PG PS S1-01 (DSC)

TWO YEAR MARSTER'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - I

RECENT POLITICAL THEOTY

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The course titled “Recent Political Theory” of the MA Programme in Political Science (First Semester) under KKHSOU is designed to help the learners to have an understanding of the fundamental theoretical framework of the contemporary discourse in Political Science in terms of critically analysing various socio-political realites of political life and the theoretical formulations that have been put forward with regard to the same. Accordingly, the course seeks to provide insights into the nature and significance of political theory to begin with. The course then goes on to discuss certain key issues and concepts in the realm of political analysis including liberalism, neo-liberalism , libertarianism and communitarianism. A critical perspective of capitalism in the form of Karl Marx’s class perspective and Antonio Gramsci’s hegemonic perspective are also discussed in the course. The theories of V.I.Lenin and Mao Zedong are also covered in the course. The course also tries to look into the concept of justice in terms of certain theroretical anlayses. Accordingly, the feminist and subaltern perspectives and John Rawls’ theory of dsitributive justice are discussed in the course. A cornerstsone of moden political life is the concept of democracy. The course accordingly discusses various types of democracy including liberal democracy, elitist democracy, pluralist democracy and participatory democracy. The course also discusses an important aspect of political existence - that of nationalism, its meaning and nature. Finally, the course ends with a discussion on the “End of Ideology” debate . The conept of “End of Ideology” offers an explanation of the post-second world war political reality in the western world characterised by the absence of idelogical conflict, with the ideology of liberal democracy finding universal acceptance across the board.

UNIT 1: NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning of Political Theory

1.4 Nature and Significance of Political Theory

1.4.1 Nature of Political Theory

1.4.2 Significance of Political Theory

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6 Further Reading

1.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.8 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of political theory
- explain the nature of political theory
- discuss the significance of Political Theory
- explain the nature of political theory
- discuss the significance of political theory

1.2 INTRODUCTION

As human beings, we cannot live without a society which includes institutions like the family, school, community organizations, religious institutions etc. The fact that each one of us needs to live in a society makes us social beings. An integral aspect related to our social existence is politics and the political sphere. As a matter of fact, politics is a part of day-today life and one cannot remain aloof from it. The terms “polity”, “politics” and “political” are derived from the Greek word ‘polis’ which denoted ancient Greek city-states. The ancient city-states were smaller in comparison to modern states.

They were demarcated by natural boundaries like forests, mountains, and various water bodies. The term "polity" denotes an organization where various rules are made for governance and followed by a community and the term "political" refers to something that is public and applicable to all. In this unit, we shall learn about the meaning, nature and significance of political theory.

1.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL THEORY

Political theory is a core component of the Political Science discipline. It mainly deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates the issues like liberty, justice, equality, democracy, etc. It has its roots in these twin aspects of the human self. It analyzes certain basic questions such as how should society be organized? Why do we need government? What is the best form of government? Does law limit our freedom? Political theory is the study of the concepts and principles that people use to describe, explain, and evaluate political events and institutions.

According to David Held: "Political Theory generally aims to explain things coming out of political life." Karl Popper says : "Theory is like net with the help of which one can catch the world to understand it." At the most general level, political theory is 'a body of knowledge related to the phenomenon of the state'. While 'theory' refers to 'a systematic knowledge', 'political' refers to 'matters of public concern'.

Andrew Hacker defines it as 'a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other'.

Political theory deals with the ideas and principles that shape Constitutions, governments and social life in a systematic manner. It clarifies the meaning of concepts such as freedom, equality, justice, democracy, secularism and so on. It probes the significance of principles such as rule of law, separation of powers, judicial review, etc. This is done by examining the arguments advanced by different thinkers in defence of these concepts.

Political theory is basically a generalized statement of our political life which outlines a conceptual framework for synthesizing knowledge. There are different connotations of different theories and their concepts.

There are different views on political theory forwarded by various scholars at different times. Some of them are Aristotle, Cobban, Germino, Held, Easton, Weber, Hume, and so on.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Give one definition of political theory.

……

……

Q 2 : The term polity, politics and political is derived from the Greek word 'polis'. (True/False)

Q 3 : The ancient city-states were ……..in comparison to modern states. (Fill in the blanks)

……

Q 4 : What is political theory? (Write within 50 words)

……

……

……

……

1.4 NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

1.4.1 Nature of Political Theory

The term theory stands for a systematic knowledge. Thus political theory denotes a systematic knowledge of political phenomena. Aristotle has asserted "Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state, is either above humanity or below it." The study of politics and political phenomena has had a long tradition . It originated in ancient Greece. Political theory has been evolving since its inception. There are various new concepts and debates coming in and some of the important debates are – multiculturalism, post modernism, feminism, ecologism etc.

➢ **Distinction between political theory and political thought, political philosophy and political science**

Political theory is the study of the phenomena of the state both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view. The terms such as political thought, political philosophy, and political science, all are concerned with explaining the political phenomena, yet political theory is distinct from them. The distinction of political theory from other terms are as follows:

❍ **Political theory and political thought**

It is generally believed that political thought is the thought comprising of theories and values of all those day-do-day activities, policies and decisions of the state, and which has a bearing on our present living. These persons can be philosophers, writers, journalists, poets, political commentators etc. Political thought has no 'fixed' form and can be in the form of treatise, speeches, political commentaries etc. What is important about political thought is that it is 'time bound' since the policies and programmes of the governments change from time to time.

Thus we have Greek thought or Roman thought of ancient period or the political thought of the medieval ages. Political theory, on the other hand, is the systematic speculation of a particular writer who talks specifically about the phenomena of the state. This speculation is based on certain hypotheses which may or may not be valid and may be open to criticism.

Theory provides a model of explanation of political reality as is understood by the writer. As such there can be different political theories of the same period. Also, political theory is based on certain disciplines-be it philosophy, history, economics or sociology. Lastly, since the task of theory is not only to explain the political reality but also to change it (or to resist change), political theory can be conservative, critical or revolutionary. According to Barker, while political thought is the imminent philosophy of a whole age, political theory is the speculation of a particular thinker. While political thought

is implicit and immersed in the stream of vital action, political theory is explicit and may be detached from the political reality of a particular period.

❍ **Political theory and political philosophy**

Philosophy is called 'science of wisdom'—wisdom about this world, human beings or God. This wisdom is all-inclusive and tries to explain everything. When this wisdom is applied to the study of political phenomena or the state, it is called political philosophy. Political philosophy belongs to the category of normative political theory. It is concerned with not only explaining what 'is' but also what 'ought' to be. Political philosophy is not concerned with contemporary issues but with certain universal issues in the political life of man such as nature and purpose of the political organisation, basis of political authority, nature of rights, liberty, equality, justice etc.

The distinction between political philosophy and political theory is explained by the fact that whereas a political philosopher is a political theorist, but a political theorist may not necessarily be a political philosopher. For example, David Easton is an eminent political theorist but is not considered a political philosopher. Though theory deals with the same issues as political philosophy, it can explain them both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view. In other words, while political philosophy is abstract or speculative, political theory can be both normative and empirical.

A political theorist is as much interested in explaining the nature and purpose of the state as in describing the realities of political behaviour, the actual relations between state and citizens, and the role of power in the society. As has been pointed out by Arnold Bretch, philosophical explanations are theories too, but they are non-scientific.

Political theory is concerned both with political institutions and the ideas and aspirations that form the basis of those institutions. However, we must not forget that though we can analytically distinguish between philosophy and theory, yet if political theory is separated from political philosophy, its meaning will appear distorted and it will prove barren and irrelevant. Theory must be supplemented by philosophy.

❍ **Political theory and political science**

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, institutional or structural framework, comparative politics, public administration, international law and organizations etc. With the rise of political science as a separate discipline, political theory was made one of its subfields. However, when used specifically with emphasis on 'science' as distinct from 'theory', political science refers to the study of politics by the use of scientific methods in contrast to political theory, which is free to follow intuition.

Political science is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behaviour, generalizations about man and political institutions on empirical evidence, and the role of power in the society. Political theory, on the other hand, is not only concerned about the behavioural study of the political phenomena from empirical point of view but also prescribing the goals which states, governments, societies and citizens ought to pursue. Political theory also aims to generalize about the right conduct in the political life and about the legitimate use of power.

Thus, political theory is neither pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science. While it draws heavily from all of them, yet it is distinct from them. Contemporary political theory is trying to attempt a synthesis between political philosophy and political science.

1.4.2 Significance of Political Theory

The objective of political theory is to train citizens to think rationally about political questions and assess correctly the political events of our time.

The importance of political theory lies in providing :

i) A description of the political phenomena,

ii) A non-scientific (based upon philosophy or religion) or a scientific (based upon empirical studies) explanation,

iii) Proposals for the selection of political goals and political action, and iv) Moral judgment. Examples of such a political theory can be found in Plato's "Republic", or Rawls' "A Theory of Justice" or Nozick's "Anarchy, State and Utopia".

The significance of political theory may be discussed as follows :

- **Helps us to explain various concepts**

The significance of political theory lies in the clarification of various concepts used in our day to day social and political life. The clarification of concepts is very much necessary in each area of study, whether philosophy or science. Political theory examines systematically and clarifies about the values that inform political life – values such as freedom, equality and justice. It explains the meanings and significance of these and other related concepts. It clarifies the existing definitions of these concepts by focusing on some major political thinkers of the past as well as present.

- **Helps us to understand and manage social life**

Political theory helps in planning the future and maintaining peace and harmony in the society. The various scientific analysis of our political life enables us to control our social life by understanding and solving its various problems. The study of political science facilitates the understanding of the causes of conflict and violence in society and provide insights for preventing them. Political science helps us to live in a political society by providing us ways to prevent political and social crises.

- **Social criticism**

Political theory engages itself with various political problems and provides solutions.

Primarily political philosophy is concerned with what is right and wrong in our social life. Anything that occurs in the society is deliberated upon and addresses and analyses normative concerns in the context of the basic norms of a particular society.

- **Social reconstruction**

Political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Machiavelli, Mill, Macpherson etc. have discussed about

social reconstruction. The proposals of the political thinkers gave insights of various social instabilities and their possible solutions though their concepts cannot be taken as the absolute truth. These insights from their thoughts are valuable in solving the problems of our society.

Political theory depicts the effort to attain knowledge through various goals and processes in a political society. Its functions have now become very important in the contemporary world as present day issues assume a global dimension.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Political theory also prescribes the goals which states and citizens ought to pursue. (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : Political philosophy belongs to the category of ..... political theory.(Fill in the Blank)

Q 7 : Political theory is .....pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science (Fill in the Blank)

Q 8 : What is the basic distinction between political theory and political science?

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 9 : The study of political science facilitates the understanding of the causes of conflicts and violence in society (True/False)

.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

- Politics is a part of day today life and one cannot remain aloof from it.
- The term polity, politics and political is derived from the Greek word 'polis' which denoted ancient Greek city-state.

- The term polity mainly denotes an organization where various rules are made and followed by a community and the term political refers to something that is public and applicable to all.
- Political theory is a core component of the Political Science discipline. It mainly deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates the issues like liberty, justice, equality, democracy, etc.
- Political theory deals with the ideas and principles that shape Constitutions, governments and social life in a systematic manner.
- The term theory stands for a systematic knowledge.
- Political theory is the study of the phenomena of the state both from philosophical as well as empirical points of view.
- The terms such as political thought, political philosophy, and political science, all are concerned with explaining the political phenomena, yet political theory is distinct from them.
- Political theory is neither pure thought, nor philosophy, nor science. While it draws heavily from all of them, yet it is distinct from them.
- The objective of political theory is to train citizens to think rationally about political questions and assess correctly the political events of our time.
- Political theory significance lies in the clarification of various concepts used in our day to day social and political life.
- Political theory helps in planning the future and maintaining peace and harmony in the society.
- Political theory engages itself with various political problems and provides solutions.



1.7 FURTHER READING

1) Gauba, O.P. (2012). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. Macmillan Publishers Pvt.Ltd.

2) Dutta, Akhil Ranjan (2011). *Political Theory – Issues, Concepts and Debates*. Arun Prakashan.



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : David Held: "Political Theory generally aims to explain things coming out of political life."

Ans to Q. No. 2 : True

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Smaller

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Political theory is a core component of the Political Science discipline. It mainly deals with normative and theoretical questions and debates the issues like liberty, justice, equality, democracy, etc.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q No. 6 : Normative

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Neither

Ans to Q. No. 9 : True



1.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Write a short note on political theory.

Q 2 : State the difference between political theory and political philosophy.

Q 3 : Discuss the significance of political theory.

Q 4 : Discuss the nature of political theory.

Q 5 : Explain the difference between political theory and political thought.

****

UNIT 2 : LIBERALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Meaning and Characteristics of Liberalism

2.3.1 Meaning of Liberalism

2.3.2 Characteristics of Liberalism

2.4 Implications of Liberalism

2.5 Growth of Liberalism

2.5.1 Evaluation of Liberalism

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.9 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of liberalism
- discuss the characteristics of liberalism
- trace the growth of liberalism
- make an evaluation of liberalism

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Liberalism has been a dominant philosophy for centuries in the world. It was not developed at a particular point of time by a particular political thinker. It is like a stream which has flown through the years to which various thinkers and philosophers have made their contributions. Liberalism does not represent any coherent body of doctrines and has been attributed to different scholars at different times.

2.3 MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS OF LIBERALISM

2.3.1 Meaning of Liberalism

Liberalism as an idea is committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as an organizing principle in society and a way of life for the individual and community. Obviously, it is very closely connected with the idea of 'Liberty', since the very essence of this doctrine is to aim at achieving freedom whereby the human spirit of enterprise can find full expression. In other words, Liberalism is the voice of a free life- a life in which freedom is maximized to the extent that the individual may think, believe, move, express, discuss, associate and so on as per his or her own free will.

The word "liberal" is derived from the Latin word "liber" which literally means "free". According to Laski, "Liberalism is no doubt related to freedom". This implies the establishment of a political, social and economic order in which the individual is free and secure.

Scholars have viewed Liberalism in the narrow sense as well as in the broad sense. In the narrow sense, it has been applied to the economic and political field to emphasize the principles of freedom of production and distribution, choosing and removing the rulers, etc. In the broader sense, it has been viewed as a mental attitude that attempts to analyze and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relations of human beings.

2.3.2 Characteristics of Liberalism

For an understanding of the meaning of the liberalism, let us examine the characteristics of liberalism:

- Liberalism considers man as a rational being. It has faith in the capability and potentiality of man to develop himself to the best.
- Liberalism supports democracy which promotes individual freedom. It favours constitutionalism, decentralization of powers and popular sovereignty.

- Liberalism is opposed to conservatism. It favours reformations through peaceful and constitutional means. It stresses on logical and rational ideas and attaches importance to individuals' rights.
- Liberalism recognizes natural rights and it favours that the state should protect those rights which are essential for the human progress. Liberalism considers state as an institution to serve the moral purpose of man.
- Liberalism stands for limited and constitutional government. Externally it stands for internationalism, peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of disputes.

From the above, it can be assumed that liberalism is essentially an ideology which favours individual freedom and rights, limited government, popular sovereignty and thereby recognize the human values of man. It has faith on the rationality of human being and has considered that human beings are capable of developing themselves to their best.

At the international level, it stands for nurturing of the spirit of internationalism, international peace and friendly relationship among the states.

The basic feature of the ideology of liberalism is the recognition of the human values which it considers as the core in the satisfactions and realizations of human personality. Here they follow Emanuel Kant's doctrine that man should be treated as an end in itself not as a means.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : State the meaning of liberalism.

.....

.....

Q 2 : Mention any two characteristics of liberalism.

.....

2.4 IMPLICATIONS OF LIBERALISM

As an ideology, Liberalism has its different implications in social, economic and political spheres.

In the social sphere, Liberalism stands for religious freedom and wants to free men from religious orthodoxy. It wants to do away with habits, customs and institutions which have out lived their utility or which obstruct the enjoyment of real freedom. It is opposed to all artificial pressures or regulations on the individual freedom of conscience because it not only curbs all initiative but also stultifies his personality.

In the economic sphere, Liberalism stands for free trade and production. It is opposed to restrictions on imports and exports and wants the individual to be left free to exploit the natural resources and distribute the economic dividends as he likes. This concept of Liberalism has however, undergone a change in modern times due to the popularity of the doctrine of socialism and the State is being encouraged to regulate the economic activities of the country in the larger interest of the community.

In the political sphere, Liberalism emphasizes that political liberty constitutes a prerequisite for all other kinds of liberties. Therefore, in the initial stages it was emphasized that the State interference should be restricted and its policies should aim at promoting the liberties of the individuals and groups. For this purpose, it advocated principles like separation of powers, parliamentary control over executive, judicial review, protection of interests of minorities and other mechanism to prevent concentration of powers. It also implies that the ultimate power rests with the people and the Government must be accountable to them.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Explain the implications of liberalism in the economic sphere.

……

……

2.5 GROWTH OF LIBERALISM

- **Classical liberalism:** Liberalism rose as a reaction against the absolute authority of the State, Church and the Feudal Lords in the sixteenth century. It was largely the product of the age of Reformation, science and individualism and represented the changed thinking which characterized the then society. It laid emphasis on the need to remove obstacles in the path of human progress and to break up the bondage of man that society and Government had imposed and to free the enormous potential that were present in man.

The concept of Liberalism was further developed and consolidated during the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of the prominent philosophers who rendered valuable service in this regard include Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Hobbes and Rousseau etc.

Liberalism received its most detailed and lucid expression in the writings of John Locke who is often described as the father of the liberal political philosophy. He was a strong proponent of constitutional government and made a strong plea for limiting the sovereignty of the State through grant of rights to the individual. After Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Bentham, Rousseau and a number of other thinkers carried the liberal philosophy further.

The Liberalism of this age is known as classical liberalism which was negative in character. It not only viewed freedom as absence of restraints but also envisaged it only for the capitalist or propertied classes and did not care for the common people. It treated the State as an artificial institution which came into existence with the consent of the individual. To the liberal thinkers state was a necessary evil and the state which performed minimal functions was the best. In the economic sphere it defended the right to private property and pleaded for the principle of free trade.Classical liberalism believed in the doctrine of Laissez-faire (meaning “leave alone”) which opposed government interference in economic affairs and gave maximum freedom to the invidual in the economic sphere.

- **Positive Liberalism:** The concept of negative liberalism in the sense of absence of restraints flourished till the end of the nineteenth century when it suffered a setback and was replaced by positive liberalism. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it became evident that the unrestricted freedom granted to the capitalists had resulted in another kind of barbarism viz. the exploitation of the working class by the capitalists. This produced strong reaction and there was a growing demand for improving the lot of the workers. It was emphasized that the state must play a positive role.

The protagonists of positive liberalism do not consider the state as a necessary evil; rather they treat it as a positive instrument for the promotion of general welfare of the community. Therefore positive liberalism advocated the establishment of the 'welfare state.' They do not favour curtailment of state functions and want it to participate in social, political, economic, cultural and other activities in the general interest of the individual. Positive liberalism does not consider the rights and liberties as natural and holds that the same are the creation of state. All the rights have to be enjoyed in the social context and the state can restrict them if they obstruct the welfare of the society. Positive liberalism favours regulation and control of the economic life of the society in the larger interest of the community.

- **Contemporary Liberalism:** In the post World War-II period, further changes took place in the liberal philosophy. The new brand of liberal thought that emerged came to be are designated as contemporary liberalism.

Contemporary liberalism arose chiefly with a view to save mankind from the tyranny of totalitarian system. It lays more and more emphasis on the personality of the individual and his social groups. It is generally directed against the state and treats it as little more than a federation of groups, a union of guilds or a community of communities which coordinates the activities of these groups and adjusts their conflicting claims. According to David G. Smith, " contemporary liberalism has faith in the value of free expression of individual personality, men's ability to make that expression valuable to themselves and to the society and the upholding of those institutions and policies that protect and foster both free expressions and confidence in that freedom.

Some prominent scholars who made valuable contributions to the development of the contemporary liberalism include Schumpeter, Robert Dahl, Chapman, Rawls etc. Schumpeter holds that the democratic methods do not necessarily help in the realization of common good, because quite often they are used by the people to acquire the power to decide by means competitive struggles for people's vote. John Rawls also holds that inequalities are inevitable in any society and justice demands that all citizens should have a share in a society's wealth and enjoy equal economic opportunities. Thus, all the contemporary liberal thinkers have emphasized that man is essentially a doer and should be able to exploit his potential to the full.

2.5.1 Evaluation of Liberalism

Many scholars have criticized the philosophy of Liberalism on various counts. The main points of criticism against Liberalism are:

- It has been alleged that it is a highly flexible and fluid philosophy and has meant different things to different philosophers at different times. In short, it has not been a consistent doctrine and has not presented any concrete programme which is acceptable to all.
- The Marxists have alleged that liberalism has essentially been the philosophy of the bourgeois class and has laid greater emphasis on stability and equilibrium within the system rather than human values. The general welfare measures advocated by it have also been motivated by the considerations of promoting the interests of the capitalist class.
- The Marxists and the Socialist thinkers have also criticized liberalism because it holds that fundamental changes in society can be brought about through peaceful means. They argued that those who control the instruments of production and distribution would resist with full might any move to deprive them of their privileged

position. Hence any substantial change in the existing social and economic system is possible only through use of force.

Despite the above criticism of Liberalism, it cannot be denied that it has rendered great service to the development of democratic and humanistic ideas. Liberalism dealt a death blow to the feudal order and played an important role in doing away with conservatism and orthodoxy represented by the Papacy and monarchy. It provided the slogans of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' which have served as beacon of light for the struggling masses. It also gave rise to the notions of democracy, natural and inalienable rights, and development of human personality. Later on, positive liberalism not only attacked the institutions which were detrimental to the liberty of the individual but also suggested necessary reforms in the existing institutions and provision of conditions which could help in the development of the personality of the individual.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Explain the growth of liberalism with reference to classical liberalism.

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Q 5 : Mention two points of criticisms against liberalism.

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.....



2.6 LET US SUM UP

- Liberalism has been a dominant philosophy for centuries in the world which. It was not developed at a particular point of time by a particular political thinker.

- Liberalism does not represent any coherent body of doctrines and has been assigned to different scholars at different times.

  Liberalism as an idea committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as an organizing principle in society and a way of life for the individual and community.

- The word “liberal” is derived from the Latin word “liber” which literally means “free’”. According to Laski, “Liberalism is no doubt related to freedom”. This implies the establishment of a political, social and economic order in which the individual is free and secure.Scholars have viewed Liberalism in the narrow as well as the broad sense.

- In the narrow sense it has been applied to the economic and political field to emphasize the principles of freedom of production and distribution, choosing and removing the rulers etc.

- In the broader sense it has been viewed as a mental attitude that attempts to analyze and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relations of human beings.

- There are certain characteristics of liberalism.Liberalism considers man as a rational being. It has faith in the capability and potentiality of man to develop himself to the best.

- Liberalism supports democracy which promotes individual freedom. It favours constitutionalism, decentralization of powers and popular sovereignty.

- Liberalism is opposed to conservatism. It favours reformations through peaceful and constitutional means. It stresses on logical and rational ideas and attaches importance to individuals’ rights.

- Liberalism recognizes natural rights and it favours that the state should protect those rights which are essential for the human progress. Liberalism considers state as an institution to serve the moral purpose of man.

- Liberalism stands for limited and constitutional government. Externally it stands for internationalism, peaceful co-existence and peaceful settlement of disputes.

- At the international level, it stands for nurturing of the spirit of internationalism, international peace and friendly relationship among the states.
- In the social sphere, Liberalism stands for religious freedom and wants to free men from religious orthodoxy. It wants to do away with habits, customs and institutions which have out lived their utility or which obstruct the enjoyment of real freedom.
- In the economic sphere, Liberalism stands for free trade and production. It is opposed to restrictions on imports and exports and wants the individual to be left free to exploit the natural resources and distribute the economic dividends as he likes.
- In the political sphere, Liberalism emphasizes that political liberty constitutes a prerequisite for all other kinds of liberties.
- For this purpose it advocated institutions like separation of powers, parliamentary control over executive, judicial review, protection of interests of minorities and other mechanism to prevent concentration of powers. It also implies that the ultimate power rests with the people and the Government must be accountable to them.
- Classical liberalism rose as a reaction against the absolute authority of the State, Church and the Feudal Lords in the sixteenth century. It was largely the product of the age of Reformation, science and individualism and represented the changed thinking which characterized the then society.
- The concept of Liberalism was further developed and consolidated during the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of the prominent philosophers who rendered valuable service in this regard include Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Hobbes and Rousseau etc.
- Liberalism received its most detailed and lucid expression in the writings of John Locke who is often described as the father of the liberal political philosophy. He was a strong proponent of constitutional government and made a strong plea for limiting the sovereignty of the State through grant of rights to the individual.

- After Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Bentham, Rousseau and a number of other thinkers carried the liberal philosophy further.
- The Liberalism of this age is known as classical liberalism which was negative in character. It not only viewed freedom as absence of restraints but also envisaged it only for the capitalist or propertied classes and did not care for the common people.
- Classical liberalism treated the State as an artificial institution which came into existence with the consent of the individual. To the liberal thinkers state was a necessary evil and the state which performed minimal functions was the best.
- In the economic sphere classical liberalism defended the right to private property and pleaded for the principle of free trade.
- Classical liberalism flourished till the end of the nineteenth century when it suffered a setback and was replaced by positive liberalism.
- By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a growing demand for improving the lot of the workers. It was emphasized that the state must play a positive role.
- The protagonists of positive liberalism do not consider the state as a necessary evil; rather they treat it as a positive instrument for the promotion of general welfare of the community.
- In the post World War-II period, further changes took place in the liberal philosophy and the new variety of liberalism is designated as contemporary liberalism.
- Contemporary Liberalism arose chiefly with a view to save the mankind from the tyranny of totalitarian system. It lays more and more emphasis on the personality of the individual and his social groups.
- Contemporary liberalism is generally directed against the state and treats it as little more than a federation of groups, a union of guilds or a community of communities which coordinates the activities of these groups and adjusts their conflicting claims.
- Some prominent scholars who made valuable contributions to the development of the contemporary liberalism include Schumpeter, Robert Dahl, Chapman, Rawls etc.

- Many scholars have criticized the philosophy of Liberalism on various counts.
- It has been alleged that liberalism is a highly flexible and fluid philosophy and has meant different things to different philosophers at different times.
- The Marxists have alleged that liberalism has essentially been the philosophy of the bourgeois class and has laid greater emphasis on stability and equilibrium within the system rather than human values.
- The Marxists and the Socialist thinkers have also criticized the liberalism because it holds that fundamental changes in society can be brought about through peaceful means.
- Despite the above criticisms of Liberalism, it cannot be denied that it has rendered great service to the development of democratic and humanistic ideas. Liberalism dealt a death blow to the feudal order and played an important role in doing away with conservatism and orthodoxy represented by the Papacy and monarchy.
- It provided the slogans of 'Liberty, equality and fraternity' which have served as beacon light for the struggling masses. It also gave rise to the notions of democracy, natural and inalienable rights, and development of human personality.
- Later on, positive liberalism not only attacked the institutions which were detrimental to the liberty of the individual but also suggested necessary reforms in the existing institutions and provision of conditions which could help in the development of individuals personality.



2.7 FURTHER READING

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2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : The word "liberal" is derived from the Latin word "liber" which literally means "free". According to Laski, "Liberalism is no doubt related to freedom". This implies the establishment of a political, social and economic order in which the individual is free and secure. Scholars have viewed Liberalism in narrow as well as broad sense. In the narrow sense it has been applied to the economic and political field to emphasize the principles of freedom of production and distribution, choosing and removing the rulers etc. In the broader sense it has been viewed as a mental attitude that attempts to analyze and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relations of human beings.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : (i) Liberalism considers man as a rational being. It has faith in the capability and potentiality of man to develop himself to the best.

(ii) Liberalism supports democracy which promotes individual freedom. It favours constitutionalism, decentralization of powers and popular sovereignty.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : In the economic sphere, Liberalism stands for free trade and production. It is opposed to restrictions on imports and exports and wants the individual to be left free to exploit the natural resources and distribute the economic dividends as he likes. This concept of Liberalism has however, undergone a change in modern times due to the popularity of the doctrine of socialism and the State is being encouraged to regulate the economic activities of the country in the larger interest of the community.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Liberalism rose as a reaction against the absolute authority of the State, Church and the Feudal Lords in the sixteenth century. It was largely the product of the age of Reformation, science and individualism and represented the changed thinking which

characterized the then society. It laid emphasis on the need to remove obstacles in the path of human progress and to break up the bondage of man that society and Government had imposed and to free the enormous potential that were present in man.

The concept of Liberalism was further developed and consolidated during the 17th and 18th centuries. Some of the prominent philosophers who rendered valuable service in this regard include Locke, Montesquieu, Thomas Paine, Hobbes and Rousseau etc.

Liberalism received its most detailed and lucid expression in the writings of John Locke who is often described as the father of the liberal political philosophy. The Liberalism of this age is known as classical liberalism which was negative in character. It not only viewed freedom as absence of restraints but also envisaged it only for the capitalist or propertied classes and did not care for the common people. It treated the State as an artificial institution which came into existence with the consent of the individual. To the liberal thinkers state was a necessary evil and the state which performed minimal functions was the best. In the economic sphere it defended the right to private property and pleaded for the principle of free trade.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : (i) It has been alleged that liberalism is a highly flexible and fluid philosophy and has meant different things to different philosophers at different times. In short, it has not been a consistent doctrine and has not presented any concrete programme which is acceptable to all.

(ii) The Marxists have alleged that liberalism is essentially eenthe philosophy of the bourgeois class and has laid greater emphasis on stability and equilibrium within the system rather than human values. The general welfare measures advocated by it have also been motivated by the considerations of promoting the interests of the capitalist class.



2.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name two advocates of classical liberalism.

Q 2 : What does Laissez Faire' means?

Q 3 : Point out the two central pillars of Liberalism.

Q 4 : Do you think that the ideology of Liberalism has relevance in the Indian context?

Q 4 : Distinguish between Classical liberalism and Contemporary liberalism.

Q 5 : What is the main essence of Contemporary Liberalism?

Q 6 : State the meaning of liberalism. Discuss the characteristics of liberalism.

Q 7 : Discuss the growth of liberalism. Present an evaluation of liberalism.

****

UNIT 3 : NEO-LIBERALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Meaning of Neo-Liberalism
  3.3.1 Views on Neo-liberalism
  3.3.2 Nature of Neo-liberalism
3.4 Neo-Liberalism and Globalization
3.5 Criticisms levelled against Neo-Liberalism
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Further Reading
3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
3.9 Possible Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able -

- explain the meaning of Neo-liberalism
- describe the nature of Neo-liberalism
- write down the definition of Neo-liberalism
- relate Neo-liberalism with the concept of Globalization.
- write down the various criticisms of Neo-liberalism

3.2 INTRODUCTION

As opposed to the concept of social liberalism or social democracy, there is the ideology of new-liberalism that passionately supports economic liberalisation, free trade and open markets. It addresses the economic issues in a liberal polity by advocating abolition of state-controlled business ventures and thus paving the way for complete privatisation of economic sphere. At the same time, it must be pointed out that while free market exponents have always been in the forefront to attack state-controlled economy, they could develop an aggressive theory of capitalism in the form

of neo-liberalism when the erstwhile USSR showed signs of economic and political decline in the late 1980s. Since then, the term of "neo-liberalism" has been used frequently in the lexicon of political and economic literature.

3.3 MEANING OF NEO-LIBERALISM

The term "neo-liberalism" was originally coined by the German scholar Alexandar Rustow in 1938. He defined the concept of neo-liberalism as the priority of the price mechanism, the free-enterprise, the system of competition and a strong and impartial state. Neo-liberalism as an ideology was popularised by the Chicago School of Economics and was later passionately promoted by US and West European Governments by way of proactive economic and military interventions particularly in the developing and under-developed world.

New-liberalism is counter revolutionary. The main aim of it is to halt and if possible reverse the trend towards big government and state intervention that had characterized much of the 20th century. It amounts to a form of market fundamentalism. The market is seen to be morally and practically superior to government and any form of political control. In that sense, it goes beyond classical economic theory. For instance, although Adam Smith is rightfully viewed as the father of market and economics he also recognized the limitations of the market and certainly did not subscribe to a crude utility-maximizing model of human nature. At the same time neo-liberalism is not merely an arm of the new right. It has been shaped by wider forces notably those of economic globalization and it has had an effect upon liberal and socialist parties as well as conservative ones and it has been influential well beyond its Anglo-American homeland.



ACTIVITY 3.1

Try to find out the concept of neo-liberalism in contemporary politics.

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : What do you mean by neo-liberalism?

.....

Q 2 : The term Neo-liberalism was coined by ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 3 : Neo-liberalism is counter-Revolutionary. (True/False)

.....

3.3.1 Views on Neo-Liberalism

From the neo-liberal perspective, the defects of governments are many and various. Free-market economists such as Fredrich Hayek and the US Economist Milton Freidman attacked the economic role of government. Hayek advanced a damning economic and political critique of central planning in particular and economic intervention in general. He argued that economic intervention is the single most serious threat to individual liberty because any attempt to control economic life inevitably draws the state into other areas of existence ultimately leading to ***totalitarianism***.



Totalitarianism:
A system of government that is centralized and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state.

At the same time Freidman criticized Keynesianism on the grounds that “tax and spend” policies fuel inflation by encouraging governments to increase borrowing and in the process, affecting the natural rate of unemployement.

The Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 is a system of monetary management and fixed exchange rates that has given stability to the international economy since 1945. The institutions of global economic governance, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and since 1995, the World Trade Orgainzation (formally GATT) were the outcome of a neo-liberal economic order based upon free-market and free-trade principles. Therefore globalization has gone hand in hand with neo-liberalism, a process that reached its peak un the 1990s with a massive market-based restructuring of economies, particularly in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe, in Latin America and much of the developing world.

Definitions of Neo-Liberalism :

- Campbell and Pedersen has defined neo-liberalism as an ideological system that holds the 'market' sacred born within the 'human' or social sciences and refined in a network of Anglo-American-centric knowledge procedures expressed in different ways within the institutions of the post war nation-state and their political fields.
- Fourcade and Healy has defined neo-liberalism as being rooted in a moral project, articulated in the language of economics, that praises 'the moral benefits of market society' and identifies 'markets as a necessary condition for freedom in other aspect of life.'



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 4 : Freidrich Hayek and ..... attacked the economic role of government. (Fill in the blank)

Q 5 : IMF was established in the year of 1949 (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : What is Bretton Woods Agreement?

.....

3.3.2 Nature of Neo-Liberalism

The nature of neo-liberalism can be traced by the following points–

1. Neo-liberalism is a kind of a philosophy rather than simply an economic structure. This is most visible in attitudes to society, the individual and employment. Neo-liberals tend to see the world in terms of market metaphors.
2. Another nature of neo-liberalism is that neo-liberalism limits state intervention to ensure free competition, maintain law and order, enforce contracts and aims at protecting private property and national defence.

3. A general nature of neo-liberalism is the desire to intensify and expand the market by increasing the number, frequency, repeatability and formalisation of transactions.
4. The Neo-liberal philosophy is in favour of deregulation and privatisation. Deregulation implies that the state control regime would be liberalised. When such liberalisation takes place, the economy moves towards privatisation. In a privatised economy, the choice of individual is substantially expanded.
5. Neo-liberalism is sometimes called neo-classical liberalism, refers to a revival of economic liberalism which has been taking place since 1970s. Neo-liberalism also favours flexibility in the economy. Such flexibility is introduced in the form of the philosophy and practice of economic liberalisation.
6. Neo-liberalism, nevertheless is not merely an arm of the new right. It has been shaped by wider forces, notably those of economic globalization and it has had an effect upon liberal and socialist parties as well as conservative ones and it has been influential well beyond Anglo-American homeland.
7. Neo-liberalism constantly seeks to reach out to new areas in search of newer markets. It believes in the expansion of the market (free-markets) and market competition on a global scale.
8. Free trade and open market are significant components of neo-liberalism. In this connection, we may refer to Milton Friedman who in his work “Capitalism and Freedom” sought to identify a competitive market economy as a necessary condition of freedom. When the market is open, the individual will able to determine his or her own economic destiny and will secure freedom.

3.4 NEO-LIBERALISM AND GLOBALIZATION

The relevance of the neo-liberal thought could be seen in the policy of globalization in the present day world. Infact globalization in actual practice is the manifestation of neo-liberal thought. Globalization has witnessed the incorporation of national economies into an interlocking global economy in

which production is internationalized and capital flows freely and often instantly between countries. Globalization has therefore gone hand in hand with neo-liberalism, a process that reached its peak in the 1990s with a massive market-based restructuring of economies, particularly in the post-communist states of Eastern Europe, in Latin America and in much of the developing world. Neo-liberalism's unreserved endorsement of market-oriented global capitalism shows how far it draws from a narrow economic liberalism that is uninterested in other matters.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 7 : Neo-liberalism has given emphasis an devolution and ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 8 : Neo-liberalism favoures rigidity in the economy (True/False)

.....

Q 9 : What is the name of the book written by Milton Freidman?

.....

Q 10: Globalization has gone hand in hand with neo-liberalism. (True/ False)

.....

Q 11 : Globalization is the manifestation of ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q 12 : Neo-liberalism came into existence in the year of 1980s (True/False)

.....

3.5 CRITICISMS LEVELLED AGAINST NEO-LIBERALISM

While it has been stated that neo-liberalism would develop a new socio-economic and political order, critics are not lagging behind in questioning the doctrine. These are :

1. Critics argue that in the name of promoting freedom, the freedom of individual would be completly devastated in the neo-liberal frame

work. It would be unrestricted competition that may revive the doctrine of survival of the fittest.

2. Another criticism is that neo-liberal philosophy has completly negated the welfare character of the state. With the shrinking responsibility, the state shall never be able to ensure welfare of the people.
3. Critics have also questioned the primary position of the market in neo-liberalism. When the society moves as per of the dictates of the market, the freedom of the individual is impaired.
4. At the same time, the concept of neo-liberalism may also lead to an increase in corruption.
5. Another criticism is that because of liberties of the markets, companies are subjected to very little regulation. It seems that they are allowed to develop their projects without protecting the environment or paying any compensation to people who are negatively affected by these projects.
6. Critics also say that, neo-liberalism is damaging to workers' rights because it imposes downward pressures on wage levels and potentially undercuts the power of labour organisations to protect the wage levels of their members.
7. Another criticism is that the proliferation of markets also leads to resource depletion and environmental destruction.



3.6 LET US SUM UP

- Neo-liberalism as an ideology was popularised by the Chicago school of Economics.
- A general nature of neo-liberalism is the desire to intensify and expand the market by increasing the number frequency, repeatability and formalisation of transactions.
- The major driving force behind the advance of neo-liberal ideas and structure has been economic globalization.

- Globalization is the manifestation of neo-liberal thought.
- The term neo-liberalism was orginally coined by Alexandar Rustow.
- Bretton Woods Agreement has given stability to the International economy since 1945.



3.7 FURTHER READING

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3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Neo-liberalism is counter revolutionary. The main aim of it is to halt and if possible reverse the trend towards big government and State intervention.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Alexandar Rustow

Ans to Q. No. 3 : True

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Milton Freidman

Ans to Q. No. 5 : False

Ans. to Q. No. 6 : Bretton Woods Agreement is a system of fixed exchange rates that has given stability to the international economy since 1945.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Privatisation

Ans to Q. No. 8 : False

Ans to Q. No. 9 : Capitalism and Freedom.

Ans to Q. No. 10 : True

Ans to Q. No. 11 : Neo-liberal thought

Ans to Q. No. 12 : False



3.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Define the term neo-liberalism.

Q 2 : Explain the nature of neo-liberalism.

Q 3 : Explain the various views regarding the concept of neo-liberalism.

Q 4 : Relate the term globalization with neo-liberalism.

Q 5 : What do you mean by neo-liberalism? Discuss the nature of neo-liberalism

Q 6 : Critically relate the term globalization with the concept of Neo-liberalism.

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UNIT 4 : LIBERTARIANISM AND COMMUNITARIANISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Libertarianism

4.3.1 Meaning and Definitions of Libertarianism

4.3.2 Principles of Libertarianism

4.4 F.A. Hayek

4.4.1 Views of F.A.Hayek

4.5 Robert Nozick

4.5.1 Views of Robert Nozick

4.6 Meaning of Communitarianism

4.7 Critical Evaluation of Communitarianism

4.8 Let Us Sum Up

4.9 Further Reading

4.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.11 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of libertarianism
- list out the different principles of libertarianism
- explain the views of F.A. Hayek on liberty
- explain the views of Robert Nozick on property rights and state
- explain the meaning of communitarianism

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Libertarianism is a political philosophy that advocates individual liberty and limited constitutional government. Advocates of libertarianism generally regard themselves as belonging to the tradition of John Locke, Adam Smith,

the American founders and the classical liberals. Libertarianism may be more specifically defined as the view that each person has the right to live his life in any way he chooses so long as he respects the equal rights of others. Libertarians defend each person's right to life, liberty and property-rights, they believe that people have naturally, before governments are created. In the libertarian view, all human relationships should be voluntary and governments should exist to protect rights and to protect individuals from others who might use force against them. When governments themselves use force against people who have not violated the rights of others, libertarians believe that governments are themselves right-violators.

This unit shall also introduce you to the philosophy behind the relatively recent political doctrine of Communitarianism. Communitarians would imply a philosophy which emphasizes the importance of the community in an individual's life and that the obligation of the latter towards the community. You will also be able to learn about the communitarianism as a major critique of the liberal-individualist theory.

4.3 LIBERTARIANISM

The concept of libertarianism began to be developed into something resembling modern libertarian philosophy in the works of such seventeenth and eighteenth century thinkers as John Locke, David Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine and French thinkers. In the most general sense, libertarianism is a political philosophy that affirms the rights of individuals to liberty, to acquire, keep and exchange their holdings, and considers the protection of individual rights, the primary role for the state. Limited government is the basic political implication of libertarianism. Libertarianism seeks to provide free willed participants the ability to make decisive decisions without the government determining of influencing the outcome, as long as it does not harm other individuals. Libertarianism is based on the belief that each individual owns every aspect of his or her lives and thus should have the ability to control it. Libertarianism strongly believes that through these principles, they are able to establish a more fruitful and peaceful society.

4.3.1 Meaning and Definitions of Libertarianism

The term libertarianism has been defined by a number of philosophers. Some of these definitions are given below :

- According to Lawrence Reed, "Libertarianism is a political philosophy that advocates little or no initiation of force in society.'
- In the words of Sharon Harris, "Libertarianism is, as the name implies the belief in liberty. Libertarianism believe, that each person owns his own life and property and has the right to make his own choices as to how he lives his life and uses his property as long as he simply respects the equal right of others to do the same."
- According to Ron Paul, "The core of libertarianism is respect for life, liberty and property rights of each individual. This means that no one may initiate force against another, as that violates those naturate rights. While many claim adherence to this principle, only libertarians apply the non aggression axiom to the state."

Libertarianism refers to a range of theories that give strict priority to liberty over other values, such as authority, tradition and equality. Libertarians thus seek to maximize the realm of individual freedom and maximize the scope of public authority, typically seeing the state as the principal threat to liberty.

LET US KNOW



The two best known libertarian traditions are rooted in the idea of individual rights (as with Robert Nozick) and in laissez faire economic doctrine (as with Friedrich Hayek) although socialists have also embraced libertarianism. Libertarianism is sometimes distinguished from liberalism on the ground that the latter, even in its classical form, refuses to give priority to liberty over others.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 1 : Write the name of two advocates of Libertarianism.

.....

Q 2 : In which places the concept of Libertarianism had developed first?

.....

Q 3 : Libertarianism is a political philosophy that advocates little or no initiation of force in society –who said this ? (Lawrence Read/ Ron Paul)

.....

Q 4 : Give a definition of Libertarianism.

.....

4.3.2 Principles of Libertarianism

The Key principles of libertarianism can be discussed as follows:

- **Individualism** : Libertarians see the individual as the basic unit of social analysis. Only individuals make choices and are responsible for their actions. Libertarian thought emphasizes the dignity of each individual, which entails both rights and responsibilities. The progressive extension of dignity to more people- to women, to people of different religions and different races– is one of the great libertarian triumphs of the western world.
- **Individual Rights** : Because individuals are moral agents, they have a right to be secure in their life, liberty and property. These rights are not granted by government or by society, they are inherent in the nature of human beings. It is intuitively right that individuals enjoy the security of such right, the burden of explanation should lie with those who would take rights away.
- **Spontaneous Order**: A great degree of order in society is necessary for individuals to survive and flourish. It is easy to assume that order must be imposed by a central authority, the way we impose

order on a stamp collection or a football team. The great insight of libertarian social analysis is that order in society arises spontaneously, out of the actions of thousands or millions of individuals who coordinate their actions with those of others in order to achieve their purpose. Over human history, we have gradually opted for more freedom and yet managed to develop a complex society with intricate organization. The most important institutions in human society– language, law, money and markets all developed spontaneously, without central direction. Civil society, the complex network of associations and connections among people is another example of spontaneous order. The associations within civil society are formed for a purpose, but civil society itself is not an organization and does not have a purpose of its own.

- **The Rule of Law** : Libertarianism is not libertinism or hedonism. It is not a claim that "People can do anything they want to, and nobody else can say anything." Rather libertarianism purposes a society of liberty under law, in which individuals are free to pursue their own lives so long as they respect the equal rights of others. The rule of law means that individuals are governed by generally applicable and duly framed legal rules, not by arbitrary commands, and that those rules should protect the freedom of individuals to pursue happiness in their own ways.
- **Limited Government**: Libertarians have a great antipathy to concentrated power, for as Lord Action said, "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Thus they want to divide and limit power, and that means especially to limit goverment, generally through a written constitution enumerating and limiting the powers that the people delegate to government. Limited Government is the basic political implication of libertarianism and libertarians point to the historical fact that it was the dispersion of power in Europe– more than other parts of the would that led to individual liberty and sustained economic growth.

- **Free Markets**: To survive and to flourish, individuals need to engage in economic activity. The righ to property entails the right to exchange property by mutual agreement. Free markets are the economic system of free individuals, and they are necessary to create wealth. Libertarians believe that people will be both free and more prosperous if government intervention in people's economic choices is minimized.
- **The Virtue of Production**: Much of the impetus for libertarianism in the seventeenth century was a reaction against monarchs and aristocrats who lived off the productive labor of other people. Libertarians defended the right of people to keep the fruit of their labour. This effort developed into a respect for the dignity of work and production and especially for the growing middle class, who were looked down upon by aristocrats. Modern libertarians defend the right of productive people to keep what they earn, against a new class of politicians and bureaucrats who would seek to transfer their earnings to non-producers.
- **Natural Harmony of Interest**: Libertarians believe that there is a natural harmony of interests among peaceful, productive people in a just society. One person's individual plane– which may involve getting a job, starting a business, buying a house, and so on may conflict with the plans of others, so the market makes many of us change our plans. But we all prosper from the operation of the free market, and there are no necessary conflicts between farmers and merchants, manufactures and importers. Only when government begins to hand out rewards on the basis of political pressure do we find ourselves involved in group conflict, pushed to organize and contend with other groups for a piece of political power.
- **Peace** : Libertarians have always battled the age-old scourge of war. They understood that war brought death and destruction on a grand scale, disrupted family and economic life, and put more power in the hands of the ruling class– which might explain why the rulers did not always share the popular sentiment for peace. Free men

and women, of course, have often had to defend their own societies against foreign threats, but throughout history war has usually been the common enemy of peaceful, productive people on all sides of the conflict.



LET US KNOW

Right -Libertarianism : It refers to libertarian political Philosophies that advocate negative rights, natural law and a radical reversal of the modern welfare state. Right-libertarianism includes anarchocapitalism and laissez-faire.

Left-Libertarianism : It is a group of antiauthoritarian political philosophies inside the socialist movement that rejects socialism as centralized state ownership and control of the economy, as well as the state itself.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 5 : Which unit of social analysis is the basic unit according to libertarians?

.....

Q 6 : Limited government is the basic political implication of libertarianism. (True/False)

.....

Q 7 : Libertarianism proposes a society of ..... under law. (Fill in the blank)

.....

4.4 F.A. HAYEK

Friedrich August von Hayek (May 8, 1899 in Vienna-March 23, 1992 in Freiburg) was an Austrian economist and political philosopher, noted for his defence of liberal democracy and free market capitalism against socialist and collectivist thought in the mid twenteeth century. He is widely regarded as one of the most influential members of the Austrian school of economics. He also made significant contributions in the fields of jurisprudence and

cognitive science. His analysis of socialist economics was proved to be true by the breakup of communist Eastern Europe. He shared the 1974 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics with ideological rival Gunnar Myrdal and in 1991 he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

4.4.1 Views of Hayek

Hayek defined liberty and criticised socialism. After World War II, he critiqued human design and protected liberty in his books "The Road to Serfdom" (1944) and "The Constitution of Liberty" (1960). Hayek emphasised the merits of liberty and denounced construction by the government. According to Hayek, "individual" or "personal" freedom implies the state in which a man is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another or others.

F. A. Hayek in his "Constitution of Liberty" (1960) used the terms "liberty" and "freedom" interchangeably. He argued that a man possesses liberty or freedom when he is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another. This is the essence of individual freedom which should not be confused with any other meaning of freedom. Hayek particularly sought to contrast individual freedom with three other meanings of freedom, which represent 'political freedom', 'inner freedom' and 'freedom as power' respectively. Political freedom denotes participation of men in the choice of their government, in the process of legislation and in the control of administration. This does not necessarily coincide with individual freedom. Thus, Hayek argues that a non democratic order may be permissive and a democratic order may be restrictive, hence, political freedom is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition of freedom.

Then inner freedom denotes the extent to which a person is guided in his actions by his own considered will rather than by momentary impulse or circumstance. It stands opposed not to coercion by others but to moral weakness or the influence of passing emotions. Hence, it is different from individual freedom. Finally, freedom as power signifies the power to satisfy our wishes, or the extent of the

choice of alternatives open to us. There is a vital difference between non-interference with another's act and a person's effective power to act. A person may be able to do what he may not lawfully do, or unable to do what nobody is trying to prevent him from doing. Hence, freedom as power should not be confused with individual freedom.

Hayek's two general themes are that the managed society does not work and that it is incompatible with freedom. He argues that there are two types of order- namely, constructed order (example : government planning) and spontaneous order (example : the market). Hayek, believes that while the role of the states constructed order is important, it has to be limited. He says that constructed order generally goes wrong if it does any more than provide favourable conditions for spontaneous order. The most important favourable condition to spontaneous order is the rule of law. Hayek argues that spontaneous order has been discovered in the course of evolution and that its greatest merit is that it works despite our ignorance. Hayek says that we can never have the data necessary to plan society. Spontaneous order works without a plan.

Again, the law, according to Hayek must only maintain negative freedom and not try to establish positive freedom. The distinction between positive and negative freedom was made by Isaiah Berlin (1958 : Two concepts of Liberty) : negative freedom is the freedom to do anything not prohibited and positive freedom is giving people the power to do things. For example, a poor person is hungry he or she is still free to eat in the sense that there is no law prohibiting it. That is a negative freedom. Positive freedom would be the power to eat that comes through having food. Hayek argues that the idea of positive freedom is a confusion of language. Freedom and power should not be confused.

Freedom, according to Hayek, is the absence of coercion, It is a situation in which the individual is not dependent on the arbitrary will of another. The so-called "positive freedom', Hayek claims, mean that people cease to be equal before the law and are subject to the

arbitrary will of the government. For example, in the interest of social justice we decide to tax rich people in order to pay for the education of poor children. That means that the state is deciding that one class of people should pay tax and another class should recieve benefits from the tax. There is nothing just or impartial about this, Hayek argues. It is comparable to the arbitrary will of the government that law was intended to curb.

Hayek asserts that it is better that some should be free than that should have a limited freedom. Thus, according to Hayek, the 'cake' of freedom is not to be divided on the basis of 'equal shares for all', but on the basis of each individual's contribution to social progress. Hayek in his "Constitution of Liberty" argued that due to individual differences in skills and abilities , inequlaities of income and wealth arise. He asserts that it is better that some should be free than none, and that many should have full freedom than all should have limited freedom. Critics point out that Hayek's conclusions are not consistent with his own assumptions. He begins by taking the individual as an end and ends up by reducing him to a means.



LET US KNOW

Hayek said that Liberty not only means that the individual has both the opportunity and the burden of choice, it also means that he must bear the consequences of his actions. Liberty and responsibility are inseperable.



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 8 : In which book, did Hayek use the terms "libery" and "freedom"?

.....

Q 9 : What are the two types of order according to Hayek?

.....

Q 10 : The law, according to Hayek only maintains negative freedom. (True/False)

.....

Q 11 : According to Hayek, freedom is the absence of ..... (Fill in the blank)

4.5 ROBERT NOZICK

Robert Nozick is one of the most important and influential political philosophers in the Anglo-American analytic tradition. Nozick's most influential work "Anarchy, State and Utopia" (1974), is a compelling defense of free-market libertarianism.

His final work, "Invariances" (2001), offers a theory of objective reality. Nozick's defense of libertarianism remains his most notable intellectual mark on philosophical inquiry.

4.5.1 Views of Robert Nozick

Robert Nozick was one of the most influential political philosophers of the 20th century. In 1974, he published the book " Anarchy, State and Utopia", which would eventually become a modern classic of political philosophy. In "Anarchy, State and Utopia", Nozick developed a political theory which he named "Entitlement Theory". The following are the features of the entitlement theory :

- **Modes of Acquisition**

  Nozick has identified three sources through which various goods are acquired by individuals:

a) Their selves: These constitute the bodies and limbs, brain cells, etc. of the individuals. Over these personal elements, the individuals have absolute rights.

b) The natural world: These constitute land, water resources, minerals, etc.

c) The things people make (agricultural and industrial products, etc.) by applying their labour to the natural world.

➢ **Principles of Entitlement**

An individual is entitled to claim ownership of their own body and mind for which no further justification is needed. However, as regards entitlement to - (a) aspects of the natural world and (b) the goods produced by way of application of the mental and physical faculties of the individuals to the natural world, Nozick identifies three principles on the basis of which, entitlement to (a) and (b) would conform to justice.

a) Initial acquisition : Through this method, an individual comes to acquire some previously uninhabited or unknown parts of the natural world. For example, a group of people may come and settle down in an uninhabited continent and by that virtue acquire its land and natural resources on a "first come, first served basis". However, while proclaiming their entitlement over the area, there should not arise a situation where there is scarcity for others. Accordingly, the mode of acquisition should not lead to creation of scarcity for others.

b) Voluntary transfer: It means the property acquired through initial acquisition or the goods and commodities produced by people by means of their talent and expertise could be transferred to others who could claim ownership of such property and goods by way of making payments as per market rates to the original owners or creators. This payment must be based on voluntary transfer without force or fraud. Thus if a person uses others' labour and pays them as per market rates, he or she becomes the owner of the product of others' labour. However, all such transfers must be devoid of force or fraud and must strictly be based on voluntary contract where payment is made as per market rates.

c) Rectification: According to Nozick, there have been several instances in world history where there has taken place involuntary transfer of goods and natural resources have been acquired in an unjust manner. If, in the course of such involuntary transfers, there occurs economic disparities and denial of rights for others, the community will be justified in intervening and restore justice. For instance, when

a country gains monopoly control over rare natural resources depriving others of their rightful share, the international community will be justified in intervening and rectify the situation in order to create a level playing field for all.

The main purpose of "Anarchy, State and Utopia" is to show that the minimal state and only the minimal state is morally justified. By a minimal state Nozick means a state that functions essentially as a "night watchman", with power limited to those necessary to protect citizens against violence, theft and fraud. By arguing that the minimal state is justified, Nozick seeks to refute anarchism, which opposes any state whatsoever, by arguing that no more than the minimal state is justified. Against anarchism, Nozick claims that a minimal state is justified because it would arise spontaneously among people living in a hypothetical "state of nature" through transactions that would not involve the violation of anyone's natural rights. Nozick assumes that everyone possesses the natural rights of life' liberty and property, including the right to claim as property the fruits or products of one's labour and the right to dispose of one's property as one sees fit (provided that in doing so one does not violate the rights of anyone else).



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 12 : Write the name of the first book written by Robert Nozick?

.....

Q 13 : Nozick developed a political theory, which he named ..... (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 14 : Nozick claim that a minimal state is justified (True/False)

.....

Q 15 : According to Robert Nozick, 'Individual should hire protective association for their property holding'. (True/False)

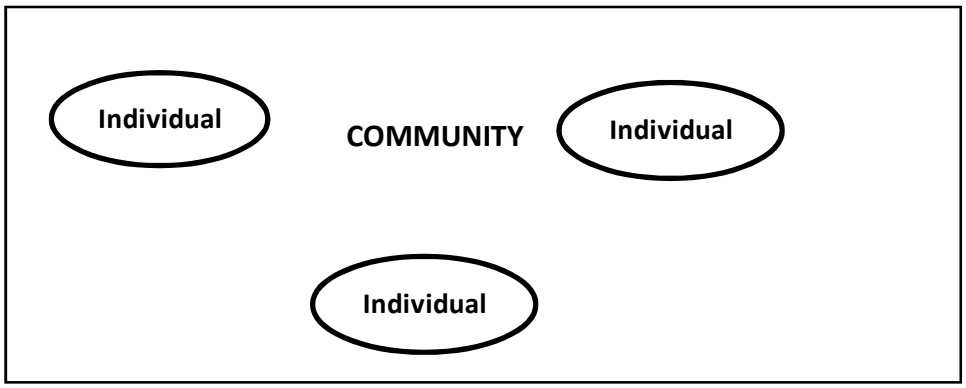
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4.6 MEANING OF COMMUNITARIANISM

The term 'communitarian' was coined in the mid-nineteenth century by British Victorian utopian socialist John Goodwyn Barmby, although communitarian ideas existed much before that.

For instance, we find reference to communitarian ideas in the Old and the New Testaments of the Bible as well in the Fabian and socialist doctrines.However, it was in the 1980s, after the publication of American political philosopher Michael Sandel's book '*Liberalism and the Limits of Justice'* (1982) that communitarianism as a political philosophy caught the attention of theorists and emerged as a major critique of liberal-individualism.

In simple words, communitarianism would imply a philosophy which emphasizes the importance of the community in an individual's life and that the latter is obligated towards the community. As defined in the *Oxford Dictionary*, communitarianism implies - 'An ideology which emphasizes the responsibility of the individual to the community and the social importance of the family unit'. *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines it as a philosophy which 'emphasizes the importance of community in the functioning of political life, in the analysis and evaluation of political institutions, and in understanding human identity and well-being.'In short, the individual is just a part of the bigger unit- the community, and the good of the community would automatically lead to the good of the individual. (See Figure below)



In the present day, communitarianism is essentially seen as a reaction to the excessive emphasis of the liberals on the individual self and the atomistic society. The priorities of these two philosophies are completely opposite. While for the communitarians, community is prior and more important to the individual; for the liberals the individual is more important than the community. Liberals argue that if every individual pursued his own 'good', the sum total of these 'good', would simply imply 'good' of the community.

This concept can be explained in simple terms of an example: Let us assume that a particular community comprises of ten individuals. Then the liberal interpretation would be thus: Sum total of 'good' pursued by all ten individuals would be equal to the good of the community.

Good pursued by Individual (1+ 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 +10) = Good of the Community

On the other hand, the communitarian interpretation would be: If the 'good' of the community is pursued, then it automatically follows that the 'good' of each of all ten individuals in the community are taken care of.

Good of the Community = Good of each of all ten individuals in the community

Therefore, while the liberals emphasize the *'right'* of the individual to pursue what he/ she thinks is good for her/him; the communitarians argue that if the *'good'* of the community is pursued over the 'right' of the individual (to pursue his goals), than every individual in the community would automatically be happy. This is the well-known 'good over right' and 'right over good' debate between the communitarians and the liberals.

The communitarians argue that in no way the *Self* is detached from the society. An individual is rather shaped and defined by the community in which he is born or resides. Michael Sandel talks about the 'embedded self'- a self whose identity is shaped by the community. Every individual or *Self* has a background or history and they can be located in it. In other words, individuals are shaped by their social circumstances in which they find themselves in. Every individual, first of all belongs to the family, then to religion, community and nation. This history or background essentially

influences values of the Self. Alasdair MacIntyre puts forward the idea of 'narrative self',which implies that our identity is shaped by the bonds and relationships of community and society and is not a result of individual choice.In similar tone, Charles Taylor argues that the development of an individual takes place only when it is 'situated' in a society.

Communitarianism is majorly inspired by the philosophy of Aristotle, G W F Hegel and Rousseau. Even Marxist theory emphasizes on the community. However, as Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka is of the opinion, for the Marxists only a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialist society would help achieve community. On the other hand, for the 'new communitarians', community is already an existing reality which manifests itself in the common social practices and traditions, and the shared meanings of society (Kymlicka, 2002). According to Amy Gutman, while the 'old' communitarians find their inspiration in Marx, the 'new' communitarians are influenced by Aristotle and Hegel (Gutman, 1985).

Some important political philosophers who are associated with present day communitarianism and would be dealt with in this unit are- Alasdair MacIntyre (Scottish philosopher), Charles Taylor (Canadian philosopher) , Michael Sandel (American political philosopher) and Michael Walzer (American political philosopher). Both Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor are inspired by the Aristotelian view that justice is found in a community which is bound by a shared understanding of the good of the individual as well as the community. Michael Sandel, on the other hand, look towards the Hegelian conception of an individual who is tied to the community she/he belongs to, for her/his well-being. In short, the communitarians seek to shift the focus from the individual to the community. They emphasize the importance of focusing on the 'good' of the community over the 'right' of the individual.

The liberals and the communitarians differ with each other on the issue of nature and role of the state. While the liberals preach for neutrality of the state, the communitarians are for a more pro-active state. The liberal-individualists mostly subscribe to a 'minimal state', i.e., a state which has

the basic role of protecting individual rights and ensuring law and order. They argue for a neutral state which does not interfere in the individual's choice of good life. The liberal state would not develop any idea of good life or insist that the individuals subscribe and pursue a particular notion of good as established by it. Every individual is free to define his 'good' and pursue it while the state would be completely neutral to such idea of good. For them, as rational beings, every person knows what is best for her/him and that the state should leave them alone to decide for themselves what suits them best. Therefore, for the liberals, the state which is equally tolerant towards the various conceptions of good is a *just* state. The communitarians argue against state neutrality. The state should, therefore encourage such cooperative activities in order to extract the best out of every individual the communitarians favour a more positive role of the state- one which encourages the common good towards which every individual would conform. In other words, the state should encourage that the individual good is in line with the common good and not in conflict with it. Only then the state can be called a *just* state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 16 : In what ways is the *Self* of the individual attached to the society.

.....

Q 17: The communitarians, the state should forego its neutrality and pursue politics of common good. (True/False)

.....

4.7 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF COMMUNITARIANISM

One major problem with communitarianism is that it does not provide for strategies or ways through which the political authority/state could ensure a communitarian way of life. Unlike liberalism which specifically mentions the mechanisms (elections, individual rights, market economy etc.) which would lead to liberal state, communitarianism remains just a moral philosophy.

Secondly, communitarians give too much importance to society and community such that it would constrict and curtail individual freedom and autonomy. In such a scenario the community might turn authoritarian, against whose values the individual might be judged. In short the Self would be constrained by the community. Such a community might prove suffocating for an individual and would do no good for her/him. As Will Kymlicka argues, such oppressive community might lead to subordination of individuals, threatening their creativities and psychological health. (Kymlicka 1993, pp. 208-221).

Also, the idea of common good put forward by the communitarians is also problematic for a society which is plural. For example, a typical Indian society is divided by various languages, religions, values, cultures and traditions. In such a scenario it would be extremely difficult to formulate a common concept of good which would form the benchmark for individual good.Even if formulated, such common good would surely prove difficult and conservative to most of the individuals.

However, the contributions of communitarianism cannot be discounted. Excessive focus on individual's rights and freedom who owes nothing to society is a precarious idea. It would give rise to selfish and self-centered individuals leading to chaos and disharmony in society. An example of it is already visible in present day liberal societies in terms of breakdown of families, divorce and separation in marital relations, children viewing old parents as burdens and sending them off to old age homes and so forth. By shifting the focus back to community and recognizing its value in individuals' life, communitarians have played an important role in saving society from disintegration.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 18. Present two points of criticisms against communitarianism.

.....

.....



4.8 LET US SUM UP

- Limited Government is the basic political implication of libertarianism. It seeks to provide free will participation.
- While discussing the principles of libertarianism, we have to learn about principles like- individualism, individual rights, spontaneous order, rule of law, limited government, free markets, the virtue of production, natural harmany of interest, peace ect.
- As a libertarian, F.A.Hayek, in his book "Constitution of Liberty''(1960) used the terms 'liberty' and 'freedom' interchangeably. Hayek explains individual freedom with three different meaning of freedom , which represent ' political freedom ', 'inner freedom' and 'fredom as power'
- Hayek's two general themes are that the managed society does not work and that it is incompatible with freedom. He argues that there are two types of order- namely, constructed order (example : government planning) and spontaneous order (example : the market).
- Nozick in his 'Anarchy, State and Utopia', developed a political theory which he named "Entitlement Theory".
- The main purpose of 'Anarchy, state and Utopia' is to show that the minimal state and only the minimal state is morally justified.
- Communitarianism would imply a philosophy which emphasizes the importance of the community in an individual's life and that the latter is obligated towards the community.
- The communitarians argue that if the *'good'* of the community is pursued over the 'right' of the individual (to pursue his goals), than every individual in the community would automatically be happy.



4.9 FURTHER READING

1) Heywood ,Andrew (2003). *Political Ideologies*, (Third Edition). Palgrave Macmillian Publication.

2) Johari, J. C. *Contemporary Political Theory- New Dimensions, Basic Concepts and Major Trends.* New Delhi : Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

3) Hoveyda, Abbas & Kumar ,Ranajay (2012) . *Political Theory*.Pearson, New Delhi.

4) Gauba, O.P.(2012). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. Macmillan Publishers Pvt. Ltd.



4.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : John Locke, Adam Smith

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Lawrence Reed.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : In the words of Sharom Harris, “Libertarianism is, as the name implies the belief in liberty. Libertarianism believes that each person owns his own life and property and has the right to make his own choinces as to how he lives his life and uses his property– as long as he simply respects the equal right of others to do the same”.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Individuals.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Liberty.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : “Constitution of Liberty”.

Ans to Q. No. 8 : Constructed order and Spontaneous order.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : True.

Ans to Q. No. 10 : Coercion.

Ans to Q. No. 11 : Anarchy, State and Utopea.

Ans to Q. No. 12 : Entitlement Theory.

Ans to Q. No. 13 : True

Ans to Q. No. 14 : True

Ans to Q. No. 15 : The communitarians argue that in no way the *Self* is detached from the society. An individual is rather shaped and defined by the community in which he is born or resides. Michael Sandel talks about the 'embedded self'- a self whose identity is shaped by the community. Every individual or *Self* has a background or history and they can be located in it. In other words, individuals are shaped by their social circumstances in which they find themselves in. Every individual, first of all belongs to the family, then to religion, community and nation. This history or background essentially influences values of the Self. Alasdair MacIntyre puts forward the idea of 'narrative self',which implies that our identity is shaped by the bonds and relationships of community and society and is not a result of individual choice.In similar tone, Charles Taylor argues that the development of an individual takes place only when it is 'situated' in a society.

Ans to Q. No. 16 : True

Ans to Q. No. 17 :

(i) One major problem with communitarianism is that it does not provide for strategies or ways through which the political authority/ state could ensure a communitarian way of life. Unlike liberalism which specifically mentions the mechanisms (elections, individual rights, market economy etc.) which would lead to liberal state, communitarianism remains just a moral philosophy.

(ii) Secondly, communitarians give too much importance to society and community such that it would constrict and curtail individual freedom and autonomy. In such a scenario the community might turn authoritarian, against whose values the individual might be judged. In short the Self would be constrained by the community. Such a community might prove suffocating for an individual and would do no good for her/him. As Will Kymlicka argues, such oppressive community might lead to subordination of individuals, threatening their creativities and psychological health.



4.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name the most influential work of Robert Nozick published in 1974.

Q 2 : Define the concept of libertarianism.

Q 3 : What are the principles of libertarianism.

Q 4 : Explain the basic principles of libertarianism.

Q 5 : Discuss the Hayek's views on liberty and freedom.

Q 6 : Discuss about Nozick's views on state.

Q 6: Explain the meaning of communitarianism.

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UNIT 5 : CAPITALISM- CLASS PERSPECTIVE OF KARL MARX

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Dialectical Materialism

5.4 Marxian notion on Capitalism

5.5 Class Perspective- Karl Marx

5.6 Marxian Approach to the study of politics

5.7 Let Us Sum Up

5.8 Further Readings

5.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.10 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to -

- describe the Marxian ideology
- discuss the Marxist notion on Capitalism
- explain the Marxian Perspective of Class and State
- discuss the Marxist vision of a Communist society

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Karl Heinrich Marx was born in Germany, (1818-1867).He was a philosopher, social scientist, historian, revolutionary and without a doubt the most influential socialist thinker that emerged in the 19th century. Some of his major works are- *Capital: Critique of Political Economy* (1867), *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) etc.

5.3 DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Dialectical materialism is the foundation on which the entire structure of Marxian thoughts rests. Although, Karl Marx's theory of

Dialectical materialism is borrowed from G.W. Friedrich Hegel, yet Marx revised it in a fundamental way. Hegel had applied the dialectics to explain the life process of the human brain, i.e. process of thinking which under the name of 'the idea' i.e. the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought which is known as Hegel's idealistic interpretation of history.

Although Marx has borrowed the idealistic philosophy of Hegel but he applied the dialectics to explain the material conditions of life and in the process of doing so he denounced the Hegelian philosophy of dialectical idealism by the theory of dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism is the philosophical basis of Marxism and it is composed of two words- dialectics and materialism. The word dialectics implies the law of social development while materialism refers to the ultimate reality. According to dialectical materialism, the society moves on the basis of certain definite laws. All fundamental historical changes are determined by the mode of production or the economic forces. Change in the mode of production has two components namely (a) forces of production and (b) relations of production both of which bring consistent change in social relations. For Marx, history is not the product of the spirit but the effect of material class struggle in society. The materialistic conception of history is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of the development of society. In Marxism the society develops as a result of contradiction and conflict through three stages: thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. Thesis is the established order, while those who challenge it's constitute is anti-thesis and the result of the clash between thesis and anti-thesis, is synthesis which is the higher stage of development. For example- the slave owning society was the thesis which was challenged by the slaves resulted in the establishment of feudalism as synthesis. Later, as the forces of production are not static so synthesis became the thesis because in Marxism matter is the ultimate reality. It is also called as the law of negation which means one thing grows out of another and then battles with it because the inherent tendency of development is in

the direction of achieving a perfect society. Consequently, superstructure of society is created on the foundation of productive forces and Marx through dialectical materialism explains the nature of human society and its development.

5.4 MARXIAN NOTION ON CAPITALISM

According to Karl Marx, capitalism will certainly turn to socialism. It refers to his belief that capitalism contains within itself conditions that would be disadvantageous to its own existence, it would eventually lead to the establishment of a socialist mode of living even though possibly not to the extent that Marx had predicted.

In the writings of Marx, we can see that Marx was influenced byHegel, who developed a dialectical method with philosophical assumptions to which Marx disagreed. Instead he presented a materialistic conception of history, stating that history is the development through class struggles as a result of economic differences. Throughout the history evidence can be found of subordination of one class to another because of the economic gap, leading to conflict in the realization of theireconomic interests. Marxism believes in the existence of two opposing classes: the bourgeoisie, who are the owners of the means of production, and the proletariat, the workers who own only their labour. The bourgeoisie adopted the capitalist mode of production in their search for increased profits. It is this way of production that granted the bourgeoisie political and economic power, thereby changing society around them. However this led to the degradation of standards of living of the proletariat, a factor which Marx believed would lead to the fall of the capitalist system. Marx argued that, the exploitative nature of the capitalist isthe source of class antagonism. The nature of this exploitation can be understood through Marx's labour theory of value. Marx believed that the worker's work day can be divided into two parts: necessary labour time during which the worker produces an amount that is equal in value to his wage, and surplus labour time which accounts for the rest of the day where the worker produces what

Marx termed as absolute surplus value. It is with this surplus value that the capitalist gains profit. This then becomes the source of exploitation, as the capitalist, takes the surplus value to increase their own profits, i.e. the profits effectively go to the pockets of the capitalist even when production is considered a social activity.

This theory highlights an issue with the capitalist system which Marx called fetishism of commodity. This is the belief that commodities have power capable of controlling producers. Commodities were seen to have inherent value which can then be exchanged with other commodities using a measure of price. This value is an expression of the average conditions of production involved in the manufacture of that commodity. However, this does not necessarily reflect the labour value of the commodity, which is the social dimension of production. As opposed to Marx's labour theory of value, labour power was seen like any other commodity. Its value is instead given by how much is required to just sustain the worker and in maintaining reproduction. As such it is necessary for the bourgeoisie to ensure that the proletariat is only given enough so as not to own property. This is crucial for the continued survival of the capitalist system.

Despite the worsening conditions of their workers, the capitalist enforced this system as competition between them grows. There would be a pressing need for increased profits and thus increased production, which led the capitalists to begin employing machines for their better efficiency in churning out the produce. The production system becomes more monotonous, effectively eliminating the need for specialized labour and thus reducing the status of the worker for machines. For the capitalists, less labour to pay wages for while maintaining rate of production meant lowering of production costs. However, profits are proportional to exploitation of the workers. Thus, for those who are still in the workforce, not only are their labours reduced to uncreative repetition, they are subject to more exploitation by the capitalists.

Accordingly anarchy of production was observed, whereby the society was driven by competition and only those capitalists survived who were better equipped. According to Marx, this would lead to economic crises and will result from a contradiction between the forces and the relations of production. The proletariat cannot afford to buy goods which they produce out of their own labour. The capitalist system further reflected this gloomy condition in Marx's conception of alienation. He identified four types of alienation. The worker is alienated from his produce as it is taken from him by the capitalists for the appropriation of profit. The worker is also alienated from his labour as it is reduced to repetition by the mechanization of production. Third, the worker is alienated from himself as he is not allowed to exercise his will and creative nature to actualize his product. Finally, he is alienated from others as they are engaged in a competition for higher wages. The concept of alienation was an important point for Marx as he believed that the human nature is expressed through labour. He argued, that history is built upon the successive labour of each generation, each one benefitting its successor.In order to do away with alienation, Marx believed that in such a situation, revolution is required in order to eliminate the exploitation of the capitalist class, so that the capitalist class is no longer able to sustain an economic system that is exploitative in nature. A proletarian revolution would arise, due to the rise in the class consciousness among the proletariat.

The elements of socialism would gradually be introduced into the state, whereby conditions were placed to invoke an environment of freedom of autonomy and benefit for society rather than concentration of power in a select few.

In validating Marx's theory of historical materialism and the natural progression of capitalism to socialism, one has to consider the events that highlights the social and economic inequalities that corporatism have brought about. This theory pushes for fair distribution of economic resources. The crux of the theory lies in the awakening of the proletariat, which is central to Marx's revolutionary theory, leading to the withering away of the state and creating a stateless or class-less society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : From whom did Karl Marx borrow the theory of Dialectical materialism?

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……

Q 2 : "The worker is alienated from his produce". Justify

……

……

……

Q 3 : What are the two components of the mode of production?

……

……

5.5 CLASS PERSPECTIVE- KARL MARX

Marx's class theory rests on the premise that 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.' According to this view, ever since human society emerged from its primitive state it has remained fundamentally divided between classes who clash in the pursuit of class interests. For Marx society differs from one another by its mode of production and each mode of production generates a distinctive class system, where one class directs and controls the other class. They share antagonistic relationship because they are in conflict over the appropriation of what is produced. The dominant class according to Marx not only controls the material production but they control the society as a whole. Later, the other or the working class will gain strength and realize their exploitation. As a result, they will generate revolution in opposition to the ruling class. According to this view revolution will take place at the highest stage of capitalism. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established, the institution of the state would gradually wither away creating a stateless and classless society.

Thus, the theory of class is at the core of the Marxist social theory, for these social classes are designed within a particular mode of production that tends to establish a particular form of state, involves into class conflicts with the goal of establishing a classless society and to bring about major changes in the structure of the society



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4 : Karl Marx in his writings mainly mentioned about two classes in the society. (true/false)

.....

Q 5 : 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles'. Which approach is associated with it?

.....

Q 6 : What is a 'class-less society' in the Marxist Approach?

.....

5.6 MARXIAN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS

Marxian Approach to the study of politics is based on the writings of Karl Marx and Engels. This approach is also known as the class approach to politics because it seeks to study politics in terms of relation between the two economic classes namely, the rich and the poor. Some of the major works of Karl Marx are- *Capital: Critique of Political Economy* (1867), *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) etc.

The following are the features of the Marxist Approach to politics-

- **Existence of infra- structure and super-structure:** The Marxian Approach believes that the society has two structures namely- infra- structure and super-structure. In the super-structure there are elements like- law, customs, traditions etc. of the society. But according to this approach the super-structure is based on the infra-structure. In the infra-structure there are economic factors. If the economic factors are changed the entire super-structural

elements will also be changed. This is also known as the economic interpretation of history.

- **State as Class Institution:** Marxism believes that state is the instrument of the rich class. It is an instrument for the exploitation of the poor. The state is not a natural- social institution. It is a machine created by the rich for exploiting the poor. This approach shows that in all stages of human civilization the state has always been a friend of the rich. That is why, the Marxian approach predicted that after the Proletarian revolution the institution of state will wither away which will able to establish a class-less society.

- **Five stages of historical development:** The five stages are namely, Primitive Communism, Slave System, Feudal System, Capitalist System and Socialist System. In the first four stages the state is always an instrument of exploitation. According to this view revolution will take place at the highest stage of capitalism. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established the institution of the state would gradually disappear establishing a class less society.

- **Emphasis on class-struggle:** In Marxism, the class-struggle is between thecapitalist and the proletariats. Till the capitalist stage, class struggle would be dominated by the capitalist. Marx predicted that in the highest stage of capitalism there would be revolution. In the post-revolutionary period class-struggle would gradually come to an end and the process for the establishment of communism starts. Here, class- struggle ultimately leads to the occurrence of revolution.

Accordingly, this approach insist on an analysis of the economic structure of the society, historical stages of its development and the corresponding class- structure in order to understand the nature of political

system. This approach has also faced a number of criticisms namely as- (a) this approach makes too much emphasis on economic factors and has failed to appreciate the importance of non-economic factors in the understanding of politics.

(b)this approach provides no scope for independent political analysis. It is because the entire Marxian approach is biased infavour of economic factors only. In the absence of independent political analysis the studies undertaken by the Marxian Approach almost always become identical.

(c) This approach has completely neglected the welfare dimension of the institution of the state. The critics stated that it would be wrong to assume that the state is an instrument of exploitation only. So, it has been described as deficient.

(d) The critics stated that, in actual practice it would be very difficult to pre-ordain the course of class-struggle leading to the establishment of communism and it is based on individual political conviction of Marx only.

However, despite it this approach has contributed towards a class frame-work for the analysis of the process of the development of human civilization.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7 : Marxism supports Capitalism. (True/False)

……

Q 8 : In the year……. Communist Manifesto was published. (Fill in the Blank)



5.7 LET US SUM UP

- Karl Marx was a German Philosopher who is considered to be one of the most influential thinkers of all time.
- His writings and ideas were revolutionized one that was against Capitalism and its relations to individuals, business and society.

- Marx philosophy was based on the idea of materialism, i.e. the word dialectics implies the law of social development while materialism refers to the ultimate reality. According to dialectical materialism, the society moves on the basis of certain definite laws.All fundamental historical changes are determined by the mode of production or the economic forces.
- Marx believed that it was in the stage of capitalism that the workers were exploited the most by paying them less than they are worth and the excess labour of the workers i.e. the profit is taken away by the capitalist class that leads to the unfair conditions and exploitation of the working class.
- In other words, Marx argued that the Working class are alienated by the Capitalist from the life that they should live naturally as a human and as to how they relate themselves with others in a society.
- Hence, Marx believed that gradually workers of the world should unite, go for revolution and overthrow the Capitalist class. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established the institution of the state would gradually disappear by establishing a class-less society.



5.8 FURTHER READING

1) Lenin V.I (1930):*The Teachings of Karl Marx.*NewYork: International Publishers

2) OllmanBertell (1971): *Alienation Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*. Cambridge: University Press

3) Wood Allen (2004): *Karl Marx*. New York: Routledge

4) Worsley Peter (2002): *Marx and Marxism.* New York: Routledge.

5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: G.W. Friedrich Hegel

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Marx believed that it was in the stage of capitalism that the workers were exploited the most by paying them less than they are worth and the excess labour of the workers i.e. the profit is taken away by the capitalist class that leads to the unfair conditions and exploitation of the working class.In other words, Marx argued that the Working class are alienated by the Capitalist from the life that they should live naturally as a human and as to how they relate themselves with others in a society.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : The two components namely- (a) Forces of production and (b) Relations of production bring consistent change in social relations.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : True

Ans to Q. No. 5 : Marxian Approach

Ans to Q. No. 6 : As the working class is exploited by the Capitalist in the Capitalist society so Karl Marx stated that all the workers of the world should get united and they should go for revolution against the ruling class. In Marxism, it is said that the revolution or class-struggle go for revolution and overthrow the Capitalist class. In the post-revolutionary period a new state system namely the dictatorship of the proletariat will emerge. But it is only a transitional stage of human civilization and in the gradual course of time the dictatorship of the proletariat will transform itself to that of communism and when communism is established, there will be no further need for such an oppressive institution and with the disappearance of classes because the state is likely to wither away and to establish a 'class-less' society.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : False

Ans to Q. No. 8 : 1848



5.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Who has been the influence of Marx?

Q 2 : What is the foundation on which the entire structure of Marxian thoughts rests?

Q 3 : Who wrote the Communist Manifesto with Marx?

Q 4 : Where was Karl Marx born?

Q 5 : Write a brief note on Dialectical Materialism.

Q 6 : Write short notes on (a) Class struggle (b) Alienation

Q 7 : Examine the concept of Capitalism in Marxian Approach.

Q 8 : Explain the drawbacks of Marxian Approach.

Q 9 : Critically discuss the Marxian Approach to the study of politics?

Q 10 : Marx talks about alienation. What is alienation and in what sense are the workers alienated?

*** *******

UNIT 6 : HEGEMONIC PERSPECTIVE OF CAPITALISM- ANTONIO GRAMSCI

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 State and Civil Society

- 6.3.1 Antonio Gramsci
- 6.3.2 State and Civil Society

6.4 Concept of Civil Society

6.5 Hegemony and the State

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- explain the concept of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci
- explain Gramsci's views on State and Civil Society
- discuss the concept of civil society by Gramsci
- discuss Gramsci's views on hegemony and the state

6.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall learn about one of the most influential neo-Marxist theorists and politicians. Antonio Gramsci put forward the important concept of hegemony and was a critique of the civil society while offering a critical perspective of the capitalist state.

6.3 STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

6.3.1 Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci (22 January 1891 – 26 April 1936) was an Italian neo-Marxist theorist and politician. He wrote on political theory,

sociology and linguistics. He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy and was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.

His *Prison Notebooks* are considered a highly original contribution to 20th century political theory. Gramsci drew insights from varying sources, which included not only other Marxists but also thinkers such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Vilfredo Pareto, Georges Sorel and Benedetto Croce. The notebooks cover a wide range of topics, including Italian history and nationalism, the French Revolution, Fascism, Fordism, civil society, folklore, religion and high and popular culture, Gramsci is best known for his theory of cultural hegemony, which describes how states use cultural institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies.

6.3.2 State and Civil Society

According to Gramsci, civil society is the arena which protects the interests of the capitalist class. The methods used to protect the interests of capitalist class are

1. *State* – the state will use force or coercion to protect the interests.
2. *Civil society*- it will use consent which is a better method to use than that of the method used by the state.

State and civil society both work for capitalist class. Capitalist class at first capture the mode of production and then the state and after capturing all the institutions it will capture the civil society. Civil society is created to hide the exploitation of the capitalist class done through the capitalist state. The working class believes that capitalist state is good as they could not realise the exploitations done on them because of the pressure of civil society which results in suppression of any kind of revolution. The capitalists use civil society institutions in order to create hegemonic control over all classes of society.

The basic premise of the theory of hegemony is one with which few would disagree: that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas. "The foundation of a ruling class," he wrote, "is equivalent to the creation of a Weltanschauung." (Weltanschauung- "world view") Marx had observed that "the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." Gramsci, however, found this fact much more suggestive than had Marx, for whom it was but a corollary of economic theory.

The concept of hegemony is associated with imposition of values by the dominant class by artificially creating consent. It means that in a culturally diverse society, the ruling class (the bourgeoisie) tries to dominate the same by trying to impose its own ideas, values, beliefs and mores by way of manipulation. Subsequently, the world view of the ruling class becomes the dominant ideology which is to be followed by all sections.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Who is the author of *"*Prison Notebooks*" ?*

.....

Q 2 : Antonio Gramsci was a founding member and one-time leader of the Communist Party of……..(Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q 3 : According to Gramsci, a civil society is the arena which protects the interests of the capitalist class. (True/False)

.....

Q 4 : Mention the two methods used by the capitalists to protect their interests.

.....

6.4 THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Gramsci's thinking was rooted in Marx and Lenin. He made all the Marxist assumptions about the material origins of class and the role of

class struggle and consciousness in social change. He also took Marx's notion of bourgeous "hegemony" in civil society as expressed by Marx and Engels in "The German Ideology" (1845-46, in Tucker 1968, 162-164). He made it a central theme of his own version of the functioning of the capitalist system. This hegemony, in Gramscian terms, meant the ideological predominance of bourgeois values and norms over the subordinate classes : it is, in the words of one analyst, "an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations"(Williams, in Miliband 1963,162)

According to Gramsci, the institutions of civil society like family, school and church familiarise the citizens with the rules of behaviour and teach them to show respect to the authority of the ruling classes. It was in his concept of civil society and his elevations of bourgeois hegemony to a predominant place in the science of politics that Gramsci went beyond Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. In so doing, he emphasized much more than the earlier writers the role of the superstructure in perpetuating classes and preventing the development of class consciousness(Texier, in Mouffe 1969). He assigned to the state part of this function of promoting a single (bourgeois) concept of reality and therefore, gave the state a more extensive role in perpetuating class. Gramsci gave the mass of workers more credit than Lenin for being able to develop class consciousness themselves, but at the same time he also saw the obstacles to consciousness as more formidable in western society than Lenin had imagined ; it was not merely lack of understanding of their position in the economic process that kept workers from comprehending their class role, nor was it only the "private" institutions of society, such as religion, that were responsible for keeping the working class from self-realization, but it was the state itself that was involved in reproducing the relations of production. In other words, the state was much more than the coercive apparatus of the bourgeoisie; the state included the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

These notions emerge more clearly when we understand the differences between the concepts of civil society and the state as used by "naturalists" like Locke and Rousseau, and those of Hegel, and Marx and Engels. The naturalists view saw civil society as the reign of order over a state of nature in which men found themselves in some pre-state society. Civil society meant an organization of individuals beyond the family, production, etc., into a collective entity governed by laws. Men voluntarily entered this collective organisation. Civil society, then, was the state of nature organized and ordered by the collective will – by the state. And under some interpretation civil society could even be regarded as the State itself.

Hegel, on the other hand, called civil society the pre political society, that which the naturalists had named the state of nature. For Hegel, the civil society was the reign of "dissoluteness, misery, and physical and ethical corruption" (Hegel, in Mouffe 1969,28), just the opposite of the naturalist conception. Hegel's civil society had to be regulated and dominated by the superior intellectual capacity of the state, which was the highest form of man's ethical and moral order. The Marxian concept of civil society as the structural moment can be considered as the point of departure of Gramsci's analysis. But Gramci's theory according to Bobbio (1969), introduced a profound innovation in the Marxist tradition; civil society in Gramsci does not belong to the structural moment, but to the super structural one.

For both Marx and Gramsci, civil society is the key factor in understanding capitalist development, but for Marx civil society is structure (relation in production). For Gramsci, on the other hand, it is superstructure that represents the active and positive factor in historical development.

6.5 HEGEMONY AND THE STATE

Hegemony is a crucial concept in the Gramscian system. But its importance also derives from the historical situation of Italy in the 1920s. Hegemony means the ideological predominance of the dominant classes in civil society over the subordinate.

Gramsci's originality as a Marxist lay partly in his conception of the nature of bourgeois rule (and indeed of any previous established social order), in his argument that the system's real strength does not lie in the violence of the ruling class or the coercive power of its state apparatus, but in the acceptance by the ruled of a "conception of the world" which belongs to the rulers. Bobbic(1969) argues that Gramsci inverts traditional Marxist theory in two ways : first, Gramsci emphasizes the primacy of the ideological superstructures over the economic structure; second, he emphasizes the primacy of civil society (consensus) over political society (force). Although for both Marx and Gramsci, the civil society is fundamental to understanding the capitalist relations and their reproduction. Bobbic suggests that for Gramsci, it is superstructure that represents the active and positive factor in historical development; rather than economic structure.

For Gramsci neither force nor any of the logic of capitalist production could explain the consent that production enjoyed among the subordinate classes. Rather, the explanation for this consent lay in the power of consciousness and ideology. But, at the same time, in that very consciousness lay the foundations of a strategy for gaining the active consent of the masses through their self organization, starting from civil society, and in all the hegemonic apparatuses – from the factory to the school and the family.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony has two main connotations: first, it is a process in civil society whereby a fraction of the dominant class exercises control through its moral and intellectual leadership over the dominated classes.

Second, it is a relationship between the dominant and dominated classes. Hegemony involves the successful attempts of the dominant class to use its political, moral, and intellectual leadership to establish its view of the world as all-inclusive and universal, and to shape the interest and needs of subordinate groups.

We can begin to understand Gramsci's analysis of the state, the role of intellectuals (and education) in the superstructure (and therefore in the process of historical change) and his view of the strategy necessary to replace the bourgeois state(and civil society) in Western Europe with a proletarian hegemony.

For Gramsci, the state as superstructure becomes a primary rather than a secondary variable in understanding capitalist society. Furthermore, he incorporated the apparatus of hegemony in the state as well as civil society, thereby expanding it beyond the Marxist-Leninist conception of the state as a coercive instrument of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the state is, at one and the same time, a primary instrument for the expansion of dominant class power and a coercive force (political society) that keeps subordinate groups weak and disorganized.

We are still on the terrain of the identification of state and government — an identification which is precisely a representation of the economic-corporate form, in other words of the confusion between civil society and political society. For it should be remarked that the general notion of the State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion). (Gramsci 1961,263)

This is one view of what Gramsci meant by the state and its role in dominant-class hegemony. However, as Anderson (1966) has shown, there are several definitions of hegemony and the state's place in it appearing in the Prison Notebooks. In the first "oscillation," the opposition is between the state and civil society; hegemony (direction) pertains to civil society and coercion (domination) to the state. There is a contrast between civil society and the state – the dominant group exercises hegemony through society and direct domination through the state and its juridicial government. The dominant class gains consent to its social domination through hegemony in the society as whole, but exercises domination through the control of the state's coercive apparatuses. "The state is the entire complex

of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains the domination, but manages to win the active consent of those whom it rules" (Gramsci 1961,244)

In the second definition , the state includes civil society; it encompasses civil society. "The General notion of the state includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that the state = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony armoured with coercion) (Anderson 1966, 12-13). In that case, hegemony is not a pole of consent in contrast to another of coercion, but as a synthesis of consent and coercion. Hegemony is no longer confined to civil society but is also located in the state a as "political hegemony," contrasted with "civil hegemony." Thus, hegemony is everywhere, but in different forms; the state becomes an apparatus of hegemony, encompassing civil society and only distinguished from it by the coercive apparatuses pertaining only to the state.

In the third definition, the state and the civil society are identical, thus, consent and coersion become co-extensive with the state and hegemony is inseperable from the state apparatuses themselves. There is no longer a distribution of hegemony between civil society and political society. State and civil society both are merged into a larger unity and the state is the same as the social formation itself, including governmental and various private apparatuses. As we will see, it is this last definition that Althusser uses in his "ideological state apparatuses": all ideological and political superstructures – including the family, trade unions, reformists political parties, and private media- are by definition state apparatuses, or – to put in another way – are hegemonic apparatuses.

In the next conception of the state, we see that it is part of dominant class hegemony. In this definition, Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus – as part of the system developed by the bourgeoise to perpetuate and expand their control of society in the context of class struggle. The incorporation of the state into dominant class hegemony emerged, according to him, from the nature of the bourgeois

class itself – from the fact that the state had constituted itself as an organism of continous movement, capable of absorbing and culturally transforming the entire society.

All of this suggests that Gramsci's view of the state was principally ideological, that it was a hegemonic apparatus that arose from the conception of the bourgeois class as a potentially totally inclusive group, and hence to a system of laws and norms that treated individuals as if they were going to be incorporated into the bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the importance of the state as an apparatus of hegemony is for Gramsci still rooted in the class structure, a class structure defined by and tied to the relations in production. Gramsci raises man's thought (consciousness) to a newly prominent place in the "Philosophy of Praxis" (as he calls Marxism). Control of consciousness is as much or more an area of political struggle as control of the forces of production.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus. (True/False)

.....

Q 6 : State and civil society both work for the capitalist class. (True/False)

.....

Q 7 : What is hegemony?

.....

.....

.....



6.6 LET US SUM UP

- Antonio Gramsci was born on 22 January 1891.
- He was an Italian neo Marxist theorist and politician.

- He wrote on political theory, sociology and linguistics.
- He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy and was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.
- According to Gramsci, civil society is the arena which protects the interest of the capitalist class.
- State and civil society both work for capitalist class.
- Capitalist class at first capture the mode of production and then the state and after capturing all the institutions it will capture the civil society.
- Gramsci's thinking was rooted in Marx and Lenin.
- He also took Marx's notion of bourgeous "hegemony" in civil society as expressed by Marx and Engels in The German Ideology
- The naturalists view saw civil society as the reign of order over a state of nature in which men found themselves in some pre-state society. Civil society meant an organization of individuals beyond the family, production, etc.
- Hegel, on the other hand, called civil society the pre political society, that which the naturalists had named the state of nature.
- Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus.
- Gramsci raises man's thought (consciousness) to a newly prominent place in the "Philosophy of Praxis" (as he calls Marxism).



6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Santucci, Antonio A. *Antonio Gramsci*. APH Publishing Corporation , New Delhi.
2) Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Aaakar Books, New Delhi.

6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Antonio Gramsci .

Ans to Q. No. 2 : True

Ans to Q. No. 3 : He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : State and Civil Society

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : True

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Hegemony is a crucial concept in the Gramscian system. But its importance also derives from the historical situation of Italy in the 1920s. Hegemony means the ideological predominance of the dominant classes in civil society over the subordinate.

6.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name a literary work of Gramsci.

Q 2 : What is Civil Society according to Gramsci?

Q 3 : What is hegemony according to Gramsci ?

Q 4 : Discuss Gramsci's Concept of Hegemonic State.

Q 5 : Discuss Gramsci's views on civil society.

Q 6 : Explain Gramsci's views on Hegemony and the State

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UNIT 7 : REVOLUTION, IMPERIALISM- V.I. LENIN

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Lenin's modification in Marxism

7.4 Lenin on Imperialism

7.5 Lenin on Revolution

7.6 Let Us Sum Up

7.7 Further Readings

7.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.9 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- describe the modifications made by Lenin in Marxism
- discuss important aspects of Imperialism by Lenin
- explain the salient features of the his views on Revolution

7.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall learn about one of most influential leading post-Marxist thinkers, namely Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He was a Russian Communist revolutionary and served as the head of the government of the Soviet Union.

7.3 LENIN'S MODIFICATION IN MARXISM

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov popularly known as Lenin (1870-1924) was the founder of the modern communist party in Russia. He was a well-known figure in the Russian Revolution of 1917. He made Marxism a practical principle in Russia. He was a theorist and a man of action. Lenin put forward the idea of the Communist Party as a vanguard party to lead the struggle against capitalism. It was under his administration that Russia and the wider Soviet

Union turned into a one-party socialist state under the Russian Communist Party. Hence, Lenin was ideologically a Marxist but the theories developed by him are known as Leninism.

Lenin was a disciple of Marx. He always claimed that he was on a mission to rescue Marxism but in the process he made a few changes in Marxism by the use of the theory of imperialism and pointed out that capitalism survived through imperialism. He adapted Marxism in practice according to the need of time and made it applicable even in a country which was not even industrially advanced. In short, Lenin has made Marxism up to date and is said to have revised Marxism in the light of the latest developments of his time. Thus, the present-day philosophy of Communism is known as Marxism-Leninism i.e. a revised version of Marxism. Some of Lenin's works are: "State and Revolution", "Imperialism- the Highest Stage of Capitalism", and "Introduction to Marx, Engels, Marxism", "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", to name a few.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When was V.I. Lenin born?

……

Q 2 : The political theories of Lenin are known as……(Fill in the Blank).

Q 3 : Mention a few works of Lenin.

.....

Q 4 : Lenin has made Marxism up to date and is said to have revised Marxism in the light of the latest developments of his time. (True/ False)

7.4 LENIN ON IMPERIALISM

Lenin's views on imperialism, is mentioned in his well-known work named as the Imperialism: the Highest stage of Capitalism. He regarded imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Lenin argued that due to the creation of empires by the middle classes and workers of the developed

industrial countries, the miseries of the workers could have been saved as predicted by Marx. But in practice, the people of the territories under the colonial power suffered exploitation and became genuine proletariat and the people of the colonial powers became the capitalists. So there is no way out but to fulfill the teachings and prediction of Marx. Lenin states that, the monopoly capitalism becomes finance capitalism because the same process goes on in the financial world. The banks as used by the capitalist combines with it and become the master of the capital and the consequences of these are- (a) it leads to the exploitation of the people of the colonies (b) because of the competition between the markets it produces conflict between nations and (c) it establishes a new world order and the end of capitalism and the class wars between nations are inevitable. Therefore for Lenin, Imperialism is the highest stage of Capitalism and in this stage both domination of monopoly and financial capital takes its shape and it contains a number of contradictions which finally results in its own ruins and socialism establishes.

However, Lenin's view on imperialism has been criticized as philosophically vague and traditionally wrong. Critics have stated that finance interest alone cannot force government to go for conflict. Even his view that possession of empire alone can lead to the better standard of living for the working class by critics is also not fully correct. Finally, some other critics also stated that this theory is a utopian view and was not the effective renunciation of the teachings of Karl Marx.

Lenin said "The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises are one of the most characteristic features of capitalism."

Monopolist capitalist associations, cartels, syndicates and trusts first divided the home market among themselves and obtained more or less complete possession of the industry of their own country. But under capitalism the home market is inevitably bound up with the foreign market. Capitalism long ago created a world market. As the export of capital increased, and as the foreign and colonial connections and "spheres of

influence" of the big monopolist associations expanded in all ways, things "naturally" gravitated towards an international agreement among these associations, and towards the formation of international cartels."

Lenin further says "Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination and not for freedom, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations—all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism. More and more prominently there emerges, as one of the tendencies of imperialism, the creation of the "rentier state", the usurer state, in which the bourgeoisie to an ever-increasing degree lives on the proceeds of capital exports and by "clipping coupons". It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies. On the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before; but this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in general, its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital (Britain).

We must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

> (1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance

capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

According to Lenin therefore, imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism and the deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly.

(Source: https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : Mention the consequences of the banks combining with capitalist to become the master of the master of the capital .

.....

Q 6 : Which are the five basic features of imperialism as identified by Lenin ?

.....

.....

.....

7.5 LENIN ON REVOLUTION

Lenin emphasized on violent revolution, in order to establish communism. He argued that, the exploited class should understand that they are exploited and they cannot go on living in the old way so they should demand a change for revolution. He held that a revolution is impossible without a national crisis and it will affect both the exploited and the exploiters. The majority of the exploiters should be convinced of the need of revolution and should also be ready to sacrifice their lives as well. Lenin further stated that the Communist Party should play a significant role in bringing about the revolution and even insisted that this party should take part in the revolution secretly if possible and for this Lenin preferred that his communist party should consist

of professional revolutionaries only. The idea of Lenin's professional revolution is regarded as one of the important contributions of Lenin to Marxist philosophy. He also included that strategies of revolution is also of great importance.

Later, once the revolution has been brought about Lenin favoured quick action to get hold over the means of production and distribution by the collective methods from the private entrepreneurs so that wasteful energies in competition could be utilized for constructive purposes. Thus, Lenin believed that revolution could be brought about in countries which did not possess healthy representative traditions.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7 : For the success of the revolution Lenin preferred that the communist party should consist of professional revolutionaries. (True/False)

.....

Q 8 : Lenin laid great emphasis on……..... to establish …….. (Fill in the Blank)



7.6 LET US SUM UP

- Vladimir Illyich Ulyanov popularly known as Lenin (1870-1924) was the founder of the modern communist party in Russia.A well-known figurein the Russian Revolution of 1917. He made Marxism a practical principle in Russia.
- He was a theorist and a man of action. It was under his administration that Russia and the wider Soviet Union turned a one-party socialist state under the Russian Communist Party. Hence, Lenin was ideologically a Marxist but the theories developed by him are known as Leninism.
- Lenin was a disciple of Marx. He always claimed that he was in the mission to rescue Marxism but in the process he made few

changes over Marxism by the use of the theory of imperialism and its conclusions were reverse of Marxian concept.

- He adapted Marxism in practice according to the need of time and made it applicable even in a country which was not even industrially advanced. In short, Lenin has made Marxism up to date and is said to have revised Marxism in the light of the latest developments of his time.
- Thus, the present-day philosophy of Communism is known as Marxism-Leninism i.e. a revised version of Marxism.
- Some of Lenin's works are: State and Revolution, Imperialism-the Highest Stage of Capitalism, and Introduction to Marx, Engels, and Marxism, to name a few.
- Lenin's views on imperialism, is mentioned in his well-known work named as the Imperialism: the Highest stage of Capitalism. He regarded imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Lenin argued that due to the creation of empires by the middle classes and workers of the developed industrial countries, the miseries of the workers could have been saved as predicted by Marx.
- But in practice, the people of the territories under the colonial power suffered exploitation and became genuine proletariat and the people of the colonial powers became the the capitalists. So there is no way out but to fulfill the teachings and prediction of Marx.
- Lenin states that, the monopoly capitalism becomes finance capitalism because the same process goes on in the financial world.
- The banks as used by the capitalist combines with it and become the master of the capital and the consequences of these are- (a) it leads to the exploitation of the people of the colonies (b) because of the competition between the markets it produces conflict between nations and (c) it establishes a new world order and the end of capitalism and the class wars between nations are inevitable.
- Therefore, for Lenin, Imperialism is the highest stage of Capitalism and in this stage both domination of monopoly and financial capital

takes its shape and it contains a number of contradictions which finally results in its own ruins and socialism establishes.

Lenin emphasized on violent revolution, in order to establish communism. He argued that, the exploited class should understand that they are exploited and they cannot go on living in the old way so they should demand a change for revolution.

- He held that a revolution is impossible without a national crisis and it will affect both the exploited and the exploiters. The majority of the exploiters should be convinced of the need of revolution and should also be ready to sacrifice their lives as well.
- Lenin further stated that the Communist Party should play a significant role in bringing about the revolution and even insisted that his party should take part in the revolution secretly if possible and for this Lenin preferred that his communist party should consist of professional revolutionaries only.
- The idea of Lenin's professional revolution is regarded as one of the important contributions of Lenin to Marxist philosophy. He also included that strategies of revolution is also of great importance.
- Later, once the revolution has been brought about Lenin favoured quick action to get hold over the means of production and distribution by the collective methods from the private entrepreneurs so that wasteful energies in competition could be utilized for constructive purposes.
- Thus, Lenin believed that revolution could be brought about in countries which did not possess healthy representative traditions.



7.7 FURTHER READING

1) Baylis John and Smith Steve (2005): *The Globalization of World Politics.* USA: Oxford University Press

2) Callinicos Alex (2009): *Imperialism and Global Political Economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

3) Hill Christopher (1971): *Lenin and the Russian Revolution*. London: Penguin Books.

4) Lenin V.I. (1905): *Freedom to Criticize and Unity of Action in Lenin Collected Works*, 1965. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

5) Paul Bowles (2007): *Capitalism* .London: Pearson Publications.



7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : April 22, 1870

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Leninism

Ans to Q. No. 3 :"State and Revolution", "Imperialism- the Highest Stage of Capitalism", and "Introduction to Marx, Engels, Marxism", "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination"

Ans to Q. No. 4 : True

Ans to Q. No. 5 : The banks as used by the capitalist combines with it and become the master of the capital and the consequences of these are-

(a) It leads to the exploitation of the people of the colonies

(b) Because of the competition between the markets it produces conflict between nations

(c) It establishes a new world order and the end of capitalism and the class wars between nations are inevitable.

Ans to Q. No. 6 :(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist

associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

Ans to Q. No. 7 : True

Ans to Q. No. 8 : Revolution, communism.



7.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Who was V.I Lenin?

Q 2 : In which place was Lenin born?

Q 4 : Mention any two major works of V.I. Lenin?

Q 5 : Discuss Lenin's views on Imperialism

Q 6 : Discuss Lenin's views on Revolution.

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UNIT 8 : NEW DEMOCRACY AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION : MAO ZEDONG

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 New Democracy and Cultural Revolution of Mao Zedong

8.3.1 New Democracy

8.3.2 Cultural Revolution

8.4 Hundred Flowers Policy

8.5 Let Us Sum Up

8.6 Further Reading

8.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.8 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- discuss Mao Zedong's concepts of New Democracy and Cultural Revolution
- discuss Mao Zedong's Hundred Flowers Policy

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Maoism like Marxism and Leninism was one of the most debated subjects of the 20th century. Maoism is the teachings and formulations that were advanced by Mao Zedong. He is popularly known as Mao Tse Tung (1883-1976). On October 1, 1948, Mao Zedong proclaimed the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The PRC is a single-party state controlled by the Communist Party of China. In the subsequent years, Mao launched an extensive programme of land reforms and crushed all "counter-revolutionaries" who were perceived as enemies of the state

Some of his works are "On Contradiction", "On New Democracy", etc. The difference between Maoism and Marxism is that Mao argued that,

peasants should be the revolutionary class in Chinese society rather than the workers.

8.3 NEW DEMOCRACY AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Mao like Karl Marx and Lenin was also strongly opposed to Capitalism. Initially, Mao was of the view the violent struggle between two antagonistic systems i.e. Capitalist and Socialist societies is inevitable. However, later he also placed the view that it may be prevented, it is not rigid and can change with the change of circumstances in the course of time. Hence, Mao had a flexible attitude towards opposition to capitalism. He put forward the view of People's War and he also stated that instead of Proletarian Revolution (urban working class revolution), the leadership of the revolution in China would be provided by the peasants for the rural araes . He believed in the continuous character of the revolution. Some of the important works of Mao include "On Contradiction", "On New Democracy", etc.

8.3.1 New Democracy

Mao sought to establish a new order in China the form of what he called "New Democracy". He said "In China, it is perfectly clear that whoever can lead the people in overthrowing imperialism and the forces of feudalism can win the people's confidence, because these two, and especially imperialism, are the mortal enemies of the people. Today, whoever can lead the people in driving out Japanese imperialism and introducing democratic government will be the saviours of the people. History has proved that the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot fulfil this responsibility, which inevitably falls upon the shoulders of the proletariat."

Therefore, the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other sections of the petty bourgeoisie undoubtedly constitute the basic forces determining China's fate. These

classes, some already awakened and others in the process of awakening, will necessarily become the basic components of the state and governmental structure in the democratic republic of China, with the proletariat as the leading force. The Chinese democratic republic which we desire to establish now must be a democratic republic under the joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people led by the proletariat, that is, a new-democratic republic, a republic of the genuinely revolutionary new Three People's Principles with their Three Great Policies.

This new-democratic republic will be different from the old European-American form of capitalist republic under bourgeois dictatorship, which is the old democratic form and already out of date. On the other hand, it will also be different from the socialist republic of the Soviet type under the dictatorship of the proletariat which is already flourishing in the U.S.S.R., and which, moreover, will be established in all the capitalist countries and will undoubtedly become the dominant form of state and governmental structure in all the industrially advanced countries. However, for a certain historical period, this form is not suitable for the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. During this period, therefore, a third form of state must be adopted in the revolutions of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, namely, the new-democratic republic. This form suits a certain historical period and is therefore transitional; nevertheless, it is a form which is necessary and cannot be dispensed with.

Thus the numerous types of state system in the world can be reduced to three basic kinds according to the class character of their political power: (1) republics under bourgeois dictatorship; (2) republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes."

Accordingly, the New Democracy that Mao talked of is a a joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes and the system of government in this state system is democratic centralism. Mao wanted the four diverse classes namely the Proletariat, Peasantry, Petty Bourgeoisie and National Bourgeoisie to live in peace and believed that diverse needs of these different classes my not necessarily create conflict with each other.

8.3.2 Cultural Revolution

Mao Zedong in the year 1966 launched the Cultural Revolution known in full as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It was a politico-social movement by him to reassert his control over the Communist party. Mao shut down the schools of the nation and called for a massive mobilisation of the youth. Mao Zedong sought to penalize those leaders of the Community Party who had adopted bourgeoisie values and lacked the revolutionary spirit. Very soon this movement gained momentum and the students formed paramilitary groups called the Red Guards. It was a way of reviving the communist revolution by strengthening ideology and clearing out opponents. Many intellectuals of the society who did not prescribe to the Communist way of thinking were persecuted. Mao through this revolution wanted to upgrade the role of the masses as well. In the process, in 1967, Mao set up also set up revolutionary committees including the members of People's Liberation Army who later took over the power of the state as well as of the party in given areas. Mao declared the Cultural Revolution to have ended in 1868. The Gang of Four (senior leaders of the Communist Party of China who were charged with treason) and the military general Lin Biao were labeled as two major "counter-revolutionary" forces. After Mao's death and the subsequent arrest of the members of the "Gang of Four" in 1976 the Cultural Revolution ended.

(Source: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/index.htm)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: What are the numerous types of state system in the world as identified by Mao ?

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Q 2: Write briefly about the Cultural Revolution.

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8.4 MAO'S HUNDRED FLOWERS POLICY

This Hundred Flowers Policy was advocated by Mao Zedong during the period of Cultural Revolution in China. He was of the view that it would be wrong to think that there should be only one ideology in a state or society. The Hundred Flowers Policy implies that the views of all classes, strata and groups of people should be taken into account. So, each and everyone's thinking or views in China were like a flower and every flower is important and together they are like such hundred flowers and they should be allowed to grow and blossom. Mao's Hundred Flowers Policy is the reflection of the principle of free-expression. Hence, Mao through this policy wanted to upgrade the role of masses and emphasised that coercion shall not be used in ideological matters. Instead only persuasion should be made use of. However, the underlying principle would be that of Marxism.

Moa said "We are living in a period of great social change. Chinese society has been in the midst of great changes for a long time. The War of Resistance against Japan was one period of great change and the War of Liberation another. But the present changes are much more profound in character than the earlier ones. We are now building socialism. Hundreds of millions of people are taking part in the movement for socialist transformation. Class relations are changing throughout the country. The petty bourgeoisie in agriculture and handicrafts and the bourgeoisie in

industry and commerce have both experienced changes. The social and economic system has been changed; individual economy has been transformed into collective economy, and capitalist private ownership is being transformed into socialist public ownership. Changes of such magnitude are of course reflected in people's minds. Man's social being determines his consciousness. These great changes in our social system are reflected differently among people of different classes, strata and social groups. The masses eagerly support them, for life itself has confirmed that socialism is the only way out for China. Overthrowing the old social system and establishing a new one, the system of socialism, means a great struggle, a great change in the social system and in men's relations with each other. It should be said that the situation is basically sound. But the new social system has only just been established and requires time for its consolidation. It must not be assumed that the new system can be completely consolidated the moment it is established; that is impossible. It has to be consolidated step by step. To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but also to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts."

Mao further says "Second, the situation regarding the intellectuals in our country. No accurate statistics are available on the number of intellectuals in China. It is estimated that there are about five million of all types, including both higher and ordinary intellectuals. Of these five million the overwhelming majority are patriotic, love our People's Republic, and are willing to serve the people and the socialist state. A small number do not quite welcome the socialist system and are not very happy about it. They are still sceptical about socialism, but they are patriotic when it comes to facing imperialism. The number of intellectuals who are hostile to our state is very small. They do not like our state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and yearn for the old society. Whenever there is an opportunity, they will stir up trouble and attempt to overthrow the Communist Party and restore the old China. As between the proletarian and the bourgeois lines,

as between the socialist and the capitalist lines, they stubbornly choose to follow the latter. In fact this line is not practicable, and therefore they are actually ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Such persons are found in political circles and in industrial and commercial, cultural and educational, scientific and technological and religious circles, and they are extremely reactionary. They account for only 1 or 2 or 3 per cent of the five million intellectuals. The overwhelming majority, or well over 80 per cent, of the total of five million, support the socialist system in varying degrees. Many of them are not yet quite clear on how to work under socialism and on how to understand, handle and solve many of the new problems."

According to Mao "The majority have the desire to study Marxism and have already learned a little, but they are not yet familiar with it. Some of them still have doubts, their stand is not yet firm and they vacillate in moments of stress. This section of intellectuals, constituting the majority of the five million, is still in the middle. Those who strongly oppose Marxism, or are hostile to it, are very few in number. Some actually disagree with Marxism, although they do not openly say so. There will be people like this for a long time to come, and we should allow them to disagree. Take some of the idealists for example. They may support the socialist political and economic system but disagree with the Marxist world outlook. The same holds true for the patriotic people in religious circles. They are theists and we are atheists. We cannot force them to accept the Marxist world outlook. In short, the attitude towards Marxism of the five million intellectuals may be summed up as follows: Those who support Marxism and are relatively familiar with it are a minority, those who oppose it are also a minority, and the majority support Marxism but are not familiar with it and support it in varying degrees. Here there are three different kinds of stand — resolute, wavering and antagonistic. It should be recognized that this situation will continue for a very long time. If we fail to recognize this, we shall make too great a demand on others and at the same time set ourselves too small a task. Our comrades in propaganda work have the task of disseminating Marxism. This has to be done gradually and done well, so that people willingly

accept it. We cannot force people to accept Marxism, we can only persuade them. If over a period of several five-year plans a fairly large number of our intellectuals accept Marxism and acquire a fairly good grasp of it through practice, through their work and life, through class struggle, production and scientific activity, that will be fine. And that is what we hope will happen."

Mao said "Third, the question of the remoulding of the intellectuals. Ours is a culturally underdeveloped country. For a vast country like ours, five million intellectuals are too few. Without intellectuals our work cannot be done well, and we should therefore do a good job of uniting with them. Socialist society mainly comprises three sections of people, the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals. Intellectuals are mental workers. Their work is in the service of the people, that is, in the service of the workers and the peasants." "Now, when it comes to serving the new society, the reverse is the case. The left wing stands firm, the middle wavers (this wavering in the new society is different from that in the old), and the right wing resists. Moreover, intellectuals are educators. Our newspapers are educating the people every day. Our writers and artists, scientists and technicians, professors and teachers are all educating students, educating the people. Being educators and teachers, they have the duty to be educated first."

"Hence it is wrong to assume that people who educate others no longer need to be educated themselves and no longer need to study, or that socialist remoulding means remoulding others — the landlords, the capitalists and the individual producers — but not the intellectuals. The intellectuals, too, need remoulding, and not only those who have not changed their-basic stand; everybody should study and remould himself. I say "everybody", and that includes all of us present here. Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems. Unless they rid their minds of what is unsound, intellectuals cannot shoulder the task of educating others. Naturally, we have to learn while teaching and be pupils while serving as teachers. To be a good teacher, one must first be a good pupil. There are many things

which cannot be learned from books alone; one must learn from those engaged in production, from the workers, from the peasants and, in schools, from the students, from those one teaches. In my opinion, the majority of our intellectuals are willing to learn. Given their willingness, it is our duty sincerely to help them study; we must help them in an appropriate way and must not resort to compulsion and force them to study".

According to Mao "Fourth, the question of the integration of the intellectuals with the masses of workers and peasants. Since they are to serve the masses of workers and peasants, intellectuals must, first and foremost, know them and be familiar with their life, work and ideas. We encourage intellectuals to go among the masses, to go to factories and villages. It is very bad if you never in all your life meet a worker or a peasant. Our state personnel, writers, artists, teachers and scientific research workers should seize every opportunity to get close to the workers and peasants. Some can go to factories or villages just to look around; this may be called "looking at the flowers on horseback" and is better than doing nothing at all. Others can stay for a few months, conducting investigations and making friends; this may be called "dismounting to look at the flowers". Still others can stay and live there for a considerable time, say, two or three years or even longer; this maybe called "settling down". Some intellectuals do live among the workers and peasants, for instance, technicians in factories, technical personnel in agriculture and teachers in rural schools. They should do their work well and become one with the workers and peasants. We should make it the common practice to get close to the workers and peasants, in other words, we should have large numbers of intellectuals doing so. What is involved here is the question of stand or attitude, that is, of one's world outlook. We advocate "letting a hundred schools of thought contend", and there may be many schools and trends in every branch of learning, but on the matter of world outlook, there are basically only two schools in our time, the proletarian and the bourgeois. It is one or the other, either the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook. The communist world outlook is the world outlook of the proletariat and of no other class. Most of our present intellectuals come from the old society

and from families of non-working people. Even those who come from workers' or peasants' families are still bourgeois intellectuals, because the education they received before liberation was a bourgeois education and their world outlook is fundamentally bourgeois. If the intellectuals do not discard the old and replace it by the proletarian world outlook, they will remain different from the workers and peasants in their viewpoint, stand and feelings and will be like square pegs in round holes, and the workers and peasants will not open their hearts to them. If the intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and make friends with them, the Marxism they have learned from books can become truly their own. In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but chiefly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants. When in addition to studying some Marxism our intellectuals have gained some understanding of it through close contact with the masses of workers and peasants and through their own practical work, we will all be speaking the same language, not only the common language of patriotism and of the socialist system, but probably even that of the communist world outlook. If that happens, all of us will certainly work much better ".

Mao said "Fifth, rectification. Rectification means correcting one's way of thinking and style of work. Rectification movements were conducted within the Communist Party during the anti-Japanese war, during the War of Liberation, and in the early days after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Now the Central Committee of the Communist Party has decided on another rectification within the Party to be started this year. Non-Party people may take part or abstain as they wish. The main thing in this rectification movement is to criticize the following incorrect ways of thinking and styles of work — subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism. As in the rectification movement during the anti-Japanese war, the method this time will be first to study a number of documents, and then, on the basis of such study, to examine one's own thinking and work and unfold criticism and self-criticism to expose shortcomings and mistakes and promote what is right and good. On the one hand, we must be strict and conduct criticism

and self-criticism with respect to mistakes and shortcomings seriously, not perfunctorily, and correct them; on the other hand, we must use the method of the "gentle breeze and mild rain" and that of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient', and we must oppose the method of 'finishing people off with a single blow".

Mao further says , "Ours is a great Party, a glorious Party, a correct Party. This must be affirmed as a fact. But we still have shortcomings, and this, too, must be affirmed as a fact. We should not affirm everything about ourselves, but only what is correct; at the same time, we should not negate everything about ourselves, but only what is wrong. Achievements are the main thing in our work, and yet there are not a few shortcomings and mistakes. That is why we need a rectification movement. Rectification means the whole Party studying Marxism through criticism and self-criticism. We can certainly learn more Marxism in the course of the rectification movement".

Mao says , "The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our way of thinking and style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job. Our country has need of many people who whole-heartedly serve the masses and the cause of socialism and who are determined to bring about changes. We Communists should all be people of this kind. Formerly, in the old China, it was a crime to talk about reforms, and offenders would be beheaded or imprisoned. Nevertheless there were determined reformers who were dauntless and published books and newspapers, educated and organized the people and waged indomitable struggles under every kind of difficulty. The state, the people's democratic dictatorship, has paved the way for the rapid economic and cultural development of our country. It is only a few years since the establishment of our state, and yet people can already see the unprecedented flowering of the economy, culture, education and science. In building up the new China we Communists are likewise not daunted by any difficulties. But we cannot accomplish this all on our own. We need a good number of non-Party people with high ideals who will keep

to the socialist and communist orientation and fight dauntlessly with us to transform and construct our society. It is a colossal task to ensure a better life for the several hundred million people of China and to make our economically and culturally backward country a prosperous and powerful one with a high level of culture. And it is precisely in order to be able to shoulder this task more competently and work better with all non-Party people who have high ideals and the determination to institute reforms that we must conduct rectification movements both now and in the future, and constantly rid ourselves of whatever is wrong".

Mao states "Sixth, the question of one-sidedness. One-sidedness means thinking in terms of absolutes, that is, taking a metaphysical approach to problems. In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to affirm everything or to negate everything. There still are quite a few people inside the Communist Party and many outside it who do just that. To affirm everything is to see only the good and not the bad, and to welcome only praise and not criticism. To talk as though our work is good in every respect is at variance with the facts. It is not true that everything is good; there are shortcomings and mistakes. But neither is it true that everything is bad; that too is at variance with the facts. Here analysis is necessary. To negate everything is to think, without prior analysis, that nothing has been done well and that the great task of building socialism, the great struggle in which hundreds of millions of people are participating, is a complete mess with nothing commendable about it. Although there is a difference between many of those who hold such views and those who are hostile to the socialist system, these views are very mistaken and harmful and can only dishearten people. It is wrong to appraise our work either from the standpoint of affirming everything or from the standpoint of negating everything. We should criticize those people who take such a one-sided approach to problems, though of course we should do so in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient", and we should give them help".

(Source:Source: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/index.htm)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Write the meaning of Moa's "Hundred Flowers" policy.

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Q 4 : What is meant by Rectification?

……

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8.5 LET US SUM UP

- Mao Zedong sought to establish a new order in China in the form of what he called "New Democracy".
- Mao Zedong in the year 1966 launched the Cultural Revolution with a view to upgrade the role of the masses.
- Mao advocated the policy of Hundred Flowers that implies thinking of each and every Chinese people is important for the progress of Chinese politics. Mao's had a flexible attitude towards opposition to capitalism because he later stated that mutual relationship might grow between the two antagonistic systems namely- the Capitalism and Socialism gradually with the changing period of time.
- Hence, Mao wanted the four diverse classes namely the Proletariat, Peasantry, Petty Bourgeoisie and National Bourgeoisie to live in peace and believed that diverse needs of these different classes my not necessarily create conflict with each other.



8.6 FURTHER READING

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8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : (1) Republics under bourgeois dictatorship; (2) Republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) Republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Mao Zedong in the year 1866 launched the Cultural Revolution known in full as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It was a politico-social movement by him to reassert his control over the Communist party. Mao shut down the schools of the nation and called for a massive mobilisation of the youth. Mao Zedong's sought to penalize those leaders of the Community Party who had adopted bourgeoisie values and lacked the revolutionary spirit. Very soon this movement gained momentum and the students formed paramilitary groups called the Red Guards. It was a way of reviving the communist revolution by strengthening ideology and clearing out opponents. Many intellectuals of the society who did not prescribe to the Communist way of thinking were persecuted. Mao through this revolution wanted to upgrade the role of the masses as well. In the process, in 1967, Mao set up also set up revolutionary committees including the members of People's Liberation Army who later took over the power of the state as well as of the party in given areas. Mao declared the Cultural Revolution to have ended in 1868. The Gang of Four (senior leaders of the Communist Party of China who were charged with treason) and the military general Lin Biao

were labeled as two major "counter-revolutionary" forces. After Mao's death and the subsequent arrest of the members of the "Gang of Four" in 1976 the Cultural Revolution ended.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : This policy of Hundred Flowers Policy was advocated by Mao Zedong during the period Cultural Revolution in China. He was of the view that it would be wrong to think that there should be only one ideology in a state or society. The Hundred Flowers Policy implies that the views of all classes, strata and groups of people should be taken into account. So, each and everyone's thinking or views in China were like a flower and every flower is important and together they are like such hundred flowers and they should be allowed to grow and blossom. Mao's Hundred Flowers Policy is the reflection of the principle of free-expression. Hence, Mao through this policy wanted to upgrade the role of masses and emphasised that coercion shall not be used in ideological matters. Instead only persuasion should be made use of. However, the underlying principle would be that of Marxism.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Rectification means correcting one's way of thinking and style of work. Rectification movements were conducted within the Communist Party during the anti-Japanese war, during the War of Liberation, and in the early days after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The main thing in this rectification movement is to criticize the incorrect ways of thinking and styles of work, namely, subjectivism, bureaucracy and sectarianism.



8.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Mention any two works of Mao Zedong.

Q 2 : Discuss Mao's Hundred Flowers Policy

Q 3 : Discuss Mao's concept of New Democracy

Q 4 : Write about Mao's Cultural Revolution.

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UNIT 9 : FEMINIST AND SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVES ON JUSTICE

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Feminist Perspective on Justice

9.4 Subaltern Perspective on Justice

9.5 Comparison of the two perspectives

9.6 Let Us Sum Up

9.7 Further Readings

9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.9 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain the subaltern and feminist schools
- discuss the subaltern and feminist perspectives on justice
- explain why these perspectives are important in any discussion on justice
- explain how these perspectives are important and relevant in the present times.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

The idea of justice is intrinsically related to the basic understanding of a polity, society and economy. The question of justice has been a fundamental one for political philosophers since the very inception of the idea of the state. For Plato and Aristotle, justice implies a matter of social and political co-operation, related to the allocation and performance of certain tasks in a state. For Hobbes, justice would mean anything, free, rational and equal individuals would consent to leave out. For more recent

philosophers like Rawls, justice is the indispensable and foremost virtue of social institutions. In short, the idea of justice has been conceived and understood by many in different ways. But there have always been some inherent problems in arriving at justice. Certain things like the situation of an individual, is extremely crucial in understanding the idea. While the liberals believe that justice would mean equality of opportunity, the socialists again believe that justice will manifest in the elimination of oppression and discrimination, just like that the feminists believe that justice would come in the eradication of patriarchal domination and the subalterns believe that justice would be arrived at when freedom from deprivation would be achieved.

Thus, it is from such ideas that the feminist and subaltern perspectives of justice arise.

9.3 FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON JUSTICE

The feminist perspective of justice stems as a challenge to the traditional theories and understanding of the idea of justice. It seeks to reorient the idea of justice in favour of women, who have remained deprived since almost the beginning of human civilization. Women make up more than seventy percent of the population of the world, but their conditions in most states and societies are deplorable and beyond comprehension.

The feminist perspective on justice questions the deprived position of women. It highlights how women face discrimination and disadvantages because they are women, and how this discrimination is not in any way validated by their natural and biological differences from men. This discrimination, the feminists state, rather emerges out of social structures and social situations which have been ever inclined against the women. Thus, in the context of the growing awareness about fairness and equality, the feminists quite rightly demand the reorientation of justice from a feminist perspective. They assert that this inequality which the women often face should be treated as core issues, and back such claims by slogans like – “the personal is political.”

LET US KNOW



"The personal is political" - A statement used by the Radical feminists who believe sex and patriarchy to be the main reasons for the domination and oppression of women in society. The personal experiences of women are rooted in their overall position with regards to the broad socio-political situation. The personal is political is used to imply that the issues within the home, that is the personal issues cannot and should not be sidelined because they ultimately refer to and also become the basis of political conflict in the public space. This meaning that the personal issues are as significant as the issues of the public space, which are the political issues. Therefore they argue that, the personal issues also have political connotations.

One core issue with regard to the feminist perspective of justice has been the biological differences between men and women. Due to the existence of these differences, in many societies since early times, a scheme of functional division of labour was devised, in which men were allotted strenuous tasks outside the home like hunting and gathering, and women on the other hand were given the task of staying at home and managing the household chores and child bearing and rearing. This system as has been stated by studies was based more on adjustment than on anything else. But this scheme of division of labour later went on to become the established order of the day, where men would go out to earn and women would stay at home. Some argue that women apparently have more affinity and skills for household chores and men for tasks outside the home. But research has proved this wrong. It has been found that in a number of societies, the women were the hunters or gatherers and men would manage the homes. Thus such divisions of labour have nothing to do with anatomical differences between men and women, but rather are mere social constructions.

With the passage of time, and the setting in of industrialization, while there were substantial changes in social and political organizations, yet the basic division of labour between men and women remained fundamentally unaltered. While men went on to become the heads of states and world leaders, few women were hardly visible in the public spaces. Moreover, they were not even given proper political rights as the rightful citizens of a state. Women had to suffer and be deprived of basic privileges and rights because of their status as 'women'. There was a major role played by the idea of gender and gender roles in here. Women were believed to be different from the men, and this difference was often manifested in inferiority. Women were thus assumed to be shy, passive, submissive, delicate and weak, always in need of protection by the men, because they are stronger, macho and dominating. These ideas were further perpetrated through mediums like literature, music, poetry, drama and movies. Such initiatives further went on to eulogize the woman as a dainty and delicate creature who was always dependent on the man for her existence, and thus the terms, like 'fairer sex' and 'second sex' (as later written by Simone de Beauvoir) came to be attributed to them. The construction of social conventions also accentuated this process, which have helped to create the image of the women as different from the men. The way a woman was treated not only established her 'difference' from men, but also her secondary status to the men. Thus, consequently, the women came to be segregated, in her rights, privileges and in her spaces; thereby compromising her claim to be an equal individual and consequently and subsequently an equal citizen of a state. She was quite ironically given protection and security by the men but in thus guise of 'giving protection', the fact that she was not capable to protect herself was established. Hence, she came to be deprived of some basic rights and privileges like – education and higher learning, work and equal opportunities, property, and political participation, like the right to vote etc. The women thus primarily faced civil and political deprivations in the initial stages of their struggle, and most significantly enough, their biology had nothing to do with their apparent secondary status in the society.

In this context, the work of Mary Wollstonecraft was a landmark, especially for the time, in which she had written. Her path-breaking book, *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), brought to the forefront how women of those times were subjugated, as they were not only deprived of the right to vote, but they were also believed to be unsuitable to be educated and unconditioned to work (outside home). Besides this, women at that time had no legal right to own any property and even if a woman was in an abusive marriage, she had no right to seek separation or divorce from her husband. Wollstonecraft was outraged at such irrational discrimination, and had urged by means of her book that the women should be treated as equal individuals, as they like men, were endowed with reason and therefore there was no basis to treat the females as inferior and subject them to such subhuman treatment. Along with Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor are some important names who had made significant contributions in the first wave of the feminist movement. Mill's work, *The Subjection of Women* (1869), had stated on the same lines as Wollstonecraft, how the differential treatment of women was unjust and uncalled for.

With the advancement of time and society, it has been established and proved that men and women are equal stakeholders in a society. Women have made their mark on every possible field beginning from administration of the state to space travel. These developments help us strengthen the belief that there is no basis for differential treatment of women in society. Education of the women has now become a prime variable in the agendas of a majority of the states of the world and world community has realized the significance and importance of according equal importance to women as individuals and citizens. Though there are still many areas which need to be covered, but still the mindsets and societies are on the wheel of change, for the better.

The feminists were specifically critical of the existing theories of justice because they believed that, they reflected a singular trend, and did not incorporate women's concerns in their schemes. Ramaswamy (2003:320) highlights how Susan Okin (1989) rightly states that the history

of male theorizing has made it intrinsic to overlook the male domination and male privileges as core issues of justice, mainly because it is assumed that family relations are within the private sphere, while justice and its principles are applicable in the public sphere only. Okin is critical of the liberal theories of justice because of their failure to provide answers to some basic questions, which help in perpetuating a gendered society and polity. She also proposes some policy changes for correcting such injustice. Okin is particularly critical of Rawls, Nozick and Walzer. She highlights how Rawls ignore the internal dynamics of the family, and how such practices further the gendered perceptions which deeply entrench the sexual and gendered division of things, including justice. Okin then goes on to attribute this feature to functionalism, which always assumes the man to be the breadwinner and the woman to be the stay-at home counterpart, fit and more suitable to reproduce and take care of children and do household chores. This segregation of women's role and functions within the family has been at the centre of many feminist debates and many feminists have spoken on these lines, stressing on the problem and highlighting its multiple dimensions. Shulasmith Firestone, for instance emphasizes the reproductive capacity of women, and calls for an androgynous society, where she believes that artificial reproductive techniques will emancipate the women. Other feminists like Anne Hoschild had raised concern about the double shifts of work that women have had to perform, since they have entered the labour market. The work shifts became double for the women, as there was no subsequent replacing or sharing of their work in their homes, by their husbands or other family members, even though their work shifts had increased. Such issues, raised the issues of justice within homes as well, and were further interpreted by help of the ideas like 'the personal is the political'.

Thus, it was observed that the patriarchal structures of dominance resulted in a subjugated status for the women in all possible fields and that is why Young (1990) and Benhabib (1992) argue that, if real emancipation for the women is to be achieved from the male dominant power structures of the modern day and contemporary society, only gender neutral policies of redistribution will not suffice but we also need to revisit the goals of political theory, to set the balance right.

The present day debates on feminism however centre around two principle views (a) the first which views men and women as the same, with no differences between them, and hence, equal , and (b) the second view which emphasizes 'difference', which believes that women are biologically, culturally and socially and thus, keeping in mind these differences, their capabilities and potentialities should be nurtured and realized. The equality and difference debate however is not a new one, and feminism as a school does not harbor uni-linear views, such disagreements are not uncommon.

The need for a feminist perspective of justice however has gained ground around the world, with nations and the international community focusing on the issue. The incorporation of the Gender Development Index (GDI) as a part of the Human Development Report, 1995, issues by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is a clear manifestation of this. Along with this, there is also something called the 'gender empowerment measure' which helps to calculate the extent of women's participation in the political and economic life of a nation. Also, concerns about women's reproductive and sexual health are rising in the developing countries, and at the same time, campaigns are being launched to prevent and prohibit, sexual harassment and assault of the women within their homes and at their workplaces, that is, both in the private and the public sphere.

All this clearly establishes the importance of understanding and realizing the interpretation of justice from a feminist perspective.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. Mention the name of the book written by Mary Wollstonecrat.

.....

Q 2. "Subjection of Women" was written by whom ?

.....

9.4 SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVE ON JUSTICE

In common parlance, the term subaltern would imply the subordinate people in a society. It is derived out of the idea of social inequality.

The term subaltern was used for the very first time by Antonio Gramsci to denote the economically dispossessed. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was an Italian Marxist who was jailed by Mussolini, for his strong views, during the time when fascism was at its peak in Italy. Gramsci's understanding and evolution of the term 'subaltern' are inspired by his strong Marxist inclinations. Gramsci had produced one of his most significant works, "Prison Notebooks", during his time in prison. This idea of the subaltern was also developed by him during this time.

This idea of the subaltern was a reaction to the elite theory. While the class theory had propounded the division of society on the basis of the ownership of the means of production into 'haves' and 'have-nots', the elite theory forwarded an alternative model for the division of people in society. The elite theory as developed by the three main proponents – Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels divided the society into the divisions of – the elites and the masses – on the basis of capability and organizational competence of one group, against the other. This theory therefore stood by the argument that, if one group in society did get a lesser share of the cake, it was because they 'deserved' it. It is to be noted that this view was seated against the liberal perspective of justice.

The idea of the 'subaltern' contradicts the basic tenets of the elite theory. It explicitly states that the masses also quite substantially contribute to the production of the cake but they still get a meagre share of the same because they are overtly and covertly exploited by the elites or the ruling classes. The ruling classes develop new norms to fuel their aspirations, but projects the same norms as universally applicable and beneficial to all. The result is that, the norms of the elites or the ruling classes come to be accepted as the norms for all, and this is how the potential for conflict in a society is reduced and the masses are ultimately ruled by their consent. This phenomenon is termed as 'hegemony' by Gramsci. This idea of

hegemony has been instrumental in convincing the masses that their interests are parallel and synonymous with the interests of the ruling classes.

Basically, the subaltern theory is pitched against the elite theory because while the latter establishes and justifies the division of society into the rulers and masses as essential and functional; the subaltern theory however outright rejects this division as superficial, manipulative and exploitative. The elite theories have glorified the role of the ruling classes in the history of civilizations, but the subaltern theorists have argued that, the masses have also had a very crucial and substantial role to play in the same process. They therefore assert that the masses have also been a part of shaping and creating history. But inspite of such claims, the subaltern perspective has not been given its due importance in the study of history and civilization and therefore there arises the need to study things from this worldview.

Essentially, the development of the subaltern perspective of justice or for that matter the evolution of subalternism in general is rooted in the discontent with and failure of the conventional modes of justice which have always been more focused on the centres and ignored the peripheries. Thus, this perspective attempts to deconstruct historical narratives, and challenge conventional modes of enquiry, analysis and therefore attempt to raise the question of justice.

The subaltern perspective therefore seeks to understand justice from a wider point of view. It seeks to work and re-orient justice for the deprived and neglected sections of society. Therefore the subaltern perspective of justice demands justice for the disadvantaged sections of the society. It essentially highlights two aspects which need to be addressed, first that discrimination should be alleviated and secondly, differential provisions may be made for social equality,



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3. Mention the names of three prominent proponents of the elite theory.

.....

Q 4. The term subaltern was used for the very first time by Antonio Gramsci. (True/False).

.....

9.5 COMPARISON OF THE TWO PERSPECTIVES

After having studied the feminist and the subaltern perspectives of justice, we understand that, both these views, seek to reorient the traditional understandings of justice as an idea. Both challenge the conventional modes of justice and highlight how, they fail to address some basic categories and sections of people in their schemes. Both of these two perspectives are therefore a reaction to the fallacies of the traditional perspectives of justice.

The feminist perspective forwards the concern of the women and how they have been left out in the allocation of justice as a very essential primary good. There are many factors which contribute to this predicament, and the prime among them in the public-private dichotomy and the prevalence of patriarchy in society. Most states and statesmen follow and reflect masculine norms and in the process neglect or ignore the concerns of the women. Janet Radcliffe Richards in her thought-provoking essay, *The Sceptical Feminist* (1982), had provided a very simple yet radical understanding of what deprives women of justice in society. She had said that, justice is intrinsically related with an individual's freedom to pursue his own destiny and that is exactly what women are denied of in society. This would again call for a sexually just society and a drastic restructuring of work divisions, as Okin(1990) states to ensure justice to the women.

The subaltern theory, has similarity with the Marxist theory and stresses the role of the masses in the creation and evolution of society; and how they have been conveniently sidelined and denied their share in society. Therefore this theory stands for the voices and aspirations of the subaltern sections who seek their reasonable share and ask for recognition of their efforts.

The subaltern justice is not libertarian and hence does not forfeit equality for liberty. It is rather a scheme of protective discrimination, which would seek to deliver the due to everybody, and will thus help to move forward on the path of equality.



9.6 LET US SUM UP

- The feminist perspective of justice stems as a challenge to the traditional theories and understandings of the idea of justice. It seeks to reorient the idea by refurbishment of justice to the women, who have remained deprived since almost the beginning of human civilization.
- Women make up more than seventy percent of the population of the world, but their conditions in most states and societies are deplorable and beyond comprehension.
- The feminist perspective on justice questions the deprived position of women. It highlights how women face discrimination and disadvantages because they are women, and how this discrimination is not in any way validated by their natural and biological differences from men.
- This discrimination, the feminists' state, rather emerges out of social structures and social situations which have been forever committed against the women. Thus, in the context of the growing awareness about fairness and equality, the feminists quite rightly demand the reorientation of justice from a feminist perspective.
- They assert that this inequality which the women often face should be treated as core issues, and back such claims by slogans like – "the personal is political".
- The feminists were specifically critical of the existing theories of justice because they believed that, they reflected a singular trend, and did not incorporate women's concerns in their schemes.
- The present day debates on feminism however centre around two principle views (a) the first which views men and women as the same, with no differences between them, and hence, equal , and (b) the second view which emphasizes 'difference', which believes

that women are biologically, culturally and socially and thus, keeping in mind these differences, their capabilities and potentialities should be nurtured and realized.

- The need for a feminist perspective of justice however has gained ground around the world, with nations and the international community focusing on the issue. The incorporation of the Gender Development Index (GDI) as a part of the Human Development Report, 1995, issues by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is a clear manifestation of this.
- There is a need to understand the interpretation of justice from a feminist perspective.
- In common parlance, the term subaltern would imply the subordinate people in a society. It is derived out of the idea of social inequality.
- The term subaltern was used for the very first time by Antonio Gramsci to denote the economically dispossessed.
- This idea of the subaltern was a reaction to the elite theory. While the class theory had propounded the division of society on the basis of the ownership of the means of production into 'haves' and 'have-nots', the elite theory forwarded an alternative model for the division of people in society. The elite theory as developed by the three main proponents – Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels divided the society into the divisions of – the elites and the masses – on the basis of capability and organizational competence of one group, against the other.
- The idea of the 'subaltern' contradicts the basic tenets of the elite theory. Basically, the subaltern theory is pitched against the elite theory because while the latter establishes and justifies the division of society into the rulers and masses as essential and functional; the subaltern theory however outright rejects this division as superficial, manipulative and exploitative.
- Essentially, the development of the subaltern perspective of justice or for that matter the evolution of subalternism in general is rooted

in the discontent with and failure of the conventional modes of justice which have always been more focused on the centres and ignored the peripheries.



9.7 FURTHER READING

1. Bhasin, Kamal. (1993). *What is Patriarchy*. New Delhi
2. Shenley, M.L. & Pateman, (1991). *Feminist Interpretation and Political Theory*. Cambridge; Polity Press.
3. Gupta, Ranajit. Subaltern Studies : Writings on South Asian History and Society. Oxford University Press, USA.
4. Chaturvedi, Vinayak. *Mapping subaltern studies and thepostcolonial*. Rawat Publications.



9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : "Vindication of the Rights of Women"

Ans to Q. No. 2 : John Stuart Mill

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels

Ans to Q. No. 4 : True



9.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss the Feminist Perspective on Justice.

Q 2 : Discuss Subaltern Perspective on Justice .

Q 3 : How does the idea of the 'subaltern' contradict the basic tenets of the elite theory ?

Q 4 : Make a comparison between the Feminist Perspective on Justice and the Subaltern Perspective on Justice.

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UNIT 10: DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE – JOHN RAWLS

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 John Rawls on Distributive Justice

10.4 Comparison with the Entitlement theory of Robert Nozick.

10.5 Analysis and Criticism

10.6 Let Us Sum Up

10.7 Further Readings

10.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.9 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- discuss John Rawl's distributive theory of justice
- compare and contrast the distributive theory and entitlement theory
- explain why these perspectives are important in any discussion on justice
- explain how these perspectives are important and relevant in the present times

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Being first virtues of human activities, truth and justice are uncompromising.

(Rawls 1971:4)

John Rawls was an American philosopher, who is celebrated for his theory of distributive justice, which had revived interest on the topic in contemporary times. Rawls is credited to be the foremost novel theorist of justice after epic figures like Plato and Aristotle. Rawls' work had ushered

in a wave of debates and discourses on justice in the contemporary era, all building on, or contradicting his proposition of justice.

As a thinker, Rawls belongs to the liberal school and had developed his theory of justice drawing on the social contract tradition, primarily inspired by Lockian thought. Rawls constructs the idea of justice as — justice as fairness – from which he derives the idea of a society where free citizens hold some equal fundamental rights, enjoy equal opportunities for progress and live in a harmonious manner to achieve a common goal. His idea of political liberalism is constructed around the lawful and justifiable use of political power in a democracy. He also believes that certain principles can be vital in arriving at such equitable justice. Rawls strives to knit a comprehensive blueprint of inquiry and attempts to provide for a reasoned, methodical and strong defense of a new kind of egalitarianism that conserves as well as extends individual liberty. Hampshire (1972) had claimed that Rawls' theory was the 'most substantive and most interesting contribution' in the post Second World War period. It is to be noted that this was also the first major review of the Rawlsian theory of justice. This theory has been widely acknowledged, read and also critiqued thereafter and any take on justice has been incomplete without a reference to the Rawlsian model. This work of Rawls has been translated to numerous European languages and as well as into Japanese, Chinese, Korean and more. The Rawlsian take on justice can therefore be said to have impacted moral and political philosophy immensely in major ways.

10.3 JOHN RAWLS ON DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Rawls believes that, justice is the foremost virtue of good societies, thereby qualifying it as a quintessential requirement of all good societies. But, with this he also makes clear that though it is a necessary but not a sufficient precondition for a good society.

Rawls' believes that the problem of justice arises in guaranteeing a just distribution of the basic goods of society. These basic goods or primary goods include – liberties, rights, opportunities, power, wealth and income

and a few similar elements, which are basic to survival in a community. Therefore, he develops a scheme of justice by which he attempts to ensure a just distribution of these primary goods. He thereby describes his theory as a theory of pure procedural justice. Procedural justice basically refers to a system, where justice is sought to be delivered by following certain procedures or schemes. The emphasis here is on the fairness and lucidity of the methods which are followed to arrive at a justice. It is driven by the idea that fair procedures lead to fair outcomes. Rawls was also inspired by this idea as this theory of his is guided by two pioneering principles and therefore it comes to be termed as a theory of procedural justice.

Rawls in his analysis was critical of those theories of justice which had undermined the individual. And this was one of the reasons why he was extremely cynical about Utilitarianism. This was so, because Utilitarianism in calculating the greatest happiness of the greatest number, ignore the unhappiness of the people left out, or for that matter of any individual left out. Rawls was in favour of giving equal worth and dignity to each individual. He had repeatedly asserted that we cannot substitute for the miseries of the destitute for the joys of the affluent.

It is to be noted that J.S. Mills' revision of utilitarianism was more or less on the lines of Rawls theory although Mill preceded Rawls by many decades. Mill had rediscovered the inherent individualism in the utilitarianism of Bentham, when he pointed out that, while Bentham had recognized only quantitative differences among individuals, while he had recognized qualitative differences among individuals as well and thus had re-emphasised the worth of the individual in utilitarian philosophy. Secondly, in the case of liberty, particularly liberty of thought and expression, Mill had stated that, each individual's opinion is important as any other, thereby once again reaffirming the worth of the individual. Thus, Mill had attempted to uncover the moral worth of the individual, underneath the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' formula. Hence, it will not be out of context to state that, Mill's alternation of utilitarianism was only directed to its coherent conclusion by Rawls's theory of justice. (Source : Gauba, D.P. *Western Political Thought*. Macmillon India, 2011

Now, Rawls had developed a methodology or a procedure for arriving at justice. He was immensely inspired by the tradition of the social contract, as has been already noted. He therefore imagines a situation, which he terms as the **'original position'**. Now, this is the beginning of his theory, The original position is basically a hypothetical position, in which, the individuals, who are the deliberators of justice are placed by extracting them from their social and economic situations in society. Then, they are again hypothetically placed behind a veil, which Rawls terms as the **'veil of ignorance'**. This veil is of high symbolic value, because this veil prevents the deliberators of justice from attaining all knowledge which may hinder or create problems in the deliverance of justice. Being placed behind the veil of ignorance, the individuals are unaware of the wants, skills, abilities, race, class, position, social status interests or any other criteria about themselves and the others in society. This is done, so that the potential for conflict and discrimination in the process of delivering justice can be kept at the minimum. But, though these individuals know nothing about themselves or their surroundings and fellow beings, they are however endowed with what Rawls calls, a 'sense of justice' and they possess a working knowledge of economics and psychology. Thus, this would mean that, each individual would be motivated to ensure the best of his or her welfare without being envious. Therefore Rawls calls them self-interested but not 'egoists'. Correspondingly, Rawls states that in such a given situation, the negotiators are likely to resort to the least dangerous way. This means that, every negotiator, unaware of his basic position and skills in society will place himself in 'the least advantaged position' when proposing the scheme for the distribution of the primary goods in society. Thus, in this way the basic necessities of even the most deprived will be ensured.

In this given situation, Rawls states that, three principles of justice will be adopted by the negotiators of justice. The following of these principles will ensure the fair distribution which has been the primary concern of Rawls. These principles are :

- Principle of Equal Liberty
- Principle of Fair Equality of Opportunity
- Difference Principle

The first principle, that is the Principle of equal liberty basically implies that, every individual in society will be allowed the right to the most extensive liberty, as every other person would be allowed against him. This means that no individual's liberty would be regarded above any other's and that nobody's liberty will be sacrificed for any other thing.

The second principle that is the Principle of fair equality of opportunity quite clearly implies that there shall be equality of opportunity in terms of acquisition of offices and positions.

The third principle that is the Difference Principle is the most significant. This principle states that any departure from the fair distribution of primary goods will only be acceptable and justified when it brings about the greatest benefit to the least advantaged members of society. In simple parlance, a special award for commendable ability and endeavor shall be treated as just only if it leads to the greatest benefit of the least privileged. When these criteria are satisfied, only then the criteria of efficiency can be applied in a competitive economy. Simply put, the principle of allocation of – to each according to his ability – can be put to use only if the higher efficiency of the individual in question results in bettering the conditions of the least privileged in society.

Corresponding to the above given situation, Rawls proposes the idea of the – Chain Connection. This idea of Rawls has been the underlying theme of his theory of justice. This idea of the chain connection basically implies that, to strengthen the chain, we should begin by strengthening its weakest link, and then this process should be repeated by identifying the weakest link on each occasion.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1. Mention the three principles given by awls.

.....

Q. 2. Write about John Rawls' Principle of Equal Liberty.

.....

10.4 COMPARISON WITH THE ENTITLEMENT THEORY OF ROBERT NOZICK

The entitlement theory was developed by Robert Nozick, who was also a contemporary American political philosopher, and who is best known for his work – *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. This work of Nozick was, as it is popularly called, a libertarian answer to Rawls' Theory of Justice. Nozick belongs to the league of contemporary libertarians, or exponents of neo-liberalism like, F.A.Hayek (1899-1992), Milton Friedman (1912-2006), who had denounced the welfare state, and rejected all forms of state intervention and regulation of economic activities. This scholarship was in favour of the rolling back of the state, as the sphere of state activities had immensely expanded. This was also the reason why Nozick was against the distributive justice theory of Rawls, where the state intervenes in the case of individual lives and entitlement.

The conflict between Rawls and Nozick arises, because while Nozick sticks to libertarianism in its pure form, Rawls altered his libertarianism by combining libertarianism and communatarianism. This is the reason why Rawls came to be known as the 'Left Liberal' and Nozick as the 'Right Liberal'.

Nozick's entitlement theory, as the name suggests is driven and inspired by legitimate forms of entitlement of property and goods. Nozick, like Rawls is also inspired by the social contract tradition. But unlike Rawls he does not go on to develop an elaborate hypothetical scheme of justice.

Nozick criticizes Rawls' approach which he states, seek to determine the principles of distribution of certain goods, as if they have been sent as gifts from heaven. He regards this method as idealistic and stresses on a more pragmatic approach for the allocation of good, which takes into account the different modes of acquisition and sources of entitlement of individuals to those goods. Nozick identifies three sources by which individuals may acquire various goods. These are :

(1) Their selves - That is by using their mental and physical attributes.

(2) The natural world - The natural world would mean things like land, water etc. and there may be various ways of acquiring or being entitled to these objects.

(3) The things people make by applying themselves to the natural world.

Nozick then goes on to state three principles of entitlement, these are :

(i) Initial Acquisition

(ii) Voluntary Transfer

(iii) Rectification

In initial acquisition, the individual comes to acquire some part or element of the natural world. In this method, one may gain entitlement, on 'first come, first serve basis' or if there is no one who is made worse off by that entitlement etc. In voluntary transfer, an individual gains entitlement, when property, whether acquired through initial acquisition or by any of the three mentioned modes of acquisition, is voluntarily transferred to another, without force or fraud. In such a case however, the individual shall be treated as an end in himself and not a means to an end. And the third principle, rectification implies a situation where the state or the international community intervenes to restore justice.

Thus, we understand that Nozick's theory presents a contradictory case to Rawls' theory of justice. Nozick is just plainly against the principle of distribution without taking into account the principles of entitlement. He therefore criticizes Rawls by stating that, he treats all goods as they have come as a gift from heaven.

While Rawls theory emphasizes distribution, Nozick theory emphasizes entitlement.

10.5 ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM

The Rawlsian theory of justice, though widely acclaimed is not beyond criticism. Different scholars and schools have offered cutting criticisms of the distributive theory of justice. These criticisms elaborate distinct loopholes in the theory, and major discrepancies which need to be addressed.

To begin with, the Collectivists school accuses Rawls for providing a ground for the justification of capitalism. They argue that, Rawls has shown that the poor are automatically benefitted if the rich are allowed to accumulate wealth. Even the principle of fair equality of opportunity will not help in significantly reducing the economic discrepancies between the rich and the poor. Thus, a subtle betterment in the situations of the most deprived will provide the rich with a pretext to permit and pursue vast socio-economic inequalities in society.

Another section of scholars have also highlighted the point that how does one identify the most deprived or disadvantaged groups in society? This argument basically tries to emphasise that material conditions cannot be treated as the sole criteria for identifying the most disadvantaged groups in society, as many people also suffer from problems like emotional insecurity.

The Communitarians again argue that Rawls' ethical neutrality hinders the quest of the idea of common good. Secondly, they state that, Rawls on the one hand says that the individuals behind the veil of ignorance have no knowledge of all other things around them, but are endowed with a 'sense of justice'; they point out that an individual's sense of justice or right or wrong is derived out of his community life and orientations he develops as a part of it. Thus, after extracting the individuals from their social and economic situations such inclinations do not exist and the idea appears as inconsistent.

The Libertarians argue that Rawls has sacrificed liberty for equality. By his theory, he makes an argument that the hard work of some would benefit the most deprived sections of society. This does not seem fair to all.

The Marxists question Rawls' hypothetical propositions. They point out how Rawls goes on to say that the deliberators try to deliver justice from behind a veil of ignorance; they argue that any deliberation without the knowledge of the existing socio-economic conditions are quite unlikely and meaningless. Justice as fairness cannot be arrived at without any knowledge of class dynamics and property relations in a society.

Thus, we see that, the Rawlsian theory of justice, when analysed from the perspective of different schools, does reveal certain inconsistencies, which have been raised as major issues.

A crucial analysis will however reveal that Rawls had attempted to formulate his theory of justice by combining different ideas and value systems. His theory of justice is actually a combination of libertarianism, egalitarianism and communitarianism. Thus, there arises some theoretical inconsistencies as these three schools stand for different and contradicting ideas. We call Rawls a libertarian because, in his hypothetical stance of the 'original position', all men negotiate to enhance and maximize their self interests. That is why Rawls states that, these individuals are self interested but not egoists. Secondly, the first principle of justice cannot be compromised for any other benefit or advantage. These two features are a manifestation of the libertarian angle of his theory.

Then Rawls is called an egalitarian because he talks about 'equal' liberty for all. He also adds that any kind of social or economic inequality will be justified only if they lead to a fair equality of opportunity for all. His third principle, that is the Difference principle also supplements this idea.

And lastly, Rawls is a communitarian because he talks in the interest of the entire community. His entire theory is driven by the idea. His idea of the chain connection, that is strengthening the weakest link in the chain clearly makes him a communitarian.

Thus, though Rawls contends the retention of capitalism on certain conditions, his ideas do give rise to a new model of capitalism. Rawls has thus revealed a method for making procedural justice a mechanism for meeting the requirements of substantive justice. By repeatedly emphasizing on the most disadvantaged he has adhered to the principles of moral individualism which inhibits and prevents the better-off individuals from exploiting the worse-off individuals in society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. Nozick sticks to libertarianism in its pure form, Rawls altered his libertarianism by combining libertarianism and communatarianism.(True/False).

.....

Q 2. Mention the three principles of entitlement, mentioned by Nozick.

.....



10.6 LET US SUM UP

- John Rawls was an American philosopher, who is celebrated for his theory of distributive justice, which had revived interest on the topic in contemporary times.
- Rawls is credited to be the foremost novel theorist of justice after epic figures like Plato and Aristotle. Rawls' work had ushered in a wave of debates and discourses on justice in the contemporary era, all building on, or contradicting his proposition of justice.
- Rawls believes that, justice is the foremost virtue of good societies, thereby qualifying it as a quintessential requirement of all good societies. But, with this he also makes clear that though it is a necessary but not a sufficient precondition for a good society.
- Rawls' believes that the problem of justice arises in guaranteeing a just distribution of the basic goods of society. These basic goods or primary goods include – liberties, rights, opportunities, power, wealth and income and a few similar elements, which are basic to survival in a community.
- Therefore, he develops a scheme of justice by which he attempts to ensure a just distribution of these primary goods. He thereby describes his theory as a theory of pure procedural justice.

- Procedural justice basically refers to a system, where justice is sought to be delivered by following certain procedures or schemes. The emphasis here is on the fairness and lucidity of the methods which are followed to arrive at a justice.
- Rawls states that, three principles of justice will be adopted by the negotiators of justice. The following of these principles will ensure the fair distribution which has been the primary concern of Rawls. These principles are : Principle of Equal Liberty, Principle of Fair Equality of Opportunity and Difference Principle.
- The distributive justice theory of Rawls is unique because it provides a model of justice like no other. By combining the ideas of liberalism, egalitarianism and communatarianism Rawls devises a scheme of justice emphasizing the betterment of the most disadvantaged lot in society.



10.7 FURTHER READING

1. Gauba, O.P. (2007). *An Introduction to Political Theory.* Delhi: Macmillan.
2. Heyhood, Andrew. (2004). *Political Theory-An Introduction.* Palgrave Macmillan.



10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : (a) Principle of Equal Liberty

(b) Principle of Fair Equality of Opportunity

(c) Difference Principle

Ans to Q. No. 2 : The Principle of equal liberty basically implies that, every individual in society will be allowed the right to the most extensive liberty, as every other person would be allowed against

him. This means that no individual's liberty would be regarded above any other's and that nobody's liberty will be sacrificed for any other thing.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : True

Ans to Q. No. 4 : (a) Initial Acquisition

(b) Voluntary Transfer

(c) Rectification



10.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Discuss Rawls' theory of Distributive Justice.

Q 2 : Make a comparison between Rawls views and Nozick's Entitlement theory.

Q 3 : Critically discuss Rawls' theory of Distributive Justice.

Q 4 : Discuss the three principles presented by John Rawls' with regard to his theory of justice.

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UNIT 11 : CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives.

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Meaning and Definitions of Democracy

11.4 Origin of the concept of democracy

11.4.1 Principles of Democracy

11.4.2 Condition essential for sucess of Democracy.

11.5 Forms of Democracy

11.5.1 Variants of Indirect Democracy

11.6 Concept of liberal democracy

11.6.1 Mechanism for making Liberal Democracy successful

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Let Us Sum Up

11.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.10 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this unit you will be able to :

- explain the meaning of democracy
- discuss the development of the concept of democracy
- discuss the different forms of democracy
- discuss the concept of liberal democracy
- explain the mechanism for making liberal democracy successful

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Democracy ,in general refers to a kind of political process ,a form of government, a form of state, a way of life, a mechanism for choosing and authorizing the government, an institutional arrangements, and most

importantly it is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is one of the most preferred forms of government in the contemporary era due to its close association with the most successful ideology i.e Liberalism.

11.3 MEANING AND DEFINITIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy has been described as one of the characteristic institutions of modernity and as such it was the result of a complex and interwined processes of ideological , social and economic changes. The concept started nearly 2,500 years ago in Greece. The word 'democracy' itself is of Greek origin. It originated from the Greek word 'demokratia', a combination word formed from two words "demos" and "kratos". The word demos means 'people' and kratos means 'rule'. Democracy therefore means "rule of the people". This gives democracy its meaning as a form of government in which the people rule, whether directly, through personal participation, or indirectly, through elected representatives. However there was a great difference between the concept of Greek democracy and contemporary democracy. Ancient democracy was not at all inclusive as it excluded slaves, women and metics (the foreigners who lived and worked in the city state).Modern democracy was achieved through struggle and through considerable odds. The concept of democracy may be seen as a part of a conceptual cluster or a family of concepts, in which the concepts of rights, freedom and equality are most central. In making these things operational there are certain presumptions regarding the concept. One of such presumptions is that the individual is rational and he has the capacity to think and discuss the general problems of the community and also take decisions. Human beings are egoist and their happiness is purely personal. The individual is sovereign over his body and mind. There is no scope for the use of physical force or violence in solving problems. Every human being is fallible and can make mistakes. There is no conflict between the good of the individuals and good of the community. Individuals do not resort to violence to get their grievances redressed.

Operationalization of democracy depends on the size of the system where democracy is working. For instance, according to Robert A. Dahl and Edward R. Tufte there is a close relation between the size of the country and the working of the democracy. They are of the opinion that in small democracies ,there is effective participation of the people in decision making. There is also voluntary compliances of rules by the people with less coercion . The people are homogenous with respect to beliefs,values and goals.

Democracy is justified as having intrinsic as well as instrumental value.When democracy is valued as being good in itself it is held as having intrinsic value. It is valued as good because it is the fairest way of giving expression to equality among citizens. On the other hand, democracy may also be valued instrumentally. It is so because it fosters competition among political leaders and provide the people of the country with better choice of leadership. It is instrumental in the sense that it makes everyone feel that they were a part of the decision making process. It is also away for minimizing the abuse of political power ,by distributing it equally among citizens. Another explanation for being instrumental is its role in human development, to the extent that it encourages people to take responsibility for their political lives. Democracy derives its intrinsic value from its moral superiority as a way of giving effect to political equality. It is a way of arriving at decisions among a group of persons , whether citizens of a polity or members of a neighbourhood association or sports club. Democracy is morally superior to any other way of arriving at decisions. This is so because the human race has not been able to devise any other way of arriving at decision which are binding on all and which takes everybody's interest into account. This implies that people are the best judges of their own interests and that equal citizenship rights are necessary to protect those interests.

Let us look at some of the important definitions of democracy as follows :

- John Seeley – "Democracy is a government in which everyone has a share".

- A.V. Dicey – "Democracy is that form of government in which the governing body is comparatively a large fraction of the population. He treated Democracy as a form of government under which majority opinion determine legislation".
- C.C. Maxey – "Democracy is a search for a way of life in which the voluntary free intelligence and activity of men can be harmonized and coordinated with the least possible coercion".
- A.B.Hall – "Democracy is a popular government in the last analysis and for all practical purposes as being that form of political organization in which public opinion has control".
- R.G. Gettle – "Democracy is that form of government in which the masses of the population possesses the right to share in the exercise of sovereign power".
- C.B. Macpherson – "Democracy is merely a mechanism for choosing and authorizing governments or in some other way getting laws and political decisions made".
- S.M. Lipset – "Democracy may be defined as a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office".
- Joseph Schumpter – "The democratic method is that institutional arrangements for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will".
- Robert Dahl – "Democracy is concerned with the political process by which ordinary citizens exert a relatively high degree of control over their rulers".
- Lord Bryce – "The word democracy has been used ever since the time of Herodotus to denote the form of government in which the ruling power of a state is legally vested not in any particular class or

classes but in the members of the community as whole. This means, in communities which act by voting, that rule belongs to the majority, as no other method has been found for determining peaceably and legally what is to be deemed the will of a community which is not unanimous.

From the above definitions, we may say that Democracy implies the following:

- A Government where everyone has an equal share.
- It is such a form of government where masses i.e the people have the right to participate in the exercise of sovereign power.
- It is a mechanism for choosing the government and authorizing the government to carry out the will of the people at large.
- It is an institutional arrangement to arrive at political decisions.
- It is such a form of government where the ruling power is vested in the members of the community as whole. Democracy rests on the principle of popular sovereignty.
- Democracy establishes a form of goverment which remains accountable to the people. The people enjoy the set of rights and and the government is bound to protect the same. Each individual can achieve his or her full potentialities in a democracy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of Democracy?

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.....

Q 2 : Name a state where direct democracy is still in practice?

.....

Q 3 : State Maxey's defination of Democracy?

.....

……

……

Q 4 : Write the two words that make up the word 'demokratia'.

……

11.4 ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

The concept of democracy has evolved over a long period of time. It developed in different parts of the world in different times of history. The term democracy originated in ancient Greece. The first work on democracy was supposed to be published in Herodotus' (an ancient Greek historian) notion of "isonomia" and "equality before law". The Athenian democracy symbolized a new political culture enfranchising the whole citizenry. The citizens not only participated in regular meetings of the assembly ,but they were in large numbers prepared to undertake the responsibilities of public office and decision making. The Athenian concept of citizenship entailed taking a share and participating directly in the affairs of the state. The Sumerian city states also played a role in the development of democracy. The Iranian people also favoured proto democracy which existed during 6th century BC. The republics of India such as Sanghas and Ganas also represented democratic institutions in 6th century BC,but the evidences have no historical sources. When Alexander attacked India, the Greek historians Diodorus mentioned that independent and democratic states used to exist in India. The Roman Republics also helped in the growth of some aspects of democracy. The Romans introduced a system called gerrymandering in which the votes of the powerful people were given more weight. With the fall of the Roman Empire and the coming of the Dark Age in Europe, the barons became very powerful. The people were left with no power and consequently there was no scope for democracy.In the middle ages too the idea could not develop.The dominance of faith over politics and birth over merit left democracy as an impossible thing to achieve. Oligarchy was more prevalent than democracy during the 16th and 17th centuries in the Cossack Republics of Ukraine. The ideals of democracy is supposed to have developed during the European Renaissance and the

Age of Enlightenment, American and French Revolutions.The concept gained importance during 18th and 19th centuries. By 1840 ,property was no longer regarded as a qualification for exercising the right to vote. For example, the American Colonization Society(ACS)established the colony of Liberia so that thousands of former African-American slaves and free black people could move to that colony from USA and live freely there. By the end of the American Civil War in the late1860s the newly freed slaves became the citizens of the United State of America with a a nominal right to vote. And finally, the passage of the Voting Rights Act 1965 by the United States Congress after the African-American Civil Rights Movements(1955-68) had secured the full enfranchisement of citizens. During the mid -19th century ,the Australian colonies started adopting democratic governments. South Autralia became the first government in the world to introduce women suffrage in 1861.It was followed by New Zealand which became the first major nation to achieve the universal adult suffrage in true sense by granting voting rights to native men in the year 1867,white men in 1879 and women in 1893. Britain is regarded as the first modern democracy because after the civil war in the seventeenth century the century long royal absolutism ended and powers were transferred from the two houses of parliament. Democracy was inaugurated in France through the frence revolution with its call for Liberty – Equality – Fraternity and its emphasis on the principle of popular sovereignty. America encountered democracy after the civil war but it was restricted to the white men only. It was by the twentieth century that full democracy was achieved in America. The Declaration of Independence (1774) was the document that simultaneously effected the legal creation of the United States of America and that of democracy in that country. The political ideas of the ***"Levellers"***, John Locke and Tom Paine and documents like the French Declaration of the Rights of Man(1789) and the American Declaration of Independence(1776) contained the seeds of democracy. It belonged to the family of concepts in which the concepts of rights, freedom and equality emerged. In the 20th century democracy entered its golden age and became a passion among the European people. However that was temporarily halted with the rise of dictators like Hitler and



Levellers:
The "levellers" constituted a political movement during the English Civil War 91642-1651). It emphasizes popular sovereignty, equality, before law and religious tolerance.

Mussolini. But with the end of the first World War and the dissolution of the Ottoman and the Austro- Hungarian empires, many new nations states had been created in Europe and these newly independent nation states adopted democratic government nominally. By the 1970s and the 1980s several nations like Spain, Portugal and even the military nations transformed themselves into democracy. Disintegration of Soviet Russia, liberalization of former Eastern bloc, fall of communism and dawn of globalization ultimately boosted the urge for more and more countries to accept democracy. By now most of the countries in the world have accepted democracy .

11.4.1 Principles of Democracy

- Tolerance
- Social welfare
- Liberty and Equality
- Peaceful constitutional method
- Consent and Consenius

12.4.2 Conditions essential for the success of democracy

- Literacy of the population
- An aware and vigilant population
- Vigorous public opinion
- Freedom of expression and its free practice
- Good, effective and enlightened leadership
- Free, fearless and independent press

11.5 DIFFERENT FORMS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is an evolving concept. So as and when necessary different forms of it arose in different parts of the world. Generally two forms of democray are more prevalent. These are - direct and indirect forms of democracy.

● **Direct Democracy:** Direct form of democracy happens to be the earliest form of democrary. It started functioning from the day democracy was first practiced. In a direct democracy all the people assemble at one place and decide the matters which concern them. It was prevalent in the city state system of Ancient Greece. There the adult male citizens used to gather together in the Assembly and decide the important issues of the day. Presently this form of democracy is practised in Switzerland. The people of the cantons meet in the Landsgemeinde and elect cantonal officers and adopt legislations. The main tools or devices of direct democracy in Switzerland are Referendum, Initiative and Recall. Referendum is a special procedure of referring a particular bill or constitutional amendment to popular vote, in which ,if a majority of the people vote in favour, the bill becomes law; Initiative is a device which enables a specified number of people to draft a bill and send it to the legislature for its consideration; and Recall enables the majority to recall their representative from office if they are not satisfied with his or her work.

● **Indirect Democracy:** Indirect democracy refers to that form of government in which the people elect their representatives to carry on the administration of the country. Indirect democracy depends on the size of the state. In a large state where direct democracy cannot be prevalent, Indirect democracy is practiced. In the modern age this form of democracy is more prevalent. The huge population cannot assemble at one place to decide the affairs of the government. Here, the population elect their representatives periodically and these representatives run the government. The people of the land are the ultimate authority. The people elect the representatives for a fixed tenure and after its expiry the representatives go back to the voters seeking a fresh mandate The main features of indirect democracy are:

(a) Government runs on behalf of the people.

(b) Sovereignty is vested in the people.

(c) People do not have direct share in government.

(d) Government is representative in form.

11.5.1 Variants of Indirect Democracy

Most importantly, the indirect form of democracy is popularly known as the representative democracy, which has taken different variants in different phases of history like procedural democracy, substantive democracy, participatory democracy, social democracy, Deliberative democracy, Cosmopolitan democracy.

- **Procedural democracy :** When democracy is seen merely as a set of institutions, e.g. free and fair elections ,legislative assemblies and constitutional governments arising out of these. This is described as procedural democracy.

- **Substantive democracy :** When democracy is more than a procedure and there is equal footing for all citizens irrespective of caste, creed and any form of differences , it is called substantive democracy. In such a democracy people are truly engaged in politics and are tolerant of different views. They have an equal voice in electing their rulers and in making them accountable. Such a government is always pro-people and tries to upheld the interest of the common people.

- **Participatory democracy :** The classical theory of democracy is found in the writings of Rousseau and John Stuart Mill. 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 governance.

- **Deliberative democracy :** Deliberative democracy values open and public deliberation on 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 interests. Rathers, it sees people as relating to each other and seeking to influence each other through reasoned arguments 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 the control over important aspects of their lives and makes for greater and continuous accountability of political power.

- **Social democracy :** Social democracy is a form of democracy that is based on a strong commitment to equality. Social democrats,therefore, support the idea of the welfare state based on redistribution. They believe in the liberal institutions of representative democracy, but wish to combine these with the ideal of social justice. In contrast to the fact that liberalism frequently takes the form of right–wing libertarianism, constituting of a belief in the unfettered freedom of the individual and the free market, social democracy is more of egalitarian liberalism.

- **Cosmopolitan democracy :** Cosmopolitan democracy is an idea advanced by political theorists in the context of globalization. With the coming into being of forms of supranational organization such as the European Union and with the advancement of economic and cultural globalization , it is believed that democracy must also respond to these challenges beyond the borders of the nation-state. The idea of democracy is a response to this challenge.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : What is procedural democracy?

……

……

Q 6 : Give examples of cosmopolitan democracy?

……

11.6 CONCEPT OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Liberalism as a concept is of recent origin. It is generally thought to be inseparable from democracy so much so that the term democracy is applied to denote liberal democracy unless otherwise specified. Classical liberal theory was committed to the individual's right to unlimited acquisition of property and to the capitalist market economy which implies inequality not only in the economic sphere but in the political sphere also. Thus, classical liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries insisted on property qualification for the right to vote. This was contrary to the democratic principles which implies equal entitlements of each individual not only in the matter of choosing a government but also to the other advantages accruing from organized life.

Classical liberalism fostered capitalism and a free market economy which were responsible for large scale industrialization and urbanization. This gave rise to a large working class centered in large industrial cities and forced to live under sub human condition created by a cruel, competitive economy. In due course this class became conscious of its strength and insisted on a voice at the decision making level. Thus the liberal state was forced to accommodate democratic principles in order to save its own existence. The outcome of this combination emerged in the form of liberal democracy. It represents a combination of free market economy with universal adult franchise. It is an attempt to resolve the conflicting claims of the capitalists and the masses by making gradual concessions in the form of a welfare state. This is, thus, the amalgamation of Universal Adult Franchise and free market economy. It inspired the emergence of the concept of welfare state, which is apparently supposed to gulf the differences between the capitalist and the masses. This form of government has been quite popular throughout time as it is believed to represent the claims of all sections of the people and also gives them adequate rights and earmarks duties of a state.

Liberal democracy is based on certain principle. The principles are :

(a) Government by consent

(b) Public Accountability

(c) Majority Rule

(d) Constitutional government

11.6.1 Mechanism for making Liberal Democracy Practicable

- **Multiparty competition for power:** Liberal democracy works as a reconciliation of the varying interests of the available groups and sub groups in the democratic society. This is best reflected in the form of multiparty system symbolised by free and fair elections representing varying interests of those groups. The former Soviet Union and Present People's Republic of China cannot be treated as democracies as they conceded monopoly of power to their respective Communist Parties, inspite of a façade of periodic elections. It supports Open competition.

- **Openness in public offices:** One important feature that distinguishes liberal democracy from feudalism ,monarchy and despotism is free and openness in public offices. Any citizen can have access to public office by following the prescribed procedure and fulfilling certain conditions(e.g.: age bar for applying in jobs, fixed term for the legislature etc). However, in order to secure due representation for all strata of the population,some seats in the decision making bodies can be reserved for minorities or weaker sections.

- **Free and fair periodic elections based on Universal Adult Franchise:** It is one of the greatest contributions of the liberal democratic tradition to make democracy participatory and representative.

- **Protection of freedom and liberties of the individuals:** It is to the credit of liberal democracy that it provides the opportunity of freedom and liberty to the people. It constitutionally protects freedom and liberty through fundamental and legal rights.

- **Independence of the Judiciary:** The independence of judiciary provides space for freedom and liberty because through this mechanism the organs of the government will be competent enough to deliver justice. Though it is imperative to have interdependence in between the executive and the legislature, it is extremely necessary that the judiciary is left completely independent of any influences. In a liberal democracy usually the judges are appointed strictly on the basis of merit, free from the influence of the politicians which capacitates the judges to deliver judgements freely and fairly thus ensuring justice for all sections.
- **Space for minority rights:** A liberal democracy accommodates diverse groups including the minorities. All are tried to be provided with equality, liberty and justice are accorded proper rights and entitlements.

As discused above, liberal democracy sprang up by the 18th and 19th centuries in the Age of Enlightenment in Europe. The Enlightenment intellectuals challenged the conventional view prevailing during that time. They put forward the argument that human affairs should be guided by reason as well as the principle of liberty and equality. They had firm faith in the equality of men and therefore, opposed the idea of rule by noble blood, which rested on the idea of superiority of one above the other. Such ideas forwarded by the Enlightenment Intellectuals inspired the American and French revolutions. This led to the emergence of liberal democracies in different parts of the world. However in each and every democracy, the form varies. For example, India , Brazil, USA etc represent the federal republic, whereas Great Britain, Japan, Canada represent constitutional monarchy; and USA represents the presidential form and UK represents the parliamentary form of government. Moreover, there is prevalence of semi-presidential systems like in France and Russia. When the first liberal democratic model was established, the liberals were regarded as those harbouring extreme views and it was also believed that the liberals would destroy the international

peace and stability. While opposing democracy, the monarchists became the defenders of traditional values. Many alliances were forged among the opponents of democracy to prevent the further spread of democratic values. Moreover, despite resistance, by the 19th century democracy gained widespread momentum and became a dominant value in the international arena.

It may be mentioned here that mere fulfilment of the structural conditions of democracy should not lead to complacenly. For example, a developing nation like in India, where there is existence of more than one political party competing for political power it may simply involve conflict and competition between certain dominant and vocal interest groups (large manufacturers, rich peasants and landlords) for acquiring political power and not for public interests. Again, vested interests may try to foster a feudal political culture among the people so as to reduce them to submissive voters rather than vehicles of social change. Interestingly,there may be no formal restriction on entry to positions of political power but the actual power weilders may serve the interests of a tiny class. It is also possible that the judiciary is independent of both the executive and the legislature, but despensation of justice at times may not be effective. So the existence of the mere structure of liberal democracy is no guarantee of achieving the objectives of democracy. Therefore, the prolonged and actual practice of liberal values within democracy is what is of utmost importance..

The contradictions within democracy have given birth to newer developments in the realm of liberal democracy such as post-liberal democracy and neo-liberal democracy. Laski is one of the most powerful advocates of post liberal democracy who revised liberalism in the light of socialistic achievements and draws itself close to the concept of democratic socialism. This is a contemporary view of liberal democracy which has taken names such as pure democracy, socialist democracy, people's democracy, etc. Macpherson is also one of the post liberal democratic theorists.

In the western capitalist countries neo-liberalism is a label used to refer to a type of capitalist political philosophy concerning international trade between developed and developing countries. Introduced by economist such as Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman neo-liberalism tries to bring in the concept of a stable currency, a balanced budget and free market capitalism within the framework of neo-liberal democracy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7 : Write two features of liberal democracy?

……

Q 8 : Explain any two mechanism to make liberal democracy practicable?

……

……

……

Q 9 : Name two liberal democratic states?

……



11.7 LET US SUM UP

- Democracy, describing a form of popular government is a result of socio-economic changes.
- The evolution of the concept can be traced back to nearby 2500 years back in Greece. It has been conceptualize inorder to acquint the people with the ideas of equality, liberty and justice.
- Democracy has been formed from the words 'Demos' and 'Kratos' referring to the rule of the people. However modern democracy achieved its present status after prolonged struggle.
- Making Democracy operational largely depends on the size of the state where it is in operation.

- The concept of democracy has been defined by different political philosophers at different time from Lord Bryce, Lipset to Macpherson Robert Dahl and others.
- Democracy took different forms at different time and places as per the needs of the society and polity like procedural substantive, participatory, representative etc.
- Tolerance, social welfare, liberty, equality, peaceful constitutional elections etc., are important principles of democracy.
- An aware and vigilant population with a vigorous public opinion, literate, effective and enlightened leaders makes democracy successful.
- Liberal democracy is a form of democracy bringing liberalism to the realm of democracy comprising a constitutional government by consent and majority rule providing public accountability.
- Multiparty competition for power, free and openness in public offices, free and fair periodic elections based on Adult Franchise, etc makes



11.8 FURTHER READING

1) Machpherson,C.B, 1973,'Democratic Theory: Essays in retrieval',clarendon press,oxford.

2) Agarwal,R.C, 'Political Theory-Principles of Political Science', S.Chand and Company, New Delhi.

3) Sharma,D.B and Sharma, Dipti, 2012,'Political Theory', Ashok Book Stall, Ghy.liberal democracy practicable.



11.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR QUESTIONS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Democracy ,in general refers to a kind of political process ,a form of government, a form of state, a way of life, is a

mechanism for choosing and authorizing government , an institutional arrangement, and most importantly it is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is one of the most preferred forms of government in the contemporary era due to its close association with the most successful ideology i.e Liberalism.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Switzerland.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : According to Maxey, "Democracy is a search for a way of life in which the voluntary free intelligence and activity of man can be harmonized and coordinated with the least possible coercion."

Ans to Q. No. 4 : "Demos" and "Kratos".

Ans to Q. No. 5 : When democracy is seen merely as a set of institutions ,e.g. free and fair elections ,legislative assemblies and constitutional governments arising out of these. This is described as procedural democracy. A constitution led democracy ia an example of procedural democracy.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Cosmopolitan democracy is a multicultural democracy beyond the borders of nation state. e.g global civil society, women movements, environmental movements etc.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Universal adult Franchises and free market economy.

Ans to Q. No. 8 : (i) Openness in public offices: One important feature that distinguishes liberal democracy from feudalism, monarchy and despotism is openness in public offices. Any citizen can have access to political by following the prescribed procedure and fulfilling certain conditions (e.g.: age bar for applying in jobs, fixed term for the legislature etc). However, in order to secure due representation for all strata of the population,some seats in the decision making bodies can be reserved for minorities or weaker sections.

(ii) Free and fair periodic elections based on Universal Adult Franchises: It is one of the greatest contribution of the liberal democratic tradition to make democracy participatory and representative.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : USA and India.



11.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of democracy.

Q 2 : Discuss the origin of democracy.

Q 3 : Discuss the mechanism for making liberal democracy practicable.

Q 4 : Discuss the different forms of democracy.

****

UNIT 12 : CONTEMPORARY THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning of the Elitist theory of Democracy

12.4 Features of the Elitist theory of Democracy

12.4.1 Concept of Circulation of Elites

12.5 Criticisms against the Elitist theory of Democracy

12.6 The Pluralist theory of Democracy

12.6.1 Meaning of the Pluralist theory of Democracy

12.6.2 Factors responsible for the development of Pluralism

12.6.3 Importance of Pluralism

12.6.4 Features of the Pluralist theory of Democracy

12.7 Criticisms against the Pluralist theory of Democracy

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Further Reading

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.11 Possible Questions

12.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the meaning and features of the Elitist theory of democracy
- discuss the criticisms against the Elitist theory of democracy
- explain the meaning and features of the Pluralist theory of democracy
- discuss the criticisms against the Pluralist theory of democracy

12.2 INTRODUCTION

As a response to the marked success of the democracy as an ideology and development of counter democractic ideologies, a number of other variants of democracy emerged all over the world. In this context, a new interpretation of democracy was offered which sought to accommodate a specific space for a particular section of the society (elite) or in terms of concentrating power in several groups (plural). These new variant of democracy tries to contest that instead of power being concentrated in the hands of the people, it is better to be in the hands of a few elites. This concept developed towards the second half of 19th century by Vilfredo Pareto and Mosca and a number other political sociologists with their different perspectives of the elitist theory of democracy. However contesting the elite concept of democracy ,towards the 1950s and 1960s, another concept emerged in the form of the pluralist theory of democracy which believed that powers actually lay in a number of associations both government and non government and not in the hands of a few.

This unit tries to discuss in depth these two theories of democracy namely:

1. The Elitist Theory of Democracy
2. The Pluralist Theory of Democracy.

12.3 MEANING OF THE ELITIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

Questioning the traditional and classical model of democracy which was stood on the concept of egalitarianism, the Elitist theory emerged during the 19th century in the writings of Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), Robert Michels, C.Wright Mills (1916-1962), Floyd Hunter, G.William Domhaff, James Burnham, Robert D.Putnam, Thomas R. Dye and others. This theory developed to accommodate the contemporary condition of the society. This theory concentrates on a small minority consisting of the politically and economically influential individuals

holding maximum of power which is free from the democratic election process. The elite theory consists of those persons who are at the top most positions of the society. Elites are the select group of successful persons available in every walk of life. In the political field, they are those who wield political power in the political system controlling all the effective centres of political power. This group exercises immense power in the society. It may be acquired democratically or otherwise. It is known by different names in the society like power elite, political elite, governing elite, etc.

Pareto was the first to use the term elite in his work "The Mind and Society"(1916), where he regarded elites as those powerful minority in the society that are psychologically and intellectually superior and therefore they are the highest accomplishers in the society. They are in the form of either the governing elite or non-governing elites. Mosca, on the other hand, regarded elite as an organized marginal group which is subdivided into ruling elite and ruled elite. The ruling class is again subdivided into ruling elite and sub elite. He produced his ideas in his work "The Ruling Class"(1896). Mosca opined that elites have intellectual, moral and material superiority that greatly helped them in acquiring and assuring their position in society and thus help them secure preponderance both in the government as well as in the society. Another important contributor to the development of the elite theory is Robert Michel who in his work "Political Parties: A sociological study of Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern democracy" (1911) stated that rule of minority is natural , necessary and safe because the masses are apathetic towards governance. He even said that all organizations are elitist following three basic principles:

(i) Need for leaders, specialized staff and facilities.

(ii) Utilization of facilities by leaders within their organization.

(iii) Importance of psychological attributes of the leaders.

The important fact is that these political scientists gave more importance to the rule of a few rather than rule of many (democracy) on the following grounds :

- The general population i.e the masses are ignorant (lack personal resources like intelligence and skills).
- They are intellectually, psychologically , morally and materially inferior to the elites.
- They lack the attributes essential for governance and are not competent to rule.
- Their massive participation in governance results in degradation of quality of democracy.
- The masses are not adequately equipped to handle democratic processes which often results in manipulation of them by demagogues resulting in the misuse of people's democratic capacities.
- The masses are generally indolent, apathetic and slavish hence completely incapable of ruling themselves.
- Schumpeter is of the view that the masses cannot provide responsible leadership and hence they are not really capable of ruling.

Thus, this particular theory is extremely against popular rule and does not accept people being capable of ruling themselve , therefore rule of the elite is a necessity. This theory developed as a reaction and opposition to popularism questioning democracy as an utopian idea.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : When did the elite theory emerge ?

……

Q 2 : Who are the chief exponents of the elitist theory of democracy?

……

Q 3 : Who wrote "The Mind and Society"?

……

……

12.4 FEATURES OF THE ELITIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

The Elite theory is based on two basic **assumptions :**

1. Power lies in position of authority in key economic and political institutions.
2. The psychological difference that sets the elite apart is that they have personal resources, for instance, intelligence and skills, and a vested interests in the government; while the rest are incompetent and do not have the capabilities of governing themselves; the elite are resourceful and will strive to make the government work. For in reality , the elite have the most to lose in a failed government. (Dutta, A.R : 2011)

Based on the assumptions the following **features** of the elitist theory can be derived:

- In every state and society (democratic or undemocratic) there is a governing elite or the power elite who actually enjoy very high prestige and widespread influence. They are generally the minority (the chosen element in the society).
- There are large variants of elites. There may be a governing elite, a power elite, a national elite, elites occupying high status, social elites, political elites, economic elites etc. Whatever may be the variants of elites, they occupy highest position within that particular society and they control the decision making mechanisms.
- As regards political elites, they occupy a significant position by contesting elections and exercise their power through their superior skills and intelligence. Since they acquire power through elections they generally have a mass consent and support base. So, in the name of popular will, general will or consent of the governed, democracy in actual practice is a kind of elite rule only.
- Elites grow and develop within a particular system in a society and there is an intra elite competition for power within the elites

which results in a continuous alteration of elites. The membership of the elites are always open and in flux, hence it is seen that a particular leader will remain in power for a limited period of time and there is every possibility that a new leader will replace the old one.

- The character of an elite is dynamic with response to the ever changing character of the society. So, the elites of earlier society does not match with contemporary elites. Earlier if the landed proprietor formed the elites, today it comprises of the educated and techno savvy. Earlier elites were from a particular strata but now they may emerge from any strata of the society. A change in the values of the society also make changes in the elite structure.

So from the above features that have been discussed , the **central theme** of the Elitist theory can be derived as follows:

- A small group of persons with high prestige and widespread influence (governing elite) is present in every society.
- These small group occupy very important position in the society.
- They have a tendency of circulation and change which is known as circulation of elites.
- In actual practice, every society is dominated by such elites and democracy is also not exception.
- The rule of the elites is not based on equality, rather they justify inequality on the basis of ability , capacity , experience and wealth. Therefore the society comprises of the elite(ruler) and the masses(ruled)
- To the elites, election is only a mechanism to bring on another section of the elite population to the ruling platform. The concept of 'will of the people' , 'sovereignty of the people' , 'government of the people' etc are just some of the slogans used by the elites to legitimize their rule over the masses. The Elites are not really responsible to the masses.
- The elites are of the view that rule of the elite is natural and just condition without which even a democratic political system cannot work. This is actually a minority rule in name of majority rule.

In a democratic society, the elite theory holds that :

i. The elites are relatively open

ii. They are recruited on merit basis.

iii. There is a widespread ,continuous and extensive circulation of elites.

iv. The population of the state is able to participate in selecting their rulers through the exercise of the right to elect between the competing elitist groups.

v. The democratic elites have a mass background

vi. The distance between the elite and the rank and file is the minimum and not organic

12.4.1 Concept of Circulation of Elites

According to Pareto in every society, there is an unceasing movement of individuals and elites from higher to lower levels, and from lower to higher levels resulting in a 'considerable increase of the degenerate elements in the classes which still hold power and , on the other hand , in an increase of elements of superior quality in the subject classes'.Pareto was of the opinion that if the governing elite does not find ways to assimilate the exceptional individuals from the subject classes, an imbalance is created in the polity. This may result in the existing elite being dislodged through violent ovethrow. This leads to the ultimate extinction of every elite group in the society. This dissolution of the elite groups makes the social equilibrium unstable. Pareto opines on different types of circulation of elites: (i) between different categories of the governing elite itself, (ii)between the elite and the rest of the population. The latter may involve (a) individuals from the lower strata entering the existing elite, and /or (b)individuals in the lower strata forming new elite groups and entering into a struggle for power with the existing elite. Thus, circulation of elite implies the replacement of one elite by another.

12.5 CRITICISMS AGAINST THE ELITIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

The following points describes how the theory has been criticized by different thinkers at different points. These points have to be taken into consideration while analyzing the elite theory.

- Elite theory assumes that the society is based on inequality. However, all human beings are equal in the sense that all are capable of developing their faculties openly which is evident from the fact that all public offices are open for all in terms of opportunites.
- The theory totally excludes the ability of the masses, tagging them as ignorant which is wrong as most of the political systems today are striving only because of the power of the masses, who cannot be regarded as ignorant. Had they been ignorant then democracy could not have been successful over the world.
- This theory is based on the institutional and not the ideological aspect of democracy. It is mainly descriptive in nature. It believes in the 'End of Ideology' theory and maintain that ideologies are meaningless because every political system is bound to be governed by the iron law of oligarchy.
- The Elite theory wrongly advocates the view that the object of democracy is not the welfare and development of the people. It excludes the people from the ruling functions and talks of elite rule as the ideal condition of rule involving subjugation of the masses to the leaders.
- To the elite , they are superior and absolute in power, so they are not responsible and accountable to the people for their acts . This goes against the principle of equality, which has been adhered to by contemporary civil society. The present society stands on the the principle of equality, rights and liberty, so this theory does not hold good in the present society.
- Elite theory failed to recognize the importance of people and public opinion in the determination of the rules, policies and programmes and decisions of the government of a state.

- This theory is one sided, particularistic and partial. It lacks objectivity. All its exponents have been guilty of following a set of principles without subjecting it to empirical testing and critical evaluation.
- It fails to suggest remedies for the prevailing defects of the democratic political systems. On the contrary, it builds up a defence of some of the evils practices characterizing contemporary political systems.

Despite the limitations, it cannot be denied that it focuses attention on the real working and actual behavior of the leaders of a political system. It is evident from the fact that irrespective of whatever the political system is power is always exercised by a minority. That minority may be in the form of elected representatives (in democracy) or a few, but the minority is inherently superior to the masses. So, in practice, every form of government is actually an oligarchy. Presence of an elite structure in a democracy also implies the same. It is this sense that in democracy also there is presence of elites. This is best described by Manrheim as, 'the conditions for the development of democracy require in addition to the competition between elites , changes in the structures and composition of Elites, in their self conceptions and in their relations with the rest of the population.'



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : What are the basic assumptions of the elite theory of democracy?

……

……

Q 4 : Write two features of the elitist theory of democracy?

……

……

Q 5 : What is the central theme of the elitist theory of democracy?

……

……

……

12.6 THE PLURALIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

The concept of pluralism emerged in response to the traditional theory of democracy which believed in the concept that sovereignty rests only with the state. It also rejected the view that power rests with an elite group. The pluralist are of the view that power resides in several organizations rather than in one. The power resides not in the hands of the rich neither in the hands of the poor. Power resides in every social, political and economic groups. Hence power exists is in a decentralized form in a pluralist society. They justified it on the ground that social structure is pluralistic or federal and that is why the power structure of the society is also pluralistic.

12. 6.1 Meaning of the Pluralist theory of Democracy

The Pluralist doctrine was developed by English writers like John Figgis, F.W. Maitland and G.D.H. Cole, Robert Dahl,Sartori,Presthus,Hunter,Barelson,Agger, etc. The Pluralist theory of democracy refers to a model in which power is not concentrated in the hands of a group or class but is diffused among many interest groups competing against each other for power. During 1950's and 1960's in America the concept of pluralism gained importance as a reworked version of liberal democracy challenging the rule of the elite on the ground that this model tries to establish that the function of policy making is actually not indulged in by elected representatives or any elite. Rather it is an outcome of the interaction among the various groups in a society. This model is perfectly suitable for a plural society. They are not against democracy, rather they hold that the notion that democracy is best realized in a plural society through the decentralization of power among plural elements. This theory has been derived from pluralist theory of sovereignty. The main content of the theory has been derived from the postulate that–

"rejecting the indivisibility of the sovereignty and monopoly of the state thay held that social structure is plural and that is why

power distribution must be plural. State is divided into certain structure and power must be distributed among these units of the state. Groups are a very important component of a society and all activities of the state is actually activities of these groups,that is why they must be equally empowered. This is essential and natural for upliftment of the society."

Classical pluralism is of the view that politics and decision making are located mostly in the framework of government , however many non-governmental groups use their resource to exert influence. The central question for classical pluralism is how power and influence are distributed in a political process. Groups of individuals try to maximize their interests. Lines of conflict are multiple and shifting as power is a continuous bargaining process between competing groups. There may be inequalities but they tend to be distributed and evened out by the various forms and distribution of resources throughtout a population. Any change under this view will be slow and incremental as groups have different interest and may act as veto groups to destroy legislation that they do not agree with (Source : www.en.wikipedia.org). Thus, it can be said that the pluralist theory of democracy regards democracy as a political system in which the every decision is taken on the basis of exchange of information and views among various groups. Here reference can be made of Duverger's definition that ' pluralist democracy is a plurality of decision centres'. Reference can also be made to V. Presthus definition, "pluralist democracy is a socio-political system in which the power of the state is shared with a large number of private groups ,interest organization and individuals represented by such organization".

The pluralist theory originated in the writings of Otto V. Gierke. "The germ of pluralism is to be found", says professor R.N. Gilchrist, "in the work of the German jurist , Von Gierke (1844-1921) whose monumental work on the legal theory of corporation, part of which was translated , with a sympathetic introduction,by the English jurist,

F. W. Maitland, in his "Political Theories of Middle Ages"(1900),gave impetus to the idea of corporations as legal entities, with a life of their own independent of government". No doubt it is true that the theory of pluralism originated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and developed in the beginning of the twentieth century, Yet, its background can be traced back to the medieval ages. In medieval ages the organization of states in Europe was loose and the church, vocational associations and guilds played their significant role in the society. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, national sentiments gathered force in Europe and as a consequence national states emerged. These national states became powerful and all the powers, in these states , were centred with the ruler. In due course of time, these national states faced revolt and public movements and the result was the dawn of democracy. In democracy, the authority of the ruler was confined, the cabinet became more powerful but the state remained sovereign and supreme. With the advent of the welfare state there came about a rapid increase in the functions of the state and there remained no sphere of life in which the state did not interfere. Accordingly, the sovereign and supreme state faced reaction. This reaction against the sovereign and supreme state resulted in the dawn of pluralism.(Agarwal.R.C)

12.6.2 Factors responsible for the development of Pluralism

- The pluralists believed in the reduction of the powers of the state. They were similar like the individualists but instead of laying importance on the individual rights they laid importance on rights and freedom of associations of individuals and guilds.
- For promotion and development of the state and the society it was felt that power must be concentrated in different associations.
- Maitland, Gierke, Figgis and other scholars are of the view that churches and guilds possessed internal freedom and were party to

sovereignty in the medieval ages. They are of the view that if the churches and guilds possessed autonomy in the middle ages, than they must possess freedom and autonomy in the modern time.

- Pluralism also got impetus from the concept of anarchism and guild socialism.

12.6.3 Importance of Pluralism

Miss M.P.Follet in her famous book, 'The New State' has summed up the highlights of pluralism in following manner. The points are:

- The pluralists prick the bubble of the present state's right to supremacy. They see that the state which has been slowly forming since the middle ages with its pretences and unfulfilled claims has not earned either our regard or respects.
- They recognize the value of the group and they see that the variety of our group life today has significance which must be immediately reckoned with in a political way.
- They plead for revivification of local life.
- The pluralist see that the interest of the state is not always identical with the interests of its parts.
- Pluralism is the beginning of the disappearance of the crowd.
- Pluralism contains the prophecy of the future because it has with its keenest insight,seized upon the problem of identity, of association and of federalism.

In relation to the above cited points, Gettle describes the contribution of the pluralists in these words, "their emphasis on the fact that states, in spite of legal omnipotence should be subject to moral restraints is a desirable reaction against the idealization of the state and the doctrine that state is an end in itself free from moral restraint. The pluralists also make a timely protest against the rigid and dogmatic legalism of the Austinian theory of sovereignty".

He further remarks that the pluralists emphasises the necessity of studying the actual facts of political life in a rapidly changing social system. In this connection,they point out the growing importance of non political groups, the danger of over interference by the state, the proper functions of groups and the desirability of giving to such groups greater legal recognition in the political systems.(Agarwal R.C.)

12.6.4 Features of the Pluralist theory of Democracy

- A pluralist democracy is actually operational through different associations rather than through only the government and the people.
- The government in such a system is formed collectively representing different groups emerging in the social process.
- The political power is however exercised only by the government which is formed by the people representing a large number of private associations, groups and organizations.
- Pluralist democracy also works on the basis of consensus.
- They are of the view that people are rational so they are capable of good and desired decision making and they can participate in politics through their organized group. These groups are primary units of politics.
- Elections are very important in a pluralist democracy. Elections are reflections of public opinion. They are not only the means of electing the elites but of ensuring participation of people to realize the real meaning of democracy.
- Decentralization of power, separation of power and federal division of power in the system allows proper functioning of the government.
- Adequate representation in the government from all sections of the population facilitates continuous communication between the governors and the governed as well as the government and the masses.

- Open competition for power provides a platform for every association or group to participate in the government.
- Instead of one there are several centres of power and hence all groups have an equal share and participate in policy making and decision making.

12.7 CRITICISMS AGAINST THE PLURALIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

- The theory challenges the concept of state sovereignty and supreme power of the state. On the contrary it is observed that state sovereignty maintains law and order situation and absence of state sovereignty may lead to anarchy in the state.
- Traditional theorists are of the view that the pluralists do not have faith in popular sovereignty (sovereignty of the people). They do not support the pluralists because the latter give undue importance to the groups than individuals.
- One of the important conditions for the maintenance law and order in society is activeness of the state which is possible only when state is legally supreme and indivisible. If power is decentralized everywhere there is every possibilities that conflict and chaos will break out leading to the failure of constitutional mechanisms.
- There is presence of groups and individuals which are constantly opposed to each other. Their presence after results in conflicts and chaotic situations. So, it di only the presence of a unitary and centralized power like the state which can only maintain an orderly society. Therefore instead of numerous groups and association the overriding power should be with the state.
- To the Marxists conferring power in the hands of the people, that too in associations or groups is a mistake as they are incapable of ruling a state properly. Instead there should be one political party to control power in the state.

Inspite of being levelled with numerous criticisms, the pluralist theory is accepted on the ground that it supported the idea of politics of consensus and necessity of public opinion and popular government. This theory, though does not have much significance independently, yet the emergence of multiple groups in terms of interest and pressure groups as well as corporate groups is an indicator of the fact that this theory still stands valid, taking the form of neo-pluralism. In the words of Robert Dahl, it is to be called polyarchy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 6 : What do you understand by the pluralist theory of democracy?

…….

…….

…….

Q 7: Write two features of the pluralist theory of democracy?

…….

…….

…….

Q 8. Critically point out two points against the pluralist theory of democracy?

…….

…….

…….



12.8 LET US SUM UP

- During the 19th century through the writings of Pareto, Mosca and Michels, the elite theory emerged accommodating the contemporary condition of the society.
- Pareto regarded elites as those powerful minority in the society that are psychologically and intellectually superior.

- Mosca is of the view that elites are those intellectuals , having moral and material superiority which holds powers in a society. Michels ,on the other hand regards elite rule as natural and necessary and safe because masses are apathetic towards governance.
- The elitist theorists justified the rule of the few on the ground that masses are ignorant intellectually and psychologically inferior, not equipped to handle democratic processes and as a result they cannot act as responsible leaders.
- The Elitist theory is criticized on the ground that it excludes the ability of the masses as today mass government is regarded as the popular government.
- It is based on institutional and not ideological aspect of democracy.
- The Elitist theory wrongly advocates the view that the object of democracy is not the welfare and development of the people.
- As a reaction to the belief of popular sovereignty and aristocracy or oligarchy, pluralism emerged justifying division of powers among different groups and associations.
- Developed by writers like Figgis, Maitland,Cole,Dahl and Sartori etc, pluralism referred to a model in which power is diffused among many interest groups competing against each other for power.
- The concept emerged from the fact that welfare and development of the society is possible only if there are rights and freedom of associations.
- Pluralism features collective representations , collective consensus, politics through organized groups , decentralization and separation of powers, equal share and participation in policy making etc.
- Critics of pluralism opine that it is difficult to maintain law and order if power is not concentrated in the hands of the state.
- Critics argue that pluralism would lead to a condition of anarchy and the society would become fragile which is not desirable.



12.9 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal.R.C.(2015). "Political Theory ,principles of political science". S.Chand and Company. New Delhi.

2) Gauba.O.P.(2011). "An Introduction to Political Ttheory". Macmillan. New Delhi.

3) Dutta.A.K.(2011). "Political Theory: Issues, Concepts and Debate". Arun prakashan. Guwahati-1.

4) Varma.S.P.(2006). "Modern Political Theory". Vikas publishing house pvt ltd. New Delhi.



12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : Towards the second half of 19th century.

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Vilfredo pareto and gaeteno mosca.

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Vilfredo pareto.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : The Elite theory is based on two basic assumptions:

1. Power lies in position of authority in key economic and political institutions.

2. The psychological difference that sets the elite apart is that they have personal resources, for instance intelligence and skills, and a vested interests in the government; while the rest are incompetent and do not have the capabilities of governing themselves; the elite are resourceful and will strive to make the government to work. For in reality , the elite have the most to lose in a failed government.

Ans to Q. No. 5 : 1. In every state and society (democratic or undemocratic) there is a governing elite or the power elite who actually enjoy very high prestige and widespread influence. They are generally the minority (the chosen element in the society).

2. There are large variants of elites. There may be a governing elite, a power elite, a national elite, elites occupying high status, social elites, political elites, economic elites etc. Whatever may be the variants of elites they occupy highest position within that particular society and they control the decision making mechanisms.

Ans to Q. No. 6 : A small group of persons with high prestige and widespread influence (governing elite) is present in every society. They occupy very important position in the society. They have a tendency of circulation and change which is known as *circulation of elites*. In actual practice every society is dominated by such elites and democracy is also not exception. The rule of the elites is not based on equality, rather they justify inequality on the basis of ability, capacity , experience and wealth. Therefore the society comprises of the elite (ruler) and the masses(ruled)To the elites the election is only a mechanism to bring on another section of the elite population to the ruling platform. The concept of 'will of the people' , 'sovereignty of the people' , 'government of the people' etc are just some of the slogans used by the elites to legitimize their rule over the masses. They are of the view that rule of the elite is natural and just condition without which even democratic political system can't work. This is actually a minority rule in name of majority rule.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : Pluralist theory of democracy refers to a model in which power is diffused among many interest groups competing against each other for power. During 1950s and 1960s in America the concept of pluralism gained importance as a reworked version of liberal democracy challenging the rule of the elite on the ground that this model tries to establish that the function of policy making is actually not indulged in by elected representatives or any elite. Rather it is an outcome of the interaction among the various groups in a society. This model is perfectly suitable for a plural society.

Ans to Q. No. 8 : (a) : A pluralist democracy is actually is operational through different associations rather than through only the government and the people.

(b) : The government in such a system is formed collectively representing different groups emerging in the social process.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : (a) : The Pluralist theory challenges the concept of state sovereignty and supreme power of the state. This may lead to anarchy.

(b) : Law and order in society is possible only when state is legally supreme and indivisible. If power is decentralized there is every possibility of occurrence of conflict. Therefore instead of numerous groups and association overriding power should be with the state. To the Marxist conferring power in the hands of the people, that too in associations or groups is a mistake as they are incapable of ruling a state properly. Instead there should be one political party to control power in the state.



12.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of the elitist theory of democracy.

Q 2 : Explain the features of the elitist theory of democracy.

Q 3 : Discuss the criticism against the elitist theory of democracy.

Q 4 : Discuss the meaning of the pluralist theory of democracy.

Q 5 : Discuss the features of the pluralist theory of democracy.

Q 6 : Explain the criticisms against the pluralist theory of democracy.

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UNIT 13 : NATIONALISM- MEANING AND NATURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning of Nation

13.4 Development of Nationalism

13.5 Kinds of Nationalism

13.6 Factors of Nationalism

13.7 Let Us Sum Up

13.8 Further Reading

13.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.10 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of a nation
- discuss the development of nationalism
- discuss the kinds of nationalism
- explain the factors of nationalism.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is a political phenomenon which exists in many forms and has been interpreted differently by different scholars. The word 'nationalism' is derived from the English word 'nation' which is derived from the Latin word 'natio'. To understand nationalism it is crucially important to understand the concept of 'nation'.

Although now a days it is very common to find a misuse of nation and state as interchangeable concepts, yet we find that there are numerous

national groups without a defined state and there are numerous states composed of several national groups without a defined national identity. For instance in the United States, nation usually refers to the whole country instead to a specific national group. On the other hand, in some parts of the world there are various national groups that have been fighting for many years in the name of a particular nation despite the existence of a governing state. Thus nation and state should be analyzed separately which display distinct political conditions and different qualitative and quantitative differences. However state and nation are co-related and co-exist. A state can be considered as a political and legal entity with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens. From this point of view the state is a source of legitimacy capable of creating or representing a nation with a national identity.

13.3 MEANING OF NATION

Nation is described as an extensive aggregate of persons so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organized as separate political state and occupying a definite territory. This refers that common descent, language, history, a separate political state are some of the characteristics which distinguish a nation. A nation is a group of people with a feeling of solidarity among themselves and a sense of distinctness from others. This refers that the word nation refers to a group of people who permanently reside in a definite territory and share the past history and prepare for the same future. In this sense a group of people residing in a definite territory may not come out from same descent, race, language or religion but if they feel emotional attachment among themselves they can constitute a nation. Thus if the word nation implies the people of a definite territory the word nationalism refers to the feeling of solidarity and togetherness among themselves.

According to Snyder, “nationalism, a product of political, economic, social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind, feeling or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined

geographical area speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, attached to common traditions and common customs, venerating its own heroes and in some cases having a common religion."

Hans Kohn says, "Nationalism is a state of mind permeating a large majority of people and claiming to permeate all its members. It recognizes the state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality is the source of all creative cultural energy and economic well-being. The supreme loyalty of man is therefore; due to his own loyalty, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and made possibly by its welfare.

13.4 DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM

The word 'nationalism' is derived from the English word 'nation' which is derived from the Latin word 'natio'. The concept of nationalism which we use in the present sense can be traced back to the 17th and 18th centuries. Especially the French Revolution and the American War of Independence greatly contributed towards the development of the concept of nationalism. During this period the principles of democracy and self- determination spread the spirit of group consciousness which ultimately have broadened the idea of nationalism.

During the nineteenth century nationalism emerged in a constructive way. According to Prof. Kohn," nationalism originated in Western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries, but that it did not become a general European movement until the nineteenth." During this time several revolutions took place. In post 1815 (Vienna of Congress) period several new nations emerged. In 1820, Greece and Serbia were created. In 1830, Belgium became a new state. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, formation of military alliances, competitions for establishing new colonies paved the way to the First World War.

The First World War provided the first impetus to nationalism. During this period several new states emerged as a result of disintegration of Austria-Hungary Empire. The national movement in Asia and Africa received greater

impetus and claim for freedom grew stronger in a number of countries. During the inter-war period totalitarian nationalism gained strength. Fascism grew in countries like Italy, Germany, Japan and Spain. At the same time communism gained ground in Soviet Union.

In the subsequent periods nationalism spread all over the globe. Most of the countries gained freedom from the control of colonial powers. Nationalism got new dimension with the demand for equal economic and educational opportunities for all members of the national group. Nationalist movements with active participation of people and demand for welfare of the underprivileged sections of the society gained new height.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : The word 'natio' is derived from which Latin word ?

.....

Q 2 : Fascism grew in countries like Italy, Germany, Japan and Spain. (True/False)

.....

13.5 KINDS OF NATIONALISM

Different scholars have offered different classification regarding the kinds of nationalism. Hans Kohn classifies nationalism into two categories viz. western nationalism and non-western nationalism. According to Hayes there are five categories of nationalism. These include Humanitarian, Jacobian, Traditional, Liberal, and Integral Nationalism. Quincy Wright classifies nationalism as medieval, monarchial, revolutionary, liberal and totalitarian. After taking into consideration of the views of various scholars, nationalism can be classified as follows:

- **Liberal Nationalism**

The nationalism which was developed after the Vienna settlement is popularly known as Liberal nationalism. During this period the principle of democracy and national self-determination brought a strong sense of

nationalism which led to number of revolutions in different countries of the world. The aspiration to attain national independence, social, economic and political progress, democratic sentiment gave birth the feeling of solidarity and togetherness among people which ultimately developed the sense of liberal nationalism. During this phase most of the countries of Latin America and North America were successful in attaining national independence by overthrowing the imperial rule made by Spain and Portugal. However Liberal nationalism was neither exclusive nor aggressive.

- **Totalitarian Nationalism**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a new kind of aggressive nationalism came into the picture which was known as totalitarian nationalism. During this phase the competition for trade, industrial, military supremacy among various countries as well as competition for establishing new colonies seriously restricted individual's rights and national freedom. This ultimately contributed to the First World War. Even after the First World War this kind of nationalism was developed in Germany and Italy under Hitler and Mussolini which was later on spread to Spain, Japan and Russia.

- **Integral nationalism**

In the late twentieth century a new kind of nationalism was emerged which was known as integral nationalism. During this phase some kind of beliefs were nourished among the nations which made them think that values, sentiments, beliefs and action of one nation as the best and to impose them on other nation was a national pride. Through this nationalism all the nations got the incentive to hold the view that 'what is good for a nation is good for the whole world.' Ultimately this nationalism gave rise to the feeling of insecurity and inferiority among the nations and thus contributed to war and conflict.

- **New Nationalism**

In the post second world war period a new kind of nationalism was developed in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which was popularly known as new nationalism. During this phase colonial rule came to an end in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The idea of political

equality, principle of national self-determination and practice of non-interference domestic policy planted the seeds of new nationalism. New nationalism was also called 'non-western' nationalism as it was different from western nationalism in many respects. During this phase many national leaders emerged like Nasser in Egypt, Nehru in India, Nkrumah in Ghana, Sukarno in Indonesia.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3 : Mention any two kinds of nationalism.

.....

Q 4 : Mention the names of any two national leaders who emerged in different countries in the post-colonial era.

.....

13.6 FACTORS OF NATIONALISM

- **Racial Unity**

Racial unity is an important factor towards the growth of nationalism. People inhabiting in a particular territory have a common racial origin which tend to come closer to each other. People belonging to same race always feel a kind of solidarity and togetherness among themselves. Scholars like Alfred Zimmer, Burgess, Leacock have considered racial unity as the most important element of nationalism. However some other scholars are in the opinion that racial origin is one of the relevant factors of nationalism which cannot be considered as an absolute factor. In this regard Ramsay Muir has observed that there is no nation in the world that is not of mixed race and there has never been a race which has succeeded in including all its members within a single nationality. If we look at the modern states, it can be generally held that most of the present day states contain people belonging to different races.

- **Geographical Unity**

Geographical unity greatly contributes to the growth of nationalism.When a group of people permanently reside in a definite territory for a longer period

of time, a feeling of co-operation, love, respect and protection develop in their minds. Geographical unity also provides similar climate, natural environment which ultimately tend to develop common values, ideas and attitudes. However, geographical unity cannot be considered as an absolute factor for the development of nationalism. For instance, although the Jews and Greeks do not share the same geographical boundary, they developed a high sense of nationalism among them. More importantly the advancement in the field of science and technology has further reduced the importance of this factor. Therefore geographical unity cannot be considered as a condition for the growth of nationalism all the time. However it cannot be denied that people living in the same permanent territory always feel emotional attachment which tends to develop a conducive environment for the growth of nationalism.

- **Common Religion**

Religion is another important factor which contributes towards the growth of nationalism. Undoubtedly common religion gives birth to a strong sense of nationalism. Generally similar rules, regulations, customs, traditions tend to develop among the peoples of belonging to same religion. For instance, Hebrew religion played an important role in creation of Israel and Islam played a significant role in creation of Pakistan. However, according to Padelford and Lincoln, “Nationalism may develop irrespective of religion for in many countries nationality and religion are not closely identified. Despite the presence of religious diversity there are some existing states which have developed strong feeling of nationalism.

- **Common Language**

Common language attributes to the growth of nationalism. Language is a medium of expression. Through language people communicate with one another and pass ideas, values, objects and traditions from one generation to the next. According to Ramsay Muir,” there is nothing that will give unity to divergent races as the use of common language and community of ideas which it brings has proved the main binding force in a nation. For instance East Pakistan became Bangladesh on the condition of Bengali language. A common language is a leading factor of unification of a nation. However

common language is not an absolute condition for development of nationalism. There are several countries which have developed a strong spirit of nationalism despite the presence of large number of languages. For instance like India and Pakistan most of the Asian and African countries possess diversities of languages.

- **Common culture and tradition**

Common culture and tradition plays an important role in developing the sense of nationalism. Common literature, culture and traditions help in promoting emotional integration among the people. Common ideological beliefs and cultural practices bring togetherness and solidarity among people and tend to develop a strong sense of nationalism.

- **Common history and political aspiration**

Common historical experiences tend to develop the spirit of nationalism. If a group of people live in a definite territory having common history based on race, language, religion, they feel some kind of emotional integration and create a sense of nationalism. According to J.S. Mill "Among all the elements the identity of political antecedents, the possession of national history and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliations, pleasure and regret connected with the same incidents in the past is the strongest." Common political ambitions also greatly contribute to the development of nationalism. People tend to forget their differences to attain their political aspirations.

- **Common Economic Interest**

Common economic interest is another important factor of nationalism. Common economic resources bind different groups of people and create a sense of togetherness among them. However many scholars have denied the importance of economic factors. According to them different economic classes of people live together in a nation and it is quite difficult to have a common economic interest.

- **Common experience of conflicts and wars**

Conflicts and wars play a considerable part in shaping nationalism. Wars bring unity among the people by encouraging them to fight against

common enemy. Padelford and Lincoln said that, “war and the threat of invasion have nearly everywhere been factors in fashioning national sentiment and in forging new nation. For instance nationalism in United States was largely the outcome of the Mexican war and struggle in Westminster.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention any two factors of nationalism.

……

……



13.7 LET US SUM UP

- Nationalism is a political phenomenon which exists in many forms and has been interpreted differently by different scholars. The word ‘nationalism’ is derived from the English word ‘nation’ which is derived from the Latin word ‘Natio’. To understand nationalism it is crucially important to understand the concept of ‘nation’.
- Nation is described as an extensive aggregate of persons so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organized as separate political state and occupying a definite territory. This refers that common descent, language, history, a separate political state are some of the characteristics which distinguish a nation.
- A nation is a group of people with a feeling of solidarity among themselves and a sense of distinctness from others. This refers that the word nation refers to a group of people who permanently reside in a definite territory and share the past history and prepare for the same future. In this sense a group of people residing in a definite territory may not come out from same descent, race, language or religion but if they feel emotional attachment among themselves they can constitute a nation.

- Thus if the word nation implies the people of a definite territory the word nationalism refers the feeling of solidarity and togetherness among themselves.
- The word 'nationalism' is derived from the English word 'nation' which is derived from the Latin word 'Natio'. The concept of nationalism which we use in the present sense can be traced back to the 17th and 18th centuries. Especially the French revolution and the American war of independence greatly contributed towards the development of the concept of nationalism.
- During this period the principles of democracy and self- determination spread the spirit of group consciousness which ultimately have broadened the idea of nationalism.
- During the nineteenth century nationalism emerged in a constructive way. According to Prof. Kohn," nationalism originated in Western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries, but that it did not become a general European movement until the nineteenth."
- During this time several revolutions took place. In post 1815 (Vienna of Congress) period several new nations emerged. In 1820, the Greece and Serbia were created. In 1830, Belgium became a new state. Towards the end of nineteenth century formation of military alliances, competitions for establishing new colonies pave the way to the First World War.
- The First World War provided the first impetus to nationalism. During this period several new states emerged as a result of disintegration of Austria-Hungary Empire.
- The national movement in Asia and Africa received greater impetus and claim for freedom grew stronger in a number of countries.
- During the inter-war period totalitarian nationalism gained strength. Fascism grew in countries like Italy, Germany, Japan and Spain. At the same time communism gained ground in Soviet Union.
- In the subsequent periods nationalism spread all over the globe. Most of the countries gained freedom from the control of colonial

powers. Nationalism got new dimension with the demand for equal economic and educational opportunities for all members of the national group.

- Nationalist movements with active participation of people and demand for welfare of the underprivileged sections of the society gained new height.
- Different scholars have offered different classification regarding the kinds of nationalism. Hans Kohn classifies nationalism into two categories viz. western nationalism and non-western nationalism. Some of the forms of nationalism include Liberal Nationalism, Totalitarian Nationalism, Integral nationalism and New Nationalism.
- The factors of nationalism include Racial Unity, Geographical Unity, Common Religion, Common Language, Common culture and tradition, Common history and political aspiration, Common Economic Interest and Common experience of conflicts and wars.



13.8 FURTHER READING

1) Breuilly, John (1993). *Nationalism and the State*. Manchester University.

2) Grosby, Steven (2005). *Nationalism a very Short Introduction*. Oxford.



13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : 'Natio'

Ans to Q. No. 2 : True

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Liberal Nationalism and New Liberalism

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Nasser in Egypt and Nehru in India

Ans to Q. No. 5 : Racial Unity and Geographical Unity



13.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of a nation.

Q 2 : Discuss the development of nationalism.

Q 3 : Discuss the various kinds of nationalism

Q 4 : Discuss the factors of nationalism

****

UNIT 14 : IDEOLOGY; THE "END OF IDEOLOGY" DEBATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Meaning of Ideology

14.4 The "End of Ideology" Debate

14.5 Francis Fukuyama and the "End of History"

14.6 Critics of Fukuyama's Concept of "End of History"

14.7 Let Us Sum Up

14.8 Further Reading

14.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.10 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of a ideology
- discuss the debate centering on the "end of ideology"
- discuss the Francis Fukuyama idea of "End of History"

14.2 INTRODUCTION

In the study of political science, the study of political ideologies or philosophies has an immense importance since those ideologies influences the very nature as well as the sphere of the actual politics and the state. The ideologies have a deep imprint on the political affairs of any state. The ideologies are part of the general political environment of a state. Therefore, the study of the ideologies has a deep significance of its own in the field of Political Science. Some important ideologies which have shaped the very nature of the contemporary state as well as international politics are Liberalism, Socialism,

Fascism, Nazism, Gandhism, etc. are to be considered as most important dynamics in the study of Political Science. These ideologies have their role in determining the national as well as international policies in contemporary times. In this unit we will discuss about the very meaning of ideology and will discuss the arguments on the debate end of ideology.

14.3 MEANING OF IDEOLOGY

The word "ideology" was first used by a French theorist Antoine Destutt de Tracy by which he meant the 'science of ideas'. A fresh discipline intended to be the basis of an entirely new social and political order.

In its broadest sense, ideology signifies a set of ideas ranging from one desiring no change in the prevailing order to another crying for a total transformation of society. Moreover, it includes the refutation of one and the justification of another set of ideas. The ideas may also be in the form of an explanation of some fact, or a justification of some claim or a quest for some truth or a manifestation of some conviction and the like.

The most important thing about ideology is its action oriented character. The test of a political ideology lies in its applications. An ideology will either involve the actual application of a coherent system of political ideas to a political system in such a way as to direct its activities. In other words, ideology refers to an "action-related system" of political ideas in the sense that these are sets of ideas concerning the change or defence of the existing political structures and relationship.

From the understanding of the concept of political ideology following implications can be drawn:

1. Ideology is not the same as values and attitudes of the political culture. It is both a programme for action and an instrument of evaluation. It is a response to and a means of defending or changing the existing political system.
2. It is not the content of the ideologies alone that distinguishes one from another, it is the function of the ideology within the political system that creates differentiations.

3. Ideologies do change to fit in the reality. An Ideology is impossible to translate directly into practice; there has to be accommodation to political realities.
4. Ideologies may be classified according to their role in relation to the political system as rightist or leftist, reactionary or progressive, conservative or revolutionary, reformist or radical and the like.
5. It is the ideology that constitutes the keystone of the arch of a political party or a group.
6. Ideology has become an instrument whereby the leaders motivate people to take part in political actions, or they accord the characters of 'legitimacy' to their political system.

14.4 THE "END OF IDEOLOGY" DEBATE

Daniel Bell wrote the book "The End of Ideology : On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties" (1960). Danie Bell pointed out that in the western world "there is today rough consensus among intellectuals on political issues : the acceptance of a welfare state, the desirability of decentralised power; a system of mixed economy and of political pluralism. In that sense, too, the ideology age has ended". (Source : www.sosci.uci.edu)

Robert Lane has contributed to this theme from a different standpoint. While referring to the case of the working class of any industrial country, it may be said that it is split up among a number of ideologies. Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology formulated by the working class itself in the process of its movement, the only choice is either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course, for mankind has not created a 'third' ideology, and moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms, there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology. Hence, to be little the socialist ideology in any way to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology. Since there is no alternate ideology to bourgeois ideology hence, he considered as decline of other ideology.

The theorist who advocates the theme of end of ideology have referred to some developments which according to them signifies the declining role of the ideology. In 1955, in Italy, a World Congress of

Intellectuals was held which was a grand gathering of liberals, socialists, conservatives, radicals and the like belonging to leading democratic countries of the West. Regardless of their political beliefs, these intellectuals came to hold the view that the traditional issues separating the left from the right had declined to comparative insignificance. Hence, the ideological issues dividing the left and the right had been reduced to a minimum level considerably.

In fine, the whole idea behind the concept of the 'end of ideology' by these group of theorists is that the economic class system, as conceived by the Marxists-Leninists, is disappearing, the redistribution of wealth and income has ended the political significance ofeconomic inequality. The realization of this kind has brought about a change in the ideas of many left wingers as well as positive liberals of the Western countries. They conceived that the marked decline in the source of political conflict has led to the decline of role of Ideology in political actions.

14.5 FRANCIS FUKUYAMA AND THE END OF HISTORY

Francis Fukuyama is a renowned American political theorist and author ,presently teaching in Stanford University, USA. He wrote his famous article "The End of History?" in 1989 during the collapse of Socialist Regimes. In his article he declared the ultimate victory of liberal democracy. He argued that "it may constitute the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the final form of human government and as such constitute the end of history." He celebrated the victory of liberalism over all other ideologies with the argument that liberal states were more stable internally and more peaceful in international relations.

In 1992, Fukuyama wrote the book "The End of History and the Last Man". According to him, the end of history refers to the question of whether that evolution finally culminates in a certain kind of civilization that will be the last civilization that mankind will achieve because it is the right one and is the one that fits human nature in an appropriate way. In his argument, "liberal democracy comes much closer to fitting human nature than any

form of Government or political organization… not every country is a liberal democracy, there are many dictatorships to the right and the left remaining but as a systematic ideal liberal democracy is all there is now and we have seen that in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, communism was undermined by the fact people did not believe that was a viable form of Government, that it had no legitimacy and in fact democratic ideas were the primary ones that people found exciting and just."

Fukuyama in his book makes references to Hegel and Marx. He stated that Hegel and Marx believed that the evolution of human societies would end when mankind had achieved a form of society that satisfied their fundamental aims. For Hegel, this was the liberal state while for Marx it was a communist society.

According to Fukuyama, in liberal democracy, there would be no further progress in the development of underlying principles and institutions, because all of the really big questions would have been settled. He explains the directional history of mankind that will eventually lead the greater part of humanity to liberal democracy by two reasons: economy and the struggle for recognition. According to him, societies have become increasingly linked with each other through global markets and spread of a universal consumer culture.

On the other hand, Fukuyama paid good attention on "struggle for recognition" in his book which was a concept of Hegel. This concept differs human beings fundamentally from the animals because in addition to natural needs like food water and shelter, human beings also want to be recognized as a human being. He considered this factor as the main driving force of the history. And in the liberal state, universal recognition will occur. So there will not be any struggle for recognition. Because liberal democracy replaced the irrational desire to be recognized as greater than others with a rational desire to be recognized as equal.

Fukuyama gives some examples about the historical processes through which liberal democracy is gaining ground. He cited the examples of weakness of the Soviet system, democratic transitions in the Latin America

and Southern Europe and also East Asia's adaptation process to liberalism. He also makes a reference to Hegel's dialectic perspective. According to Hegel, the universal history of mankind was man's progressive rise to full rationality, which reflects itself in liberal self-government. Moreover, he gives reference to Kant, for whom the end point of any historical evolution is the realization of human freedom.

Fukuyama argued that, industrialization should produce liberal democracy. Because democracy is the suitable platform to reconcile conflicting interests which are created by a modern economy. According to him, even Science may also proceed only in an atmosphere of freedom.

For his concept of 'last man' Fukuyama made reference to the concept of the 'first man' on Zocpe and Hobbes who was in the state of nature. The main aim of the 'first man' is self-preservation. He also referred to Hegel, who also use the term 'first man' who also struggle for recognition, in addition to self-preservation.

Fukuyama also uses Plato's concept of 'thymos'. According to Plato, 'thymos' is necessary for survival of any political community. Because it is the basis that man is drawn out from the selfish life of desire and look toward the common good. According to Fukuyama, the struggle for recognition comes from the thymotic part of the soul and both the desiring and thymotic parts of our souls find satisfaction in the liberal democratic state.

Fukuyama also criticizes realism. According to realism, insecurity, aggression and war are permanent possibilities in the international system. Fukuyama claims that liberal societies have peaceful relations with each other. They have no grounds on which to contest each others' legitimacy because they share principles of universal equality and rights. They fight with states which are not liberal i.e. United States fought in two World Wars also in Korea, Vietnam and Persian Gulf. On the other hand, he claims that the peaceful influence of liberal ideas on foreign policy can be seen in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the mid-1980s.

Fukuyama while supporting liberal democracy stated about two worlds i.e. historical and post-historical worlds. According to him, in the

near future, the world will be divided between these two parts. In the post-historical world, the main interaction between states would be economic and power politics would decrease. There would be considerable economic but little military competition. The post-historical world would still be divided into nation-states but nationalisms would have made peace with liberalism. Economic rationality will abolish traditional forms of nationalism. On the other hand, in the historical world there would still be religious, national and ideological conflicts, depending on the stage of development of the country. Also in the historical world, old rules of power politics still exist and nation-states are still the main actors. Fukuyama accepts the fact that there are differences at the development levels of the states but he argued that some parts of the world has come to the end of history.

14.6 CRITICS OF FUKUYAMA'S CONCEPT OF "END OF HISTORY"

Francis Fukuyama's paradigm of " End of History" has been criticized by the scholars in various ways.

According to the critics, he wanted to give a name to the situation after the collapse of communism. He gave the name the "End of History", with one dimensional, ethno-centric perspective. He was too quick to claim such an assertive thesis. Probably he did this to legitimize and formulate the theoretical framework of the New World Order with the leadership of the United States.

Fukuyama's understanding of history is unilinear historical progress which is the common element of Hegelian and Marxian philosophy. His theory is reformulation of the basic postulates of the 19th century.

Fukuyama's approach is being criticized as subjective and ethno-centric. His understanding about the directional history of mankind presupposes the identification of mankind with western man and identification of history with the history of western civilization. It does not only neglect the constructive contribution, made by other civilizations in the past but also ignores the possibility of the formation of a theoretical and practical alternative by these civilizations in future.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Who first used the word "ideology" ?

.....

.....

Q 2 : What is the most crucial character of an Ideology?

.....

Q 3 : Mention the implications of political ideology .

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 4 : Mention the name of two social theorists who initiated the debate on end of ideology?

.....

Q 5 : The concept of "End of History" is associated with whom?

.....

.....



14.7 LET US SUM UP

- The word "ideology" was first used by a French theorist Antoine Destutt de Tracy by which he meant the 'science of ideas' a fresh discipline intended to be the basis of an entirely new social and political order.

  In its broadest sense, ideology signifies a set of ideas ranging from one desiring no change in the prevailing order to another crying for a total transformation of society. Moreover, it includes the refutation of one and the justification of another set of ideas. The ideas may also be in the form of an explanation of some fact, or a justification of some claim or a quest for some truth or a manifestation of some conviction and the like.

- The most important thing about ideology is its action oriented character. The test of a political ideology lies in its applications. An ideology will either involve the actual application of a coherent system of political ideas to a political system in such a way as to direct its activities. In other words, ideology refers to an "action-related system" of political ideas in the sense that these are sets of ideas concerning the change or defence of the existing political structures and relationship.

  Ideologies may be classified according to their role in relation to the political system as rightist or leftist, reactionary or progressive, conservative or revolutionary, reformist or radical and the like.

- Ideology plays an important role in politics. But in the later part of the twentieth century a new thought on the role of ideology has developed by a group of American social theorists in which the names like Daniel Bell, Robert E. Lane deserve special mention. The contention of these theorists is that Western societies have developed in such a way and to such an extent that no ideology is anymore required. The functions of ideologies or their programmes of action have been taken over by a scientific social technology. They argued that Marx died long back and much has happened to the bourgeois thinking since then. Bourgeois system has acquired several new forms which Marx and his followers could never imagine with the result that the life of the people, including the proletariat has improved considerably. Hence, has happened the "end of ideology".
- According to Daniel Bell, the issue of economic development has come to stay in the forefront as the problem of political stability has almost become a well settled phenomenon.
- The people have developed their firm faith in the free institutions of their political culture and they have nothing to fear in this regard in the era of 'welfare state'.
- Moreover, the issue of economic development has come to be their main goal that they want to achieve by living within the broad framework of their well-established political system.

- It is for this important reason that there is hardly any difference of opinion between the Democratic and Republican parties of the United States. It all shows that ideology which was 'once a road to action, has come to a dead end.'
- Francis Fukuyama, wrote his famous article "The End of History?" in 1989 during the collapse of Socialist Regimes.
- Fukuyama in his book "The End of the History and the Last Man" makes references to Hegel and Marx stated that Hegel and Marx believe that the evolution of human societies would end when mankind had achieved a form of society that satisfied their fundamental aims. For Hegel, this was the liberal state while for Marx it was a communist society.
- Fukuyama gives some examples about the historical processes through which the liberal democracy gaining ground. He cited the examples of weakness of the Soviet system, democratic transitions in the Latin America and Southern Europe and also East Asia's adaptation process to liberalism. He also makes a reference to Hegel's dialectic perspective. According to Hegel, the universal history of mankind was man's progressive rise to full rationality, which reflects itself in liberal self-government. Moreover, he gives reference to Kant, for whom the end point of any historical evolution is the realization of human freedom.
- Fukuyama argued that, industrialization should produce liberal democracy. Because democracy is the suitable platform to reconcile conflicting interests which are created by a modern economy. According to him, even Science may also proceed only in an atmosphere of freedom.
- For his concept of 'last man' Fukuyama made reference to the concept of the 'first man' of Locke and Hobbes who was in the state of nature. The main aim of the 'first man' is self-preservation. He also referred to Hegel, who also uses the term 'first man' who also struggles for recognition, in addition to self-preservation.

- Fukuyama also uses Plato's concept of 'thymos'. According to Plato, 'thymos' is necessary for survival of any political community. Because it is the basis that man is drawn out from the selfish life of desire and look toward the common good. According to Fukuyama, the struggle for recognition comes from the thymotic part of the soul and both the desiring and thymotic parts of our souls find satisfaction in the liberal democratic state.

  Fukuyama also criticizes realism. According to realism, insecurity, aggression and war are permanent possibilities in the international system. Fukuyama claims that liberal societies have peaceful relations with each other. They have no grounds on which to contest each others' legitimacy because they share principles of universal equality and rights.

- Fukuyama while supporting liberal democracy stated about two world i.e. historical and post-historical world. According to him, in the near future, the world will be divided between these two parts. In the post-historical world, the main interaction between states would be economic and power politics would decrease.

- Farncis Fukuyama's paradigm of "End of History" has been criticized by the scholars in various ways. According to the critics, he wanted to give a name to the situation after the collapse of communism. He gave the name the "End of History", with one dimensional, ethno-centric perspective. He was too quick to claim such an assertive thesis.



14.8 FURTHER READING

1) O. P. Gouba, 2012, An *Introduction to Political Theory,* Macmillan India Limited
2) Andrew Heywood, 2004, *Political Theory : An Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan

3) J. C. Johari, 2006, *Contemporary Political Theory,* Sterling Publishers Private Limited

4) Fukuyama, Francis. (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. Penguin Hamondsworth.

14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1 : French Theorist Destutt de Tracy

Ans to Q. No. 2 : It is action oriented.

Ans to Q. No. 3 (a) : Ideology is not the same as values and attitudes of the political culture. It is both a programme for action and an instrument of evaluation. It is a response to and a means of defending or changing existing political system.

(b) : It is not the content of the ideologies alone that distinguishes one from another, it is the function of the ideology within the political system that creates differentiations.

(c) : Ideologies do change to fit in the reality. An Ideology is impossible to translate directly into practice; there has to be accommodation to political realities.

(d) : Ideologies may be classified according to their role in relation to the political system as rightist or leftist, reactionary or progressive, conservative or revolutionary, reformist or radical and the like.

(e) : It is the ideology that constitutes the keystone of the arch of a political party or a group.

(f) : Ideology has become an instrument whereby the leaders motivate people to take part in political actions, or they accord the characters of 'legitimacy' to their political system.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : Daniel Bell and Robert E. Lane

Ans to Q. No. 5 : Francis Fukuyama.



14.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Define Ideology. What are the main features of ideology?

Q 2 : What are the main arguments put forward by different theorists regarding the end of ideology?

Q 3 : Discuss Francis Fukuyama's views regarding the debate "End of History".

Q 4 : Discuss how Francis Fukuyama defends liberal democracy in his argument of end of history.

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