very stuff of freedom.

While socialists agree about the virtue of social and economic equality, they disagree about the extent to which this can and should be brought about.

1. Marxists and communists believe in absolute social equality, brought about by the abolition of private property and collectivization of productive wealth. Perhaps, the most famous experiment in such radical egalitarianism took place in China under the 'Cultural Revolution'.
2. Social democrats, however, believe in relative social equality, achieved by the redistribution of wealth through the welfare state and a system of progressive taxation. The social-democratic desire to tame capitalism rather than abolish it.

### **Democratic Socialism**

Democratic socialism is a political philosophy that *supports political democracy within a socially owned economy*, with a particular emphasis on economic democracy, an alternative form of decentralised planned socialist economy.



Democratic socialists argue that capitalism is inherently incompatible with the values of freedom, equality, and solidarity and that these ideals can only be achieved through the realisation of a socialist society. Democratic socialism was popularized by socialists who were opposed to the backsliding towards a one-party state in the Soviet Union and other nations during the 20th century.

Democratic socialism is contrasted with Marxism–Leninism, which opponents often perceive as being authoritarian and undemocratic in practice. Democratic socialists oppose the Stalinist political system and the Soviet-type economic planning system, rejecting as their form of governance and administrative-command system that formed in the Soviet Union and other Marxist–Leninist states during the 20th century.

While having socialism as a long-term goal, some moderate democratic socialists are more concerned about curbing capitalism's excesses, and are supportive of progressive reforms to humanise it in the present day, while other democratic socialists believe that economic interventionism and similar policy reforms aimed at addressing social inequalities and suppressing the economic contradictions of capitalism would only exacerbate the contradictions, causing them to emerge elsewhere under a different guise.

## GANDHISM

### Gandhi's Political thought and Gandhi

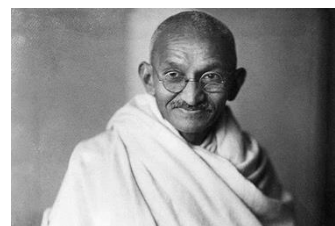
#### PYQs

1. Explicate the Ideological components of Gandhism (20M, 2020)
2. MK Gandhi's concept of Swaraj. (10M, 2019)
3. Examine Gandhi's critique of Modernism. (15M, 2016)
4. Gandhi's views on State (10, 2015)

#### Introduction

#### **Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948)**

- Gandhism ushered a new era in the history of political thought. It made the world believe that even the greatest political problems could be solved only by making personal sacrifices and making the opponent realize the excesses and mistakes committed by him.
- Gandhi is one of the most inspiring figures of our time. He was the preeminent leader of Indian nationalism in British-ruled India. Employing non-violent civil disobedience, Gandhi led India to independence and inspired movements for non-violence, civil rights and freedom across the world.
- For **Gandhi**, Non-violence was the most suitable reply for violence and force. He wanted to establish an ideal society in which Panchayat raj based on real democratic principles was to flourish.



#### Influence on Gandhi

Certain religious texts were the initial influences on Gandhi's thinking. Epics like Ramayana, Buddhist and Jain texts, etc

### **Henry David Thoreau**

It was while leading his "Passive Resistance" agitation against the apartheid government's new law that he read Thoreau's essay titled On the Duty of Civil Disobedience. Written in 1849 at the age of 32, the transcendentalist thinker vouched for deliberate resistance from people against unjust laws enforced upon them. Gandhi was greatly moved by Thoreau's concept that prison is where a just man belongs under an unjust government and referred to him as his "teacher." He even credited the American thinker with giving scientific confirmation to his non-violent mode of agitation.

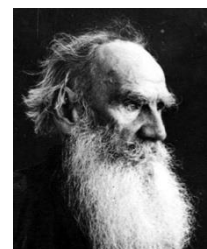


### **John Ruskin (1819-1900)**

Ruskin was an English critic of the Victorian era who was a campaigner against industrial capitalism. Gandhi was introduced to **Ruskin's** Unto this Last (published in 1860) by his friend **Henry Polak** during a rail journey from Johannesburg to Durban in June 1904. Gandhi said "the great book" influenced him beyond imagination and transformed his life. In Gandhian society, physical labour is considered superior to intellectual work and the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is considered the life worth living. He adopted this from Ruskin along with the concept that stated that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

### **Leo Tolstoy –**

Gandhi and Tolstoy have been the two greatest exponents of non-violence as a way of life and means of resistance. According to Gandhi, **Tolstoy's** the Kingdom of God is within You (1893) "left an abiding impression" on him and the Russian's idea of "love as law of life" and care for entire mankind greatly moved him. Gandhi named his second ashram in South Africa after Tolstoy where he experimented with methods of Satyagraha. While being taken to the court in handcuffs following an agitation in Transvaal, he carried with him a copy of The Kingdom of God is Within You. **Tolstoy's** concept of "Bread Labour" was included among Gandhi's "Ashram vows" and resulted in the formation of the Gandhian principle that makes earning a livelihood by the sweat of the brow mandatory for inmates. The duo had exchanged a few letters before the great writer passed away in 1910 at the age of 82.



### **POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF GANDHI**

Coming to the political thought of Gandhi, we have to remember certain dispositions of Gandhi.

- First of all, Gandhi was not a system builder in an academic sense.
- He was not a political philosopher. For all his sayings were pouring from his deep feelings and sincere realization of the truth.
- Without going into disputes, it can be agreed that he was not committed to any exclusive school of thought. His speech and pen had generally come from responses from particular situation.

Gandhi considered politics as an instrument for the uplift of mankind in social, economic, moral and spiritual spheres. Gandhi himself admitted to his South African friend that his bent of mind was religious and not political.

For him politics had encircled him like the coil of a snake. He must wrestle with the snake, there is no respite. He could have thought of avoiding politics, if without politics food and work could be provided to the hungry unemployed people of India. He strongly felt that without involving himself in politics it is not possible to remove

socio-economic exploitation and political subjugation and thereby moral degradation of the people of India unless he involved himself in politics.

Gandhi had a vision of transforming the socially and morally degenerated and separated individuals in a manner where individuals can enjoy their freedom in a spirit of altruism. To understand Gandhi's politics, it is also necessary to understand Gandhi's concern for the cleavage between state and civil society. The community life is fast diminishing and civil society could not formulate any mechanism to control it.

Gandhi was concerned since his days of Hind Swaraj that the Western civilization had been hedonistic, in the sense of self-pleasure centered, pragmatic in the sense of immediate material benefit and individualistic in the sense of egocentric in the sense of sovereign- individual oriented. He found British parliament had become a sterile woman, where naked display of self-interest or party interest (or power only) had been manifested. He blamed disease lying with the western civilization itself. Gandhi found that the whole business of politics had been running to a wrong path on a hoax.

As we knew Gandhi was a God-oriented man. But to him Truth is God and as in other spheres of life, politics should also be a search after truth and this search must be understood by Gandhi, is for raising general conscience of the people. Every individual must be free from pangs of hunger must prevent exploitation and oppression. He would then be in a position to work for his own development through the performances of duties. A universal morality would emerge which would create an atmosphere for healthy political life. We should accept self-transformation as a continuous process. Gandhi was emphatic in saying that politics bereft of religion is a death trap which kills the soul. By spiritualization of politics, Gandhi meant something larger than our day to day life but not excluding world of day to day experiences. A community of persons on the process of self-realization is able to resist the corrupting influences of existing interests.

According to Gandhi this is not just a philosophical dream far from realities of political life. Many great philosophers right from Plato could not reconcile the dichotomy between reality and ideal. From Gandhian point of view, we should trust the capability of commoner to rise above passion and self-interest and we can evolve a modus operandi by which a new kind of politics might emerge as Gandhi envisioned.

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON TRUTH**

- Truth is the most cardinal principle of Gandhism. **Mahatma Gandhi** was a worshipper of truth. He believed that there is no good higher than truth. "**Truth is God and God is Truth.**"
- He searched for truth throughout his life. He named his auto-biography, 'My Experiments with Truth'.
- Truth has a great deal of metaphysical, ethical, practical and even emotional significance for him. He achieved many successes by following the path of truth. He did not give up the path of truth even in times of failures.
- Gandhi accepts the fundamentality or primacy of the concept of truth over non-violence, satyagraha, God etc. in his political activism to establish justice he innovates non-violence, Satyagraha, trusteeship, the important moral ideals.
- Among all the moral ideals he takes truth as sovereign. He writes, "**for me truth is the sovereign principle which includes numerous other principles.**"
- This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal principle, that is God.
- From this it is obvious that he makes a **distinction between the Absolute truth and relative truths.** Anything that is objectively true or true on the basis of human experience can be taken as relative truth.

- What is empirically true can be considered as relative truth as different from absolute truth. Absolute truth transcends human experience. Absolute truth is the sum total of all that is there in the universe. Here Gandhi seems to attribute an ontological status to truth. He takes truth in the sense of ultimate existence or Reality or God.  
According to Gandhi, and **where there is Truth, there is also a knowledge which is true. Where there is no Truth, there can be no true knowledge.**
- Devotion to this Truth is the sole justification for our existence. All our activities should be centered in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life.
- According to **Gandhi**, **Satyagraha means "scrupulous regard for truth"**. He was of the opinion that a truthful person will not harm his opponents but will make them friends. He always considered truth as the ideal, and continuously strived for its achievement.
- He firmly believed that only a society based on truth can become an ideal society. Truth and truthful living constitute the guiding principle of Gandhism philosophy.

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON NON –VIOLENCE**

- Ahimsa is the central concept of the Gandhian ideals. Non-violence is the English translation of the word 'Ahimsa'.
- Ahimsa means non-injury, non-harm or inoffensiveness. Ahimsa requires the follower to respect all life. In fact, **non-violence and truth were to him two sides of the same coin**. A seeker of truth always follows the path of non-violence.
- Non-violence means not to harm any person, not even to one's opponent in any way. Gandhiji was against the propagation of violence in one's thought, words, actions and deeds.
- A follower of non-violence does not torture others through his words, actions and deeds. He tries to change the heart of others by bearing sufferings for himself.
- Gandhi took Truth as the supreme virtue and for him truth without non-violence is no truth. Hence the realisation of Ahimsa was essential to realize Satya.
- He remarked "**God is truth and truth is God.**" and when you want to find truth as God, the only means is love and non-violence. Truth is the highest law of our life and Ahimsa is the highest duty. Non-violence as stated is an approach of a person with a developed soul and when put in practice we get Satyagraha.
- The movement may be weak but the idea and the reason should be strong which allows one to be calm and exercise control even in the most difficult situations. Ahimsa is the active dissatisfaction from untruthful means that is not replied to by any force, anger or malice; this behaviour must be presented to all creations of god and man.
- Gandhi's ultimate aim of non violence is even to love the so called enemies. To him '**non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of brute**'. Gandhi's technique of non-violence was aimed at promoting social change. To Gandhi Non-violence is the soul force or truth force or truth seeking force'.

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON SOCIALISM**

- Socialism is an economic system of society. It includes social ownership of the means of production and co-operative management of society.
- **Mahatma Gandhi** wrote,  
"Socialism and communism of the West are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature."

- Gandhi was also never in favour of socialism propounded by Nehru, which emphasized on large-scale production. This massive production, Gandhi feared, would lead to greater exploitation and urbanization.
- According to **Gandhi**, socialism does not refer to nationalization of the means of production, distribution, exchange, but faith in God, truth, non-violence and equality.
- So, in simple terms, **Gandhian socialism is based on the ideas of non-possession and trusteeship**. Gandhian socialism was **humanitarian in nature**.
- It **cared for the poor** and it was a **moral code of personal conduct than an economic ideology**. It did not envisage the expropriation of the rich through violence or state action.
- To Gandhi, **"My concept of socialism implies that people should be self-reliant. That is the only way they can be prevented from being exploited. I have been trying to persuade the workers that if the capitalists have their gold and silver, we have our hands and feet. These too are assets. A capitalist will never be able to carry on without labour."**
- **Mahatma Gandhi** wrote, **"The basis of socialism is economic equality. There can be no Ramarajya in the present state of iniquitous inequalities in which a few roll in riches and the masses do not get even enough to eat."**
- Mahatma Gandhi remarked, **"Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal; none low, none high."**

### **GANDHIAN EQUALITY**

To delve deeper into socialism, we need to understand his idea of Equality as well. Equality is not only a cardinal principle of Gandhian thought but it is one of the most aspired concepts of most other writers on social and political thought. But if we analyze the concept we would be faced with the differences on the outlook of these writers. We are accustomed to use the term to mean equality of characteristics and also equality of treatment. Leaving aside the former, the criteria of equality have been used in so many senses as (a) impartiality (b) equal share to all (c) equal shares to equals (d) proportional equality (e) unequal shares corresponding to relevant differences.

The Mahatma says that *all human beings should be given equal respect and consideration because they have equal intrinsic worth. They, unlike animals, have the faculty of reason.*

He further adds that *"In my opinion, there is no such thing as inherited or acquired superiority. I believe in the rock bottom doctrine of Advaita and my interpretation of Advaita excludes totally any idea of superiority at any stage whatever. I believe implicitly that all men are born equal. All have the same soul as any other. He who claims superiority at once forfeits his claim to be called a man."*

Elaborating his concept of equality, Gandhi said: *"While we are born equal, meaning that we have a right to equal opportunity, all have not the same capacity. It is in the nature of things impossible. For instance, all cannot have the same height, colour or degree of intelligence. Therefore, in the nature of things, some will have ability to earn more and others less. People with talents will earn more and others less and will utilize their talents for this purpose."*

Though the Mahatma admits that there are natural inequalities in men, he says, that there should be economic equality. **How to bring about economic equality?** Gandhi suggests equal distribution. Equal distribution means that each man should have the wherewithal to supply all his natural wants and no more. For example, if one man

has weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another wants a pound of flour for his bread, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants.

**How to bring about equal distribution?** The Mahatma suggested changes in the personal life of the individual. First, he should reduce his wants to a minimum. His earnings should be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation should be eliminated. His habitation must be in keeping with the new mode of life. There should be self-restraint in every sphere of life. The Mahatma also suggested that the principle of equality can be established by the principle of trusteeship. That is the rich will be left in the possession of its wealth but it will transform itself into a servant of the society. As soon as rich becomes a trustee of its property, it will earn for its own sake and spends for the benefit of the society. Then purity enters into its earnings.

### **SARVODAYA**

Sarvodaya in broader perspective is also known as **Gandhi's Socialism**.

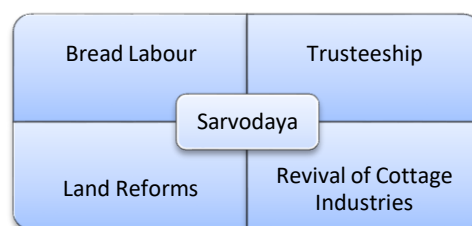
The two terms in Sarvodaya are **Sarva** (all) and **Uday**, (rising). The Sarvodaya is a term meaning 'Universal Uplift' or 'Progress of All'. The term was first coined by Mohandas Gandhi as the title of his 1908 translation of John Ruskin's tract on political economy, "**Unto This Last**", and Gandhi came to use the term for the ideal of his own political philosophy. Later Gandhians like the Indian nonviolence activist **Vinoba Bhave**, embraced the term as a name for the social movement in post-independence India which strove to ensure that self-determination and equality reached all strata of India society.

Mahatma Gandhi was a humanist and radical revivalist who fought not only against the colonialism and imperialism, but also against the superstitious practices, religious hatred and caste-ism in India.

Sarvodaya in totality was Gandhi's constructive program which aimed at giving the life of dignity to the poor. As per Sarvodaya, even when we cannot make people equal in terms of income, we can make people equal in terms of dignity. According to Gandhi, "*the work of barber deserves equal respect as that of the work of a lawyer.*"

**Sarvodaya can be explained through the concepts of:**

- Bread labour
- Trusteeship
- Land reforms
- Revival of cottage industries



**Bread labour:** According to Gandhi, every person should perform some kind of physical work. Only then, we will realise the pain and hardship of those who perform physical work. And also be able to appreciate importance of manual work and give due respect.

**Trusteeship:** It is Gandhi's approach to deal with conflict between Labour and Capital as he believed in the possibility of harmony between classes. According to him, capitalist should consider not himself the owner but trustee of the capital, as capital is a social production and not just contribution of one. The surplus amount should be contributed for wellbeing of poor and overall good of the society.

**Land reforms:** Gandhi considers Land reforms as a method of redistribution of wealth in the society. It was later adopted by **JP Narayan** through **Bhoodan and Gramdan Movements**.



**Revival of Cottage industries:** Gandhi has criticized the western modernization practices as it goes against the labour intensive model of production by deploying modern tools and machinery. Hence, Gandhi talked about creating an economy based on self-reliant economy with small scale industries like cottage industries.

### **Principles of the Sarvodaya**

- No centralized authority. Politics will not be the instrument of power but an agency of service and *Rajniya* will yield place to *Loknity*.
- All people will be imbued with the spirit of love, fraternity, truth, non-violence and self-sacrifices. Society will function on the basis on the non-violence.
- **No party system and majority rule and society will be free from the evil of the tyranny of the majority.**
- The sarvodaya society is socialist in the true sense of the term. All calling will be the same moral, social and economical values. The individual personality has the fullest scope for development.
- The sarvodaya society is based on equality and liberty. There is no room in it for unwholesome competition, exploitation and class-hatred.
- Sarvodaya stands for the **progress of the all**. All individual should do individual labour and follow the ideal of non-possession. Then it will be possible to realize the goal of: from each according to his work and to each according to his needs.
- There will be **no private property**, the instrument of exploitation and the source of social distinctions and hatred. Similarly, the profit motive will disappear, rent and interest to will go.
- The **Sarvodaya Movement is based on Truth, Non-violence and Self-denial**.
- The Sarvodaya Movement makes a sincere and bold attempt to create the necessary atmosphere to bring together such individuals with an unwavering faith in the Welfare of All

### **Sarvodaya as an agency of common welfare**

That Sarvodaya is an agency of Service for Common Welfare Sarvodaya sets its face squarely against the politics of power and exploitation. It lays great emphasis on moral and spiritual values. It seeks to create new social and economical values. The concept of possession yields place to the concept of trusteeship. People will work for the good of all and family feeling will animate the entire community. There will be fullest scope for freedom, fellowship and equality.

The state is to be an agency of power. Gramrajya is a base of non-violence. Sarvodaya stands for good of all and not for the good of any particular individual or class. Bhoodan at the early stage, Gramdan at a later stage and Sampattidan will bring about a change of heart. The rich and poor will give up their ideas of attachment to private property and will strive to work for the good of all.

### **Sarvodaya Movement**

Gandhi's ideals have lasted well beyond the achievement of one of his chief projects, Indian independence (Swaraj). His followers in India (notably, Vinoba Bhave) continued working to promote the kind of society that he envisioned, and their efforts have come to be known as the Sarvodaya Movement. Anima Bose has referred to the movement's philosophy as "a fuller and richer concept of people's democracy than any we have yet known." Sarvodaya workers associated with Vinoba, J. P. Narayan, Dada Dharmadhikari, Dharendra Mazumdaar, Shankarrao Deo, and K. G. Mashruwala undertook various projects aimed at encouraging popular self-organization during the 1950s and 1960s, including Bhoodan and Gramdan movements. Many groups descended from these networks continue to function locally in India today.



### **GANDHIAN TRUSTEESHIP THEORY**

- The concept of Trusteeship flows from the **ideals of aparigraha and ahimsa**. Gandhi offered Trusteeship as an alternative. He called it "the technique of change of heart."
- **A trustee** is one who holds property or wealth in trust for others who are identified as the beneficiaries. Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.
- It provides a means by which the **wealthy people would be the trustees of trusts** that looked after the welfare of the people in general. The production should cater to the need of the society.
- Under trusteeship, any rich man can use his extra wealth for his satisfaction. He also cannot use the wealth for promoting antisocial activities. The State should guide the rich how to utilize the wealth for the benefit of the State.
- The wealth should not be won by any private fellow. It can only be done by the consent of the people in the society at large.
- Trusteeship aimed at **reforming the capitalist society**. It advocated that rich people should change themselves and should come forward to use their property for the betterment of society. To Gandhi, the State should come forward to regulate the system. In that case there would be no discrimination.
- The wealth or the rich will be appropriated by the State and regulated by the order of the State. Thus under state-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society.
- It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society.
- Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.
- **The theory of trusteeship makes no distinction between private and non-private property. It tries to reduce the gap between the rich and poor.** It tries to reduce exploitation. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself.
- It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption. Gandhi's Concept of Trusteeship does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth. Gandhiji always stood for the change of heart. He was firmly of the opinion that the rich and the powerful should voluntarily surrender their wealth for the welfare of people as a matter of their duty.

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON STATE**

- **Gandhi** describes state as a '**Soulless Machine**.' "The state represents violence in a concentrated and organised form.
- In Gandhi's assessment, the state (Western type) was the symbol of violence in concentrated form. In order to ensure allegiance from the citizens the state (which means its authority) applies coercion or violent measures mercilessly.
- To **Gandhi**, "the individual has a soul but the state is a soulless machine, the state can never be weaned away from violence to which it owes its existence". It can never be weaned away from violence because its basis has been force."

- Gandhiji repudiated the state on historical, moral and philosophical basis. He argued that there was no illustration in history when the state had supported the case of the poor. State is based on force and its orders are enforced with coercive power. So it has no moral basis.
- He gathered experience in South Africa that more and more power to the state meant more and more violence or greater amount of coercion. Gandhi wanted the state to be free from its violent elements and sought to inculcate fearlessness in the minds of people.
- Since Gandhi had no faith on state which is an embodiment of violence and coercion, he did not support any other branch of this political organisation. The state curbs the individuality of man and it creates hindrances in the way of economic progress.
- However, **Gandhiji** did not favour a complete abolition of the State. He accepted the role of state as an agency for providing security to the people.
- In the words of **Gandhiji**, "The state is not an end in itself, but a means of enabling people to better their conditions in every department of life."
- **Gandhiji** wanted the **state to be a Service State**. State should work for making the life of man better. Further, the state is not infallible and omnipotent. People can oppose the unjust laws and policies of the state.
- **Gandhiji** wanted to limit the functions of the State. Like individualists, **Gandhiji** regarded the **State as a necessary evil**. He wished to assign to it minimum functions. Like Thoreau, he believed that government is the best which governs the least.
- Self-government really means greater freedom from the control of the State. Undoubtedly, there are certain functions which cannot be performed without the state. However, a large number of functions can be performed without the State. This can be done by the people solely through their own initiatives and mutual co-operation.
- To him violence is the biggest obstacle to the natural development of individual and social life of the state. **Gandhi** opposed the increasing power of the state; because it leads the state as coercive.
- He said that, **"I look upon on increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress."**
- **Gandhi** also viewed sovereignty in the light of morality. Though, in general view, sovereignty is a political concept, **Gandhi** did not admit its dissociation from ethics, morality and other universal ideals and values. For this reason the general view of sovereignty was not acceptable to him.
- **Gandhi was an ardent advocate not of traditional state sovereignty but of popular sovereignty strongly advocated by one of the social contract theoreticians.** In the scheme of Rousseau's popular sovereignty the citizens had the opportunity to assemble in open places periodically and to participate in the variety of functions of state.
- **Gandhi** contemplated the same type of popular sovereignty for India. The Gandhian theory of state is based not only on the principles of freedom, non-violence, morality, justice and truth but also on decentralisation.
- **Gandhi** described his ideal state as per his following words, **"If national life becomes as perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour.**
- In the ideal State, therefore, **there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realized in life.**

#### **RAMRAJYA-THE IDEAL SOCIETY OF GANDHI – A STATE OF ETHICS AND MORALITY**

- **Ram Raj is an ideal social order based on equality, liberty and non-violence.** It is sometimes described as 'Poorna Swarajyam', 'Dharma Rajyam', sometimes 'Swarajyam'.
- The **Ram Raj is a moral Political organisation and it resembles Plato's ideal state and Rousseau's moral public person.**
- **Gandhi** also wanted to build up the foundation of his Ram Raj on the universal principles including justice.
- An important aspect of Gandhi's Ram Raj is he has **combined politics with ethics and morality.** **Gandhi** clearly disowned the Machiavellian concept of separation of politics from morality and religion.
- He was firmly convinced that only the amalgamation of politics with religion and morality could provide a perfect social order.
- **Gandhiji's** ideal was a **stateless democratic society.** This society was to be a federation of self-contained and self-regulated village communities. It was to work on the basis of peoples' voluntary and peaceful co-operation. **Every village was to be a small republic, having a Panchayat with full powers.**
- **Gandhi's** ideal State was a **non-violent state of enlightened anarchy** where social life would remain self-regulated. In that State there is **no ruler, no subject, no government or no governed.**
- It is a perfect State consisting of enlightened persons, self-regulated and self-controlled following the principles of non-violence.
- The **ideal State of Gandhi was to be governed, by the principle of manual work.** Every individual should take up manual work for rendering his/her service to the State and wellbeing of his fellow individuals inside the State. This will promote his **service in the direction of welfare of the State.**
- In an ideal State, **authority should be decentralized.** Gandhi was against centralization for it leads to absolutism. In decentralizing the authority, Gandhi gave **scope to individual liberty.** The State should guide the individuals by appealing to their morality. **If State resorts to violence, it will damage the enthusiasm, initiative, courage, creativeness and nonviolent mind of individuals and as such, the State cannot prosper.**
- An individual in Gandhian **ideal State should be selfless.** He should not accumulate wealth. Accumulation of bread and controlling labour will bring poverty to the State. Thus, in the villages, means of production should be commonly won. This should generate love among the people of the locality binding them in the-common tie of love.
- **Swadeshi should be promoted** because that is the characteristic feature of Gandhian ideal State. Gandhi envisaged that the principle of non-violence should be the basis of State. Naturally, a democracy that will emerge out of it, will give vent to the majority of opinion. Here, neither property nor status or position but manual work should be the qualification of village republic. It will be a State devoid of corruption and hypocrisy. In a simple statement, democracy will be spiritualized.
- To Gandhiji, **State is not an end in itself;** it is rather a means to the end. It is meant to do greatest good of greatest number of the people. Neither force nor absolute sovereignty is the basis of State. Gandhi's ideal of a welfare State is always ready to promote the condition of its subjects.
- Gandhiji vehemently **opposed the parliamentary democracy** of western type. He criticized the universal suffrage system of the election held in western countries. The Parliament is not stable to the change of ministry from time to time. Further, the Prime Minister is always concerned about his own interest and the interest of his party members for retaining his power.
- Western democracy has no place in Gandhi's welfare State. Following the doctrine of Gita, Mahatma **Gandhi** told that the **Varna system should form the basis of the ideal State.** As Varna is not related to birth, every Varna should render its labour to the betterment of the State. That will result in non-possession and economic equality. This will bring complete social and economic equality.

- **Dharma is a novel aspect of Gandhi's ideal state.** It is not a religion of a particular sector creed; rather it is moral and ethical code of conduct which preserves the culture of the nation. Further, it holds together the social order and brings harmony among the people uplifting their potentialities. **Gandhiji** prescribed for a **minimum intervention of police force in the activities of the State.**
- State should be **governed by the principle of Ahimsa.**
- **Gandhiji** put **emphasis on duty rather than rights.** If one becomes cautious for his duties, then rights will automatically be taken due care by the State. Rights are nothing but opportunities for self-realisation. It is the link of one's spiritual unity with others by serving them.
- Gandhi laid **emphasis on basic education.** By that he wanted to spread vocational education in the nook and corner of the country. Gandhi had realized that this will improve small-scale industry, which in turn, will bring a self-sufficient economy for every country.
- Gandhi named his ideal society as 'Ram Rajya'. Truth and non-violence were to be the basis of Ram Rajya. In the Ideal society people were to lead a happy and peaceful life on the basis of moral and spiritual values.
- Society, for Gandhi, is not to be organised as a pyramid but "as an **oceanic circle** with the individual at the center, ready to sacrifice for his village, the village for a larger circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals".

#### **GANDHI ON CASTE AND UNTOUCHABILITY**

Gandhi was also critical of, and rejected, the institution of casteism prevalent in the Hindu tradition, and worked towards rallying public opinion against the same. Further, though Gandhi distinguished the caste system from the "**chaturvarna**," that is, the scriptural fourfold Varna order of hereditary occupational divisions, his criticism with regards to the latter is scarcely addressed.



Gandhi believed that standing at the heart of the inherited Hindu tradition, including its caste system, it was possible to overcome untouchability. "**In my opinion, untouchability is a blot on humanity and therefore upon Hinduism. It cannot stand the test of reason. It is in conflict with the fundamental precepts of Hinduism,**" he insisted. Untouchability was reform "custom masquerading under the name of religion." He set out to reform but not to reject Hinduism. According to the Mahatma, "*the caste system is a hindrance, not a sin. But untouchability is a sin, a great crime, and if Hinduism does not destroy this serpent while there is time, it will be devoured by it.*" He firmly believed that ultimately the removal of untouchability depended on the change of heart of millions of caste Hindus.

Gandhi's positions against untouchability and caste were direct assaults; the same cannot be said of his position on the Varna system. Here, he "moved more cautiously, somewhat like Erasmus." **Arundhati Roy**, however, argues that Gandhi, for all his claims of rejecting the caste system, was not in fact a denouncer of it, as one would think. Responding to Rajmohan Gandhi's critique of her "**The Doctor and the Saint**," where she accuses Gandhi of being casteist, Roy defends her assertions by observing that Gandhi (including, later, Rajmohan Gandhi) conflated the fight against untouchability with that against caste. It is exactly this nuance on which several Hindu reformers functioned, where they "cleverly narrowed" the question of caste to that of untouchability. Therefore, on deeper probing, Gandhi's apparent compassion and persistent campaigning against untouchability may not have been as genuine. Moreover, she underscores Gandhi's stance on the Varna system and how his lack of explicit disavowal of the same proves his rather superficial take on the subject.

Gandhi was certainly troubled by caste injustices, but not by caste itself. He never once denounced the caste system in clear uncertain terms. On the few occasions in the later years of his life when he did gently criticise it, he suggested it should be replaced by Varna—which Ambedkar described as the ‘parent’ of the caste system.

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY**

- Mahatma Gandhi was an ardent believer in the theory of democracy. His belief was based on his own conception of democracy which was quite different from classical concept of democracy of the west.
- His innate love of equality, unflinching support of individual freedom, and his consistent plea for bringing about a just order through the brotherhood of man that recognized no barriers of sex, religion, language and culture testify to his faith in democracy of his conception.
- Gandhi believed that a **democracy, which served the welfare of all, would be marked by Minimum state intervention in social life.**
- Gandhi was extremely critical of the parliamentary democracy and he called the British Parliament as a ‘sterile women and a prostitute’ in his monumental book ‘**Hind Swaraj**’. Although for him good government is no substitute for self-government. A true democracy can be set up only when India will achieve Swaraj.
- Democracy must be associated with truth and non-violence. People can never set up a democratic structure with violent means and untruthful ways.
- To Gandhi, ‘democracy as something that gives the weak the same as the strong’. In order to be democratic a state must create a congenial atmosphere for the proper development of freedom and rights. He believed that if freedom is lost the entire individuality is also lost.
- **Only Swaraj can ensure true democracy and in such a system there can exist freedom.**
- The most important elements of Gandhi's concept of democracy are: participation of men in the affairs of state, people's right to protest the immoral and anti-people's acts of government, nonviolence, people's right to choose their own ways and prevalence of justice and equality. True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. **It has to be worked from below by the people of every village.** He advocated that in democracy the independence must begin at the bottom. It means that at **grass -root level** people must be independent in making their policies and implementing them without any rigid and strict control from the above.
- Gandhiji knew well that his ideal of stateless village based of self-government could not be realized in a short time. He therefore supported democracy as the best form of government. However, the **central point of his concept of democracy was Village Panchayat system.** Panchayats were to play a special role in the Gandhian Society.
- Gandhi wanted India to evolve a "**True Democracy**" and laid six conditions for its realization in India.
  1. Satyagraha expressed through Charkha;
  2. Growth of Village Industries;
  3. Primary education through Handicrafts
  4. Removal of Untouchability; Communal Harmony; and
  5. Non -violent Organization of labour

### **Gandhi's critique on Parliamentary democracy**

- In the Gandhian democracy will play an important role. Their members are being directly elected. Voters are to have the qualification of manual work. Whose importance was always emphasized by Gandhiji. Village democracy would be decentralized political order.



- **Swaraj:** Gandhian concept of Self Rule means Swaraj is real democracy, where people's power rests in the individuals and each one realizes that he or she is the real master of one's self. Thus people are sovereign in a democracy but in a parliamentary democracy, party system has a vital role to play. However, Gandhi was highly critical of the parliamentary democracy and in his monumental book "Hind Swaraj" (Self Rule or Home Rule, he has called the British Parliament as a "sterile women and a prostitute" (Hind Swaraj) though for him "good government is no substitute for self-government."
- Though, there is contradiction in the statement of Gandhi about parliamentary democracy but while diving deep into the democratic ideals, he has said, "Democracy, disciplined and enlightened is the finest things in the world."

### **INDIA: DEMOCRACY VERSUS MOBOCRACY AND GANDHI**

The roots of democracy in India are very deep. Probably it is India where democracy started functioning first. It is evident from the existence of institutions like Sabha, Samiti and Viditha in the Vedic era. A afterward, the existence of many republics during the time of **Gautama Buddha and Shakyamuni's** advocacy in favour of democracy, his stress upon development of democratic institutions and noteworthy suggestions made by him in this regard strengthens India's claim to it.

Generally, the democracy is recognized as a political institution. On the basis of it a political system of governance is conducted. But, in ancient times, the Buddhist assemblies in India have worked successfully in a democratic manner. Hence, it has been more or less applied in religious sphere also. From this the significance and relevance of democracy for India can be well understood.

We can firmly believe that democracy is the best form of governance for a country like India. Along with political field there is a possibility of its functioning in economic and religious fields. We can assert this for the reason that India is a country of diversities and its unity is possible only by a democratic system of governance.

#### **Democracy versus Mobocracy**

**Mahatma Gandhi**, himself felt the importance and necessity of democracy for India, despite it being liable to be greatly abused. That is why; he emphasized upon its constant development and maturity. Through this he wished transformation of his dream of Ramarajya into a reality. In the Ramarajya of his imagination each and every one, weak or strong, gets equal opportunity to rise and his security and honour are guaranteed. In short, Gandhi's Ramarajya is an advanced form of democracy.

Now, the question arises, is there a possibility of transformation of Gandhi's dream of Ramarajya or an advanced form of democracy into a reality? If yes, then when? In this respect Mahatma Gandhi himself was not sure. He knew that a human being always commits mistakes knowingly or unknowingly. He was also aware that one cannot get rid of them immediately and completely. Similarly, a manmade institution can also not become free of evils entirely and right away.

Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi, along with other necessities, particularly stressed upon discipline, equal respect of law by all and priority to social will over the individual will in a democracy. He was of the opinion that indiscipline, disrespect of law and priority to the individual will over the social will are among the main causes behind evils in a democracy. So, it is necessary to minimize them for making the democracy disciplined and enlightened.

Moreover, Mahatma Gandhi laid great emphasis on a healthy public opinion and expressed the need for responsible representation. The reason being if public opinion in democracy is not healthy and matured it can be converted into a mobocracy instead of giving strength to it. On many occasions and at different levels this can be observed in many countries of the world including India.

Similarly, if representatives in a democracy are not responsible, they weaken it instead of becoming its defenders. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi called upon the people to reduce possibility of abuse in democracy to the minimum from time-to-time. He, time and again emphasized upon making democratic system of governance firm, healthy, disciplined and responsible. Mahatma Gandhi's call to save democracy from becoming a mobocracy and to make it people-friendly and finally transforming it into a Swarajya was, and is, worth giving a thought.

Despite the large number of people coming together mobocracy can never be the reflection of a democracy. Due to lack of discipline and control over the crowd a mobocracy cannot transmit the will of the people. Hence, a mobocracy sometimes becomes more dangerous than a dictatorship. That is why; Mahatma Gandhi also said, *"They [who are in a mob] have no mind, no premeditation. They act in frenzy."*

How can a democracy be devoid of mobocracy? How can it be transformed into a real people's rule? How can it become a Swarajya? Mahatma Gandhi was of the opinion that it was possible through the process of constant reforms in democracy and not in avoidance of it and that too in accordance with demand of time and prevailing circumstances. Simultaneously, for the rise of the institution of democracy he rightly called upon the people to carry on their duties and to maintain discipline.

In this process he further spoke about people's awareness: it meant people's consciousness of their duties, rights and responsibilities towards the nation. He fixed the responsibility of people's representatives on the one hand and the government on the other. He opposed the idea of such a democracy in which a handful of representatives, it doesn't matter if they are elected for a fixed period by the people itself, sat at the centre to work for it. Through that the real aim of democracy can never be achieved; the system cannot become a self-rule. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself:

*"Democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. For, it has to be worked from below by the people [consciously] from every village."*

### **Conclusion**

Undoubtedly, Gandhi's stress upon an alert democracy is vital and significant. We should see no reason for an institution of democracy becoming unhealthy if its holders are disciplined and responsible. If citizen are conscious enough the democracy will definitely step forward towards a true self-rule. A disciplined, responsible and conscious democracy can become a true government of the people. Such a rule can turn into a Swarajya and can pave the way towards the Ramarajya of Mahatma Gandhi's imagination.

Hence, Gandhi's views regarding a democracy cannot be taken slightly. They must be analyzed minutely. An open debate on the vitality and relevance of them in the current perspectives should be organized. If they seem relevant as per the demand of time, they should be examined and adopted.

Today the whole world is looking at Ahimsa-based ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. Particularly, institutions of higher learning are making critical analysis of his views on democracy. In such a situation the relevance, significance and utility of his ideas for India can be understood thoroughly.



### **GANDHI ON FASCISM**

It was never a concern of Gandhi to undertake an intellectual examination of the basic elements of Fascism or, for that matter, any political philosophy, given his preoccupation with evolving and practising a suitable method of peaceful struggle against the British rule in India. However, the worldview presented by Gandhi through his numerous writings and speeches, provide a perfect lens to discern and examine the basic elements of the fascism in order to articulate the views of Gandhi on fascism.

The anti-rationalist stance of fascism does not apparently come into total conflict with the views of Gandhi because he himself was a great critique of the idea of absolute rationality and extreme intellectualism.

Being a believer in the innate virtues and instincts emanating from the human soul and emotions, Gandhi criticised the idea of rationality and intellectualism to the extent that they refuse to recognise the inherent goodness in these faculties of human personality. In fact, the whole edifice of the Satyagraha of Gandhi was built upon what he calls the 'soul force.'

As he argued, '*I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also*'. But the Gandhian conception of anti-rationality acts as a critique of the fascist anti-rationality, at least, on three grounds. First, Gandhi believed in the virtues of soul, heart and emotions in a universalistic sense of the terms and did not seek a selective application of appeal to subjective faculties in order to serve a selfish purpose. As against this, argued Heywood, '[W]hat is distinctive about fascism is not its appeal to non-rational drives and emotions, but rather the specific range of beliefs and values through which it attempts to engage the emotions and generate political activism'.

Second, the anti-rationality of fascism got reflection in its total rejection of almost everything that could have been taken to be benchmark of modern liberal societies. In other words, the core of non-rationality of fascism lied in deconstructing and demolishing the established order in society instead of presenting a constructive overview of an alternative vision of socio-political order. Unlike this, Gandhi's non-rationality was essentially constructive as it aimed at arousing the soul force of the human beings to create an alternative worldview in which the both head and heart co-exist in a symbiotic relationship.

To Gandhi, the real and universal happiness in society could be ensured only by conjoining both the rational and emotional components of human life which seems to be deficient in the Western societies with the former outweighing the latter. Finally, the fascist disbelief in universal reason sowed the seeds of parochial and exclusivist perception of one's culture, history and organic community life. As a result, the narrow and pernicious ideas of racial superiority, ultra-nationalism and clamour for expanding one's geographical space became part of the fascist lexicon. Disapproving such a conception, the Gandhian belief in universal reason was the foundation stone on which he built up his theory of universal truth and Satyagraha. To Gandhi, the inherent unity and inclusiveness amongst the people in various countries of the world need to be the focal point of any conceptualization of a global order. Indeed, Gandhi was highly critical of the German genocide of the Jews in the name of social purging of Germany.

### **GANDHI ON DECENTRALIZATION**

- Gandhi's greatest contribution to the social thought of this century is perhaps his insistence on decentralization of the means of production.

- According to **Gandhi**, men should do their actual living and working in communities. They permit genuine self-government and the assumption of personal responsibilities, federated into larger units in such a way that the temptation to abuse great power should not arise.
- The larger a democracy grows, the lesser becomes the rule of the people and the smaller is the way of individuals and localized groups in dealing with their own destinies.
- Political decentralization prevents massive concentrations of political power in the hands of too few; rather, to distribute it in the hands of many.
- Gandhian political order takes the **form of a direct, participatory democracy**, operating in a tier structure from the base of village level tier upwards through the district and state levels ultimately to the national and international levels.
- Non-violence was understood to be the basic tenets of Gandhiji's concept of decentralization. Centralization is a system is inconsistent with the non-violent structure of society. Gandhiji's concept of decentralization was not an isolated concept but the outcome of his religio-ethical, socio-political and economic concepts and ideas.

**Village Swaraj** was an essential component of decentralized polity or decentralized governance.

- **Swaraj is the best form of governance.** Every village is a self sufficient republic or Panchayat. The government of the village will be the Panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers both male and female. It is considered as the unit of local-self government. It is the original custodian of all authority. The Panchayat system as viewed by Gandhiji represents a village community.
- **Economic decentralization:** The spirit of non-violence coupled with individual freedom and equality provide the solid foundation for Gandhiji's concept of decentralization in the political sphere. He favoured decentralization in the economic field as well.
- Gandhiji's **non-violent economy model** stood for production by the masses rather than mass production. He had dreamt of an ideal economic order based on indigenous culture and civilization and hence became a trenchant critic of western civilization, mechanization and industrialization. Economic decentralization is related to rural economy and cottage industries located in the rural areas.
- He gave utmost importance to the freedom of the individual. **The individual is nucleus around which revolve the other institutions.** Through the decentralisation of political power individuals will get full scope to participate in the affairs of state and they can do it absolutely in non-violent way.
- Gandhi believed that for a nonviolent society to achieve a lasting peace, it must be organized in a decentralized way.

#### **DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DECENTRALIZATION**

According to Gandhi decentralization of political power is the basic requirement for the success of true democracy. For him a decentralized democracy based on non-violence must consist of groups settled in small communities or villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. For, it is the only way to realize the value of democracy from the grassroots level as it will enable the people to participate in taking and implementing decisions without a rigid and strict control of any higher authority. Moreover, it is the only alternative to reduce the interference of the state in day-to-day affairs of the people.

Gandhi never believed in half-way house democracy, or disinterest decentralization. He does not advocate decentralization only because of its economic and political advantages. To Gandhi, decentralization envisions and upholds the cultural or spiritual ideal of simple living and high thinking. He does not hanker after raising merely

the standard of living; he wants to raise the standard of life. Simple living and high thinking is the ideal the very foundation and essence of Gandhian approach to decentralization.

Gandhi is opposed to all kinds of concentration of power; he says centralization is a menace and danger to democracy. Concentration of power in his view distorts all democratic values. So he thought that "*possession of power makes men blind and deaf; they cannot see things which are under their very nose, and cannot hear things which invade their ears.*"

Thus, **his linking for decentralization originates from his urge for the shrinking of the state and the deepening of the roots of democracy.** He therefore asserted that "*If India is to evolve along non-violent lines; it will have to decentralize many things. Centralization cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force.*"

In other words, centralization as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society. Moreover, he was convinced that moral progress was possible only in a decentralized set-up. So he wrote, "*The end to be achieved is human happiness combined with full mental and moral development. I use the adjective moral as synonymous with spiritual. This end can be achieved under decentralization.*" Here the perfect democracy based on the individual freedom. The individual will be the architect of his government. The law of non-violence rules him and his government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a world. In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles.

By the Gandhian conception of democratic decentralization, the higher units of the government get their strength and power from the lower units. As a result, the Panchayat has to be the basic unit of democratic decentralization and the higher units will have to tender sound advice, give expert guidance and information, and co-ordinate the activities of the village Panchayats with a view to increasing the efficiency and skill of administration and public service. These village Panchayats have some important functions. The functions of the village panchayats would be very wide and comprehensive covering almost all aspects of social, economic and political life of the village community. Education, Recreation, Protection, Agriculture, Industries, Trade and Commerce, Sanitation and Medical Relief, Justice, Finance and Taxation these are the functions of the village panchayat. Therefore, Gandhi wants village panchayats to perform a variety of functions covering practically all aspects of the village welfare.

Ahimsa, Satyagraha, Swaraj, Swadeshi, Sarvodaya all are the instrument to achieve decentralized political structure. Individual freedom and empowerment ensures in this decentralized democracy. In this society there is no place to hierarchy and any other variations. Gandhian conception politics of democratic decentralization is very much important and relevant to the present day situation of the political as well as social field for welfare of the world.

Comparatively, the concept of democracy is the best to governance, especially Gandhian model of decentralized democracy is very suitable to create equality and paternity. So it is called democracy of with in democracy. The system of Panchayat raj has enormously helped to implement successful democracy. This is giving great opportunity to villagers to participate decision making and governance process.

**Gandhi's concept of political decentralization not only helped to people in the field of politics and also helped to social and economic.** This is the method of all round development of the people. This is the Gandhian political ideal as based on ethical and spiritual grounds raising real democratic values. In the state of Gandhian enlightened anarchy, there is no place for injustice, immoral actions, any kind of variations based on caste or religion,

possessions or non-possessions, sex etc. Equality and fraternity only remaining there and people are enjoying their life peacefully.

### **GANDHI ON POWER**

*"Power is of two kinds: one is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love."*

Gandhi's views on power and conflict resolutions put him apart from all the other major theories developed in contemporary times. His serious reservations about the desirability of what constitutes the major components of modern civilisation allows him to transcend known categories of power and enables him to develop a conceptual framework which is in total variance from the other dominant views.

The starting point of his view can be traced back to the Indian roots of maya or illusion and moha or delusion. Gandhi uses these two categories as being symptomatic of modern civilisation because within this neither an individual human salvation nor a collective well-being can be conceived. One can only think in terms of an idealised world of harmony and bliss if an alternative thought process can be conceived and popularised.

Modern civilisation, according to Gandhi, is not conducive to reaching higher end of life as it perpetuates false consciousness and encourages the pursuit of materialistic ends. However, Gandhi is also aware of the fact that it is practically impossible to go back to the golden past. Nor can one do away with all the facets of the modern civilisation by a quick violent intervention. The satanic nature of the modern civilisation pervades the entire evolution of Gandhi's formulation of power and authority in a reformed political order.

The major characteristics of the degradation of the modern civilisation are discovered in the soullessness of the entire political process which inevitably makes the entire state system corrupt and irresponsible to the genuine needs of the people. In such an order, all the major political institutions become merely instruments for pursuing power, to enhance one's own authority and acquire ownership of property.

As a philosophical anarchist, the essential nature of the state as striving for more concentration of power and egoism is writ large in Gandhi's entire philosophy. He concedes the point that the pursuit of power is an endemic human desire but he was equally careful on emphasising the countervailing and more effective role of moral values which may create a new category of power which will be in consonance with individual fulfilment and a humane collective face.

Gandhi identifies two kinds of power: one which is obtained by the fear of punishment and the other by acts of love. He points out in 1947 that *"by abjuring power and by devoting ourselves to pure and selfless service of voters, we can guide and influence them. It would give us far more real power than we shall have by going into the government. But a stage may come, when the people themselves feel and say that they want us and no one else to wield the power.... It is my firm view that we should keep altogether aloof from power politics and its contagion. To set our own house in order is the first indispensable requisite, if we want to influence political power...to regard adult suffrage as a means for the capture of political power, would be to put it to a corrupt use.... Today, politics has become corrupt.... The greater our inner purity, the greater shall be our hold on the people, without any effort on our part"*.

Stressing on the close link between religion and politics, Gandhi suspects politics as understood in the ordinary sense as power over the lives of the people that is vested in governments and is sought by legislatures. He rejects the notion of power for one's selfish gains and motives devoid of public good. Power for Gandhi, like Rousseau,

lies in being an actively engaged citizen with a capacity of public involvement and political participation rather than being a passive acquiescent subject. If individuals recognise the power in their hands and use it constructively to bring out sarvodaya or good of all through non-violent means against injustice and repression of the state, then the monopolistic nature of state power could be reduced undermining morally and materially its coercive authority. This would ensure purification of politics which can be achieved through constructive programmes.

Power based on coercion and hierarchy only ensures spiritual poverty of the society. Society ought to be changed through the efforts of morally evolved persons; if not, it would be diseased. Gandhi asserts the primacy of social power and political power and insists that social and political power is co-extensive. Politics has to be subordinated to morals; of doing the right thing and readily suffer for one's beliefs or to withdraw into oneself to find a basis for action. There is no justification for abdication of one's responsibility or a passive resort to continued inaction. Gandhi sees a close link between firm and pure intentions and the capacity for effective choices and decisions on the basis of what is considered right and necessary.

Gandhi rejects the view that politics is intrinsically sinful or inherently moral or that it is essentially pragmatic with some utilitarian or prudential justification. For Gandhi, politics is inherently impure and is never ideal but could be purified by repudiating the distinction between the public and the private, political and personal morality. Impure politics, for Gandhi, is power seeking that hinders the relationships between individuals. A leader must seek acceptance and maintain it not just through reasoning with the people but by identifying with their dreams, activities and sufferings. The life of a leader ought to be one of continued sacrifice of the self for the immediate service of his fellow beings. A leader must never hold office or occupy any formal position of power.

Gandhi points out that while it is natural for those in authority to use force but if those who obey the commands of the government also decide to express their will by physical force then it would become impossible for sanity. Individual citizens have the alternative of using 'soul force' which they should and to disregard non-violence is the surest way to destruction.

### **GANDHI ON RIGHTS AND DUTIES**

The crux of Satyagraha, for Gandhi, is in deciphering what one's duty is. Gandhi speaks of rights in the context of duties and that is his distinctiveness; he considers 'real rights as a result of performance of duty' meaning, that all rights to be deserved and preserved as rights is derived from duties which are performed well. Rights cannot be divorced from duties and that rights have to be exercised in the interests of all.

The concept of duty, for Gandhi, is derived from the idea of dispassionate action which the Bhagavad Gita advocates. Unless one's action is performed with a degree of detachment one would not be free from the anxiety of its future consequences. He contends "*if we are sure of the 'purity' of the means we employ, we shall be led on by the faith, before which any fear and trembling melt away*". Non-attachment does not mean lack of clarity about the ends one desires to achieve. For Gandhi, the important thing is to get the people to do what they ought to do without offering inducements or threats or theological sanctions.

Interestingly, Gandhi accepts the core idea of right-based individualism, the dominant paradigm in contemporary political theory, namely human equality and moral worth of every person but rights are coalesced with the idea of duties, assigning individuals with responsibilities to lead a moral life and devote to the good of their community. He also supports the basic rights of those at the margins of society, namely women, untouchables and the vulnerable, who have been objects of domination and humiliation.

According to him, Freedom is not being left alone but the freedom to cultivate love and service which he describes as the best feature of human nature.

He champions equal rights for women and the right of everyone to make the choices they desire. He rejects ascriptive properties such as gender, class, birth, caste, education or nationality that can justify unequal treatment and disqualify some as moral agents. For Gandhi any discourse of rights would have to focus on how persons are treated. He pays attention to the role of institutions or the way resources affect choices available for individuals, an aspect which most theorists on autonomy, with the exception of Raz, ignore.

Another difference between Gandhi and conventional theories of autonomy is that for Gandhi, individuals are equal members of a harmonious and interdependent cosmos rather than abstracted selves. It is only through an association with others based on mutual respect and cooperation that persons become complete or achieve good. The community ought to be one that is open and tolerant of diverse conceptions of good and that its institutional practices do not hinder the pursuit of their good by ordinary persons. Gandhi considers duties as primary and considers the duty to act morally regardless of the consequences as the highest.

### **GANDHIAN THEORY OF SATYAGRAHA**

- Satyagraha is a compound Sanskrit word consisting of two words “staya” plus “graha” meaning holdingfast (graha) onto truth (satya). Thus literally saryagraha means clinging to truth or insistence of truth. Since truth in a sense connotes justice satyagraha also means firm commitment to justice.
- It literally means holding on to truth. Gandhiji sometimes also referred to it as ‘truth force or soul force’. Satyagraha is unique in its conception as opposed to other resistance movements which strive to prove wrong or to defeat the opponent.
- Gandhi used the term for the first time in South Africa to oppose racial discrimination in a non-violent way. Indians in South Africa were victims of racial discrimination. He organized the Indians to start a movement against discrimination. His movement was called passive resistance as different from violent resistance or armed struggle. He wanted a suitable term to name his new technique of resistance and gave an advertisement in the magazine “Indian Opinion” for suggestion. Out of different suggestions the word Satyagraha signifying firmness in a good cause appealed to him which after a little modification he named as Satyagraha. Satyagraha is a love-force or soul-force. A Satyagrahi opposes injustice through love. A satyagrahi will always try to vindicate truth and justice and must be prepared to undergo any suffering for it. He exhibits moral force upon the opponent by his own suffering. Thus satyagraha signifies a technique to resist any injustice in non-violent way. A saryagrahi never hurts nor does express any hatred towards the opponent. He uses his moral force to appeal to the conscience or moral sense of the opponent.
- With satyagraha, **Mahatma Gandhi ushered in a new era of civilian resistance on the political scenario of the world.** Gandhi achieved success in the revolutions he led in South Africa by following the path of Satyagraha. **Satyagraha is more than a political tool of resistance.**
- **It is a holistic approach towards life, based on the ideals of truth and moral courage.**
- On a personal front it involves a life committed to truth, chastity, non-attachment and hard-work. On the political front, satyagraha involves utilisation of non-violent measures to curb the opponent, and ideally to convert him rather than to coerce him into submission.

### **Features**



- Essential principle of **Satyagraha is not to obliterate or wound the adversary, but to convert or win him by love, compassion, endurance and self-suffering.**
- It is based on the metaphysical conviction that the oppressor may have power over the body and material assets of a Satyagrahi, but not greater than his spirit.
- Satyagraha, as a means of social action, is based on a strong moral substance. Self-suffering is its unique temperament which differentiates it from all other forms of violent techniques of action.
- **Satyagraha abstains from evil activities stimulate and encourage everyone in peace making through love, compassion, benevolence and doing good to others even our opponents.**
- Satyagraha considered as the method for reconstructing, remoulding, and reshaping human nature through moralize human activities. **It is not possible to compare the Non-violent non-cooperation with inaction or non-action. It is a vigorous denunciation of untruth, without violence, annoyance or hatred.**
- The **concept of Satyagraha has the wider scope** in its application in the social movements where **there is no hate or anger and violence.**
- The **most important characteristics of Satyagraha lies in making awareness and consciousness among the masses, educating about the socio-economic and political condition of the time, preserving the unity apart from diversities among the masses, converting them as the fearless soldiers, establish the common platform and strong organization and then give direction to them to non-violent struggle against the evils.**
- **The multi-class or non-class character of Satyagraha movement is distinct from other methods which mainly consist of the same class.**

#### **DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SATYAGRAHA AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE**

Gandhi distinguishes Satyagraha from passive resistance. While passive resistance does not carry love for the opponent, satyagraha is based on love and it abandons any form of hatred. Any individual whether weak or strong can resort to satyagraha when he feels injustice is being done to him. A satyagrahi never applies physical force or teaks the opponent under any situation.

Passive resistance is more pragmatic whereas satyagraha is more idealistic in their prospects to oppose or resist injustice. Gandhi suggests some moral vows to be observed by every satyagrahi. These vows are Satya, Ahimsa, Brahmacharya, Asteya, and Aparigraha. A Satyagrahi must accept truth and non-violence as the highest ideals of life and never resort to any deed contrary to them. A Satyagrahi must practice brahmacharya (abstention from sexual passion) and must have control over his carnal desires. Asteya means non-stealing but in the Gandhian framework it means not possessing things disproportionate to one's material requirement. This is somewhat similar to aparigraha or non-possession. That is without giving up lust for possession one cannot renounce selfishness. As long as one remains selfish one cannot be a satyagrahi. These moral ideals have been propounded in Jainism and Yoga system of Indian philosophy. Gandhi accepted these ideals for a Satyagrahi.

Besides, these moral ideals he also takes fearlessness as another prerequisite for a satyagrahi. Unless a person buries all his cowardice and overcome his fear he cannot be a satyagrahi. Since a satyagrahi wants to remove all injustice from the society he should turn into a moral power. He can be so by being fearless and by abiding the aforesaid moral ideals. Here there may be some practical difficulty. The Satyagrahas that Gandhi organized in South Africa and India were broad social movements involving thousands of people.



But to expect all those people to possess these moral qualities for participation in satyagraha will be impossible and impracticable. With the help of the common people he organized mass based satyagraha movements for India's independence. Was it the case that the mass of people had the requisite moral commitment? In this context there is difference between an absolute ideal and a workable ideal.

The leader of a satyagraha movement must accept the requisite ideals but the masses should try to follow the leader and make possible effort to inculcate these ideals. So what is required of a leader is not strictly required of a common man joining in a satyagraha movement. But the common man must adhere to the ideals of non-violent action. There is historical evidence that Gandhi called off Satyagraha movement when it deviated from the moral path even though it was in the peak. He incurred a lot of criticism for it but he never compromised with his ideals.

### **GANDHI ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION/ HIND SWARAJ**

- **Gandhi's** *Hind Swaraj* is primarily known for its trenchant critique of modern civilization. In *Hind Swaraj* he also dwells on the condition of India as it has developed under the British rule and tutelage.
- He makes a basic formulation that under the impact of the British rule India is turning into an 'irreligious' country.
- In *Hind Swaraj* he argues that lawyers have contributed more to the degradation of India. Besides, they have accentuated the **Hindu-Muslim dissensions**, helped the British to consolidate their position and have sucked the blood of the poor of India.
- In his opinion, doctors have been primarily responsible for making the people 'self-indulgent' and taking less care of their bodies.
- He examines the English educational system introduced in India and describes it as 'false education'. For him the basic aim of education should be to bring our senses under our control and to help imbibe ethical behaviour in our life.
- He attacks the newly emerged elite, a by-product of the Macaulay system of education, as they have enslaved India.
- **Gandhi** opposed the Western Civilization because, it had been hedonistic nature in practice, in the sense of self-centred pleasure, pragmatic in the sense of immediate material benefit and individualistic in the sense of egocentric in the respect of sovereign individual oriented.
- He was influenced by **Edward Carpenter's** *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*. Gandhi found no morality or religion in western civilization and both these were essential elements in the structure of any society Gandhi supported or promoted.
- Gandhi **criticized the Western civilization as a purely materialistic civilization that measures its progress in terms of money**. Gandhi believed that despite their material comforts and everyday invention of new machinery they are not civilized like the Indians and that economic progress is no guarantee to moral progress.
- To him, the champions of western civilization behaved in actual practice and how wide the gap between what the practiced and preached. **European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans, but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it.**
- Gandhi even **criticized the Parliamentary form of governance that has its origin in the Western civilization**. Gandhi never aspired for a Parliamentary democracy but Swaraj, where in there is a scope for self-regulation and the state, though not withers away, it would govern the least. For Gandhi, fundamentals must not change.

- Gandhi is also in favour of technology although he is generally known as a vehement critic of modern technology. An individual's primary place in society can never be replaced by any other component of any type of system and order.

### **GANDHIAN SWARAJ**

- The term '**Swaraj**' initially was used by Dadabhai Naoroji and Balgangadhar Tilak in political scenario for attaining the national Independence.
- The idea of 'Swaraj' or self-rule is one of the philosophical principles of Gandhian teachings, which stimulate man in conquering complete individuality and also reorganization of the society.
- Gandhi holds that **self-rule or 'Swaraj'** was nothing but self-determination of the individual while taking decisions without depending upon others. Gandhi used this term Swaraj with a definite meaning and significance.
- By **Real Swaraj** Gandhi meant the '**welfare and happiness of the masses**'.
- He wrote Swaraj as "a scared word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraint which independence often means.
- It is a fact that his Swaraj is meant for self-government. This idea is based on the spiritual thinking that anything authentic and real can come only from within. **Gandhi used the term swaraj both at the individual and national levels.**
- **The individual swaraj** means rule over one's self. Control over one's lust is the main condition for individual swaraj.
- **In national level** Gandhi meant that national self-rule in the fields of social, political, economic and moral.
- Gandhi thought that by educating the masses it will be possible to accomplish self-rule, he says, "**swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.**"
- According to Gandhi **economic swaraj** means self-sufficient individual, village and national economic freedom and also that means decentralized economic power to all. By his teachings of swaraj he wanted to eradicate the sect of haves and have nots and try to establish economy based on self-reliance. That's why Gandhi preached khadi, spinning wheel and trusteeship for self-dependent economic power.
- **Gram Swaraj or village self-rule** is an essential thought in Gandhi's thinking.

### **GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF MEANS AND ENDS IN POLITICS**

It appears to be common to most schools of thought to accept a sharp dichotomy between ends and means, a distinction that is deeply embedded in our ethical and political and psychological vocabulary, rooted in rigid European pre-suppositions regarding the very nature of human action. Distinctions have been repeatedly made between immediate and ultimate, short-term and long-term, diverse and common, individual and social, essential and desirable ends, as also between attainable and utopian goals. Discussion about means has not ignored questions about their moral implications and propriety or about the extent of their theoretical and contingent compatibility with desired ends or widely shared values. But despite all these reservations, the dangerous dogma that the end entirely justifies the means is merely an extreme version of the commonly uncriticised belief that moral considerations cannot apply to the means except in relation to ends, or that the latter have a moral priority.

Gandhi seems to stand almost alone among social and political thinkers in his firm rejection of the rigid dichotomy between ends and means and in his extreme moral preoccupation with the means to the extent that they rather than the ends provide the standard of reference. He was led to this position by his early acceptance of satya and ahimsa, truth and nonviolence, as twin moral absolutes and his consistent view of their relationship.

In **Hind Swaraj** he wrote that even great men who have been considered religious have committed grievous crimes through the mistaken belief that there is no moral connection or interdependence between the means and the end.

***"We cannot get a rose through planting a noxious weed. The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."***

It is not as though violence and nonviolence are merely different means to secure the same end. As they are morally different in quality and essence, they must necessarily achieve different results. The customary dichotomy between means and ends originates in, and reinforces, the view that they are two entirely different categories of action and that their relationship is mainly a technical matter to be settled by considering what will be effective and what is possible in a given situation, that the ethical problem of choice requires an initial decision regarding the desired end and the obligatory acceptance of whatever steps seem necessary to secure it or are most likely to do so.

Gandhi, however, was led by his metaphysical belief in the "law" of karma - the "law" of ethical causation or moral retribution that links all the acts of interdependent individuals - to the view that the relationship between means and ends is organic, the moral quality of the latter being causally dependent upon that of the former. The psychology of human action in a morally indivisible community of apparently isolated units demands that the means-end relationship must be seen in terms of the consistent growth in moral awareness of individuals and communities and not in relation to the mechanical division of time into arbitrary and discrete intervals. If for Gandhi there was no "wall of separation" between means and end, this was because of his basic belief that in politics as in all spheres of human action we reap exactly what we sow.

Gandhi's view of the means-end relationship may be put in the form of the following statements, which overlap and yet express several distinct ideas: *"For me it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life."* *"We have always control over the means but not over the end."* *"I feel that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means."* *"They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after everything'. As the means so the end."*

The first statement rejects the notion that in our actual conduct we can make a firm and decisive distinction between means and ends. Gandhi's conception of the psychology of human action requires this rejection of a conventional conceptual habit which makes us ascribe to ourselves greater knowledge, and greater assurance, than we actually possess. The second statement asserts a contingent truth about the extent and the limit of our free will, that the individual's capacity to determine what he can do in any specific situation at any given time is much greater than his power of anticipation, prediction and control over the consequences of his actions. The third statement expresses the metaphysical belief in the moral law of karma, under which there is an exact causal connection between the extent of the moral "purity" (detachment and disinterestedness or the degree of moral awareness) of an act and the measure of individual effectiveness in promoting or pursuing and securing a morally worthy end, over a period of time. Clearly, this metaphysical belief cannot be conclusively verified or falsified by evidence. The fourth statement is a practical recommendation that we must be primarily or even wholly concerned with the immediate adoption of what we regard as a morally worthy (i.e. intrinsically justifiable) means. This recommendation may be accepted by those who subscribe to the second statement and it is mandatory for those who share the metaphysical belief implicit in the third statement.

### **Gandhi on Modernism**

Gandhi is one of the most resolute critics of modernity in the twentieth century. In Gandhi's own words his book '*Hind Swaraj*' is a severe condemnation of modernization. Gandhi's aversion to modernization was so strong that he did not hesitate to call modern civilization 'satanic'. He sees modernity, unless unchecked, sweeping away everything that stands in its way as it tries to take 'charge of the world'.

Gandhi loathed the material civilization & believed that it was destroying the deeper values of India. Major tenets of his critique of modernity can be stated as follows:

1. **Destroying values & principles:** It promotes a concept of the 'westernised egocentric man.' Such naked pursuit of self-interest makes all talks of values, religion and morality irrelevant
2. **Against Non-violence:** Gandhi saw embodiment of violence in every feature of modernity & held it as antithetical to the idea of peaceful coexistence.
3. **Evils of Industrialization:** Gandhi was against industrialization because it led to many insoluble problems like environmental pollution, exploitation of tribes, unemployment etc. However, he clarified that he was not against machinery but industrial mentality as a whole.
4. According to him increasing use of machinery and technology created unemployment to a large extent. Men are replaced by machines and thus there is a great scarcity of work. Thus he wanted to restrict the use of machinery to minimum requirements.
5. Whether it is machine or anything else ultimate objective must always be to get freedom, freedom from our own blemishes, and freedom from our own flaws and imperfections. And Gandhi assumes that even machines must help us in this direction of getting salvation.
6. **Modern Institution:** The critique of modernity by Gandhi also included disapproval towards fields like modern medicine, western education, modern institutions of justice, modern state etc.

Gandhi's harsh criticism of modernization & promotion of indigenous civilizational values as its alternative has not escaped criticism

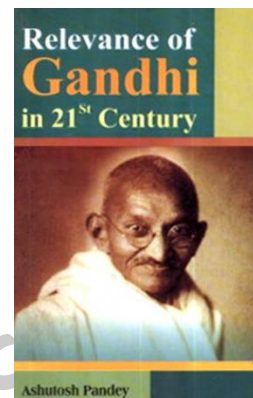
According to **Bhikhu Parekh**,

- Gandhi concentrated more on its darker side than on its positive contributions like non-hierarchical social order, its stress on the autonomy and liberty of individuals and its basic faith in human rationality. He also failed to see that despite its rationalistic nature, modern civilization does have its own spiritual depth and dimension.
- **Secondly**, he failed to see that industrialism need not be necessarily accompanied by colonialism and imperialism.

Gandhi's critique of modernization has been revived in the rise of postmodernism. In today's era where limits of modernity are continuously contested, Gandhi's critique stays quite relevant.

### **RELEVANCE OF GANDHI**

- **Gandhiji** not only gave India its freedom but also gave the world and us a new thought on nonviolence and sustainable living. His teachings and experiments are more valid today than ever before.
- Barack Obama, the present US President, sees Mahatma Gandhi as an inspiration and has a portrait of the apostle of peace in his office.
  - He commented, **"In my life, I have always looked to Mahatma Gandhi as an inspiration, because he embodies the kind of transformational change that can be made when ordinary people come together to do extraordinary things."**
- The fundamental precepts of *Gandhism* are more *relevant* today when caste, class and religious differences are so pronounced. Gandhism can never be outdated no matter what people may say and believe.
- In this world torn by violence and corruption, Gandhi's philosophy is the only hope that keeps the human race going.
- His **fight against untouchability** and the notions of superiority and inferiority by birth are also fairly well known.
- For India, his greatest service was, perhaps, the **emancipation of Indian women**. Philosophy of non-violence has great relevancy in contemporary 21st century.
- In India most of the conflict and extremist revolutions already selected & some are going to settle by **non-violence and peaceful means**. Peace process in extremist movement, settlement of interstate conflict, Water dispute. The central concept of Gandhi's philosophy is 'Satyagraha'.
- A **Satyagraha campaign** is undertaken only after all other peaceful means have proven ineffective. For extent of some period it was known as Gandhi's method of Satyagraha have no any relevancy but with the passing of time he proved how it was important of protection of life, Liberty and property .
- His **political ideal based on ethical and spiritual grounds** rising democratic values. At present, we see that politics is riddled with deceit and dishonesty and is bound to create greater deceit and greater dishonesty.
- **Gandhian economy** still relevant to our time. He was not against machinery as such. He was afraid that use of machinery on large scale would result in technological unemployment. He extends Ruskin's concepts of the equality of wages to all kinds of labour and equal distribution. The mad race in industrialization and urbanization has resulted in pollution of environment and Gandhi abundant of luxurious life.
- The **concept of Decentralization** occupies paramount importance in Gandhian Philosophy. Gandhi wanted political power to be distributed among the villages in India. He preferred the term 'swaraj' to describe what he called true democracy.
- **Gandhian Democracy** is still relevant in India. It is clear from the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments of Indian constitution that is related only with rural administration of India.
- Gandhi promoted an educational curriculum called '**Basic Education**'. He much emphasis on mother tongue should be the medium of education, women education.



### **GANDHI AND MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Critics often characterize Gandhi's political thought as a mix of Hinduism, anti-industrialism, moral puritanism, and social service. When tied to his charisma, it may have proved powerful in attracting supporters but could not cohere into an ideology. With the partial exception of **Hind Swaraj**, Gandhi also never penned a grand philosophical treatise. When asked why this was so, Gandhi replied that he was *"not made for academic writing, action is my domain"*.

Gandhi was both a man of action and a philosopher. The originality and depth of his political thought was closely connected to action. He was not just adept at translating ideas into action. In trying to make satyagraha effective, he grasped some elemental truths about the nature of politics. This was not a philosophy of and for the cave-dweller, but for popular politics in the street, the maidan, and the village.

Gandhi's central contribution to modern politics was the invention of satyagraha. Tolstoy's non-resistance and Thoreau's civil disobedience inspired his ambition to make satyagraha a universal political method. But Gandhi's greatest innovation was to turn satyagraha into a new kind of mass politics. As a tool of resistance, its power was most unyielding when enacted on a large scale. Its mass quality was also important for how it was practised, and by whom.

Satyagraha was universal in a second sense; it could be taken up by anyone. At various times, Gandhi thought of children, women, and peasants as ideal satyagrahis. Political scientists **Erica Chenoweth** and **Nancy Stephan, in When Civil Resistance Works**, argue that this inclusiveness has given non-violent movements a "participation advantage" over armed movements, making them twice as likely to succeed in overthrowing authoritarian regimes.

But the inclusion of diverse classes was also essential to satyagraha's constructive purpose. Through the practice of satyagraha, the elite would unlearn privilege, and actively identify with the poor — most famously through the labour of spinning and village seva (service). In overcoming fear of authority, the poor and vulnerable would likewise realise dignity and freedom through action.

Something about the way we remember Gandhian non-violence today has made it seem prosaic. We have become inured to its novelty in terms of what it demanded of its practitioners and what it conveyed to the public. Protest politics have also become repetitive, with a scripted unruliness, making it hard to see how they can genuinely provoke and reshape opinion. For Gandhi, to realise its power to transform, disruptive mass protest had to be creative and disciplined. Discipline allows the dignity of the protesters, and the message they present, to be conveyed with intense clarity and sincerity.

One of Gandhi's keen insights into the nature of politics underlying his advocacy of satyagraha was his awareness of the role played by egoistic attachments and negative emotions like resentment, contempt, and indignation in politics. Our identities are closely bound with our political beliefs and interests. We naturally resent and dismiss those who challenge them, as regularly occurs in competitive politics. Satyagraha engages these passions and dispositions. Its creativity and discipline lessen and disorient them enough that a shift in commitments might become possible.

This is what Gandhi meant when he argued that to get important things done in politics, you had to go beyond reason and mind. You had to reach out to and move the "heart" of those who resist and resent you. In all his campaigns, satyagraha was means for generating opportunities for persuasion and realignment rather than retrenchment and polarisation.

The theory and practice of satyagraha exemplified another general truth about politics that Gandhi underlined — this was the importance of means. Gandhi followed the **maxim that in politics "means are after all everything"**. Given the sway of negative passions in politics, and the ever-present potential for violence and reaction, the how of politics was given priority over end goals.



The first, and hardest question of politics for Gandhi was : How to shake people out of their existing rationales and motivate them to transform themselves and their political worlds. Typically, political leaders and activists try to motivate people to act in one of two ways. One is to rely on words over deeds. In Gandhi's terms, they try to persuade by petitioning, condemning, speechifying, and sloganeering. But slogans not backed by deeds were signs of weakness and powerlessness. The opposite side depends on brute force. Politics is defined by exploiting fear and threatening coercion. Protest politics in this vein relies on the strength of numbers and replays in the street the politics of intimidation. In the language of **Hind Swaraj**, this is the kind of politics that "assumed that we can get men to do things by force and, therefore, we use force".

Both were mistaken. For Gandhi, *"real strength lies in the absence of fear not in the quantity of flesh and muscle we have on our bodies"*. Satyagraha was his way of building strength through deeds and action. It was a form of creative action that could initiate new attachments and alliances. Its greatest legacy was to demonstrate that effective power need not be equivalent to coercive force.

## MULTICULTURALISM

### PYQ

2017 What do you understand by Multiculturalism? Discuss Bhikhu Parekh's views on Multiculturalism. (20)

### EVOLUTION AND UNDERSTANDING

Although multicultural societies have long existed – the term '**multiculturalism**' is of relatively recent origin. It was first used in 1965 in Canada to describe a distinctive approach to tackling the issue of cultural diversity.

In 1971, multiculturalism, or 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework', was formally adopted as public policy in Canada. Since the 1990s, multiculturalism has become prominent in the wider political debate.

Multiculturalism is more an arena for ideological debate than an ideology in its own right. A multiculturalist stance implies a positive endorsement of communal diversity, based on the right of different cultural groups to recognition and respect.

In this sense, it acknowledges the importance of beliefs, values and ways of life in establishing a sense of self-worth for individuals and groups alike. Distinctive cultures thus deserve to be protected and strengthened, particularly when they belong to minority or vulnerable groups.

However, there are a number of competing models of a multicultural society, which draw on, variously, the ideas of liberalism, pluralism and cosmopolitanism.

On the other hand, the multiculturalist stance has also been deeply controversial, and has given rise to a range of objections and criticisms.



Multiculturalism is the view that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgment of their differences within a dominant political culture.

### **Multiculturalism as a challenge to Traditional Liberalism**

Multiculturalism stands as a challenge to liberal democracy. In liberal democracies, all citizens should be treated equally under the law by abstracting the common identity of “citizen” from the real social, cultural, political, and economic positions and identities of real members of society. That leads to a tendency to homogenize the collective of citizens and assume a common political culture that all participate in.

Also, the abstract view ignores other politically salient features of the identities of political subjects that exceed the category of citizen, such as race, religion, class, and sex.

Rather than embracing the traditional liberal image of the melting pot into which people of different cultures are assimilated into a unified national culture, multiculturalism generally holds the image of a tossed salad to be more appropriate.

According to multiculturalism, although being an integral and recognizable part of the whole, diverse members of society can maintain their particular identities while residing in the collective.

Some more-radical multicultural theorists have claimed that some cultural groups need more than recognition to ensure the integrity and maintenance of their distinct identities and contributions. In addition to individual equal rights, some have advocated for special group rights and autonomous governance for certain cultural groups.

### **CORE THEMES IN MULTICULTURALISM**

Multiculturalism is an arena within which increasingly important debates about the balance in modern societies between cultural diversity and civic unity are conducted. The most significant themes within multiculturalism are:

1. Politics of recognition
2. Culture and identity
3. Minority rights
4. Diversity

#### **Politics of recognition**

The notion of the ‘politics of rights’ is rooted in the ideas of republicanism which are associated by many (but by no means all) with liberalism. The problem of legal and political exclusion, the denial to certain groups of rights that are enjoyed by their fellow citizens, etc brought in the idea of Politics of recognition in the form of advancing multiculturalism where the main issue in society is cultural based marginalization of non-majority sections.

Multiculturalists argue that minority cultural groups are disadvantaged in relation to majority groups, and that remedying this involves significant changes in society's rules and institutions. As such, multiculturalism, in common with many other ideological traditions (not least socialism and feminism), is associated with the advancement of marginalized, disadvantaged or oppressed groups. However, multiculturalism draws from a novel approach to such matters, one that departs from conventional approaches to social advancement.

## CULTURE AND IDENTITY

Multiculturalism's politics of recognition is shaped by a larger body of thought which holds that culture is basic to political and social identity. Multiculturalism, in that sense, is an example of the politics of cultural self-assertion. In this view, a pride in one's culture, and especially a public acknowledgement of one's cultural identity, gives people a sense of social and historical rootedness.

In contrast, a weak or fractured sense of cultural identity leaves people feeling isolated and confused. In its extreme form, this can result in what has been called 'culturalism' – as practiced by writers such as the French political philosopher **Montesquieu (1689–1775)**, and the pioneer of cultural nationalism, **Herder**– which portrays human beings as culturally defined creatures. In its modern form, cultural politics has been shaped by two main forces: communitarianism and identity politics

## MINORITY RIGHTS

The advance of multiculturalism has gone hand in hand with a willingness to recognize minority rights, sometimes called 'multicultural' rights. The most systematic attempt to identify such rights was undertaken by **Will Kymlicka**.



He has identified three kinds of minority rights:

1. Self-government rights
2. Polyethnic rights
3. Representation rights

1. **Self-government rights** belong to what **Kymlicka** calls national minorities, indigenous peoples who are territorially concentrated, possess a shared language and are characterized by a 'meaningful way of life across the full range of human activities'. In these cases, the right to self-government involves the devolution of political power, usually through federalism, to political units that are substantially controlled by their members, although it may extend to the right of secession and, therefore, to sovereign independence.

For e.g The Indian government has provided special rights to the tribal population of Northeast under the **Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution**.

2. **Polyethnic rights** are rights that help ethnic groups and religious minorities, which have developed through immigration, to express and maintain their cultural distinctiveness. This would, for instance, provide the

basis for legal exemptions, such as the exemption of Jews and Muslims from animal slaughtering laws, and the exemption of Muslim girls from school dress codes.

**Kymlicka** justified 'reverse' or 'positive' discrimination in such cases, on the grounds that it is the only way of ensuring the full and equal participation of all groups in the life of their society, thus ensuring that public policy reflects the interests of diverse groups and peoples, and not merely those of traditionally dominant groups.

For e.g. In India, the **Indian Constitution** provides them special rights under **Article 29 and 30 to minorities**.

3. **Minority or multicultural rights** are distinct from the traditional liberal conception of rights, in that they belong to groups rather than to individuals. This highlights the extent to which multiculturalists subscribe to collectivism rather than individualism.

Minority rights are also often thought of as 'special' rights. These are rights that are specific to the groups to which they belong, each cultural group having different needs for recognition based on the particular character of its religion, traditions and way of life.

## DIVERSITY

Multiculturalism has much in common with nationalism. Both emphasize the capacity of culture to generate social and political cohesion, and both seek to bring political arrangements into line with patterns of cultural differentiation.

Nevertheless, whereas nationalists believe that stable and successful societies are ones in which nationality, in the sense of a shared cultural identity, coincides with citizenship, multiculturalists hold that cultural diversity is compatible with, and perhaps provides the best basis for, political cohesion.

Multiculturalism is characterized by a steadfast refusal to link diversity to conflict or instability. All forms of multiculturalism are based on the assumption that diversity and unity can, and should, be blended with one another: they are not opposing forces.

## TYPES OF MULTICULTURALISM

All forms of multiculturalism advance a political vision that claims to reconcile cultural diversity with civic cohesion. However, multiculturalism is not a single doctrine in the sense that there is no settled or agreed view of how multicultural society should operate. Multiculturalists disagree both about how far they should go in positively endorsing cultural diversity, and about how civic cohesion can best be brought about.

There are three main models of multiculturalism

1. Liberal multiculturalism
2. Pluralist multiculturalism
3. Cosmopolitan multiculturalism

### **LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM**

Since the 1970s, liberal thinkers have been taking the issue of cultural diversity increasingly seriously, and have developed a form of liberal multiculturalism. Its cornerstone has been a commitment to toleration and a desire to uphold freedom of choice in the moral sphere, especially in relation to matters that are of central concern to particular cultural or religious traditions.

This has contributed to the idea that liberalism is 'neutral' in relation to the moral, cultural and other choices that citizens make. **John Rawls**, for example, championed this belief in arguing that liberalism strives to establish conditions in which people can establish the good life as each defines it ('the right'), but it does not prescribe or try to promote any particular values or moral beliefs ('the good'). Liberalism, in this sense, is 'difference-blind': it treats factors such as culture, ethnicity, race, religion and gender as, in effect, irrelevant, because all people should be evaluated as morally autonomous individuals.

The second feature of liberal multiculturalism is that it draws an important distinction between 'private' and 'public' life. It sees the former as a realm of freedom, in which people are, or should be, free to express their cultural, religious and language identity, whereas the latter must be characterized by at least bedrock of shared civic allegiances. Citizenship is thus divorced from cultural identity, making the latter essentially a private matter.

The third and final aspect of liberal multiculturalism is that it regards liberal democracy as the sole legitimate political system. The virtue of liberal democracy is that it alone ensures that government is based on the consent of the people, and, in providing guarantees for personal freedom and toleration, it helps to uphold diversity.

### **PLURALIST MULTICULTURALISM**

Pluralism provides firm foundations for a politics of difference than liberalism. For liberals, as has been seen, diversity is endorsed but only when it is constructed within a framework of toleration and personal autonomy, amounting to a form of 'shallow' diversity. This is the sense in which liberals 'absolutize' liberalism nevertheless went beyond liberal toleration in endorsing the idea of value pluralism.

This holds, in short, that people are bound to disagree about the ultimate ends of life, as it is not possible to demonstrate the superiority of one moral system over another. **Berlin's** stance implies a form of live-and-let-live multiculturalism, or what has been called the politics of indifference. He failed to demonstrate how liberal and illiberal cultural beliefs can co-exist harmoniously within the same society

An alternative basis for pluralist multiculturalism has been advanced by **Bhikhu Parekh (2005)**. In Parekh's view, cultural diversity is, at heart, a reflection of the dialectic or interplay between human nature and culture. Although human beings are natural creatures, who possess a common species-derived physical and mental structure, they are also culturally constituted in the sense that their attitudes, behaviour and ways of life are shaped by the groups to which they belong.

A recognition of the complexity of human nature, and the fact that any culture expresses only part of what it means to be truly human, therefore provides the basis for a politics of recognition and thus for a viable form of

multiculturalism. Such a stance goes beyond liberal multiculturalism in that it stresses that western liberalism gives expression only to certain aspects of human nature.

### **COSMOPOLITAN MULTICULTURALISM**

Cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism can be seen as entirely distinct, even conflicting, ideological traditions. Whereas cosmopolitanism encourages people to adopt a global consciousness which emphasizes that ethical responsibility should not be confined by national borders, multiculturalism appears to particularize moral sensibilities, focusing on the specific needs and interests of a distinctive cultural group. For theorists such as **Jeremy Waldron** (1995), multiculturalism can effectively be equated with cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitan multiculturalists endorse cultural diversity and identity politics, but they view them as essentially transitional states in a larger reconstruction of political sensibilities and priorities. This position celebrates diversity on the grounds of what each culture can learn from other cultures, and because of the prospects for personal self-development that are offered by a world of wider cultural opportunities and options. This results in what has been called a 'pick-and mix' multiculturalism, in which cultural exchange and cultural mixing are positively encouraged.

Culture, from this perspective, is fluid and responsive to changing social circumstances and personal needs; it is not fixed and historically embedded, as pluralist or particularist multiculturalists would argue. A multicultural society is thus a 'melting pot' of different ideas, values and traditions, rather than a 'cultural mosaic' of separate ethnic and religious groups. In particular, the cosmopolitan stance positively embraces hybridity. This recognizes that, in the modern world, individual identity cannot be explained in terms of a single cultural structure, but rather exists, in Waldron's (1995) words, as a 'melange' of commitments, affiliations and roles.

### **VIEWS OF BHIKHU PAREKH (1935)**

A British political theorist, **Parekh** has developed an influential defence of cultural diversity from a pluralist perspective. In **Rethinking Multiculturalism** (2005), he rejected universalist liberalism on the grounds that what is reasonable and moral is embedded in and mediated by culture, which, in turn, helps people to make sense of their lives and the world around them.



'Variegated' treatment, including affirmative action, is therefore required to put ethnic, cultural or religious minorities on an equal footing with the majority community.

He has criticized **Kymlicka's** view for not supporting minorities apart from national minorities to be given special rights. It is absurd to think that culture will not matter to immigrants and refugees eg. Indian Muslims. Also it is not to think that only liberal societies can be multicultural. Take other eg. like Indian society which has been pluralistic and tolerant

Principles of multiculturalism cannot be based just on the values of a single culture ie Western culture. It has to be based on the dialogue among civilizations. He suggests that there is a need to evolve some common values which can be applied at cosmopolitan level. He believes that Human Dignity is one such value which can be accepted by all cultures and societies.

He suggests the Harm Principle. States can give concessions or follow the policy of accommodation if that policy does not create any specific harm to anyone.

### **Views of James Tully**

A Canadian political theorist, Tully has championed a plural form of political society that accommodates the needs and interests of indigenous peoples.

He portrayed modern constitutionalism, which stresses sovereignty and uniformity, as a form of imperialism that denies indigenous modes of self-government and land appropriation. In its place, he advocated 'ancient constitutionalism', which respects diversity and pluralism, and allows traditional values and practices to be accepted as legitimate. Tully's key work in this area is **Strange Multiplicity (1995)**.

### **CHALLENGES TO MULTICULTURALISM**

- There are two primary objections to multiculturalism. One is that multiculturalism privileges the good of certain groups over the common good, thereby potentially eroding the common good in favour of a minority interest.
- The second is that multiculturalism undermines the notion of equal individual rights, thereby weakening the political value of equal treatment.
- Multiculturalism raises other questions. There is the question of which cultures will be recognized. Some theorists have worried that multiculturalism can lead to a competition between cultural groups all vying for recognition and that this will further reinforce the dominance of the dominant culture.
- Further, the focus on cultural group identity may reduce the capacity for coalitional political movements that might develop across differences.
- Some Marxist and feminist theorists have expressed worry about the dilution of other important differences shared by members of a society that do not necessarily entail a shared culture, such as class and sex.

### **IDEA OF DIFFERENTIATED CITIZENSHIP**

Liberalism addressed the issue of social discrimination by disregarding ascribed identities and extending the same rights to all persons as citizens. Multiculturalism, in sharp contrast to this, argues that identical rights for all are inadequate for minimizing culture-based discrimination. What we require are special rights for identified minorities. 'The idea that citizens be differentiated on the basis of their cultural identity and that different communities may receive different rights as citizens of the polity is one of the defining features of multiculturalism, and it is expressed through the concept of differentiated citizenship.'

'The concept of differentiated citizenship rejects the liberal ideal of universal citizenship. Multiculturalism maintains that universal citizenship assumes that all persons are alike. This assumption of homogeneity eclipses group differences. It calls upon the individual to leave behind their particular identities and see themselves only as citizens of the polity.'

The idea of group-differentiated citizenship and rights is advocated to halt the process of assimilation by giving minority community cultural rights that would enable them to protect their culture against pressures of homogenization from that state and society. It rests on the belief that society comprises many different cultural communities.

But the state invariably privileges and endorses the culture of one community, which is designated as the majority. Since this marginalizes and disadvantages other cultural communities (the minorities), special rights may be extended to them. A distinction may, therefore, be made between citizens on the basis of cultural identity, and this is justified for ensuring equal treatment for all.

### CRITIQUE TO MULTICULTURALISM

The multiculturalism analysis of culture-based discrimination in liberal democracies has received wide attention in recent times. However, its concept of differentiated citizenship and the accompanying defence of special rights for minorities has come under a great deal of resistance.

According to **Amartya Sen**, multiculturalism leads to ghettoization. It puts obstacles in the path of evolution of national solidarity. He argues that multiculturalism leads to miniaturization of humanity as identity is associated with a single social group.

It **makes violence more likely as people identify with their own group** and sometimes fail to recognize rights of other groups. Conservative and nationalist thinkers believe that multicultural societies are internally divided where violence and hostility are accepted facts of life.

People generally are drawn to others with whom they share their identity and they would distrust someone who is different in some ways of life. Nationalists, therefore, would like to limit immigration and assimilate the minority cultures to strengthen national identity instead of particular identities.

It has been argued that the multicultural framework empowers communities and traditional structures of authority. It **gives communities authority over the individual and allows them to continue with existing practices** in the name of protecting community culture. This sanction given to communities and their practices can be, and often is, used to quell internal differences and promote conformity with existing practices and the views of traditional leaders.

While discussing the question of special rights for minorities, multiculturalism assumes that each community is a homogeneous entity and **ignores intra-cultural diversity**. Besides, individuals usually see themselves as members of many different communities. **For example**, Indians, Asians, Women, and based on region, religion and caste.

Critics also fear that multiculturalism may lead to the **weakening of the nation-state**. By associating the culture endorsed by the state with the majority community, multiculturalism, they argue, undermines the very possibility of a shared culture of the people in the nation state.

Theorists of the **Marxist persuasion** particularly argue that multiculturalism neglects the issue of redistribution. It conceives minority marginalization narrowly as a cultural phenomenon requiring cultural remedies in the form of recognition and protection of minority cultures. As a consequence, it loses sight of the multiple ways in which discrimination of minorities occurs and manifests itself in society



**Feminists** argue that group differentiated rights are used by men to strengthen and perpetuate their power in a group and women are marginalized in such an environment. They also say that multiculturalism reinforces gender inequality in minority groups.

### Conclusion

The concept of multiculturalism and the various theories associated with it have become quite important in contemporary lives. Multiculturalism addresses itself to the basic issue of discrimination in society; especially in the context of marginalised cultural communities such as the minorities. Multiculturalism, therefore, emphasizes group specific rights. It lays stress on societal/institutional arrangements for minority cultures to survive and flourish.








The significance of multicultural political theory is that it has drawn our attention to the processes of cultural discrimination within liberal democracies, and compelled us to re-think the ideals that have been cherished within liberalism.


In particular, it has prompted us to consider whether individual rights, indivisible state sovereignty and uniform citizenship can effectively ensure equality for all in a plural society. It is by virtue of setting this agenda that multiculturalism has today become one of the most influential strands of democratic theory.

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## POST-MODERNISM

### PYQ

Comment on Postmodernism (10) 2017

### Introduction

Postmodernism is a controversial and confusing term that was first used to describe experimental movements in western arts, architecture and cultural development in general. It emerged in philosophy after World War II. It challenges some of the assumptions of modernity. **Nietzsche is considered as the Father of Post-Modernism.**

Postmodernists argue that there is no such thing as certainty; the idea of absolute and universal truth must be discarded as an arrogant pretence. Emphasis is placed instead on discourse, debate and democracy.

### Evolution of Post Modernism

To understand how Postmodernism came to existence, we need to know the departure of modernism. Modernism is a cover term for certain tendencies in early twentieth century art and literature. The motivating slogan at the back of these tendencies was 'make it new'.

The peak of Modernism was the period between 1910 and 1930. Postmodernism fully came into its own in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. What marks it is a mood of radical inconclusiveness and a tone of self-conscious skepticism towards previous certainties in personal, intellectual and political life.

It was **Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)** who held that "God is Dead". There is no essential truth. There is no way to determine what is right or wrong. Hence, there is no basis of morality. Morality is all relative. The idea of Nietzsche is to suggest that there is no ultimate way of life. Man should lead his life according to his choice. According to him, there is a Will to Power in men and it is even stronger than Will to Life. He also held that there is a connection between Knowledge and Power. Even knowledge is not free from function and power.

Afterwards, **Albert Einstein (1879-1955)** gave the **Theory of Relativity**. According to him, observation will depend upon the time and space of the observer. It means for the same phenomenon, the view of the same person looking it from Berlin and looking it from Baghdad will be different.

Later, well known political philosopher **Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996)** in his book '**The Structure of Scientific Revolution**' gave the **concept of Paradigm**. According to him, theories are Paradigm. Paradigm is a conceptual framework which keeps on changing. It means that there is no finality in knowledge. Knowledge is limitless. He held that what we think is final is the limit of our knowledge and not the limit of knowledge. Not only theory of social sciences, but even the theories of natural sciences are paradigm and paradigm change.

A new touch was further given by the French Philosopher **Louis Althusser (1918 -1990)** who gave the concept of interpellation. This idea is very much near to the idea of hegemony. It suggests that ideas enter into our mind and we tend to look at these ideas as reality. He has explained interpellation as a process by which dominant ideas infiltrate our mind. What I think is my idea is actually not my idea. Althusser has suggested that ideologies offer people an identity. Power works best when it is invisible based on the consensus because there will be no resistance.

## **PROMINENT POSTMODERNIST SCHOLARS**

### **JEAN-FRANÇOIS LYOTARD**

- The term “postmodernism” first entered the philosophical lexicon in 1979, with the publication of ***The Postmodern Condition*** by Jean-François Lyotard.
- He describes postmodernism as “*incredulity towards meta-narratives.*”
- According to him, we are living in the age when meta-narratives have lost the power to convince. He suggests listening to multiple narratives, respect diversity.



### **FOUCAULT**

- He was influenced by Nietzsche. He has given the concept of Discourse. What we call a theory is a narrative or discourse.
- According to Foucault, what we think as theory is nothing but a story. It is not discovering truth but it is manufacturing truth. It is not telling a reality, it is telling things in a way that other people believe is real.
- According to him, discourse is a regime of truth.
- There are different truths/ discourses. Some truths get accepted by the majority. It becomes the dominant discourse. For eg, discourse about homosexuality, criminality, abnormality etc is presented in such a way that it appears to be abnormal.
- In the words of Foucault, “discourse is a system of thoughts composed in ideas, attitudes, course of action, beliefs and practices that systematically constructs the subject and the words of which they speak.”
- He later on gave the concept of **governmentality**.
- He even analysed the knowledge-power connection and argued that Knowledge is Power as there is no knowledge that is free from the function of power.



### **JACQUES DERRIDA**

- He was influenced by Foucault. He has given the concept of **Deconstruction**.
- Deconstruction is considered the technique of interpreting the texts.
- According to him, human language is not developed so that we can communicate all that is going on in our mind.
- Any understanding can be a misunderstanding as there can be multiple interpretations of text.



## **COMPARISON BETWEEN MODERNISM AND POSTMODERNISM**

**Premodernism** is considered as **anything before the Enlightenment or Age of Reason but could find its origin during the Renaissance and Reformation.**

**Modernism** is a philosophical movement that, along with cultural trends and changes, arose from wide-scale and far-reaching transformations in Western society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Among the **factors that shaped Modernism** were the development of **modern industrial societies and the rapid growth of cities, followed then by the horror of World War I.**

**Postmodernism** brought with it a **questioning of the previous approaches to knowing.** Instead of relying on one approach to knowing, they advocate for multiple ways of knowing. This can **include the premodern ways (revelation) and modern ways (science & reason), along with many other ways of knowing such as intuition, relational, and spiritual.** Postmodern approaches seek to **deconstruct previous authority sources and power.** Because power is distrusted, they attempt to set up a less hierarchical approach in which authority sources are more diffuse.

Modernism	Postmodernism
Modernity is Age of Science	Postmodernism is revival of philosophy
It believes in foundationalism	It rejects foundationalism. Universe is not static rather expanding.
There is order in universe	Universe is in a state of chaos. There is no organization, no structure.
Modernity believes in Universalism. Eg. UDHR 1948.	Postmodernists believe that there are no modernist principles that can be applied universally. They rather believe in Particularism. Eg. Call for Asian Values.
It believes in Hegemony of sciences	It does not believe in any branch of knowledge.

### **KNOWLEDGE- POWER CONNECTION BY FOUCAULT- A POSTMODERN UNDERSTANDING**

The understanding and analysis of power has been critical to sociological thought. One of the prominent delineations of power has been provided by **Michel Foucault** (1926-1984). His works analyze the link between power and knowledge. Foucault began his intellectual pursuits in philosophy but became disillusioned by its abstractions and “naive truth claims”. This resulted in his early writings, ‘**Madness and Civilization**’, ‘**The Birth of Clinic**’ and initiated his lifelong interest in the relationship between power and knowledge.

Foucault’s thought explored the shifting patterns of power within a society and the ways in which power relates to the self. He investigated the changing rules governing the kind of claims that could be taken seriously as true or false at different times in history. He also studied how everyday practices enabled people to define their identities and systematize knowledge; events may be understood as being produced by nature, by human effort or by God.

Foucault goes on to insist that knowledge and power are always and necessarily interdependent. A site where power is enforced is also a site where knowledge is produced and conversely, a site from which knowledge is

derived is a place where power is exercised. In '**Discipline and Punish**' he sees prison as an example of just such a site of power, and as a place where knowledge, essential to the modern social sciences, was formed. Reciprocally the ideas from which the social sciences were formulated were also the ones that gave birth to the prison.

The belief that a scientist can arrive at an objective conclusion, **Foucault** argues, is one of the greatest fallacies of the modern, humanist era.

*"Modern humanism is therefore mistaken in drawing this line between knowledge and Power. Knowledge and power are integrated with one another, and there is no point in dreaming of a time where knowledge will cease to depend on power; this is just a way of reviving humanism in a utopian guise. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge. It is impossible for knowledge not to endanger power."*

So instead of referring to power and knowledge separately, he prefers to compound the term **power/knowledge**.

### **POWER IS EVERYWHERE BY FOUCAULT**

Foucault has been influential in shaping understandings of power, leading away from the analysis of actors who use power as an instrument of coercion, and even away from the discrete structures in which those actors operate, toward the idea that 'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and '**regimes of truth**'.

Foucault challenges the idea that power is wielded by people or groups by way of 'episodic' or 'sovereign' acts of domination or coercion, seeing it instead as dispersed and pervasive. 'Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure. Instead it is a kind of 'meta-power' or 'regime of truth' that pervades society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation. Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true.

Foucault is one of the few writers on power who recognise that **power is not just a negative, coercive or repressive thing** that forces us to do things against our wishes, but can also be **a necessary, productive and positive force in society**...

### **GOVERNMENTALITY BY FOUCAULT**

Foucault holds that liberal democracies function not through the threat of death and orders, but rather by what he calls governmentality or disciplinary power or bio-power, meaning *regulation and disciplining of mass population and their behaviours by virtue of creating in them a sense of freedom which acts as a mechanism for disciplining disparate populace* into governing themselves.

A popular example he gave in his **Discipline and Punish** of this process in action was that of the increasing use of surveillance within society, which is being justified in the name of enhancing freedom of movement and security; in reality, though, it makes us all censor our own behavior in case we are caught on camera.

For Foucault, government of our society is not confined to the sphere of state only, but rather norms (performing the role of surveillance) pertaining to our social institutions — family, educational institutions, prisons, hospitals,

religious places — govern over our bodies (docile bodies) by disciplining and normalizing our activities contributing to the rise of what he calls a carceral society, silence of human liberation and above all enhancement of economic and political needs of the state.

Governmentality, therefore, draws upon, without unifying, centralizing, or rendering systematic, a range of powers and knowledge dispersed across modern societies. However, Foucault is not arguing that governmentality chronologically supersedes sovereignty and rule.

He remarks: *"We need to see things not in terms of the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a disciplinary society and the subsequent replacement of a disciplinary society by a society of government, in reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline- Post-Modern government, which has as its primary target the population and its essential mechanism the apparatuses of security."*

He also identified three instruments of disciplinary power, derived in large part from the military model:

- (a) hierarchical observation, or the ability of officials (metaphorically norms of society) to oversee all they control with a single gaze;
- (b) the ability to make normalizing judgements and to punish those who violate the norms; and
- (c) use of examination to observe subjects and to make normalizing judgements about them.

As he says: *"Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power."*

## POST-COLONIALISM

### Introduction

Post colonialism is a movement by the scholars of Third World Countries / post-colonial societies. According to the Post-Colonialists, there is a hegemony of the West in the academics. In that regard, Post colonialism is the critical academic study of the cultural, political and economic legacy of colonialism and imperialism, focusing on the human consequences of the control and exploitation of colonized people and their lands.

**Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Jacques Lacan** are three French thinkers (they are mostly clubbed under 'poststructuralism') who have exercised a profound influence on almost all that has happened in literary theory in recent times

Post colonialism involves a studied engagement with the experience of colonialism and its present effects both at the level of ex-colonial societies and of more general global developments thought to be the after-effects of empire.

### RISE OF POST COLONIALISM



- First, independence movements around the world put an end to colonialism. Yet the residual effects of imperialism continued to affect the cultures of the erstwhile colonies. **Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth (1961)** is one such intervention in colonial discourse. By the 1980's a substantial body of commonwealth literature had emerged in which writers tried to make sense of the impact of colonialism.
- According to the Post-Colonialists, the field of academics is not free from the mechanism of power. Knowledge has always been the formidable ally of the dominant class.
- There was a greater awareness of the power relations between the West and Third World cultures. All these led to a study and analysis of colonialism and its after-effects. Post Colonialists is an example of Foucault's theory of Knowledge Power Connection.
- Also the contribution of **Edward Said's work Orientalism** helped in the formulation of Post-Colonialism by telling how the West tried to project the East in the name of Orient and carried out "a project" in the name of anthropological or scientific research. Even the purpose of the study of the Orient was to legitimize theories like Whiteman's Burden. Said has given the example of the dominant discourse about Islam.

### **WHAT POST COLONIALISTS THINK OF POWER?**

Since power is a major issue in post-colonial theory let us take a look at **Foucault's** view of power. Simply stated, '**discourse**' (to **Foucault**) is a system of statements within which and by which the world can be known. Discourses are ways of constituting knowledge together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations that are inherent in such knowledge and the relations between them. **Power too is a relation and gets exercised within discourses in the ways in which these discourses constitute and govern individual subjects.**

Postcolonial theory attempts to focus on the oppression of those who were ruled under colonization. And this is viewed as the hegemonic use of Power by the Western nations over the colonies. Post-colonial theorists believe that the colonizers imposed their own values onto those colonized so that they were internalized.

West European countries achieved their modernization through industrialization and urbanization as they already had the benefit of scientific discoveries and inventions.

They needed cheap raw materials, cheap labour and vast areas of operation. They found countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America as their easy prey. These countries were rich in natural resources and labour force but they had little advantage of modern education or national solidarity.

Imperialist countries set up political domination over countries which they consider their target for exploitation. Then they project their own culture as superior to the native culture and try to win admiration, respect and loyalty of the native people.

Colonialists started to claim to be performing the task of civilizing the so-called uncivilized people who were fulfilling the noble responsibility of extending the benefits of civilization to 'primitive' people as exemplified by the notion of 'whiteman's burden'. They project themselves as superior to other countries in terms of history,



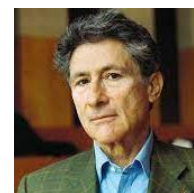
culture, civilization and propagate themselves as the centre of all progress and modernity. They even asserted racial superiority over others.

To facilitate and stabilize their rule Colonial powers promote education, industry, transport, communication, etc. and create administrative and political structures in the colonized territories. For instance, **Macaulay's** infamous (1835) Minute on Indian Education had proposed the deliberate creation in India of a class of 'brown white men' educated to value. Indian Railways, posts and telegraphs, schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, etc. were created to strengthen the British administration. **John Stuart Mill's** justification of the denial of Indian self-government is a classic instance of West's attitude towards the East.

## CONTRIBUTIONS OF IMPORTANT EXPONENTS OF POST-COLONIALISM

### **EDWARD SAID AND ORIENTALISM**

Edward Said is considered by **E. San Juan, Jr.** as "the originator and inspiring patron-saint of postcolonial theory and discourse" due to his interpretation of the theory of orientalism.



Edward Said's concept (which he also termed "**orientalism**") is that the cultural representations generated with the us-and-them binary relation are social constructs, which are mutually constitutive and cannot exist independent of each other, because each exists on account of and for the other.

Notably, "the West" created the cultural concept of "the East," which according to Said allowed the Europeans to suppress the peoples of the Middle East, the Indian Subcontinent, and of Asia in general, from expressing and representing themselves as discrete peoples and cultures.

Orientalism thus conflated and reduced the non-Western world into the homogeneous cultural entity known as "the East." Therefore, in service to the colonial type of imperialism, the us-and-them Orientalist paradigm allowed European scholars to represent the Oriental World as inferior and backward, irrational and wild, as opposed to a Western Europe that was superior and progressive, rational and civil—the opposite of the Oriental Other.

In Said's ground-breaking book **Orientalism (1978)**, Foucault's subtle conception of the constitutive relation between power and knowledge provided a critical angle from which to investigate the way representations of non-European culture and thought were shaped by a web of institutional and political forces connected to the justification and practice of Western imperialism.

### **GAYATRI SPIVAK AND THE SUBALTERN**

**Spivak** developed and applied **Foucault's** term epistemic violence to describe the destruction of non-Western ways of perceiving the world and the resultant dominance of the Western ways of perceiving the world.



Conceptually, **epistemic violence** specifically relates to women, whereby the "Subaltern [woman] must always be caught in translation, never [allowed to be] truly expressing herself," because the colonial power's destruction of her culture pushed to the social margins her non-Western ways of perceiving, understanding, and knowing the world.

Spivak uses the term '**subaltern**' (of lower rank) for women, blacks, the colonized and the working class. Subalternity comes to suggest the repressive dominance of white Western thinking and an allegory of the displacement of the gendered and colonized (i.e. subaltern) subject, by the imposition of narratives of internationalism and nationalism.

The violence inflicted by Western forms of thought upon the East is of great concern to Spivak. She takes 'the third world' to be a creation of the west that locks non-western cultures into an imperial representation.

### **HOMI K. BHABHA AND CONCEPT OF HYBRIDITY**

One of the most widely employed and most disputed terms in postcolonial theory, hybridity commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization. As used in horticulture, the term refers to the cross-breeding of two species by grafting or cross-pollination to form a third, 'hybrid' species.



The term 'hybridity' has been most recently associated with the work of Homi K. Bhabha, whose analysis of colonizer/colonized relations stresses their interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities (see mimicry and ambivalence). Bhabha contends that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in a space that he calls the 'Third Space of enunciation'. Cultural identity always emerges in this contradictory and ambivalent space, which for Bhabha makes the claim to a hierarchical 'purity' of cultures untenable.

For him, the recognition of this ambivalent space of cultural identity may help us to overcome the exoticism of cultural diversity in favour of the recognition of an empowering hybridity within which cultural difference may operate.

Hybridity has frequently been used in post-colonial discourse to mean simply cross-cultural 'exchange'. This use of the term has been widely criticized, since it usually implies negating and neglecting the imbalance and inequality of the power relations it references. It has been regarded as replicating assimilationist policies by masking or 'whitewashing' cultural differences.

### **FEMINIST ANALYSES OF THE POSTCOLONIAL STATE**

Major discussion among feminist analysts of the postcolonial state concerns the extent to which the state contributes for social change with the intention to increase gender equality. The argument concerns the state as a mechanism for male social control and the convergence between the state and patriarchal forces.

Where politics becomes deeply communalized, particularly when it is supported by state-sponsored religious fundamentalism, the traditional control over women that rested with particular male individuals such as fathers, brothers, husbands soon shifts to all men. **Sonia Alvarez** contended that there is nothing essential about the state's ability to act in either direction social change or social control but that its route is more likely to be determined by political government and historical conjuncture.

### **IMPORTANCE OF POST COLONIALISM**

'**Orientalism**', '**subalternity**' and '**mimicry**' are important aspects of the work of the three critics, One of the problems that Orientalism (the book) suffers from is (that it assumes) too readily that an unequivocal intention on the part of the West was always realized through its discursive productions. The other two critics do not seem to give enough direct power and role to 'agency' on behalf of the colonized people.

One of the challenges for postcolonial theory today is to come to terms with specific local conditions and with comparison that can be discerned in and between them.

There is also the daunting task of trying to know the story of colonial and neo-colonial engagements in all their complexity. Finding a proper language and terminology for representing those engagements is another major challenge. The three critics taken up here have done more than most others in indicating some of the directions that can be fruitfully followed, sometimes aided by post structuralism and postmodernism.

### **CRITICISM OF POST COLONIALISM**

**Aijaz Ahmad** an Indian critic objects that postcolonial theorists 'live and do their theories' in First World countries and that (in Ahmad's view) affects the impact of their work.

**Arif Dirlik** sees the postcolonial intellectual as complicit in feeding into the goals of the capitalist frame of postcolonial theory.

**Kwame Appiah** argues that the 'post' of postcolonial theory and postmodernism are spaces created by capitalism to market cultural products in the developing world.

### **Conclusion**

**Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha** are said to be '**the Holy Trinity**' of postcolonial theory. Having said that, it becomes important to point out that their work cannot be clubbed together in any homogeneous way. Each of them is different and important for the contributions he has made to the field.

**Said's** main contribution to the field is the concept of 'orientalism' -the attempt on the part of the West to establish the East as lazy, deceitful and irrational. **Spivak** answers the question 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' with a 'No'. Women are 'doubly effaced' in **Spivak's** scheme of things. **Bhabha's** theorizing about 'mimicry' builds on the potential for irreverence and mockery in the colonizer/colonized relationship.

All Three critics are influenced by Foucault's views on power and discourse. Additionally, **Spivak** is influenced by **Derrida and Bhabha by Lacan**. All three draw on other resources as well.

## WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHTS

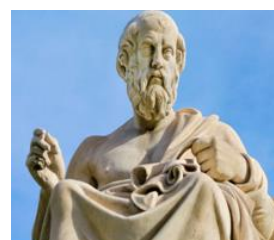
### PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS

2019	Explain Aristotle's critique of Plato's Idealism.(20)
2015	"Plato was an enemy of open society." (Popper) Comment.
2009	Comment on: Western thought, one might say, has been either platonic or anti platonic but hardly ever non-platonic (Popper).(20)
2006	Comment on: State is individual writ large (Plato)(20)
2000	Comment on: Until philosophers are kings. Or kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, cities will never have rest from evil (Plato).(20)

### PLATO

Plato (428/17-348/17 BC), a Greek philosopher, is one of the most creative influential thinkers in political philosophy.

**In the entire history of political thought no thinker evoked the admiration, reverence and criticism that Plato did-** Plato has left behind many important works out of which three the **Republic, The Statesman and The Laws**, were of perennial interest to all those interested in the history of political ideas.



**Plato** has been generally **regarded as the founder of philosophical idealism** by virtue of his conviction that **there is a universal idea in the world of eternal reality beyond the world of the senses**.

- He was the **first to formulate and define political ideas within a larger framework of a philosophical idea of Good**.
- He was **concerned about human life and human soul or human nature**.

- He has been praised for his denunciation of materialism and brutish selfishness.
- Both **Voltaire and Nietzsche** characterized Platonism as the intellectual side of Christianity.
- **John Ruskin and William Morris** were attracted by Plato's concern for human perfection and excellence.
- Plato, along with his disciple Aristotle has been **credited for laying the foundations of Greek political theory on which the western political tradition rests**.

#### Life and times of Plato

- Plato, an aristocrat by both birth and temperament, was born in democratic Athens, at a time when it was engaged in a deadly war against Sparta-The Peloponnesian War. The war lasted for about 28 years, and resulted in the fall of Athens.
- Plato met Socrates in 407 BC at the age of 20 and since then was under his hypnotic spell.
- As a young man, Plato had political ambitions, but he became a disciple of Socrates, accepting his basic philosophy and dialectical style of debate: the pursuit of truth through discussions and dialogues.
- **The trial and execution of Socrates** in 399 BC proved to be a turning point in Plato's life.
- After Socrates' execution in 399 BC, Plato, fearing for his own safety, and in all disillusionment, set himself for long travels temporarily abroad to Italy, Sicily and Egypt.
- In 388 BC, Plato, after his return to Athens, founded the Academy, the institution often described as the first European University.

#### Socratic influence on Plato's ideas

The voice of Socrates was taken to be the voice of one's conscience. This indicates that he was considered a man of God and, to some extent, a mystic. He was also a devoted citizen of Athens. He lived his adult life in Athens engaging in open philosophical discussion which often included questions of ethics, religion, and politics.

Socrates went against the traditional way of accepting the authorities of respected poets such as Homer, Hesiod and others as the proper foundations for answering questions about the aforementioned topics. He insisted, instead, that personal investigation and reasoned argument alone could constitute a proper basis for answering these questions. He was disillusioned with the contemporary thrust on power and lack of ethics in education and in the ruling kind. His aim was to find out how to live a happy and fulfilled life. In this quest he developed his own thoughts and ideas.

His main ideas that influenced Plato are as follows:

#### The Socratic Problem

Although his opposition to the blind acceptance of tradition and authority allied him with Sophists such as **Protagoras, Gorgias and Prodicus**, he was far more committed to know the inner man than the Sophists. Unlike the Sophists, he was in search of the truth and knowledge about the universal validity of the moral laws. For

Socrates, this search was intimately connected with the chief problem of knowing what man is. While Sophists were concerned with “what is”, Socrates was concerned with the ideal “What ought to be”.

### **Virtue is Knowledge**

According to Socrates virtue is the highest aim and greatest good one has to seek in life. He also insisted that if it is to be the highest aim and the greatest good, it must have universal consistency and be the same for all.

According to Socrates, knowledge, which is obtained through concept by the use of reason which is common in all, is universal and the ultimate virtue; the relation between virtue and knowledge is inseparable. For Socrates thinks that health, wealth, beauty, courage, temperance etc., which are customarily considered to be various forms of good, are good only if they are guided by wisdom; if guided by folly they could be considered forms of evil.

### **Dialectics: the method to achieve Knowledge (The ultimate virtue)**

The dialectical method is an art of argument by skilful questions and answers, the aim of which is to arrive at answers with the fewest possible words which should be precise and to the point. The first stage of such a method usually started with a generally accepted statement with regard to the subject-matter called hypothesis. This is followed by an antithesis, which might show the absurd consequences of the hypothesis. At the second stage the dialectic method is supposed to lead to the contradiction of the hypothesis and its possible rejection. The rejection of one hypothesis, might lead to the acceptance of another hypothesis which contains less contradictions. Thus, by the dialectical method the investigator is led on to newer hypotheses with fewer and fewer contradictions. This will lead to the ultimate knowledge of truth.

Socrates himself never found any absolutely correct answer to the questions about ethics and conduct of life through dialectics. But it did not mean that the dialectical method was a fruitless one. For Socrates it was a passionate love of the philosopher of reaching absolute knowledge. For, according to Socrates, absolute knowledge lies in constant search and not in reaching and grasping one. Thus, it seems that the aim of the dialectical method was to show that philosophy for Socrates is a search for wisdom and not to arrive at absolute knowledge.

These above ideas and beliefs of Socrates find a significant role in building Platonic political philosophy. Plato too was an idealist like Socrates who aimed to find solutions of the ills of his state. Professor Maxey (Political Philosophies) writes: “In Plato, Socrates Lived again”

### **Some other influences**

- **Pythagoras** - the entire universe is based on Mathematical Principles.
- **Heraclitus**-“Change is the characteristic of this world.”
- **Parmenides**- Along with change, continuity/permanence is also the characteristic of this world.

### **Plato's Methodology**

- It is usually said that Plato's methodology was deductive, also called the philosophical method.
- In the deductive method, general principles are determined first, and thereafter, are related to a particular situation.
- **Nettleship** is of the opinion that Plato's methodology is inductive as well (one where the conclusions are reached after studying, observing, and examining the data available at hand), for it relates theory with practice.
- The fact is that Plato follows a variety of methods in expressing his political thought.
- Plato, following his teacher Socrates, pursued the Dialectical methodology (written in the form of Dialogues) in his search for 'the idea of good' and the way it could be reached.
- In the process, he was not imparting knowledge as much as he was trying to explain how the people could achieve it themselves.
- By following the dialectical method, Plato discussed the views of numerous individuals, examined each such view, and ultimately reached the conclusion.
- Plato's notion of justice was the result of debate, which went on along actors such as **Cephalus, Polemarchus, Thrasymachus, Glaucon and Adeimantus** - a dialectal method of reaching true meaning of justice.

#### Plato's Works:

- Plato's writings were in dialogue form, and the hero in all writings except in the Laws was none but his teacher, Socrates.
- Of all his writings, **the Republic** (written over a period of Plato's early life as a writer, though finished around the year (i.e., about 386 BC) he established his Academy, **the Statesman** (written about the year 360 BC.), and **the Laws** (published after his death in 347 BC and written a couple of months earlier) may be said to have contained his entire political philosophy
- The Republic of Plato is by all means the greatest of all his works. It is not only a treatise on politics, but is also a treatise dealing with every aspect of human life.
- **The Republic** Written in the form of a **dialogue**. The Republic in Greek means justice. **No other writer on politics has equalled Plato in combining penetrating and dialectical reasoning with poetic imagery and symbolism.**
- One of the main assumptions of the Republic is that the **right kind of government and politics can be the legitimate object of rigorous scientific thinking** rather than the inevitable product of muddling through fear and faith, indolence and improvisation.
- The Statesman and the Laws deal more with the actual states and ground realities, and as such do not have the same idealism and radical overtures, which the Republic possessed. Plato of the Republic is what is known to the world: the idealist, the philosopher and the radical.

#### THEORY OF IDEAS

Theory of Forms or ideas is at the centre of Plato's philosophy. All his other views on knowledge, psychology, ethics, and state can be understood in terms of this theory.



Following Socrates, **Plato believed that knowledge is attainable** and believed it to have two essential characteristics:

1. knowledge is certain and infallible;
2. It is to be contrasted with which is only appearance.

Knowledge, being fixed, permanent, and unchanging is, according to Plato (following Socrates), identified with the realm of 'ideal' as opposed to the physical world which is seen as it appears. In other words, 'Form', 'Idea', 'Knowledge' - all constitute what is ideal, and what appears to the eye is actual. Thus, there is a difference between what is ideal and what is actual; between what are 'forms' and what are appearances; and between what is knowledge and what is an opinion; and between what 'can be' and what it is or what it is 'becoming'.

Plato's theory of Forms or Knowledge, or Idea is found in the Republic where he discussed the image of the divided line and the myth of the cave. In the former, Plato made a distinction between two levels of awareness: opinion and knowledge.

This difference was explained **through “the Allegory of Cave”**  
***“Reality is the shadow of ideas”***

Plato in his allegory of caves described individuals chained deep within a cave where the vision is restricted and no one is able to see another man; the only visible thing is the wall of the cave where they see shadows which they consider reality.

Breaking free, one of the individuals escapes from the cave into the light of the day. With the aid of the sun, that person sees for the first time the real world, telling his fellow men that the only thing they have seen till now are shadows and appearances and that the real world awaits them if only they are willing to struggle free of their bonds.

**The essential characteristics of Plato's theory of Forms would, thus, include:**

- There is a difference between 'Form' or 'Idea'; 'Knowledge' and 'Appearance'; 'Actual', or 'Opinion'
- The form is the ultimate object of appearance.
- The actual world can attain the ideal world.
- Knowledge can replace opinion and is attainable.
- The visible world is the shadow of the real world.
- What appears to be is not the Form, but is a form of the Form.

Plato explained that there is a difference between things which are beautiful and what beauty is, the former lies in the realm of opinion while the latter, in the realm of knowledge.

Plato's theory of Form is closely related to his belief that virtue is knowledge. According to Plato, the idea of virtue is the idea of action; the ultimate object of virtue is to attain knowledge;  
The knowledge of virtue is the highest level of knowledge; knowledge is attainable.

Plato's theory of form has been extended by him to his political theory.

## THEORY OF JUSTICE

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The concept of justice is the most important principle of Plato's political philosophy. The sub-title of the **Republic**, '**Concerning Justice**' shows the **extraordinary importance which Plato attached to justice**. Plato saw in justice the only practical remedy of saving his beloved Athens from decay and ruin.

The main argument in the republic is a **sustained search after the location and nature of justice**. He **discovers and locates the principle of justice with the help of his ideal state**.

An ideal state for **Plato** possessed the four cardinal virtues of wisdom, courage, discipline and justice

### *The State is individual writ large*

He opined that justice must be present both in individuals and in society. He thought that justice in the state existed in a bigger and much more noticeable form, so he tried to put it with the help of the state. According to Plato, there are three constituents in the human mind namely reason, spirit and appetite, which are presented by the rulers, soldiers and farmers.

- He opined that each of these three makes a valuable contribution for the creation of the state. Justice can be done if each group performs their duty without interfering with each other.
- Justice is a bond which holds a society together, a pleasant union of individuals, each of whom has found his life work in accordance with his natural fitness and training; it is both public and private virtue. Plato's concept of justice was explained by Barker as, "social justice may be defined as the principle of society, consisting of different types of men (producing type, military type, ruling type), who have combined with each other to perform their own duties."
- Hence, the concept of justice by Plato, is based on three principles:
  1. First it works as a functional specialization like giving a definite function to each one according to his capacity and merit.
  2. Second, it works, non-interference of different groups. So that they can concentrate on their own duty. This sort of work is required for the unity and welfare of all the members of the state.
  3. Third, it implies harmony in between the three classes (groups) representing wisdom, courage and temperance respectively.

Because of the harmony that pervaded the societal matrix due to a common agreement as **to who ought to rule**, and finally, **justice of doing one's job** for which one was naturally filled without interfering with others.

For **Plato**, the state was ideal, of which justice was the reality. Justice was the principle on which the state had to be founded.

According to Plato, justice does not consist in mere adherence to the laws, for it is based on the inner nature of human spirit, it is also to **the triumph of the stronger over the weaker**, for it protects the weaker against the stronger.

For Plato, justice is a moral concept. As Prof: **Ernest Barker** has rightly pointed out; **justice for Plato is at once a part of human virtue and the bond which joins men together in the states. It makes man good and make him social"**

A similar view has been expressed by a **Prof. Sabine, who wrote** that for Plato, "Justice is a bond which holds the society together".

### **Criticism of Plato's Justice**

- The concept of justice by Plato is **mainly grounded on moral principles** which **lacks legal sanction**, hence, is not enforceable.
- It is based on self-control and self-rejection in the interest of society. At any stage of history mere moral sanction cannot protect the social good.
- Plato's theory of justice could be practical only in the city-state. It roughly enforces the principle of division of labour and expects everyone to do his allotted duty to satisfy society.
- In the present context, it is not possible nor can be fixed. If duties can be given to the members of each class because the population has increased so much
- Plato said that each individual owns their qualities like, reasons, spirit and appetite; he wants each individual to contribute to the development of only one faculty.
- Also, he creates this notion of one quality being dominant which can be easily manipulated. For example, slavery in the west or caste system in India
- Plato's concept of justice gives absolute power to one class- the philosophers, because they have a lot of wisdom. Thus, there is a scope for inequalities of power and privilege in his concept of justice. However, he failed to realize grant of absolute power in the hands of any person or class of persons though morally and spiritually trained lead to degeneration and corruption

### **THEORY OF EDUCATION**

The main objective of Plato's philosophy was to bring about reforms in the Greek city – states. The object of the Republic was to locate and thereafter establish justice in the ideal state and his **scheme of education is the spiritual remedy for the realization of justice**.

According to Plato, **social education is a means to social justice**. It is; therefore, correct to say that **education for Plato has been a solution to all the important questions during his period**.

The ideal state ruled by the philosopher king was made possible through an elaborate and **rigorous scheme of education**.

**Plato looked to education as an instrument of moral reform, for it would mould and transform human souls.**

Education inculcated the right values of selfless duty towards all, and was therefore positive. It **helped in the performance of one's functions in society and in attaining fulfilment**. Thus, **education was the key to the realisation of the new social order**.

As Prof. **Ernest Barker** has rightly pointed out, **Plato's scheme of education brings the soul into that environment which in each stage of its growth is best suited for its development.**

Following his teacher Socrates, Plato had a belief in the dictum that **virtue is knowledge** and for making people virtuous, he made **education a very powerful instrument**. Plato believed that **education builds man's character and it is therefore a necessary condition for extracting man's natural faculties in order to develop his personality.**

According to Plato, **education promotes justice and enables a man to fulfil his duties. Education has the twin aim of enabling the individual to realize himself and of adjusting him harmoniously and useful to society.**

In his masterpiece, The Republic, **Plato has recommended a state controlled compulsory and comprehensive scheme of education meant for both men and women.**

As **Prof. Sabine** has rightly pointed out **Plato's plan is, therefore, for a state controlled system of compulsory education.**

His educational scheme falls naturally into two parts, the elementary education, which includes the **training of the young person's up to the age of 20** and **culminating in the beginning of military services** and the **higher education intended for those selected persons of both sexes who are to be members of the two ruling classes** and extending from the age of 20 to 35.

Plato considered the **state as an educational institution capable of providing the benefits of education to each and every student in his ideal state.**

The curriculum of the **elementary education** was divided into two parts, gymnastics for training the body and music for training the mind, the elementary education was to be **imparted to all the three classes.**

But after the age of twenty, those selected for higher positions in the guardian class between twenty and thirty five. The **guardians were to be constituted of the auxiliary class, and the ruling class.** These two classes were to have a higher dose of gymnasium and music, greater dose of gymnastics for the auxiliaries, and greater dose of music for the rulers.

The higher education of the two classes was, in purpose, professional and for his curriculum Plato chose the only scientific studies – mathematics, astronomy and logic. Before the two classes could get on to their jobs, **Plato suggested a further education till the age of about fifty, mostly practical in nature.**

The Platonic scheme of education was progressive and systematic. Its characteristics can be summarized as follows:

- It was **state controlled compulsory**
- It aimed at attaining the **physical, moral, mental and intellectual development of human personality.**
- It is **a graded process** which consists of **different levels and stages starting from 6 to 50 years.**
- His scheme was **particularly aimed at producing philosopher kings**, the rulers in his ideal state;

- His educational plan aimed at preparing the rulers for administrative statesmanship, soldiers for military skill, and producers for material productivity and finally.
- His educational plans sought to bring a balance between the individual needs and social requirements.

### Criticism to Plato's education scheme

- **Plato's Scheme** of education was undemocratically devised in so far as it ignored the producing class completely.
- It was **limited in nature and was restrictive in extent by laying more emphasis on mathematics and logic than on literature.**
- The whole plan was **unexpectedly and unduly expensive.**
- The Platonic scheme of education **will create an ideal philosopher more than an ideal man of action.** Plato does not sufficiently realize that education should be relative to the character of the individual.

### PLATO'S COMMUNISM

According to **Plato**, justice could be achieved by spiritual and material means. While **education is the remedial measure for the achievement of justice through spiritual means, communism is the solution through material means.**

While **education was designed to create the proper environment for the nurturing and development of the human soul**, communism tried to eliminate all the negativities that obstructed the proper growth of the individual.

Platonic theory of communism has two parts –

1. **Communism of family** otherwise known as **communism of wives and children**, and
2. **Communism of property.**

### Communism of Property

- Plato's ideal state consisted of three classes, those of the **rulers, of the auxiliaries, and of the**
- **Producers**, each class doing its own assigned duties and responsibilities with utmost sincerity and devotion.
- The **guardians are to live a life very different from that of the producers**, one in which **they must forgo all that makes life for the ordinary man worth living.**
- Plato believed that justice would be ushered in if the ruling class does away with property, for property represents the elements of appetite, and to do away with properly demands the communism of families.

## COMMUNISM OF FAMILY

As **Ernest Barker** has rightly pointed out the **abolition of family life among the guardians is thus, inevitably a corollary of their renunciation of private property.**

According to Prof. **Dunning** “**primary property and family relationships appear to be the chief sources of dissension in every community, neither is to have recognition in the perfect state**”.

Plato abolished private family life and property for the ruling class for they **encouraged nepotism, favouritism, particularism, factionalism and other corrupt practices commonly found among the rulers.**

Politics was to promote the common good and interest of the state. **Plato** thereby established a high standard for the rulers. He proposed that the **members of the guardian class live together in a common barrack.** The life of the guardian class would be in accordance with the rule followed among the Greeks that **friends have all things in common.**

In the Republic, Plato devoted greater space and consideration to communism of family than to property. This was mainly because he had been perturbed **by the negative emotions of hatred, selfishness and the envy that the family encouraged.**

Plato believed that **conventional marriage led to women's subordination, subjugation and seclusion.** He **rejected the idea of marriage as a spiritual union** based on love and mutual respect. However, **marriage was necessary to ensure the reproduction and continuation of the human race.** He, therefore, **advocated temporary sexual union for the purpose of bearing the children.** He **relieved women of child caring responsibilities.**

Once children were born, they would be taken care of by the **state controlled nurseries**, which would be equipped with well trained nurses. **Except for the philosopher ruler, none would know the parentage of these children.**

Plato's argument for communism of property and family was that the unity of the state demands their abolition. **Prof. Sabine** wrote thus: “**The unity of the state is to secure; property and family stand in the way; therefore, property and marriage must go**”.

## COMPARISON WITH MODERN COMMUNISM

### Similarities

- Both are alike in the sense that **both ignore the individuality of the citizens and are based on the supremacy of the state which absorbs the individual.**
- **Both are totalitarian** covering various aspects of the life of the individual. Both are based on the ignorance of the essentials of human nature and human instincts.
- Further, **both are calculated to eliminate unregulated economic competition based on individualism.**

- Platonic communism and modern communism meant to **promote political unity and social harmony and to develop the sense of social service.**

### Differences

Plato's communism	Modern communism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Plato's communism is limited to only two upper classes – the rulers and the auxiliaries.</li><li>• Plato's basis of communism is material temptation and its nature is individualist.</li><li>• Plato's communism was calculated to prevent concentration of economic and political power in the same hands</li><li>• Plato's communism involved abolition of private family life and private property</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Marx's communism applies to the whole society.</li><li>• Marx' basis is the growth of social evils, which result from the accumulation of private property.</li><li>• Modern communism gives political power to the producing class.</li><li>• Modern communism intends to abolish private property only.</li></ul>

### Criticisms

See detailed criticism in the next chapter of Aristotle.

## STATE AND GOVERNMENT

In all his works on political theory, there is a strong case, which Plato builds in favour of an Omni-competent state. **Living is one thing but living well is another and perhaps a different thing altogether.**

According to Plato, **it is the duty of the state or government to help people live a complete life.**

The **problem which Plato addressed was not how the best government could be created but how best a government could be installed.**

His model state is an **Ideal state ruled by an ideal ruler known as Philosopher King. He held that “Until philosophers are kings, or kings and princes of the world have the spirit and the power of philosophy, cities will never rest from their evils”**

### Philosopher King

#### **For Plato, a Philosopher King**

- Must have love for wisdom and love seeker for truth, so that he can determine what will be best suited for the state and society.
- Should get strenuous training for 35 years to get better administrative capacity to rule



- Are allocated absolute powers and they are not responsible to public opinion
- Even though they are given absolute powers, he enacts limits on their power by holding that they must respect fundamental articles of the constitution and should not change them.

In Republic, Plato constructs his ideal state on the analogy between the individual and the state. According to Plato, **the human soul consists of three elements of reason, spirit and appetite**, functioning within proper bounds.

Plato's Ideal state **comprises three classes, namely the ruling class, the warriors and the producing class**. The **main objective of his ideal state is good life** and Plato let his imagination pursue this good which results in the portrayal of a utopia.

Plato's portrayal of an ideal state may be compared to an artist's portrayal of an ideal landscape. His ideal state is an ideal in the sense that it is an exhibition of what a state ought to be. **The ideal state was a reflection of man's best and noblest self and provided the medium in which a man found his best self.**

**Plato** believed that man found his perfection only in the ideal state.

Plato builds his ideal state in three successive stages.

1. In the first stage, Plato believes that **men and women are different in degree only and not in kind**. Hence **they should be given the same educational facilities and should partake in the same public functions**.
2. In the second stage Plato advocates the **abolition of the family on the basis of communism of property and wives among the two upper classes**.
3. In the third stage he **introduced the rule of philosophy**.

Plato's ideal state is hierarchical in composition and functions. At the head of the ideal state is a philosopher ruler highly qualified and capable of ruling the country either fear or favour.

In order to ensure a steady supply of philosopher rulers, **Plato advocated a state controlled compulsory scheme of education meant for the children belonging to all the three classes of people**. The communism of family and property among the two upper classes was meant to keep them out of economic and world temptations and ambitions so that they could concentrate on their duty to the state.

The other features of the ideal state were functional specialization, equality of men and women and censorship of art. Having outlined the details of an ideal state, Plato examined other types of regimes, accounting for their decline and decay.

Plato discusses five types of regimes

They are

1. Aristocracy,

2. Timocracy,
3. Oligarchy,
4. Democracy, and
5. Tyranny

**1. Aristocracy:** Aristocracy is the form of government (politeia) advocated in Plato's Republic. This regime is ruled by a philosopher king, and thus is grounded on wisdom and reason.

**2. Timocracy:** Aristocracy degenerates into timocracy when, due to miscalculation on the part of its governing class, the next generation of guardians and auxiliaries includes persons of an inferior nature (the persons with souls made of iron or bronze, as opposed to the ideal guardians and auxiliaries, who have souls made of gold and silver).

Since in the government there will be present people of an inferior nature, inclined not just to cultivating virtues but also producing wealth, a change in the constitution of the aristocratic city is eventually worked, and its educational system, which used to introduce the high classes into a purely rational, selfless political theory, is altered so that it becomes permissible for current state leaders to pursue their individual interests.

The timocracy, however, does not completely break from all the characteristics of aristocracy, and for Plato this regime is a combination of good and bad features.

**3. Oligarchy:** Plato defines oligarchy as a system of government which distinguishes between the rich and the poor, making out of the former its administrators. Oligarchy or Plutocracy: the rule of the wealthy.

**4. Democracy:** Oligarchy then degenerates into a democracy where freedom is the supreme good but freedom is also slavery. In democracy, the lower class grows bigger and bigger. The poor become the winners. People are free to do what they want and live how they want. People can even break the law if they so choose. This appears to be very similar to anarchy.

Plato uses the "democratic man" to represent democracy. The democratic man is the son of the oligarchic man. Unlike his father, the democratic man is consumed with unnecessary desires.

**5. Tyranny:** Democracy then degenerates into tyranny where no one has discipline and society exists in chaos. Democracy is taken over by the longing for freedom. Power must be seized to maintain order. A champion will come along and experience power, which will cause him to become a tyrant. The people will start to hate him and eventually try to remove him but will realize they are not able.

The tyrannical man is the son of the democratic man. He is the worst form of man due to his being the most unjust and thus the furthest removed from any joy of the true kind.

Plato was the **first systematic political theorist** and a study of the western philosophy of tradition begins with his masterpiece, the Republic, Jowett rightly describes **Plato as father of philosophy, politics and literary idealism.**

**Plato's contribution to the western political thought is without any parallel.** He was given a direction, a basis and a vision. Political idealism is Plato's gift to western political philosophy.

### PLATO AS FEMINIST

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- In 1994, **Nancy Tuana** published a collective work entitled *Feminist interpretations of Plato*
- On the question of women, Plato displays great originality, and, to some extent, considerable modernity, even if some aspects of his project contravene human rights.
- As far as social and political rights are concerned, Plato was very much ahead of his time, even of contemporary societies.
- Plato's actual perception of their intellectual capacities, his inclusion of women in the Guardian Class has led to much discussion and debate concerning the possibility of a feminist dimension to his political theory.
- In his work **Republic**, Plato portrays **Socrates** as arguing that there is no essential difference between men and women when it comes to running the ideal state and, by extension, no difference when it comes to the practice of virtue.
- Plato does not exclude women as "philosopher kings,"
- He makes no gender distinction as to who should be trained as rulers ("guardians") of the state.
- In **The Laws**, women remain private wives and mothers but are allowed a degree of participation in public life according to ability and once they are beyond childbearing years.
- Plato assumed that women could be free if the institutions of monogamous marriages and private families were abolished.
- Plato seems to challenge exclusive specialization and hierarchy in one of the forms in which they were most deeply rooted in Greek society that is in the social role assigned to women.
- Plato admitted to the belief of male superiority. His belief in sexual equality is in the interest of the community. Plato's concern is precisely with the needs and capacities of individuals. He has a vision of society in which each person leads life for which he or she is best suited.
- **Julia Annas** argues that the Plato's argument in the Republic fails to make adequate case for gender equality or to be relevant to the concerns of present day feminists.
- According to her the whole basis of Plato's feminism is different from the 20th century, so he cannot be seen as genuine forerunner of feminism.
- According to **Linda Lange and Diana Coole**, Plato was not a feminist, but because he ends up making women into men for the sake of the unity of the ideal city.
- According to liberal feminist theorist **Susan M. Okin**, Plato was in some sense a feminist, but an inadequate one.
- Whatever his intention Plato is one of the first men to put this thought of equality among the sexes in writing. And seeing as he is one of the most influential philosophers around – we could argue that he implanted the first feminist thought in western society.

### ASSESSMENT OF PLATO AS A THINKER

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- Plato's political philosophy, which emerges from his writings, has its special importance in the history of the Western Political Theory. **Jowett** (The Dialogues of Plato, 1902) rightly describes Plato as the father of philosophy, politics and literary idealism.
- Of all the critics, **Karl Popper's** criticism of Plato is the most devastating. To **Popper**, Plato's philosophy and its theories-of justice, communism, and education etc, are but so many subtle ways of justifying authoritarianism and totalitarianism. Condemning Plato's political programme, Popper says that it "far from being morally superior to totalitarianism, is fundamentally identical with it."
- **R.H.S. Crossman** says that Plato was wrong, both for his times and for ours.
- Aristotle, his greatest disciple, is also his greatest critique. His criticism will be dealt with in the next chapter.
- Having said that, Plato's contribution to the western political philosophy is without any parallel. He has given it direction, a basis and a vision. Political idealism is Plato's gift to western political philosophy.

### Conclusion

The political thought of Plato has the deep impact of Greek ancient times. He was a philosopher and contributed to many fields. He wrote "**Republic**" and mentioned about the ideal state and how it should work for the cause of society. He wrote this book at the early stage of life and he himself observed some mistakes in his philosophy of state about the philosophical King, on property, communism of wives, education, concept of justices and he was criticised by many philosophers one among them was his student Aristotle.

In the subsequent years he found the mistakes in his book **Republic** and at the mature age of eighty and he wrote this book with his past experiences to judge his previous mistakes. He rectified all the flaws founded in Republic particularly about his ideal state, the role of king, role of citizens towards the state, types of education required for the people, types of classes on the division of labour, three types of courts for the people to settle the issues, communism on wives and property, how much private property to be owned and how much they can have, how the children grow etc., how to run, and the structure of political system, social structure.

Though there are some mistake but he rectified them in the Laws, and his idea of ideal state can be found in **Laws**, which is more realistic and his political thoughts definitely will have an impact on the generation to come.

## ARISTOTLE

### PYQ

2019 Explain Aristotle's critique of Plato's Idealism.

2017 Everywhere, inequality is a cause of revolution- Aristotle. Comment.

2021 Explain the Aristotelian view of politics. To what extent do you think it has contributed to the development of modern-day constitutional democracies?

### About Aristotle

"The 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' ". - **Zeller**.

Aristotle was one of the prominent political thinkers of Greek ancient time, he was the student of Plato and considered as the gem of political thought because the political thoughts were mainly based on his prime ideas only. He contributed in several fields of sciences as well. He was the father of Political Science.

Aristotle wrote on subjects like metaphysics, psychology, rhetoric, poetry, biology, moral science and politics etc. Some of the early writings have perished. The only important work which has with us and provides valuable information about his political philosophy is 'politics', this work also not available in complete form. According to **Prof. Bowels** "of all the books on the subject, politics is the most influential and most profound. It is the book which must be mastered before others".

### **Influence on Aristotle**

It is very much significant to know several factors which influenced his thinking.

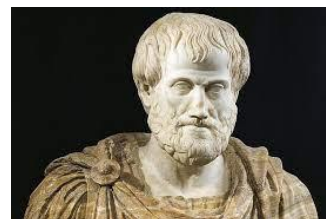
- In the first place Aristotle was significantly influenced by his father, his biological outlook and scientific method to the problem. The dominant anarchy in Athens also greatly influenced the thought of Aristotle.
- He persuaded that anarchy, lawlessness and an unsettled state of affairs was due to the fact that rulers were dreamers rather than realists.
- Aristotle's thinking was also influenced by his preconceived idea about the dominance of Greek philosophy. His personal experience of a married life, which proved quite pleasant, also influenced his thinking.
- His practical knowledge greatly influenced his thinking and philosophy.
- Finally, Aristotle felt the deep impact of his teacher Plato.

### **THEORY OF STATE**

*State comes into existence for the sake of good life and continues for the sake of good life.*

-----Aristotle

- Aristotle believes that man is, by nature and necessity, a social animal and **he who is unable to live in society must be either a god or beast**. He finds the origin of the state in the innate desire of an individual to satisfy his economic needs and racial instincts.
- For the realisation of this desire the male and female on the one hand and the master and slave on the other, come together, live together and **form a family**, i.e., a household which has its moral and social use.
- It is in the household that the three elements originate and develop which are essential to the building of a state, namely **fellowship, political organisation and justice**.



**Aristotle opens the politics with two important ideas:**

## THE STATE IS A COMMUNITY:

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According to **Aristotle**, state is a natural community, an organism with all the attributes of a living being. Aristotle conceives of the state as natural in two ways.

First, he briefly delineates the evolution of social institutions from the family through the village to the city state; in the historical sense, the state is the natural and final stage in the growth of human relations.

However, the state is also considered by Aristotle to be actual in a logical and philosophical sense: **"The state is by nature clearly prior to the family and the individual, since the whole is of necessity prior to the part"**.

***Man is by nature a political animal.***

## IT IS THE HIGHEST OF ALL COMMUNITIES

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*Aristotle maintains that the state is not only a community but it is the highest community aiming at the highest good.*

The family is the first form of association, lowest in the chain of social evolution and lowest on the rung of values, because it is established by nature for the supply of men's every day wants.

The **village is the second form of association**, genetically more complex than the family, and aiming at something more than the supply of daily needs.

The third and **highest in terms of value and purpose**: whereas family and village exist essentially for the preservation of life and comforts of companionship, the state exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only, and political society exists for the sake of noble actions, and not of mere companionship

It is clear from the above observations that the **state is the highest form of association**, not only in terms of the social and institutional value, but interns of man's own nature.

**Aristotle** believed that man was essentially good and the function of the state was to develop his good faculties into a habit of good action. **Aristotle** saw a good deal of identity between the individual and the state.

Like the individual, the state must show the virtues of courage, self-control and justice. The function of the state was the promotion of good life among its citizens and, therefore, the state was the spiritual association into a moral life As **Prof. William Ebenstein** has rightly pointed out his (Aristotle's ) "is a conception of moral sovereignty rather than of legal sovereignty".

## ARISTOTLE'S JUSTIFICATION OF SLAVERY

The institution of slavery has been criticised by many and defended by few. Aristotle was one of its strong defenders. Aristotle justifies slavery, which in fact was the order of the day. He wrote in the Politics: "For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, the same are marked out for subjection others for rule". In fact Aristotle justifies slavery on grounds of expediency.

He tried to explain the relevance and use of slavery, an institution that was universal. Aristotle **defended slavery** both from the point of view of the **slave and the master**, the householder.

Aristotle justifies slavery on grounds of expediency.

- He finds slavery essential to a household and defends it as natural and, therefore, moral.
- A **slave is a living possession of his master** and is an instrument of a action. A man cannot lead a good life without slaves any more than he can produce good music without instruments.
- **Men differ from each other in their physical and intellectual fitness.** Aristotle justifies slavery on the grounds that there is a **natural inequality between men**.
- He distinguished between **conventional and natural slaves**. The former were not slaves by nature. They had reason and were qualified to be citizens in their own state. However, they became slaves if taken as prisoners of war, a common practice during Aristotle's time. **Natural slaves lacked reason**, hence had to be under the permanent subordination of the master.
- Aristotle assumes that **nature is universally ruled by the contrast of the superior and inferior**: man is superior to the animals, the male to the female, the soul to the body, reason to passion. In all these divisions it is just that the superior rule over the inferior, and such a rule is to the advantage of both.
- **Slavery is not only natural it is necessary as well.** If the masters do not tyrannise over the slave, slavery is advantageous to both the master and the slave.

#### Benefits of slavery

1. **To householder** : A householder gained for he was **relieved of menial chores**, giving him the **leisure time for moral and intellectual pursuits** that would enable him to contribute to the affairs of the state and fulfil his duties as a citizen. **Without slaves he has to do manual work which incapacitates him for civic duties.**
2. **A slave** : Imbued moral and intellectual excellence from his master, which if left to himself would have been difficult. A slave could not govern himself, for he lacked the reason to do so. With the help of master slave can develop reason.

**Aristotle** justified slavery on the grounds of triumph of reason and virtue, the master representing reason and virtue, and the slave absence of reason, and non-virtue or less virtue.

Aristotle was categorical that the **subordination of the slave must be towards endowing the slave with virtue** and **not to augment wealth**, otherwise a slave would lose the one advantage that slavery brought forth, namely the guidance of his life by one of superior virtue.

#### CRITICISM TO ARISTOTLE'S JUSTIFICATION OF SLAVERY

- **Karl Popper** in his work "*Open Society and its Enemies*" has criticized Aristotelian doctrine of slavery when he wrote thus: "Aristotle's views were indeed reactionary as can be best seen from the fact that he repeatedly finds it necessary to defend them against the doctrine that no one is a slave by nature, and further from his own testimony to the anti slavery tendencies of the Athenian democracy"



- Aristotle's defence of slavery sounds **very unconvincing and unnatural**. He does not give reliable and fixed criteria for the determination of who is and who is not a natural slave.
- Aristotle's assertion that some women are born to rule and others born to obey would reduce the society into two parts arbitrarily. Thus Aristotle's definition of slaves would reduce domestic servants and women in backward countries to the position of slaves.

### **RULE OF LAW AND CONSTITUTION**

Laws were less arbitrary and fairer, since these were impersonal as compared to rule by a person.

"The rule of law is preferable to that of a single citizen: even if it be the better course to have individuals ruling, they should be made law-guardians or ministers of the laws".

- Aristotle, unlike Plato, contended that the collective wisdom of the people was superior to that of the wisest ruler or legislator.
- Political authority differed from the authority that a husband exercised over his wife and children. **The authority that was wielded by a constitutional ruler over one's subject was different from the one that the master wielded over his slave, since the latter lacked reason to rule himself.**

### **Constitutional rule had three main elements.**

1. **First**, it was a rule in the general or common interest of the populace, as compared to a rule by a faction or a tyrant which was in the interest of a ruler, one or few.
  2. **Second** a government could not act contrary to the constitution.
  3. **Third**, constitutional government meant willing subjects ruled by consent, rather than by force.
- A government ruled by one, few or many in the general interest of the community was monarchy, aristocracy and polity respectively.
  - Conversely, a government ruled by one, few or many in the self-interest of the ruler was tyranny, oligarchy and democracy respectively.
  - In each of these true and perverted constitutions, merit within the system of distributive justice was defined in a particular way befitting the constitution.
  - Aristotle contended that there was a difference between democracy and polity, between rule by the best (aristocracy) and rule by the richest (oligarchy).
  - The difference between a monarchy and a tyranny was an ethical one. Monarchy was better than an aristocracy, which in turn was better than a polity. Tyranny was worse than an oligarchy, which in turn was worse than a democracy.

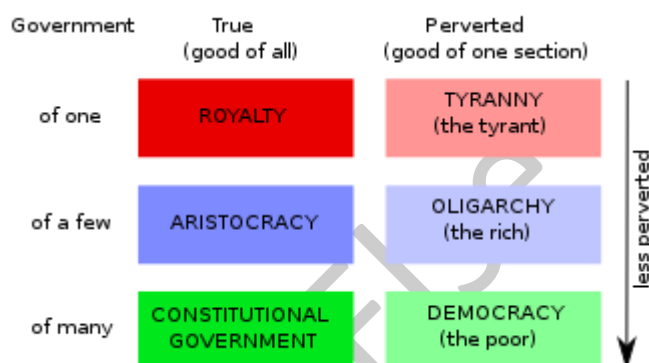
Aristotle thereby provided qualified support for democracy.

### **CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT**

On the basis of his study of 158 constitutions, Aristotle has given a classification which became a guide for all the subsequent philosophers who tried to classify government. He classified governments on a twofold basis namely,

1. The end of the state and
2. The number of persons who hold or share sovereign power.

This basis enables us to distinguish between the pure and corrupt forms of government. This is because the true end of the state is the perfection of its members and the degree of devotion to this end is the criterion to judge whether a government is pure or corrupt.



**The classification of government is as under:**

Pure Form	Corrupt Form
Monarchy/Royalty- with supreme virtue as its guiding principle	Tyranny – representing force, selfishness
Aristocracy- representing a mixture of virtue and wealth	Oligarchy –representing the greed of wealth
Polity-representing martial and medium virtues, power resting with the middle class people	Democracy – representing the principle of equality with power in the hands of the poor

- In the table given above, monarchy represents the rule of a monarch for common good with tyranny as its perversion.
- According to **Aristotle**, monarchy is the pure form of government when the monarch rules for the benefits of the people without any discrimination. Of the **three true forms** Aristotles holds monarchy to be the most ideal kind of government.
- **Aristotle's** deep sympathy for monarchy is to be understood in the light of his relations with the rising Macedonian monarchy.
- Aristocracy is nowhere described in the Politics systematically, perhaps because the problem of aristocracy and democracy was not of such practical importance as that of monarchy.
- **Aristotle defines democracy as a government formed of the best men absolutely, and not merely of men who are relatively, that is in relation to changing circumstances and constitutions.**
- The **perverted form of aristocracy is oligarchy** in which government by wealthy is carried on for their own benefit rather than for that of the whole state. Whereas merit and virtue the distinctive qualities to be considered in selecting the rulers in an aristocracy, wealth is the basis of selection in an oligarchy.

**True form of state is polity or constitutional government.**

- Aristotle defines polity as the state that the citizens at large administer for the common interest. **Constitutional government is a compromise between the two principles of freedom and wealth, the attempt to unite the freedom of the poor and the wealth of the rich**, without giving either principle exclusive predominance.
- The degenerate form of constitutional government is democracy and defined it as a system in which the poor rule. It is government by the poor, and for the poor only just as tyranny is government by one for his own benefit and oligarchy government by the wealthy few for their class benefit.

**THEORY OF REVOLUTION**

- The search for stability through polity made Aristotle examine the **causes for instability, change and revolution** and prescribe remedies against unnecessary and incessant change.
- Aristotle in **Politics** discussed one of the most important problems which made it a hand book for all state men for all time to come.
- As **Prof. Ebenstein** has rightly pointed out Politics of Aristotle is more a book on the art of government than a systematic exposition of political philosophy.
- Aristotle points out that there are varying degrees of revolution. A revolution may take the form of a change of constitution of state or the revolutionaries may try to grasp political power without changing the constitution.
- A revolution may be directed against not the entire system of government but a particular institution or set of people in the state. A revolution may be completely armed or peaceful and personal or impersonal.
- In order to diagnose a revolution we must consider the temper of the revolutionaries and their motives and the causes and occasions of revolution. Aristotle discussed general causes of revolution and then looked into the reasons why individual constitutions changed.
- Unlike **Plato**, Aristotle Perceived **multiple reasons for revolutions rather than a regime's prominent deficiency**. He placed greater responsibility on the rulers to ensure stability and justice.

Aristotle classifies the causes of revolution under two groups: general **and particular causes**.

**The general causes of revolutions**

1. Psychological motives or the state of mind.
2. The objectives in mind;

3. The occasions that gave rise to political upheaval and mutual strife.

- **The psychological factors** were the desire for equality in an oligarchy and inequality in a democracy.
- **The objectives in mind** included profit, honour, insolence, fear of superiority in some form, contempt disproportionate increase in some part of the state, election intrigues, willful negligence, neglect of insignificant changes, fear of opposites and dissimilarity of component parts of the state.
- **The occasions that give rise to revolutionary changes** were insolence, desire for profit and honour, superiority, fear, contempt, and disproportionate increase in one part or element of the state.

#### **The particular causes of revolution**

- Aristotle states that “**poverty is the parent of revolution and crime**” and that when there is no middle class and the poor greatly exceed in number, troubles arise, and the state soon comes to an end.
- **In democracy** the most important cause of revolution is the unprincipled character of the popular leaders. Demagogues attack the rich, individually or collectively, so as to provide them to forcibly resist and provide the **emergence of oligarchy**. The causes of overthrow of oligarchies can be internal as when a group within the class in power becomes more influential or external, by the mistreatment of the masses by the governing class.
- **In aristocracies** few people share in honour. When the number of people benefiting become smaller or when the disparity between rich and poor becomes wider, revolution is caused in a monarchy, sedition was usually due to fear, contempt, desire for fame, insults, hatred and desire by neighbouring states to extend their boundaries.

#### **Remedies to prevent revolution**

Aristotle has suggested a number of useful and practical remedies for preventing revolutions.

1. **To inculcate the spirit of obedience to law**, especially in small matters and to watch the beginning of change in the constitution.
2. **Too much power should not be allowed to concentrate** in the hands of one man or one class of men and various classes in the state should be treated with consideration. Great political offices in the state should be outside the reach of unkind strangers and aliens, holders of offices should not be able to make private gain.
3. **Public administration, particularly financial administration, should be subjected to public scrutiny.** Further, offices and honours should be awarded on considerations of distributive justice and no class of citizens should have a monopoly of political power.

4. Again the higher offices in the state should be distributed only on considerations of loyalty to the constitution, administrative capacity and integrity of character, but each citizen must have his due.

### **DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE**

*'The goodness in the sphere of politics is justice, and justice contains what tends to promote the common interest.'*  
---Aristotle

- Like Plato, Aristotle believed that justice is the very essence of the state and that no polity can endure for a long time unless it is founded on a right scheme of justice.
- According to him, **justice is virtue, complete virtue**, and the **embodiment of all goodness**. It is not the same thing as virtue, but it is virtue and virtue in action.
- Aristotle believes that **justice saves the states from destruction**; it makes the states and political life pure and healthy.

**According to Aristotle, Justice lies in treating equals equally and unequals unequally".**

- For Aristotle, justice is either general or particular.
- **General justice is** complete goodness. It is complete in the fullest sense, because it is the exercise of complete goodness not only in himself but also towards his neighbours.
- **Particular justice** is a part of complete or general justice.
- Particular justice has two sub varieties, namely, distributive and corrective justice.
- **Corrective justice** is mainly concerned with voluntary commercial transactions like sale, hire, furnishing of security, etc: and other things like aggression on property and life, honor and freedom.
- **Distributive justice** consists in proper allocation to each person according to his worth. This type of justice relates primarily but not exclusively to political privileges. From the point of view of distributive justice, each type of political organisation, its own standard of worth and , therefore, of distributive justice.
- Distributive justice **assigns to every man his due according to his contributions to the society.**  
**Distributive justice is identifiable with proportionate equality.**
- **Distributive justice meant proportionate equality**, and was linked to a theory of just rewards or equal shares according to the merit of its recipients. Each person would be awarded responsibilities as well as financial benefits in proportion to one's just deserts.
- The advantage of Aristotle's doctrine is that **it satisfied the demands of social justice in both aspects:**
- The point of proportionate equality is more equitable than the democrats' conception of mere numerical equality.
- Similarly the idea of special privilege which his doctrine introduces is more justifiable than the oligarch's claim that either wealth or noble birth by itself deserves the highest rewards.
- **Proportionate equality is grounded in the principle of fair and reasonable inequality of treatment.**
- Aristotle regarded equality as crucial to social justice, and justice as central to equality.
- Inequality, for Aristotle, arose when equals were treated unequally, and unequals equally.
- It accepted the belief that individuals differed in capacities, interests and achievements. Moreover, the varied dimensions of human life—social, cultural and economic—differed in importance.

- It was necessary to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving. He tried to counter the principle of equality by justifying inequalities.

**The reason was twofold.**

1. The desire for equality was more in the nature of a wish rather than being grounded in reality.
2. Even if one accepted the demand of equality as a moral one, it still failed to be convincing for it contradicted **“the spirit of morality with its presupposition of men’s different stations and functions, especially their obligations and duties of obedience on the one hand and their rights and positions of authority on the other”.**

**Comparison of conception of justice: Plato and Aristotle**

- For Plato, justice is the performance of one's duties to the best of one's abilities and capacities; for Aristotle, justice is the reward in proportion to what one contributes;
- Plato's justice is related to 'duties'; it is duties-oriented whereas Aristotle's justice is related to 'rights'; it is rights-oriented;
- Plato's theory of justice is essentially moral and philosophical; that of Aristotle is legal;
- Both gave a conception of distributive justice. For Plato, that meant individual excellence and performance of one's duties while for Aristotle it meant what people deserve, the right to receive.
- Plato's justice is spiritual whereas Aristotle's is practical, i.e., it is virtue in action, goodness in practice,
- Plato's justice is related to one's inner self, i.e., what comes straight from the soul; Aristotle's justice is related to man's actions, i.e., with his external activities.

Aristotle's concept of distributive Justice does not apply to modern conditions. Based on the notion of award of officers and honours in proportion to a man's contribution to society, it could apply to a small city states and is not applicable to modern sovereign states with huge population. Thus his theory of distributive justice is far away from the reality of the modern world.

Aristotle's theory of justice is worldly, associated with man's conduct in practical life, of course with all ethical values guiding him. But he was unable to correlate the ethical dimension of justice to its legal dimension. His distributive justice (rewards in accordance to one's abilities) is far, far away from the realities of the political world.

It is, indeed, difficult to bring about a balance between the ever-increasing population and ever-decreasing opportunities of the state.

**CITIZENSHIP**

- **Aristotle's** conservative viewpoint is clearly expressed in his conception of citizenship.
- Aristotle defined a **state as a collective body of citizens**. **Citizenship was not to be determined by residence** since the resident aliens and slaves also shared a common residence with citizens but were not citizens.

- He defines a citizen **as a person who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state**. Representative government was unknown to Aristotle because the Greek city- state was governed directly by its citizens.
- A citizen also enjoyed constitutional rights under the system of public law.
- For Aristotle a citizen was one who shared power in polis, and unlike Plato, did not distinguish between “an active ruling group and a politically passive community”.
- Aristotle stipulated that the **young and the old could not be citizens**, for **one was immature and the other infirm**.
- He **did not regard women as citizens**, for **they lacked the deliberative faculty and the leisure** to understand the working of politics.
- A good citizen would have the intelligence and the ability to rule and be ruled.
- Aristotle prescribed a **good citizen as someone who** Could live in harmony with the constitution and had sufficient leisure time to devote himself to the tasks and responsibilities of citizenship.
- Would possess virtue or moral goodness that would help in realising a selfless and cooperative civic life.
- In the words of **William Ebenstein**, “Aristotle’s idea of citizenship is that of the **economically independent gentleman** who has enough **experience, education and leisure to** devote himself to active citizenship, for citizens must not lead the life of mechanics or tradesmen, for such life is inimical to virtue. Thus he regarded citizenship as a bond forged by the intimacy of participation in public affairs.
- Aristotle makes an important distinction between the ‘parts’ of the state and its “necessary conditions”.
- **Parts of the state**: - Only those who actively share or have the means and leisure to share in the government of the state are its components or integral part.
- **Necessary conditions**: All the others are merely the necessary conditions who provide the material environment within which the active citizens freed from menial tasks, can function.

### **ARISTOTLE’S CRITIQUE TO PLATO**

*‘Plato was a friend; Truth was a greater friend’.*

*--Aristotle*

- **Aristotle Shared** with **Plato** many of the basic perspectives enunciated in the *Republic*, namely the hierarchy of human nature, justice as a relation or order among parts, and the inevitability of social classes. But he also diverged from his master in several significant ways, namely on the ideal regime, the dimensions of ethics, and the causes of revolution.
- Aristotle was equally appreciative and critical of **Plato**. Much of his criticism was made when Plato was alive.
- **Aristotle’s political philosophy was both a critique and a corrective of Plato’s ideas**. As opposed to Plato’s radical reforms in the *Republic*, Aristotle sought to conserve and preserve existing traditions and institutions. This made Aristotle a liberal conservative.
- His **principles of the golden mean, advocacy of mixed constitutions, faith in middle-class rule** as being best for ensuring a stable and enduring government, **conviction of the family being the bedrock of the state, and the necessity of property to ensure self-sufficiency and fulfil the instinct of possessiveness in the individual**, indicated his philosophy of moderation and belief in continuity.



- He “valued individual quality, privacy and liberty above social efficiency and power”.

### **CRITIQUE TO PLATO’S CONCEPTION OF IDEAL STATE**

- **Aristotle** was critical of the scheme of the Ideal State that Plato outlined in the *Republic*. He contended that **Plato’s emphasis on unity, instead of harmony within a state, would only lead to excessive regimentation and the cessation of the state as a political association**.
- A state was essentially a plural and diverse institution encouraging and cultivating a rich social life. Social differentiation was the key ordering principle of a good, stable state.
- Aristotle pointed out that the absence of plurality of aims and viewpoints did not purify politics. On the contrary it destroyed it. He did not reject the Platonic belief that every political community should be guided by the highest good, but he disagreed with Plato by insisting that a community should recognize and promote other goods as well.
- **Aristotle** proceeded to examine the social institutions that Plato advocated in his scheme of the Ideal State, namely the community of wives and property. The **unity that Plato desired, according to Aristotle, was more appropriate for a household rather than for a state**.
- Within a family there were three kinds of relationships, while a state had just one kind of relationship: between the governed and the governors. **Unlike the family, the state was an aggregation of different kinds of individuals**.
- Aristotle contended that **the role of the statesman could not be confused with that of a slave owner or the head of the family**, for the statesman’s role, unlike that of the husband and master, was a political one. Aristotle separated the political from the non-political, a distinction which Locke and the liberals subsequently incorporated and made it the cornerstone of liberalism.

### **CRITIQUE TO PLATO’S COMMUNISM**

- The authority of a statesman is different from the authority of a master. -----Aristotle
- As far as the **community of wives** was concerned, Aristotle felt that the Platonic scheme did not improve traditional family ties, for none would feel responsible for others in the absence of personal care and affection.
- In **Plato’s scheme**, the whole notion of **personal love got diluted in the absence of real feeling** and due to general indifference and neglect:
- What is common to the greatest number gets the least amount of care. Men pay most attention to what is their own; they care less for what is common; or at any rate, they care for it only to the extent to which each is individually concerned.

### **The good of the many had to be based on the good of the self.**

- Instead of being cared for by one’s father, it was quite possible to be ignored by so many “fathers”. Furthermore, kinship became merely fractional. If a thousand were fathers to a child, then each father would

be merely one-thousandth of a father. Therefore, "it is better to be own cousin to a man than to be his son after the Platonic fashion".

- **Fraternity, for Aristotle, was important** for it would be the best bulwark not only against civil dissensions, but also against deviant tendencies like incest, parricide and fratricide. In order to care and feel affection for a person, it was necessary that a person belonged to one, a feeling that one liked.
- Under the Platonic scheme, both were totally ruled out. Furthermore, the transposition of ranks that Plato advocated could not be carried through anonymously.
- For Aristotle, the **scheme of community of wives and property would lead to a one-person state, obliterating social differentiation**. In the absence of divergent elements making different contributions, even self-sufficiency would be lost.
- **Aristotle regarded the family as a natural institution**, to abolish which would be detrimental to both the individual and society. The fact that **the family, along with the institution of property, had stood the test of time was proof of their usefulness**.
- Even for the wisest, family and material possessions were cherished for their intrinsic worth and the happiness they gave. A family helped the individual to develop his very best, by inculcating civic duties and personal love, contributing to stability of the state.
- Aristotle did not elevate the public sphere above the private, nor was he keen to eliminate the private. On the contrary, the **private and public were complementary**, each requiring the other for diversity and stability. In this formulation, his thought was a precursor of the modern innovation of civil society which advocated a balance between the private and the public (political) sphere.
- For **Aristotle**, property was necessary not only to fulfil the possessive instincts of owning something, but also to encourage goodness and philanthropy. **Common ownership, as opposed to private property, was problematic**, since individuals do not share equally in work and recompense, those who do more work and get less recompense will be bound to raise complaints against those who get a large recompense and do little work.
- He raised the pertinent point of how to reward those who work harder and showed greater initiative. Some would always produce more, and therefore would expect and demand greater rewards commensurate with their efforts. The failure of communism with regard to property, work and reward in the modern period vindicated **Aristotle**.
- He was the first political philosopher to realise the need for recognizing merit, and the need to institutionalise just reward.
- **Aristotle** contended that it would be wrong to attribute all the troubles in the world to the institution of property. In fact, most of these stemmed from the evils of human nature, which even communism could not correct.

#### Aristotle's suggestions

- What was required was a moral change through education and training under good laws. While communism might liberate individuals from the ugly consequences of private ownership of property, it denied them the benefits that accrued from possessing something.
- It strived to promote a false sense of unity which undermined the very notion of a *polis* as an aggregation of different members. The other possible way of stemming the evils of private ownership was through the principle of the Golden Mean, or moderation. This ensured a middle path steering clear of wealth and poverty, opulence and squalor, and would help in the maintenance of property within limits as prescribed by nature.
- A reasonable amount of property, along with education, would inculcate the right attitudes of using property as instruments of public welfare.

- Aristotle also mentioned the virtues of benevolence and generosity that private possessions endowed, reducing selfishness and envy. He was convinced that a well-regulated institution of property would be socially beneficial.

### **CRITIQUE TO PLATO'S PHILOSOPHER KING**

***"The many are more incorruptible than the few; they are like the greater quantity of water which is less easily corrupted than a little."*** — Aristotle,

- Aristotle was equally critical of **Plato's** theory of the philosopher ruler. Permanent rule by a philosopher would lead to discontent and dissension not only among the ordinary citizens, but also among the high-spirited and the soldiers.
- This was dangerous, for it prevented circulation among elites and denied an opportunity to the ambitious to rule.
- **Aristotle** pointed out that **politics was not merely about the rule of the capable**. A stable polity would **have to accommodate the aspirations of different claimants**.
- In Plato's Ideal State, not only were workers prevented from assuming office, but even among the guardians not everyone was in a position to aspire for one.
- **As opposed to rule by perfect persons, Aristotle preferred constitutional rule**, for it not only checked arbitrary power, but also ensured a periodic rotation of office-bearers. Though he feared the levelling tendencies within democracies, he was more concerned about the detrimental effects, both moral and practical, of an aristocratic monopoly on social and political honours.
- Furthermore, he was skeptical of **Plato's contention that the knowledge of the wisest ruler(s) was better than the customary law**:
- **Aristotle prefers collective wisdom and wisdom of ages as more reliable than wisdom of one philosopher king.**

*Law is a reason without passion. Good ruler ought to be worldly-wise rather than wise in the world of ideas.* --- Aristotle

- Moreover, from his own experience he could realise clearly and strongly the difficulty in attaining truth (scientific truth), though one could pursue it indefinitely.
- **Aristotle shared with Plato his dislike for democracy**, but, unlike Plato, was willing to accept democracy as unavoidable. This reluctant acceptance of democracy as inevitable in Aristotle was shared by **Alexis de Tocqueville**.
- Aristotle conceded to the greater populace participation and did not, like Plato, make it restrictive. He accepted **constitutional rule "not as a concession to human frailty but as an intrinsic part of good government and therefore a characteristic of an ideal state"**.
- A stable government for Aristotle was one which recognized the individual's right to property and human freedom.

### **ARISTOTLE'S CRITIQUE OF PLATO'S IDEALISM:**

- Plato and Aristotle shared many of their basic perspectives. Both belonged to the Socratic tradition and were critical of sophists. Both believed that education helps make good citizens, and emphasized the importance of the state.
- They justified the natural inequality and the hierarchy of human nature. Also, they believed in justice as relation or order among parts.

- However, Aristotle was critical of Plato's idealism as well as his ideal state, theory of philosopher ruler, communism of family and property.
- Plato's idealism was based on his theory of form/ idea. For Plato, the idea is a permanent character of anything. Thus he separated the idea from matter and regarded the idea as the universal essence of everything. According to him, an idea is not a part of this world of time and space and it is an eternal, final, and independent reality.
- But for Aristotle, the idea is inherent in matter, not transcendently separated from it and it was just a common noun.
- Plato said that since an idea is perfect and eternal, it cannot be united with matter which changes. But Aristotle said that it can be united if we can understand the relationship between idea and matter.
- Under the ideal state, Plato talked about a philosopher ruler who is the most rational, virtuous person in the world of ideas. Opposed to this, Aristotle argued that a ruler has to be worldly-wise rather than wise in the world of ideas. He emphasized practicability and proposed polity as the best form of government.
- Aristotle also criticized the idea of communism of family and property proposed by Plato. Aristotle argued that family provides emotional stability and property is the source of virtue for an individual.
- Platonic belief that there exists some ideal that can be replicated in reality brought idealism in every concept. Aristotle on the other hand Aristotle believed in the best practicable approach.

### **EVALUATION OF ARISTOTLE AS A THINKER**

Aristotle is rightly regarded as the father of political Science', as by his meticulous and painstaking research of political institutions and behaviour he provided the first framework of studying politics empirically and scientifically.

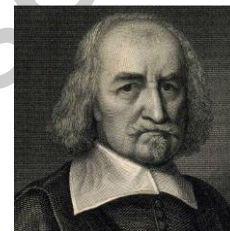
- His classification of constitutions provided the first major thrust for studying comparative politics. The primacy of the political was most forcefully argued when he commented that man by nature is a political animal, distinguishing between individualistic animals like the lions and tigers to the gregarious ones like the humans.
- His most lasting importance was in his advocacy of the rule of law rather than personalised rule by the wisest and the best. The entire edifice of modern civilisation is based on respect for constitutional provisions and well-defined laws.
- The origin of both is with Aristotle. In this sense being less ambitious but more a practical realist than Plato, Aristotle's practical prescriptions have been more lasting and more influential than the radical and provocative ideas of Plato.
- True to the times he belonged, Aristotle is an advocate of inequality for he considered men as unequal. A slave is a slave because his hands are dirty, he lacks virtues of a freeman, namely rationality, he has to be mastered and ruled till the time he has acquired reason for securing emancipation.
- Aristotle is for the best form of government but one that is within the realm of possibility. The scientist in Aristotle does not allow him to reach the extremes. He believes in the rule of golden mean.

### **THOMAS HOBBS**

### **PYQs**

1. Hobbesian notion of Political obligation. Comment (2017)
2. "How would I and my fellow human beings behave if we were to find ourselves in a state of nature, and what does this behavior tell us about our innate predispositions?" (Hobbes) Comment (2016)
3. "Covenants without swords are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all." (Hobbes) Comment (2013)
4. Comment on the assertion of Laslett that Filmer and not Hobbes was the main antagonist of Locke. (2013)

Thomas Hobbes is one of the most colourful, controversial and important figures in the history of western political thought. By the mid-20th Century Hobbes was acclaimed as "probably the greatest writer on political philosophy that the English speaking people have produced" (Sabine).



According to **Michael Oakeshott**: "The Leviathan is the greatest, perhaps the sole, masterpiece of political philosophy in the English language".

Hobbes's Political philosophy in the Leviathan (1651) was a reflection of the civil war in England following the execution of Charles I. According to **William Ebenstein**, The Leviathan is not an apology for the Stuart monarchy nor a grammar of despotic government but the first general theory of politics in the English language'

#### In brief about Hobbes

- According to **Macpherson**, Hobbes was a scholar of bourgeois class.
- Hobbes was **materialist, utilitarian and greatest of all individualists.**
- The important works of Hobbes include **De Civic** and **the Leviathan.**
- He was an absolutist and was the **1<sup>st</sup> one who gave complete theory of sovereignty.**
- He supported the **mechanistic view of the state.**
- He was the **1<sup>st</sup> who gave the theory of the right to life.**

#### BIRTH OF HOBBS AND HIS TIMES

Hobbes was prematurely born in 1588 in England at a time when the country was threatened by the impending attack of the Spanish Armada. He witnessed troubled phases of British history—**Puritan revolution of 1641 and Civil war.** It was a complete anarchy, no security of life, hence order and self-preservation became the central concerns of his philosophy.

**His long life was full of momentous events.** Hobbes lived at a time of great constitutional crisis in England when the **theory of Divine Right of Kings** was fiercely contested by the upholders of the **constitutional rule based on popular consent.**

It is he who for the first time systematically expounded the absolute theory of sovereignty and originated the **positivist theory of law**.

From a broad philosophical perspective, the importance of Hobbes is his bold and systematic attempt to assimilate the science of man and civil society to a thoroughly modern science corresponding to a completely mechanistic conception of nature.

### **HOBBS AS FATHER OF MODERN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Hobbes is generally regarded as the **father of modern political science**.

It is he who for the first time systematically expounded the absolutist theory of sovereignty and originated the positivist theory of law which was perfected by the analytical jurists of the 19th and 20th centuries. Though he was by no means a liberal, modern commentators believe that "his political doctrine has greater affinities with the liberalism of the 20th Century than his authoritarian theory would initially suggest" (**Gauthier**).

From the Socialist point of view (**Macpherson**) Hobbes' theory is seen to reflect the political ideology of the incipient capitalist market society characterized by the doctrine of "possessive individualism" and the ethic of cut-throat competition and self-aggrandizement.

**Karl Marx** himself is said to have remarked that "Hobbes was the father of us all." And it is the measure of the richness and suggestiveness of Hobbes' system of ideas that it is supposed to imply, or assume, one of the most sophisticated modern methodological tools of mathematical analysis for an adequate explanation of social phenomenon.

### **HUMAN NATURE ACCORDING TO HOBBS**

- Hobbes, like Machiavelli, was concerned with the secular origins of human conduct, for he did not theorize about proper behaviour from an understanding of the Idea of Good, or from a revelation of divine commands. Contrary to Aristotle and the medieval thinkers, who saw human nature as innately social, Hobbes viewed human beings as isolated, egoistic, self-interested, and seeking society as a means to their ends.
- Individuals were creatures of desire, seeking pleasure and avoiding pain. Pleasures were good and pain bad, which was why men sought to pursue and maximize their pleasures and avoid pain. The pleasure-pain theory was developed in a coherent and systematic theory of human behaviour and motivation by the Utilitarians, especially **Bentham** in the eighteenth century. In addition to being creatures of pleasure and pain, Hobbes saw individuals constantly in motion to satisfy their desires.
- Human will, in Hobbes' philosophy, did not imply anything spiritual or transcendental but was related to the natural needs of the body. He mentioned a long list of passions, but the special emphasis was on fear, in particular the fear of death, and on the universal and perfectly justified quest for power. In contrast to classical philosophers, Hobbes did not assign any positive or higher aim to life.
- Hobbes contended that life was nothing but a perpetual and relentless desire and pursuit of Power. He pointed out that one ought to recognize a "general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire for Power after power that ceased only in Death".

- Another significant facet of Hobbes' perception that set him apart from both ancient and medieval philosophers was his **belief in the equality of men**, the fact that men were equal in physical power, and faculties of mind. By equality, Hobbes meant equal ability and the equal hope of attaining the ends individuals aspired for. The physically weak may achieve by cunning what the strong could accomplish through force. Hobbes accepted differences in physical or natural endowments. Hobbes also saw human beings as active creatures with a "will".

### **STATE OF NATURE**

According to **Hobbes**, prior to the formation of the state, there existed a state of nature. Men in the state of nature were essentially selfish and egoistic.

There was a horrible and dismal picture of the state of nature.

In a state of nature, individuals enjoyed complete liberty, including a natural right to everything, even to one another's bodies. The natural laws were not laws or commands.

*In such a condition, there is no place for industry, agriculture, navigation, trade; there are no arts or letter; no society, no amenities of civilised living, and worst of all, there is continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short'.*

A permanent rivalry existed between human beings for honour, riches and authority, with life as nothing but potential warfare, a war of every one against the others.

### **PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF CONFLICT WAS WITHIN THE NATURE OF MAN**

- In the state of nature, men are in a condition of war, of every man against every man and it is an atmosphere of perpetual fear and strife fed by three Psychological causes: **competition, diffidence and glory.**
- There is a quest for power, because power can ensure the achievement of the resources needed for survival, which gives pleasure and for such resources there is competition, and only power can ensure survival.
- Power was sought for it represented a means of acquiring those things that make life worthwhile and contented.
- There was mutual suspicion and hostility. The only rule that individuals acknowledged was that one would take if one had the power and retain as long as one could. .
- In the state of nature there is no common authority, hence there is no distinction between just and unjust in the state of nature, for where there is no common superior, there is no law and where there is no law there can be no justice.
- **"There was no law, no justice, no notion of right and wrong."** There can be **no distinction between right and wrong in the state of nature** because any conception of right and wrong presupposes a standard of conduct,



a common law to judge that conduct and a common law giver but in the state of nature there is no common law to judge conduct.

**Power is, of course, the central feature of Hobbes' system of ideas.** While recognising the importance of power in Hobbesian political ideas, **Michael Oakeshott** wrote thus: **"Man is a complex of power; desire is the desire for power, pride is illusion about power, honour opinion about power life the unremitting exercise of power and death the absolute loss of power"**

So search for power and glory, riches and honour was central to Hobbes philosophy.

Overall, the concept of the state of nature, that is, human condition prior to the formation of civil society, is derived from the nature of man, his basic psycho-physical character, his sensations, emotions, appetites and behavior. The predominant passions of desire and aversion are the root cause of conflict in the state of nature according to Hobbes.

### **How can man escape from such an intolerably miserable condition?**

Once the misery of the natural condition becomes clear, it is evident that something must be done to change it. The first step is for individuals to decide to seek peace and to make the arrangements necessary to attain and preserve it. It becomes clear that the only way to have peace is for each individual to give up his natural right to acquire and preserve everything in whatever manner he sees fit.

As Hobbes stipulates, this must be a collective endeavor, since it only makes sense for an individual to give up his right to attack others if everyone else agrees to do the same. He calls this collective renunciation of each individual's right to all things the "social contract." The social contract inverts the state of nature while also building upon some key passions responsible for the state of nature: it amounts to a more intelligent way to preserve oneself and safely acquire goods.

### **THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CONTRACT**

Contract was signed between men in the state of nature mainly to escape from a state of war of every man against every man.

Hobbes creates his commonwealth (state) by giving new orientation to the old idea of the social contract, a **contract between ruler and ruled.**

In order to secure their escape from the state of nature, **individuals renounce their natural rights** to all things, and institute by common consent, a third person, or body of persons, conferring all rights of him **for enforcing the contract by using force** and keeping them all and authorising all his action as their own.

Each man makes an agreement with every man in the following manner'

"I authorise and give up my right of governing myself to this man or to this assembly of man on the condition that thou give up thy right to him, and authorise all his actions in like manner."

It is clear from the above statement that **no individual can surrender his right to self-preservation.**

The **multitude of conflicting wills is replaced, not by a common will but a single representative will**

By the transfer of the natural rights to each man, the **recipient becomes their representative and is invested with authority to deliberate**, will and act in place of the deliberation, will and action of each separate man.

According to **William Ebenstein** Hobbesian, social contract is made between subjects and subjects and not between subjects and sovereign. The **sovereign is not a party to the contract**, but its creation.

1. **Contract is irrevocable**, men cannot annualize the contract.
2. **They cannot repudiate their obligation.**
3. Sovereign cannot commit any breach of covenant because he is not a party to it.

### **HOBBS ON SOVEREIGN LEVIATHAN**

Particularly because there is no natural sanction for justice, we need to institute some guarantee that everyone involved in the social contract will keep his word. Hobbes argues that individuals require a “visible power to keep them in awe,” to remind them of the purpose of the social contract and to force them, for fear of punishment, to keep their promises. This power must also be sufficient to keep in check the yearning for superiority of those who desire honor or glory. Hobbes calls the power necessary to transform the desire for a social contract into a commonwealth the sovereign, the **Leviathan**.

The sovereign power is created when each individual surrenders his private strength to a single entity, which thereby acquires the means to keep everyone in obedience. Every individual must also surrender his private opinion about public issues to the sovereign.

Hobbes makes it clear that the individual must understand his will to be identical with the sovereign will, since one who desires peace must logically will whatever is necessary for peace to be maintained.

Although it is commonly assumed that the Leviathan is a king, Hobbes makes clear that the sovereign power can be composed of one person, several, or many—in other words, the Leviathan can equally well describe a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. The only requirement that Hobbes sets for sovereignty is that the entity has absolute power to defend the social contract and decide what is necessary for its defense.

### **Major attributes of Hobbesian sovereign**

The heart of Hobbes’ political philosophy is his theory of sovereignty. Hobbes saw the sovereign power as undivided, unlimited, inalienable and permanent. The contract created the state and the government simultaneously. The sovereign power was authorized to enact laws as it deemed fit and such laws were legitimate.

- Sovereign is absolute and unlimited and accordingly no conditions implicit or explicit can be imposed on it. It is not limited either by the rights of the subjects or by customary and statutory laws.

- The newly created sovereign can do no injury to his subjects because he is their authorized agent. His actions cannot be illegal because he himself is the sole source and interpreter of laws.
- No one can complain that sovereign is acting wrongly because everybody has authorised him to act on his behalf.
- **Sovereign has the absolute right to declare war and make peace**, to levy taxes and to impose penalties.
- **Sovereign is the ultimate source of all administrative, legislative and judicial authority**. According to Hobbes, law is the command of the sovereign.
- The **sovereign has to protect the people externally and internally for peace** and preservation were the basis of the creation of the sovereign or Leviathan.
- Thus Hobbesian sovereign represents the ultimate, supreme and single authority in the state and there is no right of resistance against him except in case of self-defence.

According to Hobbes, any act of disobedience of a subject is unjust because it is against the covenant.

***Covenants without swords are but mere words.***

**Division or limitation of sovereignty means destruction of sovereignty** which means that men are returning to the old state of nature where life will be intolerably miserable.

By granting **absolute power to the sovereign**, some critics went to the extent of criticising Hobbes as the '**spiritual father of totalitarian fascism or communism**'.

However, **William Ebenstein** in his well-known work '**Great Political Thinkers**' has opposed this charge on following grounds.

- **First**, the government is set up according to Hobbes, by a covenant that transfers all power. This contractual foundation of government is anathema to the modern totalitarians
- **Second**, Hobbes assigns to the state a prosaic business; **to maintain order and security** for the benefit of the citizens. By contrast, the aim of the modern totalitarian state is anti-individualistic and anti-hedonistic.
- **Third** Hobbesian **state is authoritarian, not totalitarian**. Hobbes' authoritarianism lacks one of the most characteristic features of the modern totalitarian state: inequality before the law, and the resultant sense of personal insecurity.
- **Fourth**, Hobbes holds that the **sovereign may be one man or an assembly of men, whereas modern totalitarianism is addicted to the leadership principle**. The Hobbesian sovereign is a supreme administrator and law giver but not a top rabble rouser, spellbinder, propagandist, or showman.
- **Fifth**, Hobbes recognises that **war is one of the two main forces that drive men to set up a state**. But whenever he speaks of war, it is defensive war, and there is no glorification of war in the Leviathan. By contrast, totalitarians look on war as something lightly desirable and imperialist war as the highest form of national life.

Thus it is clear from the above observations that Hobbes' theory of sovereignty is the first systematic and consistent statement of complete sovereignty in the history of political thought.

His sovereign enjoys absolute authority over his subjects and his powers can neither be divided nor limited either by the law of nature or by the law of God.

As **Prof. Sabine** has rightly pointed out, in **Hobbesian political philosophy both individualism and absolutism go hand in hand**. Granting absolute and unlimited power to the state is, in essence, an attempt to provide a happy and tension free life to the individuals.

## **Conclusion**

Hobbes is generally regarded as the father of modern political science. His theories reflect the political ideology of the incipient capitalist market society characterised by the **doctrine of "possessive individualism"** and the **ethic of cut-throat competition and self-aggrandisement**. His **method was deductive and geometrical** rather than empirical and experimental.

According to Hobbes the root cause of conflict in the state of nature are the passions of desire and aversion. Since goods are limited, there is ruthless competition and a struggle for power to retain what is acquired. Conflict is inherent in human nature in blind pursuit of self-interest. Another thing that Hobbes points out is that each man has liberty to use his own power as he will for preservation of his own nature and life. This he calls natural right. But at times he equates natural rights with power, at times with absence of obligations or with liberty to do what the right reason prescribes.

To escape this state of nature and to avoid war man is endowed with reason and rational self-preservation. These are known as laws of nature which play an important role to transform the state of nature into a civil society. In order to escape the state of nature, individuals renounce their natural rights and institute a third person or body of persons conferring all rights on that person or body, authorizing all its actions as their own.

This common superior or sovereign has to be created through a covenant with the sovereign outside this covenant. Sovereignty is indivisible, inalienable and perpetual. The Sovereign acts according to natural law but he alone is the interpreter of this law and his action cannot be challenged.

After the constitution of civil society, natural law is assimilated into civil law. Hobbes starts with natural rights of individuals but restricts them to found a viable civil society. He restricts the natural liberty of men but does not espouse the individual's right to restrict authority of the state.

In short,

- The Leviathan of Hobbes has been regarded as one of the masterpieces of political theory known for its style, clarity and lucid exposition. He has laid down a systematic theory of sovereignty, human nature, political obligation etc.
- Hobbes saw the state as a conciliator of interests, a point of view that the Utilitarian developed in great detail. **Hobbes created an all powerful state but it was not totalitarian monster.**
- Hobbes is considered as the father of political science: His method was deductive and geometrical rather than empirical and experimental.
- **His theory of sovereignty is indivisible, inalienable and perpetual.**
- Sovereign is the sole source and interpreter of laws. Before and after Hobbes, political absolutism has been defended by different scholars on various grounds.
- Hobbes was perhaps the first political thinker to defend political absolutism on scientific grounds.

## **RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE SOVEREIGN**

**Sovereignty, according to Hobbes, is absolute, indivisible, inalienable and perpetual.** It is not limited either by the rights of the subjects or by customary and statutory law. Sovereign is of course obliged to act according to Natural Law, but he alone is the interpreter of this law and none of his actions can be challenged on the ground that it violates reason and justice. Justice consists in acting in accordance with promises made, and the sovereign has made no promise. Hence his actions cannot be called unjust or injurious.

No one can complain that a sovereign is acting wrongly, because everybody has authorised him to act on his behalf. Sovereign has the absolute right to declare war and make peace, to levy taxes and impose penalties. He is the ultimate source of all administrative, legislative and judicial authority.

**Law, properly speaking, is the command of the sovereign**, that is, "that person whose precept contains in it the reason of obedience".

Natural law or customs can only attain the status of Law only when willed and ordained by the sovereign. He brought to completion the process of subordinating the church to the state and swept aside the limitations of Divine Law, of Constitutional law and property rights that Bodin had imposed on his sovereign.

**Hobbes held that, 'Liberty is the silence of law'**. In other words, a citizen is free to do or not do what the sovereign has not commanded or forbidden. However, the command of the sovereign cannot annul the subjects' right to self-preservation. If a sovereign commands someone to kill himself, he is not bound to abide by it, for the sole purpose of the establishment of civil society is the preservation of life.

"When therefore our refusal to obey frustrates the end for which sovereignty was ordained, then there is no liberty to refuse: otherwise there is." Moreover, to resist or disobey the sovereign is to opt for the state of nature, where there is no right or wrong. However, it must be always remembered that the **"obligation of the subject to the sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasted, by which he is able to protect them."**

It was in this way that Hobbes sought to justify "For the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, call by no covenant be relinquished." Hence, if the sovereign fails to put down a rebellion and the rebels succeed in establishing their own regime and in giving the required security to their subjects, he ipso facto loses his legitimacy and the new regime becomes the real commonwealth under the rule of **Oliver Cromwell**. There can be no legitimate government without effective power to back it. As **Sabine** puts it, **"The aspiration for more justice and right seemed to him (Hobbes) merely an intellectual confusion. Hatred of tyranny seemed their dislike of a particular exercise of power, and enthusiasm for liberty seemed either sentimental vamping or outright hypocrisy"**

### **HOBBS, LIBERALISM, AND MODERN POLITICS**

Hobbes's emphasis on the absolute power of the Leviathan sovereign seems to put his political thought at odds with liberal theory, in which politics is devoted to the protection of individual rights. Hobbes nonetheless laid the foundation for the liberal view.

His concept of the state of nature grounds politics in the individual's desire to preserve his life and his goods, and stipulates that the role of government is to serve these ends. Happiness or "felicity" is continual success in obtaining what we desire.

For Hobbes, the individual has no natural duties toward others or to the common good; obligations are taken up only as necessary means to one's own ends. Furthermore, Hobbes makes clear that the individual retains his natural right to preserve himself even after entering the commonwealth—he has no obligation to submit himself to capital punishment or likely death in war.

While Hobbes has a much more limited understanding of individual rights than liberal theorists, his political science launches the argument that the individual has an inviolable right by nature, and also suggests that politics exists to help further the individual's pursuit of his own happiness.

Hobbes begins with the liberal notion of representative government: government represents but does not rule us; its duty is to make our lives and acquisitions safe, not to form our souls.

Not long after Hobbes's death, **John Locke** used many of the elements of Hobbes's thought to develop the first full account of modern political liberalism. Although Locke takes pains to distance himself from Hobbes, Hobbes's influence can be seen in Locke's account of the state of nature, in his argument that the origin of all legitimate government lies in the consent of the governed, and in his view that the political community should aim to serve basic, common needs (Locke makes the preservation of property central).

Through Locke, Hobbes indirectly influenced the founders of the United States, who, in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, proclaimed a new kind of politics based on equality and consent, in which the government serves relatively limited and popular aims.

Hobbes's political ideas aroused much controversy in his time, and they continue to be contentious. Some disagree with Hobbes's claim that politics should be viewed primarily as an instrument to serve self-interest, and side with **Aristotle** in thinking that politics serves both basic needs and higher ends. On this view, Hobbes's attempt to divert public debate from tackling controversial but fundamental questions hampers our pursuit of wisdom, happiness, and excellence.

Others argue that Hobbes's systematic focus on achievable goals has made possible the security and prosperity that those in modern Western nations enjoy, and furthermore that these conditions give us the leisure and peace to pursue knowledge and excellence in private life. In either case, Hobbes's contribution to the framework of the modern world makes a study of his work important to understanding our political horizons.

## JOHN LOCKE

### PYQs

2018 John Locke is the father of liberalism. Explain 20M

2012 Locke is an individualist out and out'. Substantiate this statement 20M

2003 Comment on: The reason why men enter into civil society is the preservation of their property (Locke)  
20M

John Locke was born in 1632; he was the apostle of the **Revolution of 1688**, which successfully brought in reforms in England. Locke may be regarded as the **founder of Empiricism**; according to which sense experience is the only source of philosophic knowledge.

Locke is known as the **Father of Liberalism**. Locke's political theory marks the watershed event in the annals of political literature, for contribution to the theory of Natural Rights, Theory of Separation of Powers and concept of toleration in liberalism.

Locke thought in terms of concrete detail rather than of large abstractions. Locke wanted to break from the bondage of words, from the bondage of wrong methods and from the bondage of the assumption that a philosopher's business is to speculate.

Locke published his **Two Treatises of Government** and also famous philosophical work **The Essay Concerning Human understanding**. 'Two Treatises of Government' was ostensibly written to justify the glorious revolution of 1688. The two treatises exposed and defended freedom, consent and property as coordinant principles of legitimate political power. Locke saw political power as a trust, with the general community specifying its purposes and aims.

The Two Treatises of Government consists of two parts-

1. refutation of **Filmer** (Filmer contended that patriarchal authority was absolute, and that political authority was analogous to paternal authority.)
2. second, the more important of the two, is an inquiry into the "True original, Extent and End of Civil Government."

### Influences on Locke

Locke's life (1632-1704) coincided with one of the most significant epochs of British history that saw the transformation of absolute monarchy into parliamentary democracy. It was a period of the **Glorious Revolution of 1688** with which Locke was closely associated. The Glorious Revolution is considered by some to be one of the most important events in the long evolution of powers possessed by the Parliament and by the crown in England.

With the passage of the **Bill of Rights**, any final possibility of a Catholic monarchy was stamped out and moves toward absolute monarchy in the British Isles ended by circumscribing the monarch's powers. The bill is considered to be a cornerstone of the unwritten British constitution. It clearly gave Parliament ultimate authority. The king's powers were greatly restricted; he could no longer suspend laws, levy taxes, or maintain a standing army during peacetime without Parliament's permission. It influenced the **U.S. Bill of Rights**.





John Locke wrote his '**Two Treatises of Government**' to support the Glorious Revolution. From the standpoint of history, this was a move in the right direction—toward human freedom, human rights, and recognition of the equal worth and dignity of all people.

### **STATE OF NATURE IN LOCKE**

We see that Natural Law constitutes an integral part of Locke's moral and political theory. It is central to his conception of the state of nature as well as of civil society. The state of nature, as we know, is the stock-in-trade of all contract theories of the state. It is conceived as a state prior to the establishment of political society.

**In Locke's version it is pre-political, though not pre-social, for men are essentially social by nature.** The state of nature, far from being a war of all is a **state of "peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and self-preservation."** It has the law of nature to govern it.

This Law "obliges everyone: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm one another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions, for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent, and infinitely wise maker;

In the state of nature men have natural rights to life, liberty and property. These rights are **inalienable** and inviolable for they are derived from the Law of Nature which is God's reason. Everyone is bound by reason not only to preserve oneself but to preserve all mankind, insofar as his own preservation does not come in conflict with it.

Again, men are free and equal and there is no commonly acknowledged superior whose orders they are obliged to obey. Everybody is the judge of his own actions. But though the natural condition is a state of liberty, it is not a state of licence. Nobody has a right to destroy himself and destroy the life of any other men, "but where some nobler use than its bare preservation calls for it."

### **WHY SOCIAL CONTRACT?**

Because there is no common judge to punish the violation of natural law in the state of nature, every individual is his own judge and has the executive power of punishing the violators of the law of nature. This violation may be against him or against mankind in general. But when men are judges in their own case, they cannot be impartial.

There are also other inconveniences in the state of nature -there is no established, settled, known law, to be the standard of right and wrong; there is no impartial judge to decide cases of dispute; and finally, "in the state of nature there often wants power to back and support the sentence when right, and to give it due execution."

In Other words, there are three lacunas or inconveniences in the state of nature -want of a legislature authority to declare law, of an impartial judge to decide cases of violation of law and lack of an impersonal executioner of the law. Thus we find that the state of nature, while it is not a state of war, is also not an idyllic condition and, therefore, it has to be superseded sooner or later.

Conflicts and uncertainties are bound to arise on account of the selfish tendencies in human nature. The state of nature is always in danger of being transformed into a state of war. Where every one is the judge in his own case and has the sole authority to punish, peace is bound to be threatened.

Thus the purpose of the social contract is to establish organised law and orders so that the uncertainties of the state of nature will be replaced by the predictability of known laws and impartial institutions.

After society is set up by contract, government is established, not by a contract, but by fiduciary trust.

What is lacking in the state of nature?	Remedies to lacuna's	
State of nature lacks well organized known law	Establishment of a legislative authority	Lock called legislative powers the supreme power of the commonwealth, because it was the representative of the people, having the power to make laws.
It lacks known judges	judicial power	It enjoyed prerogatives
It lacks enough executive powers	Establish an executive with the power to enforce the law.	

The legislative and executive power had to be separate, thus pre-empting **Montesquieu's** theory of separation of powers.

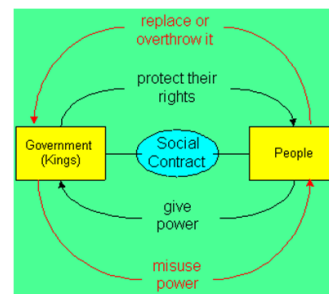
#### **Element of consent for transition from state of nature to state of government**

- The most direct reading of Locke's political philosophy finds the concept of consent playing a central role. His analysis begins with individuals in a state of nature where they are not subject to a common legitimate authority with the power to legislate or adjudicate disputes. From this natural state of freedom and independence, Locke stresses individual consent as the mechanism by which political societies are created and individuals join those societies.
- While there are of course some general obligations and rights that all people have from the law of nature, special obligations come about only when we voluntarily undertake them. Locke clearly states that one can only become a full member of society by an act of express consent.
- The literature on Locke's theory of consent tends to focus on how Locke does or does not successfully answer the following objection: few people have actually consented to their governments so no, or almost no, governments are actually legitimate. This conclusion is problematic since it is clearly contrary to Locke's intention.
- Locke's most obvious solution to this problem is his **doctrine of tacit consent**. Simply by walking along the highways of a country a person gives tacit consent to the government and agrees to obey it while living in its territory.

- This, Locke thinks, explains why resident aliens have an obligation to obey the laws of the state where they reside, though only while they live there. Inheriting property creates an even stronger bond, since the original owner of the property permanently put the property under the jurisdiction of the commonwealth.

### **LOCKE'S SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY: TWO CONTRACTS**

- Lockean Social contract is different from Hobbes in a sense that Locke gives two types of contracts. The first Contract forms Civil society and the second contract forms the government.
- Therefore, the problem is to form civil society by common consent of all men and transfer their right of punishing the violators of Natural Law to an independent and impartial authority.
- For all practical purposes, after the formation of civil society this common consent becomes the consent of the majority; all parties must submit to the determination of the majority which carries the force of the community.
- So all men unanimously agree to incorporate themselves in one body and conduct their affairs by the opinion of the majority.
- After they have set up a political or civil society, the next step is to appoint a government or 'legislative' to declare and execute the natural law. This Locke calls the 'supreme' authority established by the commonwealth or civil society. Here we have two separate acts-one by which the civil society is established and the other which creates the government
- While the first is the product of a contract, the second is "only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends", and there remains "still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them." This is also the reason why when the Lockean contract fails; there is civil society by contract that negates violence and chaos which takes society to the state of nature.
- The relationship between society and the government is expressed by the idea of trust because it obviates making the government a party to the contract and giving it an independent Status and authority.
- Thus, Locke (in the second of the Two Treatises of Government, 1690) differed from Hobbes insofar as he conceived of the state of nature not as a condition of complete license but rather as a state in which humans, though free, equal, and independent, are obliged under the law of nature to respect each other's rights to life, liberty, and property.
- Individuals nevertheless agree to form a commonwealth (and thereby to leave the state of nature) in order to institute an impartial power capable of arbitrating disputes and redressing injuries. Accordingly, Locke held that the obligation to obey civil government under the social contract was conditional upon the protection of the natural rights of each person, including the right to private property. Sovereigns who violated these terms could be justifiably overthrown.



### **FEATURES OF LOCKEAN STATE**

- State exists for the people who form it, people do not exist for it, Locke gives primacy to people over state. **Locke argued 'the end of government is the good of the community'.**

- As **C.L. Wayper** has rightly pointed out the Lockean 'state is a machine which we create for our good and run for our purposes, and it is both dangerous and unnecessary to speak of some supposed mystical good of state or country independent of the lives of individual citizens.
- **True states must be founded on consent:** The true state must be a constitutional state in which men acknowledge the rule of law as there can be no political liberty if a man is subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man. Government must therefore establish standing laws, promulgated and known to the people, and not by extemporary decrees.
- **State is limited, not absolute.** It is limited because it derives power from the people, and because it holds power in trust for the people. The state should exist for the good of the people, should depend on their consent, and should be constitutional and limited in its authority.
- The Lockean state is a **tolerant state** which respects differences of opinion. It is a **negative state** which does not seek to improve the character of its citizens nor to manage their lives.

Again, Lockean state is also a transformer state, transforming selfish interest into public good.

#### **LIMITATIONS OF GOVERNMENT**

1. **Limited sovereignty** John Locke advocated a limited sovereign state, because political absolutism was untenable. Describing the characteristics of a good state Locke said it existed for the people who formed it and not the vice-versa. It had to be based on the consent of the people subject to the constitution and the rule of law. It is limited since its powers were derived from the people and were held in trust.
2. Abolishes legal sovereignty in favour of popular sovereignty. Locke does not build up a conception of legal sovereignty. He has no idea of absolute and indivisible sovereignty as presented by Thomas Hobbes. Locke is for a government based on division of power and subject to a number of limitations.
  - Government cannot command anything against public interests.
  - It cannot violate the innate natural rights of the individuals.
  - It cannot govern arbitrarily and tax the subjects without their consent.
  - Its laws must conform to the laws of Nature and of god.

*A government which violates its limitations is not worthy of obedience.*

3. **Democratic principle:** Most important factor limiting the power of government is the democratic principle itself. The legislature is to be periodically elected by the people. Legitimate government must be based upon the consent of the governed according to Locke, and direct election of representatives to the legislature makes consent a reality. And since elected representatives depend on popular support for their tenure in office, they have every interest in staying within legal bounds.
4. **Duration of legislative sessions:** A further limitation upon the legislative power recommended by Locke is limiting the duration of legislative sessions because, he argues, constant frequent meetings of the legislature could not but be burdensome to the people". In Locke's mind, the less frequent the meetings of the legislature the fewer the laws passed and consequently, the less chance that mischief will be done.

5. **Separation of powers:** Separation of powers between the legislative and executive, according to Locke, is that “It may be too great a temptation to human frailty apt to grasp at power for the same persons who have the power of making laws, to have also in their hands the power to execute them.”

### **SEPARATION OF POWERS AND THE DISSOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT**

Locke claims that legitimate government is based on the idea of separation of powers.

First and foremost of these is the **legislative power**. Locke describes the legislative power as supreme in having ultimate authority over “how the force for the commonwealth shall be employed”.

The **executive power** is then charged with enforcing the law as it is applied in specific cases.

Interestingly, Locke’s third power is called the “**federative power**” and it consists of the right to act internationally according to the law of nature. Since countries are still in the state of nature with respect to each other, they must follow the dictates of natural law and can punish one another for violations of that law in order to protect the rights of their citizens.

The fact that Locke does not mention the judicial power as a separate power becomes clearer if we distinguish powers from institutions. Powers relate to functions. To have a power means that there is a function (such as making the laws or enforcing the laws) that one may legitimately perform.

Moreover, Locke thinks that it is possible for multiple institutions to share the same power; for example, the legislative power in his day was shared by the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and the King. Since all three needed to agree for something to become law, all three are part of the legislative power.

He also thinks that the federative power and the executive power are normally placed in the hands of the executive, so it is possible for the same person to exercise more than one power (or function). There is, therefore, no one-to-one correspondence between powers and institutions.

If we compare Locke’s formulation of separation of powers to the later ideas of **Montesquieu** (1689), we see that they are not so different as they may initially appear. Although Montesquieu gives the more well-known division of **legislative, executive, and judicial**, as he explains what he means by these terms he reaffirms the superiority of the legislative power and describes the executive power as having to do with international affairs (Locke’s federative power) and the judicial power as concerned with the domestic execution of the laws (Locke’s executive power).

Locke believed that it was important that the legislative power contain an assembly of elected representatives, but as we have seen the legislative power could contain monarchical and aristocratic elements as well. Locke believed the people had the freedom to create “mixed” constitutions that utilize all of these.

For that reason, Locke's theory of separation of powers does not dictate one particular type of constitution and does not preclude unelected officials from having part of the legislative power. Locke was more concerned that the people have representatives with sufficient power to block attacks on their liberty and attempts to tax them without justification.

This is important because Locke also affirms that the community remains the real supreme power throughout. The people retain the right to "remove or alter" the legislative power.

### **NATURAL RIGHTS AND PRIVATE PROPERTY**

- According to **Locke**, men in the state of nature possessed natural rights. These rights are: Right to life, liberty and property.
- According to Locke, **human beings are rational creatures**, and "Reason tells us that Men, being once born, have a right to their preservation, and such other things as nature affords for their subsistence".
- Every human being has a right to life, and therefore to those things necessary to preserve life. This right to life and those things necessary to preserve it, Locke calls it property. The right to life, he argues, means that every man has property in his own person.
- Right to property in person means that all human beings have a right to property in those goods and possessions acquired through labour that are necessary to preserve their person.
- According to Locke, individuals in the state of nature having perfect freedom to dispose of their possessions, and persons, as they thought fit until they are within the bounds of the laws of nature. Rights were limited to the extent that they did not harm themselves or others.
- He held that since property was a natural right derived from natural law, it was therefore prior to the government.
- No government could deprive an individual of his material possessions without the latter's consent. It was the social character of property that enabled Locke to defend a minimal state with limited government and individual rights.
- Preservation of property is the function of the government. The government must not only protect people's lives and possessions, but also it must ensure the right of unlimited accumulation of private property.
- Locke has argued that in the state of nature property is held in common until people mix their labour with it at which point it becomes their private property.

**Macpherson** Argued that Locke's views on property made him a bourgeois apologist, a defender of the privileges of the possessing classes.

#### **Locke as an individualist**

- Locke in his writing displays himself as a radical individualist. He explained inalienable natural rights of the individual which can't be removed by the state. According to Vaughan " Everything in Locke's system revolves around the individual."
- Locke gives utmost significance to the natural right of life, liberty and property. The State was created for the protection of natural rights and happiness of the individual.

- According to **Dunning**, Lockean equals rights are so wrought in his explanation of political institutions that appear indispensable to its existence."
- Locke bases the existence of government on the consent of the individual. If the state breaches trust people can withdraw consent
- Locke assigns state purely negative functions with minimum intervention power only to guard individual rights.
- Lockean views on property prove that he is an out-and-out individualist. He says that property that was held in commons became personal property because of his labor.
- Locke assigns a prominent position to the Law of nature and insists that even the state law must inform it under all circumstances. " Locke gives men the right to rebellion against the state if their natural rights are not protected.

### **LOCKE ON TOLERATION**

Religious toleration was a topic of great importance in Locke's time, and in consonance with his general philosophy and political theory he placed great emphasis on it. Conscience, he held, cannot be a subject of external control. A man is free to profess any religion he likes.

The state should not in any case resort to religious persecution. It should not enforce practices relating to faith. However, Locke imposes certain limitations on religious tolerance. "No opinions, contrary to human society, or to those moral rules which are necessary for the preservation of civil society are to be tolerated by the magistrate."

Again, atheists should not be tolerated because 'promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist. The taking away of God, though but even in thought, dissolves all.

In his famous piece "**A Letter Concerning Toleration**" (1689), John Locke argued that tolerance is indeed a Christian virtue and that the state as a civic association should be concerned only with civic interests, not spiritual ones. Locke's separation of church and state stood at the beginning of a debate about the limits of religious dissent from civic authority in the name of not unduly hampering an individual's or a group's spiritual practices.

In the 18th century, the conception of a secular state with an independent basis of authority and the distinction between the roles of citizen and believer in a certain faith were further developed, even though Locke's thought that a stable political order did require some common religious basis persisted (with a few exceptions, such as the French materialists). In the course of the American and the French Revolutions a basic "natural" right to religious liberty was recognized, even though the interpretations of what kind of religious dissent could be tolerated differed.



### **John Locke as father of liberalism**

Liberalism is a political philosophy of the bourgeoisie class. It is so dominant in the west today that it seems like a way of life. At the core of liberalism are ideals of Liberty, toleration, secularism, Due process etc. and it was John Locke who first elaborated on the theory of liberal state and features of the liberal contract.

John Locke was a 17th-century English social contract philosopher. His life coincided with the phase of the Glorious revolution when there was a peaceful transfer of power from the monarchy to parliament. As a result, unlike **Hobbes**, he held an optimistic view of human nature "Reason in a man tells him not to harm others in life Liberty and possession". Thus, he concluded that the state of nature was no state of war of all against all; rather, there was effective coordination and cooperation among people on the lines of enlightened self-interest.

In his "Two treatises of civil government" he gives the liberal theory of government, affirming that the state of nature was only pre-political and not pre-social. So, the government was required only to remove some inconveniences.

As, although the man had a reason, it also had passion and cooperation was not always guaranteed. Also, each man was all sovereign and there was nobody to adjudicate conflicts. Therefore, people entered into a social contract, giving up limited rights i.e. right to legislate, execute, and adjudicate, to form a limited state or night-watchman state.

There is a trust- trustee relation between state and people. State only has delegated power, while actual power remains with the people. So, the state must follow due process in its rule. If it fails to do so, or fails to protect the life, liberty or property of people, people have the right to revolution.

However, unlike Marxist ideology, in liberalism revolution does not connote to the violent overthrow of the state, rather it means just changing the people in government for free and fair elections.

Further, in his article "Concerning toleration" Locke articulates the relation between state and religion – "**toleration is the substantive heart of liberalism**". Therefore the state must pursue the policy of secularism as "in matters of God nobody listens to the magistrate".

Thus, it was Locke who comprehensively elaborated on qualities of the liberal state and liberal government. This holds relevance even in present times for his contribution he has been called the father of liberalism.

## JOHN STUART MILL

### PYQs

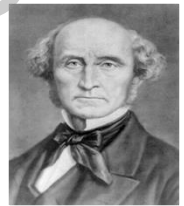
2021: JS Mill's idea on Women suffrage (10)

2018: Comment on: John Stuart Mill is a 'reluctant democrat'. - C. L. Wayper 10M

2014: Comment on: "All silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility." ( J.S. Mill) 10M

### In brief about Mill

**John Stuart Mill (1806-873)** was the most influential political thinker of the nineteenth century. In his political theory, liberalism made a **transition from *laissez faire* to an active role for the state, from a negative to a positive conception of liberty**, and from an **atomistic to a more social conception of individuality**.



While Mill was a **liberal**, he could also be regarded, at the same time, as a **reluctant democrat**, a **pluralist**, a **cooperative socialist**, an **elitist** and a **feminist**.

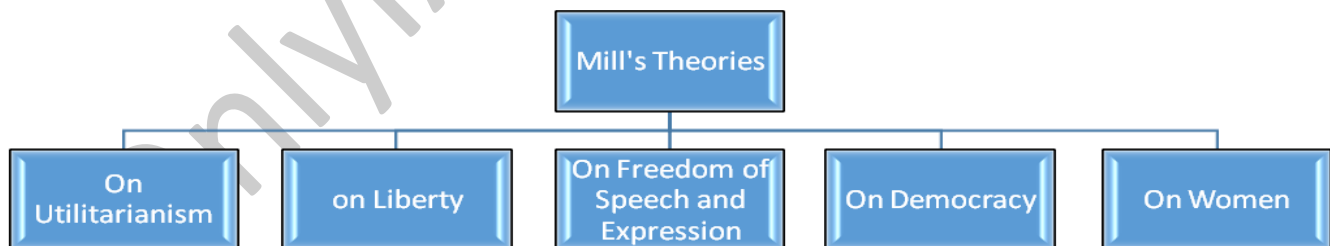
He also **replaced the *quantitative* approach of Bentham by a *qualitative* one**.

According to Mill, the purpose of law was **to maximize liberty**, as it gave an **opportunity for "self-realization"**.

His concern for **social justice** was reflected in his proposals for redistribution, mainly by taxation.

Mill made an important **distinction between the public sphere regulated by law, and the private sphere regulated by morality**.

He defended free speech, the right of individuality, and championed women's rights.



### Utilitarianism

- **Utilitarianism** was the Dominant Philosophy in Britain - till the first half of 19th century.

- According to Utilitarian ethics, pleasure and pain are the two important yardsticks for human actions.
- In political philosophy, **Hobbes and Locke** continued the Utilitarian tradition.
- However, **Bentham** made it a systematic school of thought, hence he was called the Father of Utilitarianism.

### **JEREMY BENTHAM**

Jeremy Bentham, the founder of Utilitarianism, His utilitarian philosophy based on the principle of the **"greatest happiness of the greatest number."**



### **QUANTITATIVE UTILITY**

- The basic premise of utilitarianism was that human beings as a rule sought happiness that pleasure alone is good, and that the only right action was that which produced the greatest happiness of the greatest number.
- In the hands of Bentham, the pleasure pain theory evolved into a scientific principle to be applied to the policies of the state welfare measures and for administrative, penal and legislative reforms.
- **"Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure."**
- Bentham believes that human beings by nature were hedonists. Each of their actions was motivated by a **desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain.**

### **Every human action has a cause and a motive.**

- The principles of utility recognised this basic psychological trait, for it "approves or disapproves every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question..... not only of every action of a private individual but of every measure of government'.
- Thus the principle of utility or the greatest happiness of the greatest number, is that quality in an act or object that produces benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness or prevents mischief, pain, evil or unhappiness.
- For Bentham, **utilitarianism was both a descriptive and normative theory**, - it not only described how human beings act so as to maximise pleasure and minimise pain, but it also prescribed or advocated such action.

- According to the **principle of utility**, the cause of all human action is a desire for pleasure. But utility is meant that property in any object, whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness.

### **Individual and society**

- **Bentham** is fully aware that **personal happiness and the happiness of the greatest number are not always identical**.
- Bentham sees two means by which the gulf between individual selfishness and communal good can be bridged.
- Education can elevate men's minds so that they will understand that rationally conceived happiness of one's self includes goodwill, sympathy, and benevolence for others.
- Creation of an institutional environment in which man's selfish impulses can be channelled into socially useful purposes, so that it will be contrary to his selfish - interest to harm others.
- **All pleasures and pains, according to Bentham, are effects produced by external causes but individuals do not experience the same quantity of pleasure or pain from the same cause and this is because they differ in sensitivity or sensibility.**
- **Bentham believed** that every individual is the best of his happiness. The state is a group of persons organised for the promotion and maintenance of utility that is happiness or pleasure.
- The state could increase pleasure and diminish pain by the application of sanctions. These are the physical sanctions which operate in the ordinary course of nature.
- The moral sanction which arises from the general feeling of society; the religious sanction, which is applied by the immediate hand of a "superior invisible being, either in the present life or in a future" ; and the political sanction which operates through government and the necessity for which is the explanation of the state.
- **The community** according to Bentham is a fictitious body and its interests are the **sum total of the interests of the several members** who compose it.
- **Bentham Distinguished** pleasures quantitatively rather than qualitatively when he wrote that 'the pleasure of pushpin is as good as poetry'.
- **Bentham's theory has been criticised for its neglect of moral sense.** What Bentham wanted to do was to establish a standard of right or wrong, good and evil related to calculable values. His psychological

appreciation of human nature was inadequate. Many factors beside pleasure and pain, motivate individual and communal action.

- Bentham distinguished pleasures and pains quantitatively rather than qualitatively. But in actual practice pleasures and pain differ qualitatively.
- Bentham believes that pleasures and pains could be arithmetically calculated with the help of an apparatus known as felicific calculus. However modern researches in experimental psychology show that felicific calculus of pleasures with which Bentham supplied as turns out to have no practical significance at all. He provides no scale of values with which to measure the various factors and no way of determining the relative importance of the factors that he lists. How could we measure the fecundity or purity of a pleasure?
- According to **C.L. Wayer**, it was “**Benthamism which brought to an end the era of legislative stagnation and ushered in that period of increasing legislative activity which has not yet ended and under the cumulative effects of which we are living our lives today**”. He supplied a new measurement for social reform- the maximising of individual happiness.

### J S MILL AS A CRITIC OF UTILITARIANISM

In a broad context to his theory, we can say that the economic principles of utilitarianism were essentially provided by **Adam Smith's** classic work **The Wealth of Nations** published in 1776. The political principles of classical utilitarianism mainly emerged from **Bentham's** application of rationalistic approach and his deep suspicion of "sinister interests" of all those entrenched in power and as a counter check he advocated annual elections, secret ballot and recall. But the Benthamite presumption of a mechanical formula of quantifying all pleasures and all pains equally exemplified by his famous uttering 'pushpin is as good as poetry' could not satisfy his most famous pupil **John Stuart Mill** who himself admitted that he was "Peter who denied his master".

In his writings the first great criticism of Benthamite Utilitarianism emerged and with considerable impact of Wordsworth and other romantic poets he tried to work out a synthesis of rationalism and romanticism. In the process he transformed the entire underpinning of Benthamite utilitarianism by claiming that pleasures have great differentiation and that all pleasures were not of equal value as the dissatisfaction of a Socrates is more valuable than the satisfaction of a fool.

**J.S. Mill's importance lies not only in his criticism of Utilitarianism but also in his rich contribution to liberalism by his memorable defence of freedom of speech and individuality and** in his defence of a liberal society as a necessary precondition for a **liberal state**.

#### Critique:

- **Mill** retained the basic premise of Utilitarianism, but **distinguished between higher and lower pleasures**, and that greater human pleasure meant an increase **not merely in the *quantity* but also in the *quality* of goods enjoyed**. He insisted that human beings were capable of intellectual and moral pleasures, which were superior to the physical ones that they shared with animals.
- Mill criticized and modified Bentham's Utilitarianism by taking into account "**factors like moral motives, sociability, and feeling of universal altruism**, sympathy and a new concept of justice with the key idea of impartiality".
- Instead of the principle of pleasure, Mill made happiness and the dignity of man, the chief end of life. According to **Mill** happiness means perfection of human nature, cultivation of moral virtues and lofty aspirations, total control over one's appetites and desires, and recognition of individual and collective interests.
- According to **Bentham**, pleasure and people don't differ in quality. Hence, utilitarianism for Bentham was more of a **Quantitative term** —as he exclaimed "Pushpin as good as poetry". However, **Mill added the element of quality as for him, both pleasure and people differ in terms of quality.**

*It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied, it is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied.*

Mill has also redefined the **Concept of Utility**.

*"I regard Utility as an ultimate appeal on all ethical questions., but it is utility in its WIDEST SENSE, grounded in the PERMANENT INTEREST of man as a PROGRESSIVE BEING." – J. S. Mill*

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

1. The **moral aspect of** right and wrong instructed one to (dis)approve
2. The **aesthetic aspect**(or its beauty); taught one to admire or despise
3. The **sympathetic aspect of** its loveableness: enabled one to love, pity or dislike

#### **Reconcile the interests of the individual and society.**

- He held that there are some altruistic men with noble character, and they do what is good for society, rather than for themselves. The pleasures they derived from doing good for society might outweigh the ones that aimed at self-indulgence, contributing to their happiness.
- Mill saw social feelings and consciences as part of the psychological attributes of a person.
- He characterized society as being natural and habitual, for the individual was a social person. To be less than social was inconceivable. The more these feelings were heightened, private good and public good coincided.
- Mill also stated that pleasures could not be measured objectively.

#### **DEFENCE OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND INDIVIDUALITY**

**Everyone who receives the protection of society owes a return for the benefit. —John Stuart Mill**

Mill defended the right of the individual to freedom.

**In its negative sense**, it meant that **society had no right to coerce an unwilling individual, except for self-defence.**

**In its positive sense** it meant the **grant of the largest and the greatest amount of freedom for the pursuit of the individual's creative impulses** and energies, and for self-development.

If there was a clash between the opinion of the individual and that of the community, it was the individual who was the ultimate judge, unless the community could convince him without resorting to threat and coercion.

**Mill laid down the grounds for justifiable interference.**

Interference is allowed	Interference is not allowed
The realm which pertained to the society or the public	Any activity that pertained to the individual alone
Other-regarding actions: Any conduct which also concerns others, in such actions there can be restraints.	Self-regarding actions- conduct which merely concern himself, in such conduct individuals have absolute right. <b>“Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign”</b>

Mill defended the right of individuality, which meant the right of choice. As far as self-regarding actions were concerned, he explained **why coercion would be detrimental to self-development.**

1. The evils of coercion far outweighed the good achieved
2. Individuals were so diverse in their needs and capacities for happiness that coercion would be futile.
3. Diversity should be encouraged.
4. Freedom was the most important requirement in the life of a rational person.

**Positive liberty**, i.e. autonomy and self-mastery, were inherently desirable and it was possible if individuals were allowed to develop their own talents and invent their own lifestyles.

**Negative liberty**: Mill recommended interference with liberty of action of any person, either individually or collectively on grounds of self-protection: “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.

Mill contended that **society could limit individual liberty to prevent harm to other people.**



He regarded liberty of conscience, liberty to express and publish one's opinions, liberty to live as one pleased and freedom of association as essential for a meaningful life and for the pursuit of one's own good.

### **MILL ON LIBERTY**

Mill clarified and detailed his location on liberty through defending three specific liberties, **the liberty of thought and expression including the liberty of speaking and publishing, the liberty of action and that of association.**

### **LIBERTY OF ACTION**

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For liberty of action, Mill asserted an extremely easy principle:

*"The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection...the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised in excess of any member of a civilised society, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant."*

He made a difference between self-regarding action and others regarding action. He held that in self-regarding action man is free to act on his own will and the state has no right to interfere. But in others regarding actions, there will be some limitations on his actions and the state can intervene. This is called "the Harm Principle"

Mill acknowledged that it was hard to draw a row flanked by self concerning and other concerning action, and he provided some hypothetical examples as proof of this difficulty. If a man destroys his own property, this is a case of other concerning action because others dependent on that man will be affected. Even if this person has no dependants, his action can be said to affect others, who, influenced through his instance, might behave in a similar manner.

Against this, Mill said that only when one has specific obligations to another person, can one be said to affect his or her interests; so the case of an individual affecting others through his instance will not stand. On his own ground, Mill cited all kinds of restrictions on not eating pork or beef, or priests being required not to marry, as examples of unnecessary restrictions on self-concerning action.

### **DEFENCE OF FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION**

First, —when the thing to be done is likely to be done better through individuals than through government. Speaking usually, there is no one fit to conduct any business, or to determine how or through whom it shall be mannered, as those who are personally interested in it."

Second, allowing individuals to get jointly to do something, even if they do not do it as well as the government might have done it, is better for the mental education of these individuals.

The right of association becomes, for Mill, a "practical part of the political education of a free people, taking them out of the narrow circle of personal and family selfishness, and accustoming them to the comprehension of joint

concerns—habituating them to act from public or semi-public motives, and guide their conduct through aims which unite instead of isolating them from one another."

Third, if we let the government do everything, there is the evil of adding unnecessarily to its power.

Mill's ideal was improvement — he wanted individuals to constantly better themselves morally, mentally and materially. It was to this ideal that he saw individual liberty as instrumental: —The only unfailing and permanent source of improvement is liberty, since through it there are as several possible self-governing centres of improvement as there are individuals." Individuals improving themselves would naturally lead to a better and improved society

### **DEFENCE OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION**

If society has to advance, that can be made possible with the **help of creative individuals**. **Creativity could be effective only if allowed to function freely**. The early liberals defended liberty for the sake of efficient government, whereas for Mill, liberty was good in itself, for it helped in the development of a humane, civilized, moral person.

**It was "beneficial both to society that permits them and to the individual that enjoys them"**. Mill emphasized the larger societal context within which political institutions and individuals worked.

For Mill, the **singular threat to individual liberty was from the tyranny and intolerance of the majority in its quest for extreme egalitarianism and social conformity**.

**There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence** : and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs, as protection against political despotism.

The **majority projected itself as the controller of social opinion, as the "moral police"**. Social tyranny was exercised in subtle forms like customs, conventions and mass opinion, which did not make an individual stop and think where and how one had come to acquire these.

There was an absence of "individuality". Individuality, to Mill, was not mere non-conformism, but signified the act of questioning, the right to choice. He encouraged eccentricity, "the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom" at a time when mass opinion was exceptionally assertive. On the contrary, when the pressure to conform socially was not so strong, then there was no need to encourage eccentricity.

Individuality, to Mill, meant the power or capacity for critical enquiry and responsible thought. It meant self-development and the expression of free will. He stressed **absolute liberty of conscience, belief and expression, for they were crucial to human progress**.

**Mill offered two arguments for liberty of expression in the service of truth:**

1. The dissenting opinion could be true and its suppression would rob humankind of useful knowledge; and
2. Even if the opinion was false, it would strengthen the correct view by challenging it.

But the peculiar **evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race, posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it.**

**If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.**

For Mill, all creative faculties and the great goods of life could develop only through freedom and “experiments in living”.

**James Mill**, he also believed in the **individual’s capacity for education**, by which he meant not only **intellectual training or cultivation of critical enquiry**, but also the **training of individual character**. He regarded **individual character as a result of “civilization, instruction, education and culture”**

Happiness, for Mill, was the ability of the individual to discover his innate powers and develop these while exercising his human abilities of Autonomous thought and action. **Happiness meant liberty and individuality.**

Mill applied the principle of liberty to mature individuals, and excluded children, invalids, the mentally handicapped and barbarian societies in which race itself was considered “non-age”.

Liberty could be withheld where individuals were not educated. He considered liberty as belonging to higher and advanced civilizations, and prescribed despotism or paternalism with severe restrictions in case of lower ones.

Mill also cautioned against **sacrifice or infringement of liberty for the sake of making a state strong**. Such an action or policy would be **inherently counter-productive, for states were made up of the individuals** who composed them.

Conscious of the power society and the majority could wield, Mill sought to protect the individual’s private space. He was right in observing that a **society could be as oppressive as a government.**

**“All silencing of discussion is assumption of infallibility” - JS MILL**

He is the greatest champion of Freedom of Speech and Expression. He opined that, among all the species created by God, only human beings have been given the capacity to communicate with each other through speech. It is the gift of God to Mankind. It is the precondition for democracy.

He also gives a teleological argument for this. The objective of human life is to attain the truth which can only be achieved through free dialogue. One must not stop the voices of dissent. Mill even suggests that those who are considered mad should also have the right to speak because we don't know from whose mouth the truth will emerge. Freedom of speech and expression will lead to the conducive destruction of untrue elements of our beliefs and refinement of true elements.

Mill argues that neither the tyranny of the majority nor the tyranny of an individual is acceptable. Silencing opinions is wrong because it robs the human race as well as the existing generation of the truth. Truth does not emerge from itself. It appears from a conflict of opposite ideas. This conception holds much truth for democracies as a diversity of opinions leads to the emergence of truth and reconciliation of diverging perspectives.

Very often Ideas which appear false to complete society and are suppressed turn out to be true later. A society that suppresses discussions and all ideas which are not acceptable today runs the danger of losing the benefit of what might turn out as valuable knowledge. And hence, Mill argues that all silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility.

**Freedom meant not only absence of restraints, but also an ability to cultivate some desirable qualities.** It was a notion that was rooted in the individual's ability to exercise his choice, for otherwise a human being did not differ from the apes.

However, Mill's linkage between individuality and liberty made him conclude that only a minority was in a position to enjoy freedom. **The majority of people remained enslaved in customs, and hence not free.**

In spite of his elitism, he remained an uncompromising liberal, for he ruled out paternalism, the idea that law and society could intervene in order to do good to the individual. He explicitly ruled out interference in self-regarding actions.

On this score, he differed from Bentham, who allowed the pleasure of malevolence, namely if the majority abhorred a particular kind of private conduct, then it was similar to the pain it would cause to the individual if such a conduct was prohibited. Mill, disagreeing, explicitly stated that the right of liberty could be sacrificed only for some "other right."

At times he retained the traditional view derived from Bentham that any compulsion of even any social influence is an abridgement of liberty. Yet he never supposed that there could be any important **freedom without law** and when he identified liberty with civilization, **he did not imagine that there could be civilization without society.**

Mill failed to specify the proper limits of legislation, and was unclear when it came to actual cases. For instance, he supported compulsory education, regulations of business and industry in the interest of public-welfare and good, but regarded prohibition as an intrusion on liberty.

**Sir Ernest Barker** made an interesting observation when he remarked that Mill, in reality, was a prophet of an empty liberty and an abstract individual.

This observation flowed from the interpretation that the absolutist statements on liberty like the rights of one individual against the rest was not substantiated when one assessed Mill's writings in their totality. **Mill separated the inseparable.** The conduct of any person was a single whole and there could be nothing in it that concerned himself and did not concern others.

**Bosanquet** too advanced a similar point that every action of a person would affect others and the demarcation between self-regarding and other-regarding did not hold good.

### **J S MILL AS A FEMINIST**

The **Subjection of Women (1869)** begins with the revolutionary statement, *"the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes-the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality"*

Mill's referent for the legal subordination of women was the mid-19th Century English law of the marriage contract. By this law, married English women could hold no property in their own name. By law, only the father and not the mother was the guardian of a couple's children.

Mill also cited the absence of laws on marital rape to prove the inequality suffered by the Englishwomen of that time. What Mill found paradoxical was that in the modern age, when in other areas the principles of liberty and equality were being asserted, they were yet not applied to the condition of women. No one believed in slavery any more, yet women were sometimes treated worse than slaves and this was accepted as beyond questioning.

Mill wanted to explain this resistance to women's equality in the context of a general acceptance of the principles of equality and liberty. He did so by first presenting and then defeating the arguments for women's subordination, and then providing his own arguments for women's equality.

The first argument for women's inequality which Mill reflected was that since historically it has been a universal practice, therefore there must be some justification for it. Mill showed that other so called universal social practices like slavery, for example, had been rejected, so perhaps given the women's inequality would also become unacceptable.

For Mill, improving women's position by giving them suffrage, education and employment opportunities was a stepping stone to progress and civility

Mill rightly regarded **improvement in the position of women as a concern not restricted to women alone, but of entire humankind**. *The Subjection* therefore made a strong claim for equal status in three key areas: women's right to vote, right to equal opportunities in education, and employment.

**Equality as a legal right between the sexes was Mill's main concern**. He referred to women as both the subject and the enslaved class, for their position was worse than that of slaves. Unlike slaves, they were in a "chronic state of bribery and intimidation combined"

Like **Wollstonecraft**, Mill rejected the contention that the nature of women differed from that of men, and that a woman's nature was contrived and artificial. **If women were the way they were, it was because of years of suppression and domination**, and **had nothing to do with their natures or dispositions**.

He subscribed to the view that, by and large, **human nature and character were shaped by the circumstances in which individuals were found**, and was sanguine that unless and until women were granted freedom, they could not express themselves. The process itself could take longer, but that could not be the basis for denying women the freedom and opportunities for their fullest development.

**Mill believed that women were as bright and gifted as men**, and once granted the same "eagerness for fame", women would achieve the same success

He rejected the idea that it was natural for a woman to be a mother, and a wife, and felt that it was the woman who should be able to decide whether to marry and manage a house, or to pursue a career. He contended that it was society, however, that had decided marriage to be the ultimate aim of a woman.

Mill argued that **men should not be trusted with absolute power**. Such absolute power within the family and marriage only led to brutalization of women.

Mill **questioned the Lockean separation of paternal and political power**, and raised the larger question about the status of the family. He treated the family as a conventional rather than as a natural institution, yet he did not regard the family as political and did not tackle the important public-private dichotomy of the family versus the civil sphere

In the *Principles of Political Economy*, Mill argued that **women received low wages because of the prejudices of society, thereby making them appendages of men and giving latter a greater share of "whatever belongs to both"**.

The second reason for low wages was **surplus female labour for unskilled jobs**. **Both law and custom prohibited women from seeking any means of livelihood, other than being a mother and wife**.

Mill pointed out that if women were allowed to exercise their faculties freely and fully, the real beneficiary would be society, for it would be able to draw from a larger pool of mental resources. If women were properly educated it would not only brighten their dull and impoverished lives, but also enhance society in general.

### **JOHN STUART MILL AND HIS REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT**

Mill considered democracy as the sole means to achieve the end of Liberty of thoughts, expression and action, which in turn would develop, enrich and expand the personality of the individual in the fullness.

Mill gave four main reasons against interference with freedom of thought.

1. Assuming **our own infallibility, we may suppress an opinion which may be wholly true.**
2. **Even if the opinion suppressed is partly erroneous, it is not desirable on our part to suppress the error because it might have elements of truth.**
3. Even if the opinion suppressed is wholly untrue, still we would be the losers for suppressing it, because its suppression would prevent the people from realising the rational grounds on which the true opinion is based. The true opinion gets strengthened when contested again and again.
4. Mill says: **"It is only by the collision of adverse opinion that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied".**

**Mill's prime concern with delimiting a zone of non-interference stems from his deep concern for human individuality.**

But Mill is careful enough to note that individuality cannot be allowed to flourish if it hurts or harms the interests (equal right of developing individuality) of others. In other words, Mill does not permit the promotion of individuality at the expense of harming others or hurting society. To put it differently, **individuality is a highly desirable goal, but so is social harmony and social good.**

Mill's concept of negative liberty thus enables him to permit imposition of restraints in the interest of the common weal, that is, when actions are no longer purely self-regarding.

### **DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT**

Mill regarded representative democracy as necessary for progress, as it permitted citizens to use and develop their faculties fully. It promoted virtue, intelligence and excellence. It also allowed the education of the citizens, providing "an efficient forum for conducting the collective affairs of the community".

Interaction between individuals in a democracy ensured the possibility of the emergence of the wisest and recognition of the best leaders. **It encouraged free discussion, which was necessary for the emergence of the truth.**

Mill tried to reconcile the principle of political equality with individual freedom. He accepted that all citizens, regardless of their status, were equal and that only popular sovereignty could give legitimacy to the government. Democracy was good because it made people happier and better.

Mill laid down several conditions for representative government.



1. First, such a government could only function with citizens who were of an “active, self-helping character”. Backward civilizations, where citizens were primarily passive, would **hardly be able to run a representative democracy**. (Reluctant Democrat)
2. Second, citizens had to show their ability and willingness to preserve institutions of representative democracy.

Influenced by **Tocqueville's thesis on majority tyranny**, Mill advocated a liberal democracy which specific and limited the powers of legally elected majorities by cataloguing and protecting individual rights against the majority.

He pleaded for balancing the numerical majority in a democracy by adjusting franchise. Even though he advocated universal adult franchise in 1859, he remarked in 1861: “**I regard it as wholly inadmissible that any person should participate in the suffrage without being able to read, write, and I will add, perform the operations of arithmetic**”.

Mill also recommended the disqualification of three other categories of dependants:

1. Those unable to pay local taxes
2. Those dependent on public welfare
3. Legal bankrupts and moral deviants like habitual drunkards.

He, however, championed equal voting rights for all irrespective of their sex or colour.

**Mill looked upon equal voting rights, universal suffrage, democracy and liberty as conditionally good.** They had to be conferred only on those who had the character for self-control, and the ability and interest in using them for the public good.

Mill believed that **citizens developed intellectual qualities of reason and judgement only through political participation**.

This enabled the participant to attain moral maturity, for when an individual undertook a public action, he felt that “**not only the common weal is his weal, but that it partly depends on his exertions**”.

People had to be free to be able to participate in the government of their country, the management of their workplace and to act as bulwarks against the autocracy of modern day bureaucracy. This feeling of belonging to a community could only come about if all were granted the right to vote.

He recommended compulsory elementary education, for that would make individual citizens wise, competent and independent judges. In ‘**On Liberty**’ Mill recommended education to be established and controlled by the state.

### **Mill is a reluctant democrat- CL Wayper**

J S Mill is considered as a 'Thinker of transition'. On one hand, he favoured direct democracy as an ideal and representative democracy as the practicable form of Government, on the other he was reluctant to spread Democracy everywhere.

Democracy according to Mill has not been a free gift but acquired through years of struggle and people should be fit for it. Thus democracy is only suitable in societies where:

#### **Civic Culture exists**

People have a commitment towards democratic principles

He prefers **benevolent despotism** for colonies like India and China. Mill feared for the future of democracy that with increased voting rights, it might turn to mobocracy, giving despots an excuse to bring authoritarianism.

If we look at waves of Democracy (**Samuel P Huntington**), we find many countries across Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe, although they adopted Democracy but in absence of constitutionalism in society, succumbed back to either Dictatorship or Military rule. Thus we see, Mill's reluctance isn't unfounded.

Having said that, Mill's concerns regarding the future of democracy were out of his deep belief in democratic form of government that only shows his deep belief in the theory and practice of democracy.

Despite qualifying the introduction of democracy, he remains one of the most significant champions of democracy and its core values.

### **Conclusion**

Mill's liberalism provided the first major framework of modern democratic equality by extending the logic of the defence of liberty to end the subjection of women. As a Member of Parliament he tried to push through a law allowing women to vote, and was disappointed when that did not happen. He was the first male philosopher, as **Okin** points out, to write about women's oppression and subjugation.

He also portrayed the wide diversity in our society and cautioned the need to protect the individual from the fear of intruding his private domain by a collective group or public opinion.

The distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding action would determine the individual's private independent sphere and later, the individual's social public sphere.

He stressed on the need to protect the rights of the minority within a democracy. He understood the shortcomings of classical utilitarian liberalism and advocated vigorously for important state actions in providing compulsory state education and social control. Realising that his scheme is very different from the time of Bentham, he also described himself as a **socialist**.

His revision of liberalism provided the impetus to **T.H. Green**, who combining the British liberal tradition with the continental one provided a new basis of liberalism with his notion of common good.

## GRAMSCI

### PYQ

1. According to Gramsci, hegemony is primarily based on the organization of consent.' Comment- 2019
2. Comment on: Gramsci's concept of Hegemony. - 2016
3. Discuss Gramsci's notion of 'organic intellectuals'. – 2015
4. Explain, as per Gramsci, the distinction between hegemony and domination. – 2013
5. Critically examine Gramsci's concept of Hegemony. - 2008

### Brief overview of Gramsci and his thoughts

- **Antonio Francesco Gramsci** was an Italian Marxist and social philosopher, writer, politician and political theorist known as one of the most important Marxist thinkers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- As the founder and leader of the Communist Party, he was imprisoned in 1926 by Mussolini's fascist regime.
- He wrote more than 30 notebooks and 3,000 pages of history and analysis during his imprisonment.
- His '**Prison Notebooks**' are considered a highly original contribution to 20th century political theory.
- Gramsci drew insights from varying sources – not only from other Marxists theorist but also thinkers such as **Niccolo Machiavelli**, Italian philosopher; **Vilfredo Pareto**, Italian sociologist; **Georges Sorel**, French philosopher and theorist and **Benedetto Croce**, Italian idealist philosopher, historian and politician.
- **Gramsci** is popular for developing theoretical framework of cultural hegemony, which defines how states use cultural institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies.
- His main hypothesis is that the **superstructure maintains the class relationships**, and that this dominance is executed by the **mechanisms of hegemony of the State and of the civil society**.
- To overcome this hegemony, it would be necessary to develop **counter-hegemony**.



### Modifications in Marxism

- According to Marxist interpretation of socio-economic relations, the root of everything is the mode of production. The economic base is the only relevant component of society, so that everything stems from this base; culture, laws, religion, language and any other aspect of society have no other root than the economic system.
- For **Karl Marx**, the changes in economic aspects determined the changes in the society. Marx overemphasized on economic factor and neglected the role of idea and ideology as a false consciousness and as a part of **superstructure**.
- However, in **Gramsci** the elements in superstructure also equally have an important role in determining social changes. Thus, Gramsci added a **social and cultural framework** to understand social and economic relations.
- According to Gramsci, ideology represents class consciousness and Marxism itself is an ideology of proletariat. He brought Hegelian idealism into Marxism.

- Gramsci was influenced by **Benedetto Croce** and brought role of cultural factors in his analysis of History. Thus, Gramsci rejected 'Economic Determinism' of Marxism.
- Further, Marx considered consciousness as automatic reflection of socio-economic processes. However, Gramsci established independent role for consciousness. He has given more balanced theory of history by highlighting importance of components of superstructure. Thus, he is also known as **theoretician of superstructure.**
- Gramsci asserted that the superstructures of society had a reciprocal relationship with the economic base, and that through this mutual influence could affect and even change the economic base. The role of law, culture, language, religion and tradition were given validity by Gramsci that was denied by Marxist orthodoxy.
- Base and superstructure are the two layers of the society according to classical Marxian tradition. However, in Gramsci, **base and superstructure do not remain apart from each other, though they both have their own arenas of operation.** Gramsci is in favor of a unity between the two, base and superstructure. In simple words, the entire society can be understood not just purely in terms of economics. **Culture, ideologies, moral principles etc. have an important role to play in determining the society.**
- The bourgeois control of society and the modes of production stem from their control and influence in these superstructures. **Gramsci is giving the bourgeois control of society a cultural aspect dependent on their hegemony, something that is entirely beyond the scope of strict materialism.**

<u>Marx</u>	<u>Gramsci</u>
<p><b>Marxists focus on the coercive practices of the ruling class and its tendency to exploit the proletariat by means of force.</b></p> <p>Marx divides society into two major components - <u>base and superstructure.</u> <u>The first is represented by the economic structure and the second by socializing mechanisms such as language, religion, education, law, ideology, mass media and the army.</u></p> <p><b>Marx believes the economic base of society is what determines its social, political and cultural environment.</b></p> <p><b>He adds that the society's economic relations constitute the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.</b></p> <p><b>According to Marx,</b> since the ruling class owns and controls the means of production, it must equally control the means of intellectual and cultural production. <u>Consequently, the ideas of</u></p>	<p>Gramsci <b>emphasizes the role of ideology and superstructure.</b> In his opinion, before the ruling class resorts to direct force and coercion, <b>it seeks to make its rule acceptable by all classes.</b> To this Gramsci calls "<u>hegemony</u>".</p> <p>Gramsci <b>rejects the Marxist claim that the power of the ruling class is limited to the economic base.</b> For him, a <u>social class becomes hegemonic not only by controlling the means of production and coercing other classes but rather by establishing their consent.</u></p> <p>Unlike the <b>Marxian obsession with the economic base,</b> Gramsci pays more attention to ideology and ideas. For Gramsci, as long as the ideas of the subaltern people are dominated, the dominant class will not need to use force and oppression to maintain its rule.</p> <p><b>Gramsci takes Marx's division of the state into a base and a superstructure a step further when he divides the superstructure into what he calls political society and civil society.</b></p> <p>Whereas <u>political society stands for such coercive institutions as the government, armed forces, police, the legal system and the like,</u> civil society refers to those</p>

the ruling class must be the prevailing ideas in society.

**By implication, therefore, what follows is that, since the economic base is the determining element in society, the success of the working-class revolution requires a fundamental change in the economic base.**

**For Marx, the economic base determines the status of the people occupy in society. This is to imply that if the working class wants to become the dominant class in society, it must have total control of the base. That is, revolution would be possible only if there is a fundamental change in the economic base.**

institutions that are not coercive, including all institutions used in the construction of public opinion.

Gramsci says that everything which influences or able to influence public opinion, directly or indirectly, belongs to it: libraries, schools, associations and clubs of various kinds, even architecture and the layout and names of streets etc. constitutes the civil society. According him the socialist revolution failed in capitalist societies despite Marx's prediction due to hegemony of the capitalist class. Thus, he has suggested two stages of class struggle or strategy for revolution.

1. **War of Position**
2. **War of Manoeuvre**

### How bourgeoisie Maintain domination

- As per Historical Materialism of **Marx**, only economic power is the basis of domination of ruling class. He **considers state as 'executive committee of bourgeoisie'**. As per 'Force theory of class struggle', the ruling class maintain their domination through coercion, fear and punishment.
- According to **Gramsci**, ruling class maintain domination through various ways- force, economic power, historical bloc, consent of the ruled.
- Two non-coercive ways come predominantly in his writings
  1. Hegemony
  2. Historical bloc

### Theory of hegemony and the role of intellectuals

- **Gramsci's** main contribution to Marxism remains his **concept of cultural hegemony**. It explains how the ruling class manages to dominate and rule over other classes. Unlike his Marxist predecessors, **Gramsci insists on the role of ideology by which the dominant class maintains its rule and domination in society,**
- Hegemony in general terms is the **supremacy of a group over the other group** in the society.
- Hegemony for Gramsci is 'intellectual moral leadership over the subordinate groups.' It is supremacy acquired by consent rather than coercion.
- Gramsci does not see hegemony as mere domination as understood by the earlier Marxist thinkers.
- Gramsci argued that the **supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership**. A social group dominates antagonistic groups which it tends to 'liquidate' or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force; it leads kindred and allied groups.

For **Gramsci**, **instead of imposing its rule by means of force and coercion, the ruling class seeks to establish the consent of other classes to their rule.** In Gramsci's opinion, the supremacy of a social group or class manifested itself in two different ways.

**'Domination' or coercion**

**Intellectual and moral leadership' or hegemony**

Domination is exercised through force by political society.	It represents ability of ruling classes to generate consent by using various processes of socialization. Hegemony is exercised through consent by civil society.
Coercive machinery of the state achieves domination. It is enforced through policy or army.	Hegemony attained through various ways in which the institutions of civil society operate to shape, directly or indirectly, the cognitive and affective structures whereby men perceive and evaluate problematic social reality.
It is also visible and coercive.	Role played by the intellectuals in a social system to create hegemony is central

- Through hegemony, the ruling classes make their world view as common sense so that there is no protest and no revolution. It controls mind as well as thought process of workers. It is not just monolithic ideology from outside but a product of many institutions like schools, prisons etc. Workers live these ideologies.
- According to **Gramsci**, it makes fight against capitalism difficult as hegemony is so strong that worker would love to be capitalist. It also results into worker subscribing to ideas of exploiter. It results into homeostasis i.e. equilibrium.
- Thus, with Gramsci we can see beginning of 'Cultural Marxism' due to shift in focus from question of political economy to analysis of culture in power.
- Further, according to Gramsci, while domination is binary concept, hegemony represents comprehensive understanding of the power and attraction. He further adds that, it is a two way process. Though bourgeoisie impose their values, they also adopt some values of workers which give rise to feeling of genuineness and respect. Thus, it is a constant process of negotiations, compromises and transactions between ruling and subaltern classes.
- Thus, according to Gramsci, hegemony is process without end as it involves constant negotiations across full range of social institutions. Thus, it is moral intellectual consensus under the leadership of particular social group.
- Gramsci has also described two types of hegemony
  1. **Limited Hegemony**- here dominant class fail to accommodate the interests of subaltern class. In this type, bringing revolution is easier and worker generate true consciousness
  2. **Expansive hegemony**- here dominant class accommodate the interests of subaltern class. In this type, bringing revolution is very difficult and worker fail to generate true consciousness

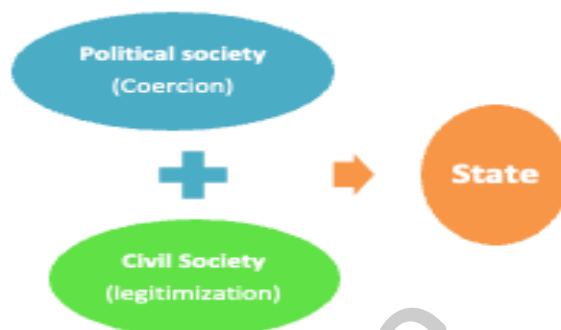
#### **Gramsci's analysis of superstructure**

- Gramsci is known as **theoretician of superstructure** due to emphasizing on role of superstructure in evolution of history and in power distribution in society. By rejecting Marx's economic determinism, he has established independent role for superstructure.
- According to Gramsci, there are 2 levels of superstructure
  1. **Civil Society**- Near to base. It is source of legitimization
  2. **Political Society**- it exercises overall control. It is source of coercion.



## SUPER STRUCTURE

- Civil society is between state and economic structure. It is a private network of state permeating all organizations and doing the diffusion of hegemony. Though it appears neutral it is closer to the base. It represents key area of working of hegemony. Its main objective is to generate consent in favour of the capitalist class.
- Civil society and state represent the structure of domination. According to **Gramsci**, capitalism depends on efficiency of institutions of civil society for its stability. It acts as a cushion, shock absorber and 1<sup>st</sup> line of defence against revolution. Thus, he has suggested war of position against the civil society.



## Gramsci's idea of revolution

- According to Gramsci, the socialist revolution failed in capitalist societies despite Marx's prediction due to hegemony of the capitalist class. Thus, he has suggested 2 stages of class struggle or strategy for revolution.
  1. **War of Position**- it is against Civil Society to create counter hegemony. It is hidden and gradual fight to gain influence and power in key social institutions. It aims to create alternative social base for new state by creating organic intellectuals and institutions.
  2. **War of Manoeuvre**- it is a direct war against the political state. According to Gramsci, once workers develop revolutionary consciousness through war of position, they will bring down the capitalist state through war of manoeuvre and establish communism.
- Both the stages are interlinked as in the modern times; direct confrontation with states won't threaten the position of dominant class so long as they maintain the hegemony in civil society.

## Gramsci's idea of intellectuals

- Intellectuals are social spectrum performing organizational function in the field of economy, polity and culture.
- In the words of Gramsci, "all men are intellectuals but they are not intellectuals by social function." He is of the view that every man outside the sphere of his professional activity carries on some kind of intellectual endeavour.
- For him intellectuals are people who are responsible for **creating, maintaining and expanding the hegemony** of the particular class they represent.
- Gramsci visualized that intellectuals are **decisive in articulating and disseminating the outlooks of the classes for which they speak**, in a way that goes beyond the simple expression of economic interests.
- According to Gramsci, intellectuals are a broader group of social agents, includes not only scholars and artists or, in his own terms, the '**organizers of culture**' but also functionaries who exercise technical or directive capacities in society.
- Among these officials, administrators and bureaucrats, industrial managers, politicians, are included.
- Gramsci categorizes intellectuals as:
  - The organic intellectuals and
  - The traditional intellectuals



Organic intellectuals	Traditional intellectuals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They represent particular sociological trait is and have class interests. They are involved in production as well as articulation of aspirations of the class and develop counter hegemony. For example- Ambedkar is an organic intellectual of Dalits.</li> <li>• Organic intellectuals are entrepreneurs and organizers of the mass population.</li> <li>• They organize a new culture, social class, and they can act as a voice for the working class. According to Gramsci, the organic intellectuals are a 'new class'.</li> <li>• Organic intellectuals are special individuals who give a voice to those who need one and can inspire a group of people to fight for something worth fighting for.</li> <li>• The organic intellectuals are those groups of intellectuals which emerge when a new class rises and which is why they remain tied to that class.</li> <li>• They can be seen as revolutionary as their emergence occurs in opposition to and in place of an already established class and its intellectuals.</li> <li>• The organic intellectuals are most important since they are actually elaborate and spread organic ideology.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This class of intellectual doesn't belong to any class but they have maintained historical continuity based on custom and traditions. For example- church fathers.</li> <li>• According to Gramsci the rural intellectuals are much more traditional in nature mainly because they remain close to the 'petite bourgeoisie' class.</li> <li>• This type of intellectuals performs a socio-political role because they create an organic relationship between the peasant classes and the organs of the state.</li> <li>• These intellectuals may include priest, lawyer, teacher, doctor etc. have a different kind of living standards than the normal peasant community and they become a source of motivation for the peasant class to improve their standards.</li> <li>• The feature of the traditional intellectuals remains their detachment from the process of production and labor, their engagement in the private spheres of religion, ethics and education as well as their acknowledged or unacknowledged association with the ruling class of their time</li> <li>• Traditional intellectuals are significant in the way hegemony operates because for an emerging class to entirely overthrow the ruling class, it becomes necessary for the traditional intellectuals to come under the influence of the emerging class ideology.</li> </ul>

- Gramsci stated that the **revolutionary intellectuals should originate from within the working class rather than imposed from outside or above it.**
- In the words of **Gramsci**, "**intellectuals are the deputies of the dominant group**, the functionaries, exercising the subaltern but important functions of political government and social hegemony.
- Gramsci considers that intellectuals has vital role in the revolutionary transformation of society. He debated that **intellectuals provide a philosophy as well as advice for the masses** so that they do not question the ruling position of the bourgeoisie.
- According to Gramsci, the organic intellectuals can transform empirical consciousness into revolutionary consciousness among workers. Thus, they play prominent role in war of position.

#### **GRAMSCI'S CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY AND STATE**

- **Ideological epiphenomenalism** consisted basically of the claim that the ideological superstructure was determined mechanically by the economic infrastructure, and that ideology played no role in the economic life of society or in revolutionary change for that matter.

- **Revolutionary change resulted from the dynamics and tensions of economic contradictions** grounded in the mode of production.
- The contradictions of the relations of production and forces of production, coupled with the economic contradictions of antagonistic classes in the realm of production **determine every qualitative transformation** of the institutional fabric and the ideological formation of the social system in crisis.
- Capitalist society would inevitably collapse because of its own economic laws and contradictions of **increased proletarianisation and pauperisation**.
- Gramsci argued that ideologies necessarily had a class character, as such an ideology of the capitalist class and an ideology of the working class. Both ideologies antagonistic, defined, and mutually exclusive in their totality.
- **Gramsci rectified the notion of ideology** by overcoming both epiphenomenalism and class reductionism, and by redefining the term 'ideology' in terms of practices, politico-ideological discourses, and elements.
- The most distinctive aspect of Gramsci's concept of ideology is his **notion of 'organic ideology'**. Ideology was defined in terms of a system of class rule, i.e. hegemony, in which there was an organic arrangement of all ideological elements into a unified system.
- In a given **hegemonic system**, a hegemonic class held state power through its economic supremacy and through its ability to successfully articulated or expressed in a coherent, unified fashion the most essential elements in the ideological discourses of the subordinate classes in civil society.
- The **organic ideology** is diffused throughout civil society through social institutions and structures such as the family, churches, the media, schools, the legal system, and other organisations such as the trade unions, chambers of commerce, and economic associations; by virtue of the integration of diverse class interests and practices into a unified system of socioeconomic relations.
- **Organic ideology emanates from the dynamic function of articulation performed by social agents, Gramsci called 'organic intellectuals**.
- An organic ideology **was formulated by organic intellectuals** through an articulating principle which unifying the various ideological elements from the discourses of subaltern groups and forming from them a unified ideological system, became hegemony.
- This theory of Gramsci has become an inspiration for critical school theorists who have analysed the role of values of consumerism and materialism in creating homogenized society. According to them, this homogenization is the primary reason for loss of revolutionary consciousness among workers and sustenance of capitalism. Althusser in his multi-structural analysis has also highlighted role of ideologies in sustenance of capitalist mode of production.

### Conclusion

Gramsci's analysis has provided new lease of life to Marxist analysis of capitalism by establishing the role of ideologies and institutions in sustenance of capitalism. In this context, **Chantal Moutte** has aptly claimed that, we have entered into era of gramscianism in the theory of Marxism.

## MACHIAVELLI

### PYQ

2018 Critically examine Machiavelli's views on religion and politics

2015 Compare and contrast the views of Kautilya and Machiavelli on Statecraft.

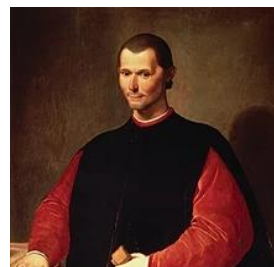
2014 Explain how Machiavelli's application of empirical method to human affairs marks an important stage in the evolution of political science.

2020 Machiavelli's secularism. Comment

### NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

Machiavelli was a transitional figure, standing in between medieval and modern times. He is credited for bringing the spirit of empiricism and realism into political theory.

Machiavelli was the **political thinker of Renaissance, which was** European cultural, artistic, political, and economic "rebirth" following the middle Ages, an age marked by turbulence, transition, and evolution.



Machiavelli **is considered the first modern thinker** as there is a renewed emphasis on the spirit of realism and empiricism in his thoughts.

He has provided an empirical view of politics and is credited for separation of ethics and politics. He also established the centrality of power in political analysis.

**Machiavelli had tremendous faith in history**, out of the conviction that the study of history was of crucial significance for an understanding of contemporary reality, **Machiavelli became all the more convinced that a state needed a morality of its own.**

**The Prince** explored the causes of the rise and fall of states and the factors for political success based on exploration of history and principle of empiricism.

### RENAISSANCE AND ITS IMPACT

In the words of Laski "**the whole of the Renaissance is in Machiavelli.** There is its lust for power; its admiration for success, its carelessness of means, its rejection of medieval bonds, its frank paganism, and its conviction of national unity makes for national strength. Neither his cynicism nor his praise of craftiness is sufficient to conceal the idealist in him".

Machiavelli was very much a creature of the Renaissance, his native city of Florence being then the centre of Italian Renaissance. In the middle Ages, the church and the state were closely interrelated; the church on the whole dominated the state and profoundly influencing the political philosophy of the latter.

The Renaissance impelled men to re-examine things from other than clerical points of view. It was possible now to formulate political theories on a purely secular basis and Machiavelli is the chief exponent of these schools of thought.

Renaissance ushered in rationalism which viewed God, man and nature from the standpoint of reason and not faith. The international conflict, following geographical discoveries, produced the concepts of nationalism and nation- state which went against medieval universalism in church and state.

The most important discovery of the Renaissance- more significant than any single work of art or any one genius was the discovery of man. The Renaissance goes beyond the moral selfhood of stoicism, the spiritual uniqueness of Christianity, the aesthetic individuality of the ancient Greeks, and views man in his totality.

Displacing God, man becomes the centre of the universe; the values of this new solar system are inevitably different from those of the God centered universe. The Renaissance signified a rebirth of the human spirit in the attainment of liberty, self confidence and optimism.

In contradiction to the mediaeval view, which had envisaged the human being as fallen and depraved in an evil world with the devil at the centre, the Renaissance captured the Greek ideal of the essential goodness of individuality.

This return to a pre- Christian attitude towards humans, god and nature found expression in all aspects of human endeavour and creativity. The Renaissance signalled the breakdown of a unified Christian society.

#### **Machiavelli's application of the empirical method to human affairs**

- Machiavelli applied the empirical method to human nature, their affairs and argued that the most appropriate way to understand politics was to eschew ideals and look directly at the empirical reality of human behaviour
- It was a significant departure from classical and mediaeval traditions which emphasised religious dogmas, norms, and values.
- He argued **that the Prince must look at things as they are rather than as they ought to be.** Machiavelli quietly put aside the Church's scriptures, the teachings of Church fathers, and the conflict for supremacy between the Church and the State.
- He believed that human nature, and therefore, human problems were always almost the same and places, and so the best way of enlightening the present, according to him, was possible with the help of understanding the past.

- His conclusions were empirically based on common sense and shrewd political foresight. **According to Sabine:** "He used history exactly as he used his observation to illustrate or support a conclusion that he had reached without historical reference."
- He in his political theory divorced ethics from politics. He makes no moral judgement. His psychology is derived from observation of how people behave as opposed to how they ought to be.
- **Machiavelli in "The Discourses"** proposes the idea of a republic, democracy, rule of law, liberty, political and social equality, power, and authority which is very different from that of the classical and mediaeval age. He separated religion from politics and envisaged the establishment of the secular nation-state.
- Machiavelli is a **transitional thinker** who stands on a crossroad between the mediaeval and modern era and his empirical political ideas mark an important stage in the evolution of politics more as science than philosophy, which was further amplified in the 17th century by modern political thinker Thomas Hobbes.
- His empirical methods later inspired many realist scholars like Morgenthau etc who focused on seeing "what is" rather than "what ought to be."

### Machiavelli's Political Theory

- Power was central to Machiavelli's political theory. According to him, politics is nothing but management of power.
- Machiavelli saw stable political authority and order as necessary for **social cohesion and moral regeneration**. It was for this reason that he stressed the need for a unified polity, and a republican and free government committed to the liberty of its people.
- He cherished **republican liberty**, but was aware of the danger tyranny posed to free institutions. While in '**The Prince**' Machiavelli highlighted the importance of the **security and unity** of the state as the primary concerns of a ruler, in '**The Discourses**', the theme was **liberty and republicanism**.

### Methodology of Machiavelli

- Machiavelli's method, like that of Aristotle, was historical but only in appearance than in substance and reality. He was more concerned with the actual working of the governmental machinery than the abstract principles of the constitution.
- Being a realist, his writings give a theory of the art of government rather than a theory of State. The actual source of his speculation was the interest he felt in the men and conditions of his own time. He was an accurate observer and acute analyst of the prevailing circumstances.
- He, therefore, adopted a form and method of political philosophy which ignored completely the scholarly ideals. He adopted the ancient Greek-Roman philosophy because the Romans had established a well organised empire which the Greeks could not which led him to perceive the true relation between history and politics and it is front history that he drew his conclusions as political truths. His conclusions were reached empirically based on common sense and shrewd political foresight.

### Analysis of Human Nature

- The individual, according to Machiavelli, was **wicked, selfish and egoistic**. He was fundamentally weak, ungrateful, exhibitionist, artificial, anxious to avoid danger and excessively desirous of gain. It was only under compulsion or when there was personal gain that an individual was ready to do good.

- Machiavelli pointed out that the **human mind tended to glorify the past, decry the present and hope for a better future**. Like Aristotle, Machiavelli characterised the individual as a **political animal**.
- Being essentially antisocial, anarchical, selfish, greedy and sensual, the individual would readily forgive the murder of his father, but never the **seizure of property**. He was grateful to the extent of expecting benefits and rewards.
- **Machiavelli** conceived human beings as being basically restless, ambitious, aggressive and acquisitive, in a state of constant strife and anarchy. They were discontented and dissatisfied, for human needs were unlimited, but fortune limited their possessions and capacity for enjoyment. Under such circumstances, politics got **“plagued by the dilemma of limited goods and limitless ambition”**.
- Based on empirical observation of human nature and study of history, he concluded that in all ages human nature has remained constant. In his words, **“Men are ungrateful, fickle, deceitful, cowardly and avaricious.”** However, as an empiricist, he doesn't aim at moral judgements. Thus, for him, self interest is **not sinful**. When he calls people 'bad', he simply means self-interested man.
- From this it sums up to the conclusion that a ruler or a monarch should aim **rather to be feared than to be loved**. According to him, self-interested men love at their own will but fear at the will of people. Machiavelli recognized the importance of order provided by a stable, lawful political community consisting of public-spirited and virtuous citizens. So, he suggested the prince strengthen **his authority on the basis of fear**.
- In the words of **Machiavelli**, “Men love at their pleasure, but fear at the pleasure of the prince, who should therefore depend upon that which is in his own, not upon that which is of others. Yet he may be feared without being hated if he refrains from touching their property and their woman kind of his subjects, and if he avoids bloodshed except when there is good cause and manifest justification for it is in as much as men more easily forget the loss of their father than of their property.”

### CRITICISM OF MACHIAVELLI'S IDEA OF HUMAN NATURE

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- **Sabine** has criticized Machiavelli's view on human nature. According to Sabine, Machiavelli's view on human nature is not balanced as he was narrowly dated and narrowly timed.
- He further adds that; Machiavelli's Concept of **human nature does not take into consideration the universal society**. His views and ideas regarding human nature are the pure result of the observations he made and the conditions that prevailed at that particular time in Italy. In the words of Sabine, “Machiavelli is not so much concerned with badness or egoism as a general human motive and with its prevalence in Italy as a symptom of social discordance. To him, Italy stands as an example of corrupt society.”
- Machiavelli's saying that men are ready to sacrifice their kin or relations for the sake and security of his priorities, but Machiavelli here also says that the **top three priorities of man are life, family and then property**. This represents the **inconsistency** in his thoughts.

But it must be noted that Machiavelli does **not create an illusion**. He speaks and thinks practical and rational and reflects reality. Most of his views are prevalent and can be seen in the present or current day scenario.

### ANALYSIS OF CORRUPTION AND CIVIC VIRTU

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- **Machiavelli** made **moral degradation and civic corruption** the starting point of his analysis, and looked into factors that fostered public spirit overriding private interests.
- Machiavelli declared **wealth without worth as a cause of corruption**. He saw a nexus between luxurious habits and moral decline. Lack of martial spirit also led to the downfall of civic liberties. If princes and rulers were to be free from corruption, they would have to **enact laws that promoted common political liberties rather than their self-interest**.
- Corruption, to Machiavelli, meant licence, violence, great inequities in wealth and power, lack of peace and justice, disorderly ambition and growth, lawlessness, dishonesty and contempt for religion.
- It meant the **subordination of public values to the private sphere** or/and when the public sphere was used for furthering private aims and interests. Usually, societies that were corrupt excluded the common people from playing an active role in government and political life.
- Corruption could be tackled only with extraordinary measures, like rule by a strong prince with overwhelming powers. Machiavelli believed that a measure of **public virtue as a common ideal and goal** for the entire polity, faith in the system and in persons whom the people trusted were fundamental prerequisites for not only ending corruption, but also in making a beginning of the real development of the individual.
- For Machiavelli, Civic virtue in a ruler were martial qualities needed to defend the state against external aggression and internal disunity. In an ordinary individual, it meant public-spiritedness and patriotism necessary for ensuring freedom and deterring tyranny.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION

- Machiavelli is considered the **‘father of western secularism’** due to his separation of ethics and religion from politics.
- The novelty in Machiavelli’s writings was his attitude towards religion and morality, which distinguished from all those who preceded him. He was scathing in his **attack on the church for their failure to provide moral aspiration**. He also considers the church responsible for the division of Italy.
- Machiavelli was anti-church and anti clergy, but not anti religion. He considered religion as necessary not only for man’s social life but also for the **health and prosperity of the state**. It was important within a state because of the influence it wielded over political life in general. Religion provides **divine sanctions** for decisions of the prince as well as maintaining social discipline.
- Machiavelli’s attitude towards religion was **strictly utilitarian**. It was a social force; it played a pivotal role because it appealed to the selfishness of man through its doctrine of reward and punishment, thereby inducing proper behaviour and good conduct that was necessary for the well-being of a society.
- According to **William Ebenstein**, Machiavelli’s views on morals and religion illustrate his belief in the **supremacy of power over other social values**. He has no sense of religion as a deep personal experience, and the mystical element in religion is alien to his outlook. Yet he has a **positive attitude toward religion** as his religion is a tool of influence and control in the hands of the ruler over the ruled. Machiavelli sees in religion the poor man’s reason, ethics, and morality put together. In his words, “where religion exists it is easy to introduce armies and discipline”.



- The role of religion as a mere **instrument of political domination, cohesion and unity** becomes even clearer in Machiavelli's advice that the ruler supports and spreads religious doctrines and beliefs in miracles that he knows to be false.
- Machiavelli's interest in Christianity is not philosophical or theological, but purely **pragmatic** and political. He is **critical of Christianity** because "it glorifies more the humble and contemplative men than the men of action".
- Machiavelli argues that "Christianity idealises humility, lowliness, and a contempt for worldly objects as contrasted with the pagan qualities of grandeur of soul, strength of body, and other qualities that render men formidable".
- Concerning the church, **Machiavelli** preferred two main charges.
  - o First, he states that the Italians have become irreligious **and bad** because of the **evil example of the court of Rome**'.
  - o The second and more serious accusation is that the **church 'has kept and still keeps the country divided'**.
- He goes on to say that the sole cause of Italian political disunity is the church.
- He dismissed the Christian view that an individual was endowed with a divine element and a supernatural end. He also **rejected the idea of absolute good**. He observed that "goodness is simply that which sub serves on the average or in the long run, the interests of the mass of individuals."
- Though Machiavelli was critical of Christianity, he retained the basic Christian views on the **differences between good and evil**. For instance, he regarded murdering one's co-citizens, betraying one's friends, disloyalty and irreligiousness as lack of virtue not entitled to glory.
- Machiavelli was clear that Italy needed a religion similar to one that **ancient Roman** had, a religion that taught to serve the interest of the state. He was categorical that Florentines needed political and military virtues which Christian faith did not impart.
- Though conscious of the importance of religion as a cementing force in society, he was hostile towards Christianity and looked upon the Roman Catholic Church as the main adversary. **Machiavelli's** attitude to religion and morality made him highly controversial. **Strauss characterised** him as a **teacher of evil**. **Sabine** saw him as being **amoral**. However, it must be noted that, Machiavelli's analysis set the foundations of western secularism we know today.

### MODERN SECULAR NATION STATE

- One of the major contributions of **Machiavelli** is that **he separated religion from politics** and set the tone for one of the main themes of modern times, namely **secularisation of thought and life**.
- Machiavelli **criticised the church of his day precisely for political and not religious reasons**. He recognised that the existence of the papal state and its ceaseless struggle to dominate political affairs was a **primary cause of Italy's inability to unite into one political unit**.
- Writing at a time of political chaos and moral confusion, **Italian unification** became the chief objective for Machiavelli, who could see clearly the direction that political evolution was taking throughout Europe. Like **Dante** he dreamt of a united **regenerated and glorious Italy**. He desired to redeem Italy from servitude and misery.

- A perfect state, according to Machiavelli, **was one promoted by the common good**, namely the observance of laws, honouring women, keeping public offices open to all citizens on grounds of virtue, maintaining a moderate degree of social equality, and protecting industry, wealth and property.
- Machiavelli is perhaps the first political thinker who used the word 'state' in the sense in which it is used nowadays, that is something having a definite territory, population, government and sovereignty of its own. It was on **Machiavelli's concept of a sovereign, territorial and secular state that Bodin and Grotius built up a theory of legal sovereignty** which was given a proper formulation by **John Austin**.
- In other words, **Machiavelli gave the state its modern connotation**. His state is the nation free from religious control. He has **freed the state from the mediaeval bondage of religion**. According to Machiavelli, the state being the highest form of human association has supreme claim over men's obligations.
- In both '**The Prince** and **The Discourses**' Machiavelli **insists on the necessity of extending the territory of the state**. According to him, either a state must expand or perish. His idea of the extension of the dominion of state did not mean the blending of two or more social or political organisations, but the subjection of a number of states under the rule of a single Prince or commonwealth. The Roman state and its policy of expansion was the reference point for Machiavelli.
- In '**The Discourses**', he has supported republican form of government. In his words, "wherever possible republic, wherever necessary monarchy but in no situation oligarchy".
- Both **Aristotle and Machiavelli** advocated for **collective wisdom** over reason of one. According to Machiavelli, republican form of government is ideal only in those societies where people are virtuous and have civic sense. He also supported political as well as social equality.
- However, in corrupt societies, Machiavelli has supported monarchy ruling with iron hand as people try to maximise self interest at the expense of society. Even in '**The Prince**', Machiavelli has held that, prince should support the common man over nobles as the latter desire to oppress while the former merely desire to avoid oppression.
- Thus, according to Machiavelli, a state based on **mass support** is more stable and authority rather than power ensures obedience.

## **POLITICAL REALISM**

- Machiavelli is regarded as the **father of modern political science** and the first realist in western political thought. He was a student of practical and speculative politics. His writings expound a theory of the art of government rather than a theory of the state. He was **more concerned with the actual working of the machinery of government** than the abstract principles of the state and its constitution.
- 'The Prince' of Machiavelli is a **memorandum on the art of government, pragmatic in character** and provides technique of the fundamental principles of statecraft for a successful ruler. It deals with the **machinery of government** which the successful ruler can make use of.
- In the words of **Prof. C.C Maxey**, 'Machiavelli's passion for the practical as against the theoretical undoubtedly did much to rescue political thought from the scholastic obscurantism of the middle ages.'
- Machiavelli was the **first to state and systematically expose the power view of politics**, laying down the foundations of a new science in the same way as Galileo's Dynamics became the basis of the modern science of nature. He identified **politics as the struggle for the acquisition, maintenance and consolidation of political power**. He wrote mainly of the mechanics of government, of the means by which the states may be made strong, of the **policies by which they can expand their power and of the errors that lead to their decay and destruction**.
- **Prof. Dunning** called Machiavellian philosophy as "the study of the art of government rather than a theory of state".
- The **Prince of Machiavelli** is the product of the prevailing conditions of his time in his country, Italy. It is not an academic treatise or value oriented philosophy; it is in real sense realpolitik.

- The two basic means of success for a prince are the **judicious use of law and physical force**. He must combine in himself rational as well as brutal characteristics, a **combination of lion and fox**.
- For Machiavelli, the ruler must imitate **the fox and lion**, "for the lion cannot protect himself from the traps and the fox cannot defend himself from wolves". A prudent ruler, according to Machiavelli, ought not to keep faith when by doing so it would be against his interest and when the reasons which made him bind himself no longer exist.
- Machiavelli takes a radically **pessimistic view of human nature** and his psychological outlook is intimately related to his political philosophy. The individual according to Machiavelli was wicked, selfish and egoistic. He was fundamentally weak, ungrateful, exhibitionist, artificial, anxious to avoid danger and excessively desirous of gain. Thus, he also suggested the prince to be pragmatic in his political analysis and actions.
- Machiavelli has also introduced the concept of '**Dual Morality**' for the prince. In his words, '**in politics, the end justifies the means**'. The ruler is the creator of law as also of morality **moral obligations must ultimately be sustained by law** and the **ruler is not only outside the law, he is outside morality as well**. There is no standard to judge his acts except the success of his political expediency for enlarging and perpetuating the power of his state.
- Machiavelli strongly believes that a citizen acts for himself and as such is also responsible for his action, whereas the state acts for all. Like other realists after him, Machiavelli **identifies "power politics with the whole of political reality"** and he thus doesn't consider ideas and ideals as potent facts in the struggle for political survival.
- In the words of **William Ebenstein**, "Machiavellian realists are usually realistic and rational in the choice of means with which they carry out their schemes of aggrandisement and expansion." Because Machiavelli was interested only in the means of acquiring, retaining, and expanding power, and not in the end of the state, he remained unaware of the relations between means and ends.

#### **QUALITIES OF MACHIAVELLI'S PRINCE**

- **Machiavelli's 'The Prince'** is a technical **manual** on logic of acquiring and maintaining political power. According to him, the prince must understand the centrality of power in politics and should not be misguided by ethics or religion. He has also advised the prince to keep power in his own hand as power shared can be used against the prince.
- As Machiavelli was pessimistic about human nature, he advised the prince not to trust self-interested man. It is **better for a prince to be feared** than to be loved as people love at their own will but fear at the will of the people.
- Like Plato, the ruling class in Machiavelli also possess the qualities of **fox and lion**. Machiavelli has also suggested his prince to be strictly empirical in his political analysis and cold bloodedly logical in drawing conclusions by eschewing all ethical ideas.
- The prince should also be **rational in decision making**. He should take **calculated actions** and not under impulse. He should understand the **right time and place** to ensure political effectiveness of his actions.
- Machiavelli has also suggested using **hard as well as soft power**. According to him, the prince should **caress or annihilate man**. However, violence should not be the first option but if employed, then it should be used '**quickly**' and '**mercilessly**'. In his words, "people will revenge themselves for small injuries but can't do so for great ones. so, the injury we do to man must be such that we need not fear his revenge".

#### **CHANAKYA AND MACHIAVELLI - TWO REALISTS IN COMPARISON**

- In the West, **Machiavelli** represents the first clear **break with idealism and morality**, and is the first to suggest that the root of state power is force. In India, **Chanakya's Arthashastra** had already established the centrality of **power and realism** in politics.

- Both Machiavelli and Kautilya **supported the monarchy**. In the *Discourses*, Machiavelli states that a "dictatorship, whenever created according to public law and not usurped by individual authority, always proved beneficial"
- Both Chanakya and Machiavelli place emphasis **on conquests**. For Chanakya war is **Raj dharma** of the King. According to Machiavelli, for a ruler to create opportunities for other benefits to his people, he must first guard the realm, and if possible, expand his territory and sphere of influence. Like Chanakya, the **primary responsibility of a ruler** for Machiavelli is the **security and well-being of his people**. While Machiavelli states unequivocally that "prince ought to have no other aim or thought, nor select anything else for his study, than war and its rules and discipline,"
- **The Purusharthas are the four principles** of Hindu life, namely, **dharma, artha, kama, and moksha**. It was the king's duty to ensure that his subjects could lead a life of honesty and justice (*dharma*), have opportunities to make gains in terms of education, employment, etc., (*artha*), be able to enjoy their lives through the arts and other sensual pleasures (*kama*), and hopefully, develop spiritually to eventually attain freedom from the cycle of rebirth (*moksha*).
- Although Machiavelli does not set his prince such high standards, much of Chanakya's thinking holds true for him too. While Chanakya is firmly set in Hindu philosophy and sees the world through the spectacles of Hindu cosmology, Machiavelli describes the world through human nature, the **ends both advocated being quite similar**.
- Machiavelli, like Chanakya, sees **beyond the reign of one king** to the stability of the realm. For Machiavelli, a prince should endeavour to not only secure his domain during his time but even after him. As **Louis Althusser** explained, "Machiavelli is interested in only one form of government: the one that allows a state to last."
- Chanakya and Machiavelli both conclude that **legitimacy** is very important to the ruler as well as the subjects because legitimacy purports an authority that does not exist in practice. Chanakya uses **Hindu cosmology** to justify the monarchy whereas Machiavelli also comments on the notion of **divine authority** to lend authority to the ruler beyond his physical means.
- It must be noted that, both differed in **time and space**. However, similarity in their analysis of politics establishes the **centrality of power** in politics.

#### Machiavelli as a Modern thinker

He was a modern thinker only in the sense that, he used certain new ideas which were symbolic of the modern age. Some of them here under:

- He rejected the Idea of natural law and created his entire thinking basically on the bad nature of human beings.
- He completely rejected the fundamentals placed by mediaeval thinkers, he considered state, to provide security and peace to the people.
- He underlined the secular character of the state and overlooked the principle of 'divine law' which was popular in mediaeval times.
- He, for the first time he supported the idea of national territorial and state which was independent of the pope.
- Unlike mediaeval thinkers, he made use of the inductive method along with the historical method.
- He did not give importance to ethical factors, instead he gave for material motives
- The important factor which separates him from mediaeval thinkers is that he separated ethics from politics.
- His thinking of separating politics and morality also gives a separate look when compared with mediaeval thinkers.

- He essentially mentions to all those features of the state which were progressed during the next two or three centuries like state, is a secular institution and church should be subordinate to it

### Assessing Machiavelli

- Machiavelli's political theories were not developed in a systematic manner; they were mainly in the form of remarks upon particular situations. According to **Prof. Sabine**, the "character of Machiavelli and the true meaning of his philosophy have been one of the enigmas of modern history."
- According to **Sabine**, Machiavelli has been represented as an utter cynic, and impassioned patriot, an ardent nationalist, a political Jesuit, a convinced democrat, and unscrupulous seeker after the favour of despots. In each of their views, incompatible as they are, there is probably an element of truth.
- As **Prof. Sabine** has pointed out, "Machiavelli more than any other political thinker created the meaning that has been attached to the state in modern political usage."
- Machiavelli is regarded as the **father of modern political theory and political science**. Apart from theorizing about the state he also gave meaning to the concept of sovereignty. Machiavelli's importance was in providing an outlook that **accepted both secularisation and a moralization of politics**.
- He took **politics out of the context of theology**, and subordinated moral principles to the necessities of political existence and people's welfare. The absence of religious polemics in Machiavelli led the theorists who followed to confront issues like **order and power** in strictly political terms.
- Machiavelli was the first who gave the idea of **secularism**. The Machiavellian state is a secular state with separation of religion and politics.
- Machiavelli was the first **pragmatist or realist** in the history of political thought. His method and approach to problems of politics were guided by **common sense and history**. His ideas were **revolutionary in nature and substance** and he brought politics in line with political practice.
- Many political thinkers drew their inspiration and further developed solid and most important political concepts such as the concept of the state and its true meaning from Machiavelli. He has also inspired leaders such as Hitler, Mao etc.

### Conclusion-

If we see the similarity between Chanakya and Machiavelli, we can understand the universality and transcendentality of Machiavelli's thoughts. It is a paradox that people practice what he said but criticise him for

the same. As **Lord Acton** said of Machiavelli, "a sublime purpose justifies him, and he has been wronged by dupes and fanatics, by irresponsible dreamers and interested hypocrites."

## HANNAH ARENDT

### PYQs

1. Critically analyze Hannah Arendt's conceptual triad of labour, work and action. (2019)
2. Discuss Hannah Arendt's analysis of the role of ideology in modern Totalitarian regimes. 20M (2016)
3. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together. "(Hannah Arendt) (2014)

### Introduction

Hannah Arendt is a twentieth century political philosopher whose writings do not easily come together as a systematic philosophy. She has delved on multiple ideas through her own prism of experience and contemplation.

Her thoughts span totalitarianism, revolution, the nature of freedom and the faculties of thought and judgment. The question with which Arendt engages most frequently is the nature of politics and political life, as distinct from other domains of human activity. Arendt's work undertakes a reconstruction of the nature of political existence.

This pursuit takes shape as one that is described as Phenomenology which prioritizes the experiential character of human life and discards traditional political philosophy's conceptual scheme.

### Major Works by Arendt

- The Origins of Totalitarianism
- The Human Condition
- On Revolution. New York, Penguin, 1962
- Eichmann in Jerusalem: a Report on the Banality of Evil
- On Violence
- Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy



## ARENDT'S THOUGHT: CONTEXT AND INFLUENCES

Hannah Arendt is a most challenging figure for anyone wishing to understand the body of her work in political philosophy, her writings cover many and diverse topics, spanning issues such as totalitarianism, revolution, the nature of freedom, the faculties of "thinking" and "judging," the history of political thought, and so on.

A thinker of heterodox and complicated argumentation, Arendt's writings draw inspiration from Heidegger, Aristotle, Augustine, Kant, Nietzsche, Jaspers, and others. The question, with which Arendt's thought engages, perhaps above all others, is that of *the nature of politics and political life*, as distinct from other domains of human activity. Her attempts to explicate an answer to this question and, *inter alia*, to examine the historical and social forces that have come to threaten the existence of an autonomous political realm, have a distinctly *phenomenological* character.

Rather than carrying out the analysis of general political concepts (such as authority, power, state, sovereignty, etc.) traditionally associated with political philosophy or accumulating empirical data associated with "political science." Hannah Arendt proceeds with, beginning from a phenomenological prioritization of the "factual" and experiential character of human life, endeavouring to uncover the fundamental structures of political *experience*.



Hence Arendt's explication of the constitutive features of the *vita activa* in *The Human Condition* (labour, work, action) can be viewed as the phenomenological uncovering of the structures of human action *qua* existence and experience. Arendt sees the conceptual core of traditional political philosophy as an impediment, because as it inserts presuppositions between the inquirer and the political phenomena in question.

## ON TOTALITARISM

Arendt's first major work, published in 1951, is a response to the devastating events of her own time – the rise of Nazi Germany and the catastrophic fate of European Jewry at its hands, the rise of Soviet Stalinism and its annihilation of millions of peasants, free-thinking intellectual, writers, artists, scientists and political activists.

Arendt insisted that these manifestations of political evil could not be understood as mere extensions in scale or scope of already existing precedents, but rather that they represented a completely 'novel form of government', one built upon terror and ideological fiction.

Where older tyrannies had used terror as an instrument for attaining or sustaining power, modern totalitarian regimes exhibited little strategic rationality in their use of terror. Rather, terror was no longer a means to a political end, but an end in itself.

Its necessity was now justified by recourse to supposed laws of history (such as the inevitable triumph of the classless society) or nature (such as the inevitability of a war between "chosen" and other "degenerate" races).

For Arendt, the popular appeal of totalitarian ideologies was due to the devastation of ordered and stable contexts in which people once lived. The impact of the First World War, and the Great Depression, and the spread of revolutionary unrest, left people open to the promulgation of a single, clear and unambiguous idea that would



allocate responsibility for woes, and indicate a clear path that would secure the future against insecurity and danger.

**Totalitarian ideologies offered simple and “effective” answers, claiming to discover a “key to history” with which events of the past and present could be explained, and the future secured.**

Accordingly, the amenability of European populations to totalitarian ideas was the consequence of a series of events that had eroded the political arena as a space of liberty and freedom. These events included the expansionism of imperialist capital with colonial suppression, and the capture of the state by the bourgeoisie as an instrument by which to further its own interests.

This in turn led to the delegitimation of political institutions, and the shrinking of the principles of citizenship and deliberative consensus that had been the heart of the democracies. The rise of totalitarianism was thus to be understood in light of shrinking political space that had undermined the conditions of possibility for a viable public life that could unite citizens.

### **THE HUMAN CONDITION**

The work of establishing the conditions of possibility for political experience, as opposed to other spheres of human activity, was undertaken by Arendt in her next major work, ***The Human Condition* (1958)**.

In this work she undertakes a thorough historical-philosophical inquiry that returns to the origins of both democracy and political philosophy in the Ancient Greek world.

Her goal was to propose a phenomenological reconstruction of different aspects of human activity, so as to better discern the type of action and engagement that corresponded to present political existence. In doing so, she offers a stringent critique of traditional political philosophy, and the dangers it presents to the political sphere as an autonomous domain of human practice.

***The Human Condition*** is fundamentally concerned with the problem of reasserting politics as a valuable realm of human action, *praxis*, and the world of appearances.

Arendt argues that the Western philosophical tradition has devalued the world of human action which attends to appearances (**the *vita activa***), subordinating it to the life of contemplation which concerns itself with essences and the eternal (**the *vita contemplativa***).

The prime culprit is **Plato**, whose metaphysics subordinates action and appearances to the eternal realm of the Ideas. The allegory of The Cave in *The Republic* begins the tradition of political philosophy; here Plato describes the world of human affairs in terms of shadows and darkness, and instructs those who aspire to truth to turn away from it in favour of the “clear sky of eternal ideas.” The realm of action and appearance (including the political) is subordinated to and becomes instrumental for the ends of the Idea.

### **THE VITA ACTIVA: LABOR, WORK AND ACTION**

In *The Human Condition* Arendt argues for a **tripartite division between the human activities of labour, work, and action**. Moreover, she arranges these activities in an ascending hierarchy of importance, and identifies the

overturning of this hierarchy as central to the eclipse of political freedom and responsibility which, for her, has come to characterize the modern age.

### **Labor: Humanity as Animal Laborans**

- **Labour** is that activity which corresponds to the biological processes and necessities of human existence, the practices which are necessary for the maintenance of life itself.
- Labour is distinguished by its never-ending character;
- It creates nothing of permanence; its efforts are quickly consumed, and must therefore be perpetually renewed so as to sustain life.
- In this aspect of its existence humanity is closest to the animals and so, in a significant sense, the least human.
- Arendt refers to humanity in this mode as *animal laborans*. Because the activity of labour is commanded by necessity, the human being as labourer is the equivalent of the slave;
- Labour is characterized by unfreedom.
- Arendt is highly critical of **Marx's** elevation of *animal laborans* to a position of primacy in his vision of the highest ends of human existence.
- Drawing on the **Aristotelian** distinction of the *oikos* (the private realm of the household) from the *polis* (the public realm of the political community), Arendt argues that matters of labour, economy and the like properly belong to the former, not the latter.
- The emergence of necessary labour, the private concerns of the *oikos*, into the public sphere (what Arendt calls "the rise of the social") is for her the effect of destroying the proper political system by subordinating the public realm of human freedom to the concerns of mere animal necessity.
- The prioritization of the economy which has attended the rise of capitalism has for Arendt all but eclipsed the possibilities of meaningful political agency and the pursuit of higher ends which should be the proper concern of public life.

### **Work: Humanity as Homo Faber**

- If labour relates to the natural and biologically necessitated dimension of human existence, then work is "the activity which corresponds to the unnaturalness of human existence"
- Work corresponds to the fabrication of an artificial world of things, artificial constructions which endure temporally beyond the act of creation itself.
- Work thus creates a world distinct from anything given in nature, a world distinguished by its durability, its semi-permanence and relative independence from the individual actors and acts which call it into being.
- Humanity in this mode of its activity Arendt name *homo faber*; he/she is the builder of walls (both physical and cultural) which divide the human realm from that of nature and provide a stable context (a "common world") of spaces and institutions within which human life can unfold.
- Homo faber's typical representatives are the builder, the architect, the craftsperson, the artist and the legislator, as they create the public world both physically and institutionally by constructing buildings and making laws.

### **Distinction between labor and work**

- Firstly, whereas labour is bound to the demands of animality, biology and nature, work violates the realm of nature by shaping and transforming it according to the plans and needs of humans; this makes work a distinctly human (i.e. non-animal) activity.

- Secondly, because work is governed by human ends and intentions it is under humans' sovereignty and control, it exhibits a certain quality of freedom, unlike labour which is subject to nature and necessity.
- Thirdly, whereas labour is concerned with satisfying the individual's life-needs and so remains essentially a private affair, work is inherently public.

#### **Arendt's critique of modernity**

- According to **Arendt**, the world created by *homo faber* is threatened with extinction by the aforementioned "rise of the social."
- The activity of labour and the consumption of its fruits, which have come to dominate the public sphere, cannot furnish a common world within which humans might pursue their higher ends.
- Labour and its effects are inherently impermanent and perishable, exhausted as they are consumed, and so do not possess the qualities of quasi-permanence which are necessary for a shared environment and common heritage which endures between people and across time.
- In industrial modernity "all the values characteristic of the world of fabrication – permanence, stability, durability...are sacrificed in favour of the values of life, productivity and abundance."
- The rise of *animal laborans* threatens the extinction of *homo faber*, and with it comes the passing of those worldly conditions which make a community's collective and public life possible (what Arendt refers to as "world alienation").
- Though work is *not* the mode of human activity which corresponds to politics, its fabrications are nonetheless the preconditions for the existence of a political community.
- The common world of institutions and spaces that work creates the arena in which citizens may come together as members of that shared world to engage in political activity.

#### **Action: Humanity as Zoon Politikon**

- Arendt establishes that the activity of *homo faber* does not equate with the realm of human freedom and so cannot occupy the privileged apex of the human condition.
- Work is essentially a means to achieve the thing which is to be fabricated (be it a work of art, a building or a structure of legal relations) and so stands in a relation of mere purposiveness to that end. For Arendt, the activity of work cannot be fully free insofar as it is not an end in itself, but is determined by prior causes and articulated ends.
- The quality of freedom in the world of appearances (which for Arendt is the *sine qua non* of politics) is to be found elsewhere in the *vita activa*, namely with the activity of action proper.
- The fundamental defining quality of action is its ineliminable freedom, its status as an end in itself and so as subordinate to nothing outside itself.
- From **Augustine's political philosophy** she takes the theme of human action as *beginning* and defines action as freedom, and freedom as action
- To act, in its most general sense, means to take initiative, to begin (as the Greek word *archein*, 'to begin,' 'to lead,' and eventually 'to rule' indicates), to set something in motion.
- Freedom is "an accessory of doing and acting;" "Men are free...as long as they act, neither before nor after; for to be free and to act are the same."
- It has been argued that Arendt is a political existentialist who, in seeking the greatest possible autonomy for action, falls into the danger of aestheticising action and advocating decisionism.
- Yet political existentialism lays great stress on *individual will* and on *decision* as "an act of existential choice unconstrained by principles or norms."

- In contradistinction, Arendt's theory holds that actions cannot be justified for their own sake, but only in light of their public recognition and the shared rules of a political community.
- For Arendt, action is a *public* category, a worldly practice that is experienced in our intercourse with others, Arendt puts it as, **Action, is the only activity that goes on directly between men...corresponds to the human condition of plurality.**
- Another way of understanding the importance of publicity and plurality for action is to appreciate that action would be meaningless unless there were others present to see it and so give meaning to it.
- The meaning of the action and the identity of the actor can only be established in the context of human plurality,
- Action is for Arendt synonymous with the political; politics is the ongoing activity of citizens coming together so as to exercise their capacity for agency, to conduct their lives together by means of free speech and persuasion.
- Politics and the exercise of freedom-as-action are one and the same:  
*...freedom...is actually the reason that men live together in political organisations at all. Without it, political life as such would be meaningless. The raison d'être of politics is freedom, and its field of experience is action.*

## ON REVOLUTION

Hannah Arendt in her work, **On Revolution (1961)** takes her rethinking of political concepts and applies them to the modern era. Arendt criticizes both liberal and Marxist interpretations of modern political revolutions (such as the French and American).

Against liberals, she does not agree with the claim that these revolutions were primarily concerned with the establishment of a limited government with space for individual liberty. Against Marxist interpretations of the French Revolution, she disputes the claim that it was a popular attempt to overcome poverty and exclusion by the many against the few who monopolized wealth.

Rather, Arendt claims, what distinguishes these modern revolutions is that they exhibit the exercise of fundamental political capacities – that of individuals acting together, on the basis of their mutually agreed common purposes, in order to establish a tangible public space of freedom.

Yet Arendt sees both the French and American revolutions as ultimately failing to establish a perduring political space in which the on-going activities of shared deliberation, decision and coordinated action could be exercised.

In the case of the **French Revolution**, the subordination of political freedom to matters of managing welfare reduces political institutions to administering the distribution of goods and resources.

Meanwhile, the **American Revolution** evaded this fate, and by means of the Constitution managed to found a political society on the basis of common assent. Yet she saw it only as a partial and limited success. America failed to create an institutional space in which citizens could participate in government.

The average citizen, while protected from arbitrary exercise of authority by constitutional checks and balances, was no longer a participant "in judgement and authority," and so became denied the possibility of exercising his/her political capacities.

## EICHMANN AND THE "BANALITY OF EVIL"

Published in the same year as *On Revolution*, this work of Arendt marks a shift in her concerns from the nature of political *action*, to a concern more deeper– the interrelated activities of *thinking* and *judging*.

She controversially uses the phrase “the banality of evil” to characterize Eichmann’s actions as a member of the Nazi regime, in particular his role as chief architect and executioner of Hitler’s genocidal “final solution”. Her characterization of these actions as “banal” is not meant to position them as workaday. Rather it is meant to contest the prevalent depictions of the Nazi’s inexplicable atrocities as having emanated from a spiteful will to do evil.

As far as Arendt could discern, Eichmann came to his willing involvement with the program of genocide through a failure or absence of the faculties of sound thinking and judgement. From Eichmann’s trial in Jerusalem, Arendt concluded that far from exhibiting hatred of Jews, Eichmann operated unthinkingly, following orders, efficiently carrying them out, with no consideration of their effects upon those he targeted.

Arendt concluded that Eichmann was incapable of understanding his victims’ suffering. It was not the *presence* of hatred that enabled Eichmann to perpetrate the genocide, but the absence of the imaginative capacities that would have made the human and moral dimensions of his activities tangible for him.

For Arendt, thinking amounts to a quest to understand the *meaning* of our world. The value of thinking is not that it yields positive results that can be considered settled, but that it constantly returns to question again and again the meaning that we give to experiences, actions and circumstances. This, for Arendt, is intrinsic to the exercise of political responsibility – the engagement of this faculty that seeks meaning through a relentless questioning (including self-questioning). It was precisely the failure of this capacity that characterized the “banality” of Eichmann’s propensity to participate in political evil.

#### HANNAH ARENDT’S CONCEPT OF POWER

**Note: Hannah Arendt’s concept of Power has been dealt in the topic notes: theory of Power in detail.**

#### INFLUENCE OF HANNAH ARENDT ON POLITICAL THOUGHT

Her reflections on the distinctiveness of modern democratic revolutions have been important in the development of republican thought, and for the recent revival of interest in civic mobilizations and social movements (particularly in the wake of 1989’s ‘velvet revolutions’ in the former communist states of Eastern and Central Europe).

Arendt has decisively influenced critical and emancipatory attempts to theorize political reasoning and deliberation. For example, **Jürgen Habermas** admits the formative influence of Arendt upon his own theory of communicative reason and discourse ethics. Her model of action as public, communicative, persuasive and consensual reappears in Habermas’ thought in concepts such as that of “communicative power”.

Others such as **Jean-Luc Nancy** have likewise been influenced by her critique of the modern technological “levelling” of human distinctiveness, often reading Arendt’s account in tandem with Heidegger’s critique of technology.

Her theory of judgement has been used by Critical Theorists and Post moderns alike. Amongst the former, **Seyla Benhabib** draws upon it in order to save discourse ethics from its own universalist excesses;

For the Post moderns, such as **Lyotard**, the emphasis placed upon reflective judgement furnishes a “post-foundational” or “post-universalist” basis in which the singularity of moral judgements can be reconciled with some kind of collective adherence to political principles.

### **CRITICISM OF HANNAH ARENDT**

It is worth noting some of the prominent criticisms that have been levelled against Arendt’s work.

#### **Feminist Critique**

Primary amongst these is her reliance upon a rigid distinction between the “private” and “public,” the *oikos* and the *polis*, to delimit the specificity of the political realm. Feminists have pointed out that the confinement of the political to the realm outside the household has been part and parcel of the domination of politics by men, and the corresponding exclusion of women’s experiences of subjection from legitimate politics.

#### **Marxist Critique**

Marxists have likewise pointed to the consequences of confining matters of material distribution and economic management to the extra-political realm of the *oikos*, thereby delegitimizing questions of material social justice, poverty, and exploitation from political discussion and contestation.

#### **Other Critiques**

Arendt has also come under criticism for her endorsement of the Athenian *polis* as an exemplar of political freedom, to the detriment of modern political regimes and institutions.

- Likewise, the emphasis she places upon direct citizen deliberation as synonymous with the exercise of political freedom might be seen as unworkable in the context of modern mass societies, with the delegation, specialization, expertise and extensive divisions of labour needed to deal with their complexity.
- Her elevation of politics to the apex of human good and goals has also been challenged, demoting as it does other modes of human action and self-realization to a subordinate status.

#### **Conclusion**

All these, and other criticisms notwithstanding, Arendt remains one of the most original, challenging and influential political thinkers of the 20th century, and her work will no doubt continue to provide inspiration for political philosophy as we enter the 21st.

# INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

## Syllabus

Dharmashastra, Arthashastra and Buddhist traditions ; Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Sri Aurobindo, M.K. Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkar, M.N. Roy

## UPSC questions

- Comment on the Marxist and Radical Humanist phases of M.N. Roy's thought
- Examine the Gandhian idea of village community as an ideal unit of self-governance
- Draw parallels between Arthashastra tradition and the 'Realist' tradition represented by Machiavelli.
- Write a note on the Buddhist tradition in Indian political thought.
- Examine the significance of Dharma in Ancient Indian political thought
- Analyse, as per Kautilya, the Saptanga theory of the state
- Sri Aurobindo's "idea of freedom"
- Sri Ahmed Khan as modernizer'
- Gandhi's views on state
- Discuss Sri Aurobindo's views on Cultural Nationalism.
- "Nationalism is not a mere political programme but a way of life like religion." (Aurobindo Ghose)
- Evaluate the contributions of Buddhist tradition to Indian political thought
- Compare and contrast the views of Kautilya and Machiavelli on Statecraft.
- Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's idea of state socialism
- Examine Gandhi's critique of Modernisation



- According to Sri Aurobindo, Swaraj is a necessary condition for India to accomplish its destined goal.
- Political democracy could not last unless social democracy lay at its base - B.R. Ambedkar. Comment.
- What do you understand by the notion of Statecraft? Discuss the theory of statecraft as given by Kautilya.
- Discuss Ambedkar's ideas on 'annihilation of caste'.
- M. K. Gandhi's concept of Swaraj
- Discuss Kautilya's views on the elements of the State

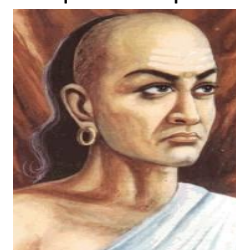
## INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

### KAUTILYA

- Kautilya Arthashastra is not a theoretical treatise on political science. It is not directly concerned with the question of the origin of the state. Kautilya's Arthashastra essentially **a book on the art of administration gave only passing reference to the origin of the state.**
- According to Kautilya the state originated when people got weary of the logic of the fish (matsyanyaya) according to which bigger fish swallow the smaller ones. The state originated to fulfill the desire of the people to have a peaceful society. **King took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects.**
- Kautilya **does not propound any logical theory of the state**, its origin and ends, but he appears to believe in the **social contract theory** according to which the state came into existence after such a contract between the king and the people.
- He regarded the state a result of human nature and its needs and it was consequently natural and beneficial. Thus **Kautilya imagined the original state of nature to be one of total anarchy, where might is right prevailed.** People agreed to pay taxes and to be ruled by one person in order that they may be able to enjoy security and well being.
- Kautilya believed that the state was an organism and not a mere mechanical Institution. Kautilya was the first contractualist in India like **Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Rousseau** were the modern Contractualists of the west but Kautilya's social contract was government and less social because he was not interested in creating a theory on the origin of the state. His intention was to replace the misrule of Nanda Dynasty by Chandragupta who could make the strong and powerful state. Kautilya also believed in the divine origin theory.

### DEFINITION OF STATE

- According to Kautilya, an area cannot be a state unless there are not people and rulers to control that state. According to him state is an area which consists many cities. It not only produces things for living but also protects its people from danger and animals.
- Arthashastra has been mentioned there that 'Artha is the subsistence or livelihood of men, in other words it means the earth inhabited by men. Arthashastra is thus the science which shows how to acquire and preserve that earth that is to prescribe means for securing and preserving power over the earth.
- Thus, this sastra is composed as a guide to acquire and secure this and the other world.
- The definition of state given by Kautilya is identical with the modern definition of state. Modern thinkers like Garner defines state as 'community of persons, more or



less numerous, permanently occupying a definite proportion of territory, independent or nearly so, of external control and possessing and organizes government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience.

- Kautilya used the word 'Raja' which according to Spellman, corresponds to the English word 'State'.
- The state is defined for the first time in the Arthashastra of Kautilya as consisting of seven elements a definition which become an axiom in the later sources.
- According to Kautilya the state and kingship were based on popular good will. The king was their leader as well as head of the state and government .

## AIM OF THE STATE

- **Plato:** the state is a macrocosm in which the individual can find his proper place and perform the duties for which he is best fitted.
- **Aristotle:** the purpose of the state is mainly ethical. The state is ' a community of equals, aiming at the best life possible.'
- **Hobbes:** the purpose of the state to maintain order and protect the people and protect the right of property.
- **Locke:** regards that the end of Government is the preservation of lives, liberties and estates.
- **Rousseau:** the state is a ' social contract' to fulfil the ' general will
- **Bentham:** believes the state exists to secure the greatest good of the greatest number.
- **Herbert Spencer:** consider the state as ' Joint-stock protection company for mutual assurance.'
- **Marx** expects the state to "wither away' after establishing' classless society.'
- **Laski** the state is ' a fellowship of men. Its aim is ' enrichment of common life'. The aim of a state to be the greatest available welfare for the whole population and not for a class.

## ANCIENT VEDIC LITERATURE

- The king was the head of State, the upholder of the law and order.
- Main duty of the state was the protection of private property by punishing the thief, when the literature on politics began to be developed promotion of **Dharma, Artha and kama are usually mentioned as the aim of the state.**
- Dharma was aimed to promote virtue and morality. The promotion of artha was intended to develop national resources.
- The state promoted kama to ensure peace and order, so that each individual may enjoy life undisturbed.
- The **welfare of the people is the only objective of the state.**
- For Kautilya too the basic principle or the primary duties of the king or the state as the happiness and welfare of the people. In the happiness of his objects lies his happiness in their welfare his welfare.

## THE SAPTANGA THEORY: ELEMENTS OF STATE

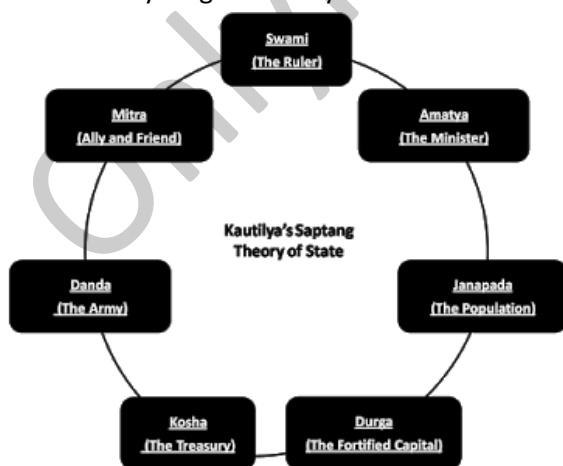
- It is the first time in Arthashastra of **Kautilya** find enumerated seven elements of state. The state is defined for the first time in the Arthashastra of Kautilya as consisting of seven elements.
- Kautilya in his Arthashastra put in an order like the **swami, the Amatyas, the Janapada, the Durgas, the Kosha, the Danda, the Mitra** and the enemy.
- The King heads the list of seven constituent elements of the state.
- It has been generally recognized that the modern constituents of the state such as sovereignty, government, territory and population are covered by the elements of Swami, amatya and Janapada in the saptang theory of the state. The seven limbs as enumerated by Kautilya represent all the four essential features of the state: territory,

population, unity and organization. Territory and population are covered by Janapada. There is no Janapada since without people.

- The two other elements unity and organization are provided by swami, an independent on Sovereign and amatya.
- The organization through which sovereignty is exercised over the Janapada territory and its people. But king is above all other elements.
- Kautilya's Saptanga doctrine represents a scheme of categorization of the various elements that comprise the kingdom Kautilya restated the relative importance of the different elements of state and then ultimately reduced their number in the following words, Swami, Amatya, Janapada, Durga, Kosha, Danda, Mitrani Prakritayan to seven.

## SWAMI

- **Kautilya assign to the king the highest place in the body politic.** King or swami was the consummation of all other elements in state and he represented the legal and moral authority, constitutionally king was the chief executive head and commander-in-chief of the army.
- **The king was the very life of the state.** According to the Arthashastra, **the king was the defender of the Dharma.**
- For Kautilya, the **king is the main pillar of state, and the master of the techniques of state craft. The king must be a scholar of high merit. He must have full knowledge of the Vedas, The Arthashastra, Dandniti, science of war etc.**
- The king was the **head of the state and in him were vested executive, legislative, judicial and financial powers.**
- Kautilya has given extensive power to the king by those powers are meant for the welfare of them subject.
- According to Kautilya the **happiness of the king consists in the happiness of the people** and in the **welfare of the people lies his welfare**. It is not the interest of self that is dear to the king but the interest of the people that is dear to him.
- The **king was to regard himself as an agent of people and the foremost duty of a king is protection of the people.**
- Kautilya says if the king is energetic, his subjects will be equally energetic. If he is slack and lazy in performing in his duties the subject will able be lax and there by eat into his wealth.
- Besides a lazy king will easily fall into the hands of enemies. Hence the king or swami should himself always be energetic.



than neighbouring kind & having ministers of high quality. He should free from vices and should be exemplary for his subjects.

- The king or **swami has been accorded the pride of place**, as the prime mover of the ship of the state. As the king occupies the central position in the theory of Arthashastra, most of the activities of state are controlled by him. **An ideal king is one who has the highest qualities of leadership, intellect, energy and personal attributes.**

- **The qualities of leadership are:** birth in a noble family, good fortune, powers, association with elders, being righteous, truthful, resolute, enthusiastic & disciplined, not breaking his promise, showing gratitude, having lofty aims, dilatory, being stronger

- Kautilya says that king is the center elements of the state. **If a wise king, trained in politics, will though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best fitted elements of his sovereignty and will never be defeated.**
- The king as the sovereignty head of the state has different types of duties like the appointment of minister, protection of the people, ability to give justice and inflict punishment on the wicked.

### AMATYA

- **Amatya constitutes the second elements of the state.** But Kautilya refers to Amatya in different sense. Amatya generally means the council of ministers.
- In the Arthashastra the **amatya constitute a regular cadre of the service** from which all high officers such as **chief priest, ministers, collectors, officers, envoys and the Superintendents** of various department are to be recruited.
- Kautilya says **kingship is possible only with assistance.** Therefore the need of ministers connection.
- In Arthashastra three words **Mantri, Amatya and sachiva** use for the ministers by amatya is rather a general word for higher bureaucracy.
- The **king deliberates over the policy of state with three or four ministers.** The council of ministers is largely responsible for shaping the policy of the government.
- The king and ministers constituted the central government, which exercised the sovereign powers.
- The Arthashastra reminds the king that he can succeed only if he assisted by competent councilors.
- **One wheel alone does not move the carriage.**
- The king and ministers are the two essential and most important wheels of the state.
- The King cannot rule the kingdom alone.  
**But ministers should be men of wisdom, integrity bravely and loyalty.**

### JANPAD

- **Janpad forms the third elements of the state.** The implication of Janpad defined in the Arthashastra implies both territory and population of because without the territory and the population a state can not exist.
- **The territory should contain fertile lands, mines, timber, pasiaure grounds, forests and water ways etc.** The Janpad should be prosperous and its lands fertile. The people should include men with good character and loyalty, intelligent, wise masters and slaves.
- **Kautilya advised the king to induce people from other countries to migrate** and settle in new village on old sites or new sites or cause people from thickly populated areas of his own kingdom to settle down in such village with a view to securing that each village should consist of not less than one hundred and not more than five hundred families and contain a sufficient number of sudra cultivators.
- The **king was to protect agriculture and industry was also the responsibility of the king.**

### FORTS (DURGA)

- For every **state it is necessary to have safety and protection system.** Therefore, Kautilya considered the forts as one of the main components of a state.
- He considers forts as powerful as people and land. **Because internal and external securities are important. Because without external security, no state can be stable.**
- We can protect the state from external attacks by forts and fortification. **The security of the treasury and army depends of fortification.**

- Kautilya advocates that there should be forts at all the four corners of the state so the security from all the sides can be ensured.

**Kautilya has classified forts in four types.**

1. **Audak fort**, where there should be trenches always filled with water.
  2. **Parvat Fort** which should be surrounded with high mountains and rocks.
  3. **Danvan fort** which should be surrounded with deserts and there should be no oasis nearby. It is almost impossible to reach such forts.
  4. **Van Fort**, which are built in dense forest where it is very difficult to reach there.
- **Such forts are very important from the point of safety.** Also they are very important for the security of the state and its people
  - The **security of the treasury and the army depends on these forts.** And battle can also be controlled from these forts effectively.
  - **Durga of Fort constitutes the fourth and an important element of the state.** Here Durga means the Fortress and it should be understood in the sense of fortified capital.
  - Forts continued to play an important role in the stability and consolidation of states. Many functions like secret war, the readiness of the army and fighting the enemy are to be carried out from the fort.

**KOSHA (TREASURY)**

- Kosha or Treasury is an extremely important resource. A strong and well managed treasury is the heart of any organization.
- Kosha or Treasury constitutes the fifth element of Kautilya's state. Kosha or Treasury is necessary for the protection and maintenance of the state in general and army in particular.
- Kautilya says that all undertakings depend upon Kosha,
- Income of the state was derived from taxes like export taxes, sales tax, village tax, etc. In his Arthashastra Kautilya has given utmost importance to public finance. Because **without treasury even a family cannot run.**
- The **foremost duty of a king to keep the treasury full and prosperous.** The king should collect taxes and fill the treasury.
- According to Kautilya, the **treasury should be collected and maintained honestly** and religiously. The treasure should be such full that it may be helpful in the time of difficulty for a long time.
- In the discussion of the relative importance of the prakritis is the seven elements of the state he expresses the view that the **treasury is more important than the army.** The latter can be raised and maintained only with the help of a well filled treasury.
- But according to Kautilya treasury should accumulate wealth through righteous and legitimate means. The **wealth of the state shall be one acquired lawfully either by inheritance or by the king's own efforts. It shall consist of gold, silver, precious and gold coins.**

**DANDA OR ARMY**

- **Without a sound defense system there cannot be the existence of state.** And for the defense of the state there should be a strong army. Therefore, **it is very necessary that he constitute a strong army and use it for the internal and external threats.**
- Kautilya has described the army as sixth aspect of the state. **He has used 'force' word for army. 'Force' means army and army is very compulsory for the defense of the state.**

- **Army is used to control anti-social elements** in the society and disloyal people. Army is also useful in defending the state from outside attacks.
- According to Kautilya, the **state army should be given the best training and they should be provided with the best weapons**. Soldiers should be fully satisfied especially when they are fighting in the field. For this purpose the king should try his best effort to meet soldier's needs. Army played an important role in the state.
- A **good soldier should be loyal, adventurous, courageous, brave, well versed in military science**, etc. This element, according to Kautilya consists of hereditary and hired soldiers comprising infantry, chariots, elephants and cavalry. **Kautilya says the Kshatriyas constitute the main part of the army.**
- But unlike Manu, Kautilya allows even the lower castes to join the army if an emergency arises.

### **ALLIES-MITRANI**

- **Kautilya's concept of Mitra (ally) is based more on ethical considerations.** The real ally should be hereditary and not artificial. It should be one with whom there is no possibility of rupture and one who is ready to come to help when occasion demands it.
- But on the other hand, **one is to be treated as an enemy who is greedy, possessed with disloyal subjects, loose character, addicted to mean pleasure, powerless and impotent.**
- The ideal ally is one who has the following qualities, a friend of the family for a long time, constant, amenable to control, powerful in his support, sharing a common interest, able to mobilise quickly and not a man who double crosses his friends.
- Alliances are only good so long as they appear in the best interest of both parties. However **as soon as the balance of power shifts allies and enemies may become enemies.**
- Since this is the natural order and to be expected. **It is only responsible of the king to maintain his own kingdom's best interest at heart when dealing with foreign powers**, be the king must be to destroy his enemies and protect his own people, to bring his subjects the three goods of life, material gain, spiritual good and pleasure.
- **Thus the Saptanga theory as propounded by Kautilya is his monumental contribution to the science of politics and administration.** This theory contains all the elements that any contribute to good governance. Kautilya says, it all depends on the king how he deals with the elements of the state. He can make even the poor and miserable elements of his sovereignty happy and prosperous but a wicked king will surely destroy the most prosperous element of the state.
- In Kautilya's Saptanga theory the **king heads the list of seven constituent elements of the state**. These seven pillars are built into firm and strong sections can the organization shoulder any responsibility and face all challenges.

### **FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE**

- Kautilya assigns his state **to discharge the role of modern welfare state**. The Hindu philosophy covered a vast and comprehensive area of the functions of the state.
- Arthashastra goes further and **entrusts the state with all functions which covers all aspects of human life.**
- Kautilya describes the many functions of state like **defence, protection of individual life and property, justice, law and order, education, Sanitation, regulation of trade and commerce, road-building transport, management of forest exploration and exploitation of mines and minerals, help to the poor and destitute.**
- The **state should not create conditions only for material welfare but it should also create conditions and foster such institutions which will enliven spiritual life of the individual**, so that his life after death is also better for the betterment of the subjects of the state, the ruler is to undertake such Karmas or activities as *sunganivesana*.



- The Kautilya state fully regulated the life of citizens.

Functions of the state	
<b>Political and protective functions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protection of people and their property is the foremost function of the state.</li> <li>• The state has to protect the people from both internal insecurities and external attack.</li> <li>• To protect the varna and the Dharma of the people. To maintain the law and order of the state.</li> <li>• It is the responsibility of the state to provide such conditions to the people in which they can live peacefully without any fear to their wealth and property.</li> <li>• The king who cannot protect his people and destroys social fiber and does not fulfill his duties goes to hell.</li> </ul>
<b>Economic functions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All round economic development of the state was the most important work of Kautilya's state. No state can do administrative work effectively without sound financial position. To keep the treasure full, to do effective work to progress continuously is an important work of the king.</li> <li>• Therefore, the king should develop agriculture, business, industries and tax-system.</li> <li>• For the economic development, forest area should be used properly. Material should be obtained from mines. Rivers and dams should be built, business and industry should be helped, innocent people should be protected from the selfish people.</li> <li>• Kautilya suggests for the state ownership and regulation to some extent. It not only regulate the economic activities but also actively participate and at the same time control private enterprise in many ways.</li> <li>• The state owned all the natural resources and treasure that belonged to the state.</li> </ul>
<b>Social functions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To protect the Dharma of the land</li> <li>• To protect the social order in accordance with the system of varns (caste) and their Dharma (duties).</li> <li>• The state should see that husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, teacher and pupil are faithful to one –another and do not play each other false.</li> <li>• The state has also to help the poor, elder, pregnant women and new-born off spring. In like manner pensions were prescribed for the aged and the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless and to orphans.</li> <li>• The king was to responsible for the security of the institutions of the family and property.</li> </ul>
<b>Educational functions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To established the education institute and to provide the education to people.</li> <li>• Kautilya attached great importance to education, if the nation had to steer ahead, educating the masses was of great importance.</li> <li>• Kautilya wanted the people of the state to be well educated so that they were able to lead the nation towards the path of progress. Education was universal and free. It was the duty of the state of impart education to all and it was the duty of the children also to seek education.</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The primary purpose of education was to develop a very healthy civic life, by speaking truth and observing 'Dharma' as the basis. Grant for education was one of the important constituents of state expenditure.</li></ul>
<b>Promotion of the welfare of the people</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The Welfare of the people is the only objective of the state. Promotions of people welfare is the keynote of state policy. The interests of the people were to be the interests of the Sovereign according to Kautilya.</li><li>The state used all resource for people welfare. Kautilya says in his Arthashastram in the happiness of his subjects lies his (The king's) happiness, in their welfare his welfare, but whatever pleases himself he shall no consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects, he shall consider as good.</li><li>Hence for the welfare of the people, the state has to carry out development activities like construction of dams, settlement of virgin land, opening trade centres, opening the school, providing the health and sanitation facilities etc.</li><li>Any state interested in the welfare of its citizens cannot afford to neglect the health of the people on which depends their prosperity security and the stability of the nation.</li></ul>
<b>Promulgation of law and maintaining judiciary</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Neither the protection of the social order nor the promotion of people's welfare possible without the important function-that of promulgating law and of maintaining the machinery of the judiciary.</li><li>The Dharmasastras and the Arthashastra reveal to us a full fledged and well-developed judiciary. The king was regarded as the fountain of all justice. The king was expected to be strictly impartial in deciding the cases according to law, otherwise he would be held guilty.</li><li>The state has to be Dahramadhikari, Nyayadhikari and Mangalkari in ancient philosophical sense.</li></ul>

## MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

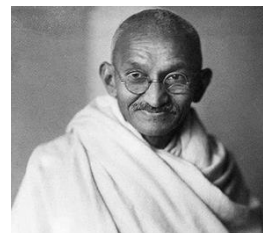
### INTRODUCTION

- Gandhism ushered a new era in the history of political thought. It made the world believe that even the greatest political problems could be solved only by making personal sacrifices and making the opponent realise the excesses and mistakes committed by him.
- Gandhi is one of the most inspiring figures of our time. He was the preeminent leader of Indian nationalism in British-ruled India. Employing non-violent civil disobedience, Gandhi led India to independence and inspired movements for non-violence, civil rights and freedom across the world.
- For Gandhi, Non-violence was the most suitable reply for violence and force. He wanted to establish an ideal society in which panchayathi raj based on real democratic principles was to flourish.

### GANDHI'S VIEWS ON TRUTH

- Truth is the most cardinal principle of Gandhism. **Mahatma Gandhi** was a worshipper of truth. He believed that there is no good higher than truth. "**Truth is God and God is Truth.**"
- He searched for truth throughout his life. He named his auto-biography, 'My Experiments with Truth'.
- Truth has a great deal of metaphysical, ethical, practical and even emotional significance for him. He achieved many successes by following the path of truth. He did not give up the path of truth even in times of failures.

- Gandhi accepts the fundamentality or primacy of the concept of truth over non-violence, satyagraha, God etc. in his political activism to establish justice he innovates non-violence, Satyagraha, trusteeship, the important moral ideals.
- Among all the moral ideals he takes truth as sovereign. He writes, **‘for me truth is the sovereign principle which includes numerous other principles.**
- This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal principle, that is God.
- From this it is obvious that he makes a **distinction between the Absolute truth and relative truths.** Anything that is objectively true or true on the basis of human experience can be taken as relative truth.
- What is empirically true can be considered as relative truth as different from absolute truth. Absolute truth transcends human experience. Absolute truth is the sum total of all that is there in the universe. Here Gandhi seems to attribute an ontological status to truth. He takes truth in the sense of ultimate existence or Reality or God.  
According to Gandhi, and **where there is Truth, there is also is knowledge which is true. Where there is no Truth, there can be no true knowledge.**
- Devotion to this Truth is the sole justification for our existence. All our activities should be centered in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life.
- According to **Gandhi, satyagraha means "scrupulous regard for truth"**. He was of the opinion that a truthful person will not harm his opponents but will make them friends. He always considered truth as the ideal, and continuously strived for its achievement.
- He firmly believed that only a society based on truth can become an ideal society. Truth and truthful living constitute the guiding principle of Gandhism philosophy.



### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON NON –VIOLENCE**

- Ahimsa is the central concept of the Gandhian ideals. Non-violence is the English translation of the word 'Ahimsa'.
- Ahimsa means non-injury, non-harm or inoffensiveness. Ahimsa requires the follower to respect all life. Infact, **non-violence and truth were to him two sides of the same coin.** A seeker of truth always follows the path of non-violence.
- Non-violence means not to harm any person, not even to one's opponent in any way. Gandhiji was against the propagation of violence in one's thought, words, actions and deeds.
- A follower of non-violence does not torture others through his words, actions and deeds. He tries to change the heart of others by bearing sufferings for himself.
- Gandhi took Truth as the supreme virtue and for him truth without non-violence is no truth. Hence the realisation of Ahimsa was essential to realize Satya.
- He remarked **"God is truth and truth is God."** and when you want to find truth as God, the only means is love and non-violence. Truth is the highest law of our life and Ahimsa is the highest duty. Non-violence as stated is an approach of a person with a developed soul and when put in practice we get Satyagraha.
- The movement may be weak but the idea and the reason should be strong which allows one to be calm and exercise control even in the most difficult situations. Ahimsa is the active dissatisfaction from untruthful means that is not replied to by any force, anger or malice, this behaviour must be presented to all creations of god and man.

- Gandhi's ultimate aim of non violence is even to love the so called enemies. To him '**non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of brute**'. Gandhi's technique of non-violence was aimed at promoting social change. To Gandhi Non-violence is the soul force or truth force or truth seeking force'.

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON SOCIALISM**

- Socialism is an economic system of society. It includes social ownership of the means of production and co-operative management of society.
- **Mahatma Gandhi** wrote, "**Socialism and communism of the West are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature.**"
- Gandhi was also never in favor of socialism propounded by Nehru, which emphasized on large-scale production. This massive production, Gandhi feared, would lead to greater exploitation and urbanization.
- According to **Gandhi**, socialism does not refer to nationalization of the means of production, distribution, exchange, but faith in God, truth, non- violence and equality.
- So, in simple terms, **Gandhian socialism is based on the ideas of non-possession and trusteeship**. Gandhian socialism was **humanitarian in nature**.
- It **cared for the poor and it was a moral code of personal conduct than an economic ideology**. It did not envisage the expropriation of the rich through violence or state action.
- To Gandhi, "**My concept of socialism implies that people should be self-reliant. That is the only way they can be prevented from being exploited. I have been trying to persuade the workers that if the capitalists have their gold and silver, we have our hands and feet. These too are assets. A capitalist will never be able to carry on without labour. Let no one misunderstand that the Sangh is going to serve the purpose of the capitalists, thereby making the workers slaves.**"
- **Mahatma Gandhi** wrote, "**The basis of socialism is economic equality. There can be no Ramarajyain the present state of iniquitous inequalities in which a few roll in riches and the masses do not get even enough to eat.**"
- Mahatma Gandhi remarked, "**Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal none low, none high.**"

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON STATE**

- **Gandhi** describes state as a '**Soulless Machine**.' "The state represents violence in a concentrated and organised form.
- In Gandhi's assessment, the state (Western type) was the symbol of violence in concentrated form. In order to ensure allegiance from the citizens the state (which means its authority) applies coercion or violent measures mercilessly.
- To **Gandhi**, "**the individual has a soul but the state is a soulless machine**, the state can never be weaned away from violence to which it owes its existence" It can never be weaned away from violence because its basis has been force."
- Gandhiji repudiated the state on historical, moral and philosophical basis. He argued that there was no illustration in history when the state had supported the case of the poor. State is based on force and its orders are enforced with coercive power. So it has no moral basis.
- He gathered experience in South Africa that **more and more power to the state meant more and more violence or greater amount of coercion**. Gandhi wanted the state to be free from its violent elements and sought to inculcate fearlessness in the minds of people.

- Since Gandhi had no faith on state which is an embodiment of violence and coercion, he did not support any other branch of this political organisation. The state curbs the individuality of man and it creates hindrances in the way of economic progress.
- However, **Gandhiji** did not favour a complete abolition of the State. He accepted the role of state as an agency for providing security to the people.
- In the words of **Gandhiji**, "The state is not an end in itself, but a means of enabling people to better their conditions in every department of life."
- **Gandhiji** wanted the state to be a Service State. State should work for making the life of man better. Further, the state is not infallible and omnipotent. People can oppose the unjust laws and policies of the state.
- **Gandhiji** wanted to limit the functions of the State. Like individualists, **Gandhiji** regarded the **State as a necessary evil**. He wished to assign to it minimum functions. Like Thoreau, he believed that government is the best which governs the least.
- Self-government really means greater freedom from the control of the State. Undoubtedly, there are certain functions which cannot be performed without the state. However, a large number of functions can be performed without the State. This can be done by the people solely through their own initiatives and mutual co-operation.
- To him violence is the biggest obstacle to the natural development of individual and social life of the state. **Gandhi** opposed the increasing power of the state; because it leads the state as coercive.
- He said that, "I look upon on increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress."
- **Gandhi** also viewed sovereignty in the light of morality. Though, in general view, sovereignty is a political concept, **Gandhi** did not admit its dissociation from ethics, morality and other universal ideals and values. For this reason the general view of sovereignty was not acceptable to him.
- **Gandhi was an ardent advocate not of traditional state sovereignty but of popular sovereignty strongly advocated by one of the social contract theoreticians**. In the scheme of Rousseau's popular sovereignty the citizens had the opportunity to assemble in open places periodically and to participate in the variety of functions of state.
- **Gandhi** contemplated the same type of popular sovereignty for India. The Gandhian theory of state is based not only on the principles of freedom, non-violence, morality, justice and truth but also on decentralisation.
- **Gandhi** described his ideal state as per his following words, "**If national life becomes as perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour.**"
- In the ideal State, therefore, **there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realized in life.**

#### RAMRAJYA-THE IDEAL SOCIETY OF GANDHI – A STATE OF ETHICS AND MORALITY

- **Ram Raj is an ideal social order based on equality, liberty and non-violence**. It is sometimes described as 'Poorna Swarajyam', 'Dharma Rajyam', sometimes 'Swarajyam'.
- The **Ram Raj is a moral Political organisation and it resembles Plato's ideal state and Rousseau's moral public person**.
- **Gandhi** also wanted to build up the foundation of his Ram Raj on the universal principles including justice.

- An important aspect of Gandhi's Ram Raj is he has **combined politics with ethics and morality**. Gandhi clearly disowned the Machiavellian concept of separation of politics from morality and religion.
- He was firmly convinced that only the amalgamation of politics with religion and morality could provide a perfect social order.
- **Gandhiji's ideal was a stateless democratic society**. This society was to be a federation of self-contained and self-regulated village communities. It was to work on the basis of peoples' voluntary and peaceful co-operation. **Every village was to be a small republic, having a panchayat with full powers.**
- **Gandhi's ideal State was a non-violent state of enlightened anarchy** where social life would remain self-regulated. In that State there is **no ruler, no subject, no government or no governed**.
- It is a perfect State consisting of enlightened persons, self-regulated and self-controlled following the principles of non-violence.
- **The ideal State of Gandhi was to be governed, by the principle of manual work**. Every individual should take up manual work for rendering his/her service to the State and wellbeing of his fellow individuals inside the State. This will promote his **service in the direction of welfare of the State**.
- In an ideal State, **authority should be decentralized**. Gandhi was against centralization for it leads to absolutism. In decentralizing the authority, Gandhi gave **scope to individual liberty**. The State should guide the individuals by appealing to their morality. **If State resorts to violence, it will damage the enthusiasm, initiative, courage, creativeness and nonviolent mind of individuals and as such, the State cannot prosper.**
- An individual in Gandhian **ideal State should be selfless**. He should not accumulate wealth. Accumulation of bread and controlling labour will bring poverty to the State. Thus, in the villages, means of production should be commonly won. This should generate love among the people of the locality binding them in the-common tie of love.
- **Swadeshi should be promoted** because that is the characteristic feature of Gandhian ideal State. Gandhi envisaged that the principle of non-violence should be the basis of State. Naturally, a democracy that will emerge out of it, will give vent to the majority of opinion. Here, neither property nor status or position but manual work should be the qualification of village republic. It will be a State devoid of corruption and hypocrisy. In a simple statement, democracy will be spiritualized.
- To Gandhiji, **State is not an end itself**; it is rather a means to the end. It is meant to do greatest good of greatest number of the people. Neither force nor absolute sovereignty is the basis of State. Gandhi's ideal of a welfare State is always ready to promote the condition of its subjects.
- Gandhiji vehemently **opposed the parliamentary democracy** of western type. He criticized the universal suffrage system of the election held in western countries. The Parliament is not stable to the change of ministry from time to time. Further, the Prime Minister is always concerned about his own interest and the interest of his party members for retaining his power.
- Western democracy has no place in Gandhi's welfare State. Following the doctrine of Gita, Mahatma **Gandhi** told that the **Varna system should form the basis of the ideal State**. As Varna is related to birth, every Varna should render its labour to the betterment of the State. That will result in non-possession and economic equality. This will bring complete social and economic equality.
- **Dharma is a novel aspect of Gandhi's ideal state**. It is not a religion of a particular sector creed; rather it is moral and ethical code of conduct which preserves the culture of the nation. Further, it holds together the social order and brings harmony among the people uplifting their potentialities. **Gandhiji prescribed for a minimum intervention of police force in the activities of the State.**
- State should be **governed by the principle of Ahimsa**.

- Gandhiji put **emphasis on duty rather than rights**. If one becomes cautious for his duties, then rights will automatically be taken due care by the State. Rights are nothing but opportunities for self-realisation. It is the link of one's spiritual unity with others by serving them.
- Gandhiji laid **emphasis on basic education**. By that he wanted to spread vocational education in the nook and corner of the country. Gandhi had realized that this will improve small-scale industry, which in turn, will bring a self-sufficient economy for every country.
- Gandhiji named his ideal society as 'Ram Rajya'. Truth and non-violence were to be the basis of Ram Rajya. In the Ideal society people were to lead a happy and peaceful life on the basis of moral and spiritual values.

### **GANDHI'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY**

- Mahatma Gandhi was an ardent believer in the theory and democracy His belief was based on his own conception of democracy which was quite different from classical concept of democracy of the west.
- His innate love of equality, unflinching support of individual freedom, and his consistent plea for bringing about a just order through the brotherhood of man that recognized no barriers of sex, religion, language and culture testify to his faith in democracy of his conception.
- Gandhi believed that a **democracy, which served the welfare of all, would be marked by Minimum state intervention in social life**.
- Gandhi was extremely critical of the parliamentary democracy and he called the British Parliament as a 'sterile women and a prostitute' in his monumental book 'Hind Swaraj'. Although for him **good government is no substitute for self-government**. A true democracy can be set up only when India will achieve Swaraj.
- Democracy must be associated with truth and non-violence. People can never set up a democratic structure with violent means and untruthful ways.
- To Gandhi, **'democracy as something that gives the weak the same as the strong'**. In order to be democratic a state must create a congenial atmosphere for the proper development of freedom and rights. He believed that if freedom is lost the entire individuality is also lost.
- **Only Swaraj can ensure true democracy and in such a system there can exist freedom**.
- The most important elements of Gandhi's concept of democracy are: participation of men in the affairs of state, people's right to protest the immoral and anti-people's acts of government, nonviolence, people's right to choose their own ways and prevalence of justice and equality. True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. **It has to be worked from below by the people of every village**. He advocated that in democracy the independence must begin at the bottom. It means that at **grass-root level** people must be independent in making their policies and implementing them without any rigid and strict control from the above.
- Gandhiji knew well that his ideal of stateless village based of self-government could not be realized in a short time. He therefore supported democracy as the best form of government. However, the **central point of his concept of democracy was Village Panchayat system**. Panchayats were to play a special role in the Gandhian Society.
- Gandhi wanted India to evolve a **"True Democracy"** and laid six conditions for its realization in India.
  - Satyagraha expressed through Charkha;
  - Growth of Village Industries;
  - Primary education through Handicrafts;
  - Removal of Untouchability; Communal Harmony; and
  - Non-violent Organization of labour



### **GANDHI ON DECENTRALIZATION**

- Gandhi's greatest contribution to the social thought of this century is perhaps his **insistence on decentralization of the means of production.**
- According to **Gandhi**, men should do their actual living and working in communities. They permit genuine self-government and the assumption of personal responsibilities, federated into larger units in such a way that the temptation to abuse great power should not arise.
- **The larger a democracy grows, the lesser becomes the rule of the people and the smaller is the way of individuals and localized groups in dealing with their own destinies.**
- Political decentralization prevents massive concentrations of political power in the hands of too few; rather, to distribute it in the hands of many.
- Gandhian political order takes the **form of a direct, participatory democracy**, operating in a tier structure from the base of village level tier upwards through the district and state levels ultimately to the national and international levels.
- Non-violence was understood to be the basic tenets of Gandhiji's concept of decentralization. Centralization is a system is inconsistent with the non-violent structure of society. Gandhiji's concept of decentralization was not an isolated concept but the outcome of his religio-ethical, socio-political and economic concepts and ideas.

**Village Swaraj** was an essential component of decentralized polity or decentralized governance.

- **Swaraj is the best form of governance.** Every village is a self sufficient republic or panchayat. The government of the village will be the panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers both male and female. It is considered as the unit of local-self government. It is the original custodian of all authority. The panchayat system as viewed by Gandhiji represents a village community.
- **Economic decentralization:** The spirit of non-violence coupled with individual freedom and equality provide the solid foundation for Gandhiji's concept of decentralization in the political sphere. He favoured decentralization in the economic field as well.
- Gandhiji's **non-violent economy model** stood for production by the masses rather than mass production. He had dreamt of an ideal economic order based on indigenous culture and civilization and hence became a trenchant critic of western civilization, mechanization and industrialization. Economic decentralization is related to rural economy and cottage industries located in the rural areas.
- He gave utmost importance to the freedom of the individual. **The individual is nucleus around which revolve the other institutions.** Through the decentralisation of political power individuals will get full scope to participate in the affairs of state and they can do it absolutely in non-violent way.
- Gandhi believed that for a nonviolent society to achieve a lasting peace, it must be organized in a decentralized way.

### **GANDHIAN TRUSTEESHIP THEORY**

- The concept of Trusteeship flows from the **ideals of aparigraha and ahimsa**. Gandhi offered Trusteeship as an alternative. He called it "the technique of change of heart."
- **A trustee** is one who holds property or wealth in trust for others who are identified as the beneficiaries. Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.
- It provides a means by which the **wealthy people would be the trustees of trusts** that looked after the welfare of the people in general. The production should cater to the need of the society.



- Under trusteeship, any rich man can use his extra wealth for his satisfaction. He also cannot use the wealth for promoting antisocial activities. The State should guide the rich how to utilize the wealth for the benefit of the State.
- The wealth should not be won by any private fellow. It can only be done by the consent of the people in the society at large.
- Trusteeship aimed at **reforming the capitalist society**. It advocated that rich people should change themselves and should come forward to use their property for the betterment of society. To Gandhi, the State should come forward to regulate the system. In that case there would be no discrimination.
- The wealth or the rich will be appropriated by the State and regulated by the order of the State. Thus under state-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society.
- It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property except so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society.
- Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.
- **The theory of trusteeship makes no distinction between private and non-private property. It tries to reduce the gap between the rich and poor.** It tries to reduce exploitation. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself.
- It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption. Gandhi's Concept of Trusteeship does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth. Gandhiji always stood for the change of heart. He was firmly of the opinion that the rich and the powerful should voluntarily surrender their wealth for the welfare of people as a matter of their duty.

#### **GANDHIAN THEORY OF SATYAGRAHA**

- Satyagraha is a term comprising two words; **satya or truth, and agrah or insistence**. Satyagraha is a **relentless search for truth and a determination to teach truth through nonviolent means**.
- It literally means holding on to truth. Gandhiji sometimes also referred to it as 'truth force or soul force'. Satyagraha is unique in its conception as opposed to other resistance movements which strive to prove wrong or to defeat the opponent.
- With satyagraha, **Mahatma Gandhi ushered in a new era of civilian resistance on the political scenario of the world**. Gandhi achieved success in the revolutions he led in South Africa by following the path of Satyagraha. **Satyagraha is more than a political tool of resistance**.
- **It is a holistic approach towards life, based on the ideals of truth and moral courage**.
- On a personal front it involves a life committed to truth, chastity, non-attachment and hard-work. On the political front, satyagraha involves utilisation of non-violent measures to curb the opponent, and ideally to convert him rather than to coerce him into submission.

#### **FEATURES**

- Essential principle of **Satyagraha is not to obliterate or wound the adversary, but to convert or win him by love, compassion, endurance and self-suffering**.
- It is based on the metaphysical conviction that the oppressor may have power over the body and material assets of a Satyagrahi, but not greater than his spirit.

- Satyagraha, as a means of social action, is based on a strong moral substance. Self-suffering is its unique temperament which differentiates it from all other forms of violent techniques of action.
- **Satyagraha abstains from evil activities stimulate and encourage everyone in peace making through love, compassion, benevolence and doing good to others even our opponents.**
- Satyagraha considered as the method for reconstructing, remoulding, and reshaping human nature through moralize human activities. **It is not possible to compare the Non-violent non-cooperation with inaction or non-action. It is a vigorous denunciation of untruth, without violence, annoyance or hatred.**
- The **concept of Satyagraha has the wider scope** in its application in the social movements where **there is no hate or anger and violence.**
- The **most important characteristics of Satyagraha lies in making awareness and consciousness among the masses, educating about the socio-economic and political condition of the time**, preserving the unity apart from diversities among the masses, **converting them as the fearless soldiers, establish the common platform and strong organization and then give direction to them to non-violent struggle against the evils.**
- **The multi-class or non-class character of Satyagraha movement is distinct from other methods which mainly consist of the same class.**

#### **GANDHI ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION/ HIND SWARAJ**

- **Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*** is primarily known for its trenchant critique of modern civilization. In *Hind Swaraj* he also dwells on the condition of India as it has developed under the British rule and tutelage.
- He makes a basic formulation that under the impact of the British rule India is turning into an 'irreligious' country.
- In *Hind Swaraj* he argues that lawyers have contributed more to the degradation of India. Besides, they have accentuated the **Hindu-Muslim dissensions**, helped the British to consolidate their position and have sucked the blood of the poor of India.
- In his opinion, doctors have been primarily responsible for making the people 'self-indulgent' and taking less care of their bodies. He concludes his critique of modern civilization by comparing it to an *Upas* tree, a poisonous plant which destroys all life around it.
- He examines the English educational system introduced in India and describes it as 'false education'. For him the basic aim of education should be to bring our senses under our control and to help imbibe ethical behaviour in our life.
- He attacks the newly emerged elite, a by-product of the Macaulay system of education, as they have enslaved India.
- **Gandhi** opposed the Western Civilization because, it had been hedonistic nature in practice, in the sense of self-centred pleasure, pragmatic in the sense of immediate material benefit and individualistic in the sense of egocentric in the respect of sovereign individual oriented.
- He was influenced by **Edward Carpenter's *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure***. Gandhi found no morality or religion in western civilization and both these were essential elements in the structure of any society Gandhi supported or promoted.
- **Gandhi criticized the Western civilization as a purely materialistic civilization that measures its progress in terms of money.** Gandhi believed that despite their material comforts and everyday invention of new machinery they are not civilized like the Indians and that economic progress is no guarantee to moral progress.
- To him, the champions of western civilization behaved in actual practice and how wide the gap between what the practiced and preached. **European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans, but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it.**

- Gandhi even **criticized the Parliamentary form of governance that has its origin in the Western civilization.** Gandhi never aspired for a Parliamentary democracy but Swaraj, wherein there is a scope for self-regulation and the state, though not withers away, it would govern the least. For Gandhi, fundamentals must not change.
- Gandhi is also in favour of technology although he is generally known as a vehement critic of modern technology. An individual's primary place in society can never be replaced by any other component of any type of system and order.

### **GANDHIAN SWARAJ**

- The term '**Swaraj**' initially was used by Dadabhai Naoroji and Balgangadhar Tilak in political scenario for attaining the national Independence.
- The idea of 'Swaraj' or self-rule is one of the philosophical principles of Gandhian teachings, which stimulate man in conquering complete individuality and also reorganization of the society.
- Gandhi holds that **self-rule or 'Swaraj'** was nothing but self-determination of the individual while taking decisions without depending upon others. Gandhi used this term Swaraj with a definite meaning and significance.
- By **Real Swaraj** Gandhi meant the '**welfare and happiness of the masses**'.
- He wrote Swaraj as "a scared word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraint which independence often means.
- It is a fact that his Swaraj is meant for self-government. This idea is based on the spiritual thinking that anything authentic and real can come only from within. **Gandhi used the term swaraj both at the individual and national levels.**
- **The individual swaraj** means rule over one's self. Control over one's lust is the main condition for individual swaraj.
- **In national level** Gandhi meant that national self-rule in the fields of social, political, economic and moral.
- Gandhi thought that by educating the masses it will be possible to accomplish self-rule, he says, "**swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.**"
- According to Gandhi **economic swaraj** means self-sufficient individual, village and national economic freedom and also that means decentralized economic power to all. By his teachings of swaraj he wanted to eradicate the sect of haves and have nots and try to establish economy based on self-reliance. That's why Gandhi preached khadi, spinning wheel and trusteeship for self-dependent economic power.
- **Gram Swaraj or village self-rule** is an essential thought in Gandhi's thinking.

### **SARVODAYA**

- The two terms in Sarvodaya are **Sarva** (all) and **Uday**, (rising). The literal translation of Sarvodaya would then be the 'rising of all'. The term was first coined by Mohandas Gandhi as the title of his 1908 translation of John Ruskin's tract on political economy, "**Unto This Last**", and Gandhi came to use the term for the ideal of his own political philosophy.
- Mahatma Gandhi was a humanist and radical revivalist who fought not only against the colonialism and imperialism, but also against the superstitious practices, religious hatred and casteism in India.

### **PRINCIPLES OF THE SARVODAYA**

- No centralized authority. Politics will not be the instrument of power but an agency of service and *Rajniya* will yield place to *Loknity*.

- All people will be imbued with the spirit of love, fraternity, truth, non-violence and self-sacrifices. Society will function on the basis on the non-violence.
- **No party system and majority rule and society will be free from the evil of the tyranny of the majority.**
- The sarvodaya society is socialist in the true sense of the term. All calling will be the same moral, social and economical values. The individual personality has the fullest scope for development.
- The sarvodaya society is based on equality and liberty. There is no room in it for unwholesome some competition, exploitation and class-hatred.
- Sarvodaya stands for the **progress of the all**. All individual should do individual labour and follow the ideal of non-possession. Then it will be possible to realize the goal of: from each according to his work and to each according to his needs.
- There will be **no private property**, the instrument of exploitation and the source of social distinctions and hatred. Similarly, the profit motive will disappear, rent and interest to will go.
- The **Sarvodaya Movement is based on Truth, Non-violence and Self-denial**.
- The Sarvodaya Movement makes a sincere and bold attempt to create the necessary atmosphere to bring together such individuals with an unwavering faith in the Welfare of All

#### **RELEVANCE OF GANDHI**

- **Gandhiji** not only gave India its freedom but also gave the world and us a new thought on nonviolence and sustainable living. His teachings and experiments are more valid today than ever before Barack Obama, the present US President, sees Mahatma Gandhi as an inspiration and has a portrait of the apostle of peace in his office.
- He commented, "In my life, I have always looked to Mahatma Gandhi as an inspiration, because he embodies the kind of transformational change that can be made when ordinary people come together to do extraordinary things."
- The fundamental precepts of *Gandhism* are more *relevant* today when caste, class and religious differences are so pronounced. Gandhism can never be outdated no matter what people may say and believe.
- In this world torn by violence and corruption, Gandhi's philosophy is the only hope that keeps the human race going. He is best known as the matchless political leader who evolved the new technique of "satyagraha".
- His **fight against untouchability** and the notions of superiority and inferiority by birth are also fairly well known.
- For India, his greatest service was, perhaps, the **emancipation of Indian women**. Philosophy of non-violence has great relevancy it contemporary 21st century.
- In India most of the conflict and extremist revolutions already selected & some are going to settle by **non-violence and peaceful means**. Peace process in extremist movement, settlement of interstate conflict, Water dispute. The central concepts of Gandhi's philosophy is 'Satyagraha'.
- It is itself a whole philosophy of non-violence.
- A **Satyagraha campaign** is undertaken only after all other peaceful means have proven ineffective. For extent of some period it was known as Gandhi's method of Satyagraha have no any relevancy but with the passing of time he proved how it was important of protection of life, Liberty and property .
- His **political ideal based on ethical and spiritual grounds** rising democratic values. At present, we see that politics is routed deceit and dishonesty and is bound to create greater deceit and greater dishonesty.
- **Gandhian economy** still relevant to our time. He was not against machinery as such. He was afraid that use of machinery on large scale would result in technological unemployment. He extend Ruskin's concepts of the

equality of wages to all kinds of labour and equal distribution. The mad race in industrialization and urbanization has resulted in pollution of environment and Gandhi abundant of luxurious life.

- The **concept of Decentralization** occupies paramount importance in Gandhian Philosophy. Gandhi wanted political power to be distributed among the villages in India. He preferred the term 'swaraj' to describe what he called true democracy.
- **Gandhian Democracy** is still relevant in India. It is clear from the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments of Indian constitution that is related only with rural administration of India.
- Gandhi promoted an educational curriculum called '**Basic Education**'. He much emphasis on mother tongue should be the medium of education, women education.

#### MANVENDRA NATH ROY (1893-1954)

- **Manabendra Nath Roy** was an Indian revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher in the 20th century. Roy was a founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India. He was also a delegate to congresses of the Communist International and Russia's aide to China.
- He passed through three phases of development of his ideas – Nationalism (up to 1915), Marxism (1915-1946), and Radical Humanism (1946 -1954).
- **M.N. Roy** held that **revolution is concerned with the ultimate things**, and that the first necessity of revolutionary is a philosophy and his first choice of philosophy was Marxism up to the early 1940s.
- He reformulated the Marxian philosophy in such a way that it appears as a philosophy of freedom. Roy was **inspired by Marx's original humanism and by his social goal**. He considered **Marx as essentially a humanist and lover of human freedom**.
- Like Marx, **Roy regarded the physical being of man in constant relationship with nature**, wherein man plays an active role. He was **also inspired by Marx's basic doctrine "existence determines consciousness"**.
- He agreed with **Marx** that **biological urge for self-preservation was the moving force**. Again, Marx's socialism "as the kingdom freedom" where human reason will overcome the irrational forces, which now tyrannies he life of man and as a rational being man will control his destiny was also his ideal.
- Roy does **not identify Marxism with communism** Marxism is a philosophy while communism is a political practice. Roy believed in socialisation of the process of production. When labour is performed collectively, its product must be collectively owned. Private property must cease to be an economic necessity before it can be abolished.
- **Roy rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to achieve communism.**

#### M.N. ROY'S CRITICISM ON MARXISM

- To Roy, **"I have never been an orthodox Marxist. My attitude to Marxism was critical from the very beginning"**. Roy differed from Marxism in several points. Though Roy criticized Marxist philosophy and sociology of historical materialism, he never commented on the technicalities of Marxian economics.
- He did not comment on issues such as Marxian theories of accumulation of capital, capitalist reproduction and the possible contradiction in the labor theory of value, the price production theory and the like.
- Roy considers **Marx as a humanist and a lover of freedom**. As far as the teachings of Marx are concerned, Roy either rejected them or made significant modifications.
- Roy pointed out that the **very principle of Marx's dialectical materialism was absurd**. To Roy, the **methodology of dialectics could be applicable to the realm of ideology, not materialism**.

- Therefore, the **dialectical materialism of Marx was only in name**, it was essentially an idealistic system. Thus, **Roy is critical of Marx's rejection of autonomy to the human being**.
- Marx though glorified class struggle, did not lay emphasis on the empirical individual. Though the movement through thesis and anti-thesis appears to be a logical argumentation, according to Roy, it is ridiculous to state that matter and forces of production move dialectically.
- He strongly believed that **the dialectic materialism is materialistic only in name and dialectics being the cornerstone; it is essentially idealistic in nature**. It is for this reason Roy believed that **Marx rejected the scientific naturalism and also humanist materialism**.
- Roy strongly believed that the **Marxian interpretation of history is defective because it allowed no role to mental activity in the social process**.
- History can never be interpreted solely with reference to materialistic objectivism. The intelligence of human beings and their cumulative actions are very powerful social forces.
- Further, **consciousness is regarded as being posterior to reality**. Roy criticized the **economic interpretation of history as envisaged by Marx**.
- To Roy, **Marx made a false distinction between primitive man's intelligent effort to earn a livelihood and biological struggle for existence**. Marx had wrongly held that the origin of society and subsequent human development were economically motivated. Physical urge and economic motive both were different to Roy.
- **Roy criticized that Marx entirely ignored the entire process of becoming the man**, before he entered into social relations. Thus, economic determinism does not necessarily follow as a logical corollary from the philosophy of materialism. Thus, it becomes clear that there is no necessary and inevitable connection between philosophical materialism and the economic interpretation of history.
- Marx believed that in the struggle with nature, man changes his own nature. In other words, Marx contends that human nature is not stable. In opposition to Marxism, **Roy states that human nature is stable and permanent** and the basis for this proposition is the rights and duties.
- The subordination of humans to the factors of production is a neutralization of his autonomy and creativity. **Moral consciousness is not a product of economic forces**. Roy further stated that it is **humanist ethics that exalts the sovereignty of man and believes in axiological hierarchy of freedom and justice**.
- Roy criticized the concept of sociology of class struggle. Though **there are a number of social classes and despite the presence of tension among these classes, they are all operating in a cohesive manner**. Marx proved to be a complete failure with his prediction that the middle class would disappear. In fact, the **expansion of economic process also leads to the increase in the number of the middle class**.

#### ROY ON RADICAL HUMANISM/NEW HUMANISM

- Humanism is an **attitude which attaches primary importance to Man and his faculties**, affairs and aspirations. The essence of Humanism is the **importance placed on human being, the individual as the centre of all aspirations of human activities**.
- Radical **humanism is the major contribution of M. N. Roy towards political thought**.
- In the later years of his life, Roy became an exponent of "New Humanism".
- Roy's ideas about Radical or New Humanism were inspired by the writing of **Friedrich Engels**,



- The central purpose of **Roy's Radical Humanism** is to **coordinate the philosophy of nature with social philosophy and ethics in a monistic system**. "It is for this reason that Roy claims it as humanist as well as materialist, naturalist as well as nationalist, creativist as well as determinist".
- According to Roy "**political philosophy must start from the basic idea that the individual is prior to society, and freedom can be enjoyed only by individuals**".
- **Quest for freedom and search for truth**, according to Roy, **constitute the basic urge of human progress**. The purpose of all-rational human endeavor, individual as well as collective, is attainment of freedom in ever increasing measure. **The amount of freedom available to the individuals is the measure of social progress.**
- Radicalism consists of all positive elements of Marxism freed from its fallacies and clarified in the light of greater scientific knowledge.
- The manifesto of Radical Humanism laid down that, "**the ideal of Radical Democracy will be attained through the collective efforts of spiritually free men and women united in a political party with the determination of creating a new order of freedom.**"
- The members of the party will guide, friends and philosophers of the people rather than as there would be rulers consistent with the goal of freedom; Political practice of the party will be rational and ethical.

#### FEATURES OF RADICAL/NEW HUMANISM

- **Roy's idea revolves around Man.**
- **"It is the man who creates society, state and other institutions and values for his own welfare. Man has the power to change them for its greater welfare and convenience. His belief lies in "Man as the measure of everything".**
- As a radical humanist, **his philosophical approach is individualistic. The individual could not be subordinated either to a nation or to a class.**
- The individual should not lose his identity in the collective ego of such notions. Man's being and becoming, his emotions, will and ideas determine his life style.
- He has two basic traits, one, reason and the other, the urge for freedom. The reason in man echoes the harmony of the universe. This urge for freedom leads him to a search for knowledge.
- He **considers freedom to be of supreme value**. While rationality provides dynamism to a man, the urge for freedom gives him direction. **Roy's conception of human nature becomes the basis of society and state.** He attributes their origin to the act of man for promoting his freedom and material satisfaction.
- Roy defined state as "**The political organisation of society. The evolution of the state is not only historical, but also natural.** For him, the **state must exist and discharge its limited functions**. The basic feature of the radical democracy is that the people must have the ways and means to exercise sovereign power effectively.
- **Power would be so distributed that maximum power would be vested in local democracy and minimum at the apex** along with other equally important and autonomous social institutions reduces the functions of the state to the minimum.
- He **laid more emphasis to Education in Radical democracy**. As a radical humanist, Roy came to believe that a **revolution should be brought about not through class struggle or armed violence, but through education.**
- Roy emphasised the concept of moral man. **To him, politics cannot be separated from ethics.** Roy traces morality to rationality in man. Reason is the only sanction for morality, without moral men, there can be no moral society.
- Roy **advocates humanist politics.** This will lead to purification and rationalisation of politics. To him, **politics can be practiced without power.** "**Party politics has given rise to power politics**".



- To him **any party government, at best, is for the people, but it is never of the people and by the people**. In a country like India, he laments about the evils of party politics that exist, where ignorant conservative people are exploited in the elections. **Thus, he preferred the abolition of the party system which will enable politics to operate without an incentive of power.**
- In the absence of that corrupting agency, morality in political practice would be possible. Roy advocated for **'Revolution by Consent of the people'** to resist tyranny and oppression in a non-violent means.
- Roy further has conceived humanism as cosmopolitan humanism because it denies the existence of autonomous National States. **Roy does not agree with the pattern of Western Democracy**. He feels that the Western Democracy is equally disappointing. According to Roy, the character of the party should be judged on the basis of the records of the government.

### ROY'S PERCEPTION ON RADICAL DEMOCRACY

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- Roy suggests a radical democracy instead of political liberal democracy.
- Radical democracy is a **kind of democracy that has been set on the basis of philosophical orientation**. According to Roy, such an **organisation of society can unfolds ample opportunity for man**, it will replace the executive power of the state under the control of free individuals.
- Radical democracy should not be survived on the basis of the will of periodical elections. He further contends that **government for the people can never be fully a government of the people and by the people**.
- A radical **democracy will be a kind of democracy which objective is to stimulate conscious and integrated effort amongst the people, which ensures freedom of the individuals, the spirit of free thinking, and the will of the individuals.**
- Side by side it will resist external forces which would be detrimental to the progress of the state.
- Radical democracy can be attained through collective efforts of spiritually free men and women. As it has been accomplished by creating a new order of freedom of spiritually free men and women, it will function as the guides, friends and philosophers of the people rather than as dictator rulers. Their political practice will be rational with a coherent amalgamation of both reason and morality. To Roy, **"Spiritually free individuals at the helm of affairs will smash all chains of slavery and usher of freedom of all"**.

### PRINCIPLES OF RADICAL DEMOCRACY

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1. Man is the archetype of society; co-operative social relationships contribute to develop individual potentialities.
2. Quest for freedom and search for truth constitute the basic urge of human progress.
3. The purpose of all rational human endeavour, individual as well as collective, is attainment of freedom in ever increasing measure.
4. Rising out of the background of the law-governed physical nature, the human being is essentially rational.
5. For creating a new world of freedom, revolution must go beyond an economic reorganisation of society
6. Communism or socialism may be the conceivable means for the attainment of the goal of freedom.
7. State ownership and planned economy do not by themselves end exploitation of labour; nor do they necessarily lead to an equal distribution of wealth.
8. The ideal of radical democracy will be attained through the collective efforts of spiritually free men united in the determination of creating a world of freedom.

- M'N' Roy had been considered as one of the most learned of Modern Indian writer on politics and philosophy. He was a nationalist, Marxist and above all a humanistic philosopher. His philosophy of Radical humanism is considered as the most important contribution, which could provide for a strong basis to Indian democracy.
- The core of the Radical Humanism of Roy lies in laying greatest emphasis on the personality of the individual as a human being. As a believer of freethinking irrespective of himself, his Radical Humanism is the outcome of his critical attitude towards Marxism.
- **New Humanism is pledged to the ideal of a common- wealth and fraternity of free man.** He pleads for a spiritual community or a cosmopolitan humanism.

## BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR (1891-1956)

### INTRODUCTION

**Ambedkar**, popularly also recognized as Babasaheb was a great patriot, social –political thinker, educationist, economist and administrator, political reformer, parliamentarian, constitutionalist of high order and a revivalist for Buddhism in India. He was also the **chief architect of the Indian Constitution**.

He was a true renaissance man, a person who excelled in many different areas of inquiry. Ambedkar was **champion of social justice**. His thought is centrally concerned with issues of freedom, human equality, democracy and socio-political emancipation. **Ambedkar has often been described as one of the chief architects of the constitution.**

He was a revolutionary social reformer who demonstrated great faith in democracy and the moral basis of a society. Ambedkar was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, in 1990. Ambedkar's life was shaped and influenced by his bitter and degrading personal experiences as untouchables.

### SOCIO-POLITICAL IDEAS OF AMBEDKAR

- **Ambedkar** made lot of contributions in the spheres of understanding individual, caste, Hindu Social order, champion of human rights, problems of Hindu women, Indian minorities, nation and nation building. **Opposition to Caste System:** The caste system is not just a division of labour, but a hierarchical division of labourers. According to **Ambedkar**, the Hindu scheme of social structure based on the four Varnas or **Chaturvarna breeds inequality** and has been the parent of the caste-system and untouchability which are merely forms of inequality.
- To him, the '**principle of graded inequality**' was prevailing in Hindu society - divided the society both vertically and horizontally. He founded the '**Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha**' for the upliftment of the depressed classes.
- **He wanted the public services to be made responsive to the needs of the weaker sections.** Annihilation of Caste is one of the foremost monographs published by Ambedkar aimed at explaining the exploitative nature of caste and calling for its annihilation in order to secure a social order based on equal status and dignity for all.
- **Ambedkar** was a **practical reformer** who after taking stock of the whole situation came to the conclusion that very little could be achieved in the practical field in the effort of abolition of caste system. He converted to Buddhism and is also credited with providing a spark for the **transformation of hundreds of thousands of Dalits or untouchables to Theravada Buddhism.**

- He suggested that 'education, organization and agitation' were the key elements needed for the same. Social reform was always the first priority of Dr. Ambedkar. **He whispered that the economic and political issues should be resolved only after achieving the goal of social justice.**
- **Ambedkar** distinguished the institution of **untouchability** from that of caste although the former too is stamped by the same principle of graded inequality as the latter. Untouchability is not merely an extreme form of caste degradation but a qualitatively different one as the system kept the untouchable outside the fold and made any social interaction with him polluting and deplorable.
- Ambedkar **did not go against Hinduism, but he has heavily criticized Hindu caste/Varna system.** For him, the Hindu social order is the root cause of various social evils perpetuated in various forms in the Indian society. **Hinduism is responsible for the abominable conditions of the down-trodden, especially of lower caste and women.**
- **The inequality in Hinduism is a religious doctrine adopted and conscientiously preached as a sacred dogma.** To him, the depressed class was denied basic right under systematic oppression in Hinduism.
- **He blamed Manu for treating women in more or less similar way as the shudra.** He was convinced that for social justice and progress of the nation it was essential that conditions of women should be improved a lot. He stood for the economic equality of women and vehemently pleaded for the spread of women education.
- **Ambedkar's idea of social justice was based on our indigenous historical, social and cultural roots.** His dream of a **society based on socio- economic justice human dignity and equality.** He challenged the existing beliefs and deep rooted sometimes of the society and changed the society to be the vehicle of modern values of objectivity and autonomy of reason in the affairs of men.
- **Ambedkar** drafted the provisions in the constitution of India that are guaranteed every citizens the social, economic, political and culture rights. Ambedkar's view was that, the **government is answerable to all of society's problems, to socioeconomic political cultural civic.**
- He had a clear vision of an ideal or just society based on liberty, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar was a **great admirer of Parliamentary system of Government.** According to him, there are three inherent characteristics of the system.
  - Firstly, **free and fair elections from time to time.**
  - Secondly, in the form of government no single individual can presume the authority that he knows everything and that he can make the laws and carry the government. The laws are to be made by the representatives of the people.
  - Finally, **the elected representatives, the legislatures and ministers must have the confidence of the people renewed in themselves at given periodicity.**
- Ambedkar favoured the **functional theory of the state.** The state was a legal and constitutional system that represented the principle of equality. He holds the liberal notion of the state where the state represents the collective will of the society through law and hence becomes legitimized.
- **Ambedkar's idea of a federal state** attaches more importance to institutional means for the solution of human affairs.
- **Ambedkar's ideas on justice** are closely linked up with his concept of democracy both as a form of government and a "mode of associated life".
- Ambedkar also **rejected Gandhi's Sarvodaya theory of social justice** which associated both religion and the welfare of citizens. Ambedkar is also one of the proponents of social justice in Modern India. He tried to



achieve social justice and social democracy in terms of 'one man-one value'. His view on **social justice was to remove man made inequalities of all shape** through law, morality and public conscience.

### **AMBEDKAR ON SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**

- As a liberal thinker, **Ambedkar was a hardcore believer in the value of constitutional democracy having irrevocable elements of social and economic democracies**, in addition to political democracy.
- In fact, Ambedkar understood it very well that the Western pattern of democracy is not applicable to Indian scenario. He strived hard for the establishment of democracy in post-independence India.
- Ambedkar viewed **democracy as an instrument of bringing in relation to the change peacefully**. Democracy does not merely mean rule by the majority or government by the representatives of the people.
- To him, the **Hindu Social System divided the society into Varnas and Castes and also denied the existence of liberty, equality and fraternity which are the deepest concern of democracy**.
- **If in democracy liberty does not destroy equality and equality does not destroy liberty, it is because at the base of both there is fraternity. Fraternity is, therefore, the root of democracy**. Democracy was lost in Brahminic India. Ambedkar interpreted the concept of democracy in Indian context.
- **The views of J.S.Mill, Harold.J. Laski and MacIver on democracy were not appropriate in Indian social system because it failed to focus on the social relationship between the people who form a society**.
- Indian society, to **Ambedkar**, is based on Castes and everything is organized on the basis of caste. The existence of the Caste is a standing denial to the ideals of democracy. He viewed **"Democracy in this country is like a summer sapling. Without social unity, the roots of sapling cannot be strengthened. If social unity is not achieved this summer sapling of democracy, will be rooted out with gust of summer wind"**.
- **A government for the people is only possible when the attitude of each individual is democratic that means each individual is prepared to treat every other individual as his equal and is supposed to give him same liberty which he claims for himself**.
- This democratic attitude of mind is the result of socialisation of the individual in a democratic society. **Democratic society is therefore a prerequisite of a democratic government**.
- By "Democracy" **Ambedkar** meant, **"a form and method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed"**.
- He further said that **"Democracy was a state of policy where, the governing class failed to capture powers to govern others and where the majority takes the reign of the instrumentalities of the state"**.
- For Ambedkar, **"Democracy is not merely a form of government. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellowmen"**. He believed democracy means no slavery, no caste, and no coercion. Democracy is not a gift of nature. It is a habit of social living and can be acquired by the people themselves for their emancipation and well-being.
- He was a political realist; therefore, he regarded democracy in its practical aspect as the social organisation of the people in the sense that the people included all members of society. Thus he remarked, **"A democratic society must assure a life of leisure and culture to each one of its citizens"**. The main concern of his life was to make democracy safe for the common man and for the good of his country.
- He **supported the ideas of Constitutional separation of religion and state, the provision of fundamental rights, and the assignment of important functions to the Judiciary for strengthening the roots of democracy in India**.
- For him, the **purpose of modern democracy was to bring the welfare of the people**.
- The **perpetual rule of one class or a political party, the monopoly of the means of production in a few hands, the curtailment of civil liberties, the blind faith in democratic leaders, the atmosphere of fear and**

oppression, the misuse of political authority, the negative use of political recourses, etc., are some of the vices that can invariably damage the basic structure of democracy.

- The **fundamental elements of his concept of democracy were liberty, equality, fraternity, natural rights and justice**. He believes that these are essential for complete development of personality and capacities of every person. He believed that democracy offers every individual to achieve social equality, economic justice and political justice guaranteed in the Preamble of the Constitution.
- Therefore, in the Constituent Assembly he had stated that mere securing political democracy is not sufficient. It should be followed by establishing social democracy and economic equality. His vision was the foundation of **social democracy** in India.
- According to Ambedkar, **"We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the lease of it social democracy"**. Democracy is a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between the people who form the society.

### **CLASSIFICATION OF DEMOCRACY**

Ambedkar focused on three categories of democracy in India that are

- Political Democracy
- Social Democracy
- Economic Democracy

### **POLITICAL DEMOCRACY**

- Ambedkar located the political power in the people thinking of that it is the key to all social progress. According to him, the soul of democracy is the doctrine of, **"One man, one vote"** and **"one vote, one value"**. What he means each and every man to count for one. No man for more than one.
- He further said that "Parliamentary system of government is much more than government by discussion. It is negation to hereditary rule. Whosoever wants to rule must be elected by the people from time to time.
- He must obtain approval of the people. There are two pillars on which the Parliamentary system of government rests and works. Those are (1) an opposition and (11) free and fair elections.
- In this system of government people should know the other side if there are two sides to a question. Hence a functional opposition is required. **Opposition is the key to a free political life**. No democracy can do without it".

Ambedkar pointed out that there are **four premises upon which political democracy** rests:

1. The individual is an end in himself.
  2. The individual has cetin inalienable rights which must be guaranteed to him by the Constitution.
  3. The individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his Constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege and.
  4. The state shall not delegate power to private persons to govern others.
- In democracy every party has the right to criticize and capture political power. The party in power tries to keep the power in its hands.
  - According to him, the real test of the party system would come when the governmental power might shift from the ruling party to some other political party or parties.

- Understandably, Ambedkar realised that **political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy because these are the tissues and fiber of a political democracy.**

## **SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**

- Ambedkar viewed that social democracy means as a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as principle of life. They are not separate, they are union of trinity.
- Democracy, to him is more than a form of government. It is a form of the organisation of society. There are two essential conditions, which characterise a democratically constituted society.
  1. The absence of stratification of society into four classes.
  2. A social habit on the part of individuals and groups, which is ready for continuous readjustment of recognition of reciprocity of interests.
- He regarded a favorable social setting as a pre-requisite for the success of democracy; without this democracy would not last long. The formal framework of democracy was of no value in itself and would not be appropriate if there was no social democracy.
- Ambedkar regarded democracy as a way of life. It involved rational empiricism, emphasis on individual, the instrumental nature of the state, voluntarism, and the law behind the law, nobility of means, discussion and consent, absence of perpetual rule and basic equality in all human relations.
- He outlined that **equality is the principle and the substance of democracy which must be sought through social revolution.** If our society is to become democratic, the spirit of democracy should be slowly and peacefully introduced into our customs and institutions.
- To end the social barriers, the inequality of caste system, Ambedkar stressed the need of making political democracy a social and economic democracy.
- For him,

*Political democracy could not last unless these lay at the base of it. Social democracy recognized liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. They formed an inseparable trinity in a democratic social structure. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality, without liberty, would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of social relationship.*

- If the fact is recognized that there was complete absence of two things in Indian society: equality in social and economic life, then political democracy, the political authority, must strive for removing this contradiction at the earliest moment, or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy.

## **ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY**

- Economic democracy means that the economic needs of the people are to be satisfied. No person should die in want of food, clothing and housing, if democracy is to live up to its principle of one man, one value.
- He points out that the **principle of graded inequality** has been carried into the economic field. He viewed that the democratic order must minimize the glaring inequalities in society.
- In democratic society there must be neither an oppressed class nor an oppressor class. It is the duty of the state to prevent the monopoly of the means of production in few hands.



- To empower both the Dalits and non-Dalits economically, he proposed that the state should be given political power for the **regulation and control of both key industries and agriculture**; to this end he proposed that **economic powers should be incorporated into the body of the Constitution itself without abrogating Parliamentary democracy** and without leaving its establishment to the will of democracy.
- He was aware of the fact that **capitalism makes democracy meaningless** as it cannot protect the individual freedom and rights from the invasion of others rights. He, therefore, advocated for establishment of **State Socialism** to retain Parliamentary democracy and avoided dictatorship to safeguard individual liberty and to make it sure that the law of the Constitution prevailed to save both democracy and socialism.

In his book, '**States and Minorities**', he proposed for the adaptation of an economic political system as a new venture to benefit the poor masses of our society. Ambedkar suggested the following proposals:

1. **Agriculture shall be a state industry.**
2. **Land will belong to the state** and shall be let out to villagers without distinction of caste or creed.
3. There will be **no landlord, no tenant and landless labourer.**
4. **Rapid industrialisation of economy** under the complete supervision and control of the state should be initiated

To protect the citizen against economic exploitation he proposed to include certain provisions on fundamental rights. He introduced the Directive Principles of State Policy with the object to establish economic democracy in India.

#### **Challenges to Democracy in India**

- The existence of the **Caste system is a standing denial to the existence of ideals society and to the democracy**. Thus, there is no room for the down-trodden and the outcastes in politics, industry, commerce, and in education.
- The Caste system accompanied by the principle of '**Graded Inequality**' also put a great threat to democracy. It results into a separation of society, into a privileged and a subject class. The fixation of occupation in caste system also cuts the very roots of democracy.

#### **CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF DEMOCRACY**

1. **There must be no glaring inequality in the society.** There must not be an oppressed class. There must not be a suppressed class.
2. **The existence of an opposition;**- The opposition is a condition precedent for democracy Equality in law and administration;
3. **Observance of constitutional morality;**- violation of Constitutional morality would damage the Constitution and the democracy as well.
4. **No tyranny of the majority;**- The minority must feel always safe that although the majority is carrying on the Government, the minority is not being hurt, or the minority is not being hit below the belt.
5. **Moral order of society;** -Ethics is something separate from politics. If there is no moral order, democracy will go to pieces and
6. **Public conscience** Public conscience means conscience which becomes agitated at every wrong or injustice.

#### **AMBEDKAR ON STATE SOCIALISM**



- Ambedkar studied several features of **Marxism** and favoured some Marxist principles. He usually subscribed to the material view of history and agreed to the need for a total change for bringing in relation to the equality.
- He also accepted the thought of public ownership of property. Though, he did not become a Marxist. The other significant diversity of socialism was **Democratic Socialism**.
- **Ambedkar's** firm belief in democracy attracted him to this ideology. He felt that socialism necessarily function within a democratic framework. Democracy and socialism need not be opposed to each other.
- Therefore, in 1947, **Ambedkar** propounded the thought of '**State socialism**'. Even earlier, when he recognized the Self-governing Labour Party in 1937, he had adopted a broadly socialist programme. The name of the party itself designates that it was to be a party of all depressed classes. Its programme incorporated state management of significant industries and bringing in relation to the a presently economic system.
- The party wanted to ensure minimum average of livelihood for agricultural and industrial workers. State socialism means that the state would implement a socialist programme by controlling the industrial and agricultural sectors.
- To him, the state will actively manage both the industry and the agriculture. This will ensure equitable sharing of wealth and protect the needy and the poor. **Rapid industrial progress and welfare of all the parts of the civilization will be the responsibility of the state.**
- Though, the democratic organizations such as the parliament will also remain intact. In 1947, Ambedkar suggested that the **Constitution of India should incorporate the principle of State Socialism**.
- So, he **attached much importance to the role of the government**. Government, just as to him, has **to perform the role of a welfare agency**. It has to ensure rapid progress and presently sharing of the fruits of that progress.
- Ambedkar's concept of state socialism, especially with respect to agriculture, is revolutionary. No other socialist thinker of India – not **Nehru**, not even **Lohia** – favoured state ownership of agricultural land. **Nehru** only emphasized land reforms while Lohia wanted status quo as far as the farm sector is concerned. Even **M. N. Roy** had not envisaged any systemic changes to change the economic structure. It was only **Ambedkar** who demanded industrialization of agriculture
- The most striking aspect of Ambedkar's concept of socialism is that it is centred on the poor and the workers. It does not differentiate between the Savarna and the Dalit, between the Hindu and the Muslim. He saw workers of all religions, communities, castes and of both the genders only as workers. Ramvilas Sharma has rightly said that in his avatar as the labour leader, Ambedkar gave no consideration to caste.

*The soul of democracy is the doctrine of one man, one value. Unfortunately, democracy has attempted to give effect to this doctrine only so far as the political structure is concerned."*

*"It was equally essential to prescribe the shape and form of the economic structure of society if democracy is to live up to its principle of one man, one value. Time has come to take a bold step and define both the economic structure as well as the political structure of society by the Law of the Constitution.*

#### **DIFFERENCES WITH THE MARXIST VIEW**

- **Dr Ambedkar** acknowledged that Communism is the theory of emancipation of the proletariat. If proletariat is defined as a class that earns its living only through the sweat of its brow and not from profit accruing from accumulated capital, the lowered castes in India are definitely the proletariat.

- **Ambedkar agreed with the premise that elimination of private ownership of industry is essential.** But the **question is how to go about it.** Dr Ambedkar did not agree with the Communist view that a revolution by the proletariat would achieve it gradually and the private ownership of the means of production would end when they suffice to fulfil the needs of all
- In India, **private ownership is a part of Manu's justice system**, which has been given the veneer of religion. Here, the history and concept of private ownership is quite different from how Marx and Engels saw them.
- In India, the Varna system gives the right to own and run industries and businesses only to the Vaishya caste or class. **Thus, the centralization of capital is the gift of the Hindu economy**, which, in turn, is the product of the Varna system – the soul of Hinduism. Unless the Varna system is obliterated, private ownership cannot be eliminated. That is probably why the Indian capitalists are doing everything they can to preserve and perpetuate the Varna system.
- **B R Ambedkar**, who wrote **BUDDHA OR KARL MARX**, championed the cause of social justice and annihilation of caste in Indian society. The vision of Ambedkar is not different from the vision of Karl Marx.
  - **Babasaheb Ambedkar** is one of the foremost thinkers of modern India. Ambedkar was a great social revolutionary.
  - **His vision was not to establish a mere political democracy but social democracy**, what he calls a **way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principle of life.**
  - He endeavoured to rouse self-consciousness and self respect among the Depressed Classes. Resting on Ambedkar's thoughts, the Indian Constitution guarantees equal rights to all, based on social justice and human dignity.

#### Case study on Dr. B R Ambedkar

##### Lessons from Ambedkar



Mohammed Ayoob

B.R. Ambedkar is remembered on his 63rd death anniversary on December 6, principally as the chief draftsman of the Indian Constitution. But above all, Ambedkar was a valiant fighter for the cause of the Dalits. His strategies to achieve the goal of empowering Dalits shifted with changing contexts but the goal always remained the same: attaining equality with caste Hindus in all spheres of life.

##### Separate electorate

It was in pursuit of this goal that in the early 1930s he advocated a separate electorate for the Dalits. This demand was accepted by British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald in his Communal Award of 1932, which granted Dalits 18% of the total seats in the Central legislature and 71 seats in the Provincial legislatures to be elected exclusively by Dalits. However, Ambedkar's success was short-lived because of Mahatma Gandhi's fast unto death against a separate electorate for Dalits, which he saw as a British ploy to divide Hindu society.

Ambedkar gave up his demand in return for an increased number of seats reserved for Dalits but elected by the general Hindu population.

However, Ambedkar regretted his decision because he soon realised that given the disparity in the number of eligible voters between caste Hindus and Dalits as well as the huge disparity in their socio-economic status, very few of the elected Dalits would be able to genuinely represent Dalit interests. Both Gandhi and Ambedkar abhorred untouchability, but the terms they used to describe the “untouchables” demonstrated the wide gulf in their approaches to the issue.

Gandhi called them “Harijan” (God’s children) in order to persuade caste Hindus to stop discriminating against them. For Ambedkar, this was a patronising term and he used the nomenclature Dalit both to describe the reality of oppression and to galvanise his people to challenge and change the status quo.

In the second half of the 1930s Ambedkar considered the Muslim League a potential ally. He concluded that if Muslims and Dalits acted jointly, they could balance the political clout of caste Hindus.

However, he was disillusioned after the Muslim League’s Lahore Resolution of March 1940 demanding a separate Muslim majority state. He felt this undercut Dalit interests in two ways.

**First**, if the Muslim League succeeded in gaining Pakistan, it would drastically reduce the Muslims’ heft in Indian politics and allow caste Hindus a free hand in running the country.

**Second**, even if the bid for Pakistan failed, the Muslim League’s demand for parity in representation with the Hindus effectively marginalised all other groups, especially the Dalits.

After Independence Ambedkar made his peace with the Congress leadership believing that he could enhance Dalits’ rights from within the power structure.

He became Law Minister and Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee. He resigned from the Cabinet in 1951 when his draft of the Hindu Code Bill was stalled in Parliament because conservative Hindu members opposed it.

### **Problems today**

Although he died a frustrated man, Ambedkar’s devotion to the cause of Dalit empowerment has continued to galvanise Dalits until today. This Dalit awakening is represented in student activism on university campuses as well as through the emergence of Dalit-based parties. However, there are three major problems that continue to bedevil Dalit activism.

1. First, intra-Dalit differences based on sub-castes allows forces opposed to Dalit empowerment to divide Dalits and deny them the clout that they can wield in the Indian polity.
2. Second, interpersonal rivalry among Dalit politicians leads to the same result.
3. Third, the inability of the Dalit leadership to stick with their non-Dalit allies, especially in times of political adversity, makes them appear as unreliable political partners.

The most important lesson to learn from Ambedkar’s repeated exhortations is that unless they remain united, the Dalits will be denied their due share of political power.