PGPS S1 01

Recent Political Theory

SEMESTER - I

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 2

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Subject Experts

Dr. Shantanu Chakravorty, Cotton University
Professor Jayanta Krishna Sarmah, Gauhati University
Dr. Dhruba Pratim Sharma, Gauhati University

Course Coordinator : Dr.Abhijit Bhuyan, KKHSOU

SLM Preparation Team

UNITS	CONTRIBUTORS
10 ,11	Sabrina Iqbal Sircar Cotton University, Guwahati
12 ,13	Daisy Rani Talukdar Consultant, IGNOU, Guwahati
14	Shivani Phukan Borholla College, Jorhat
15	Dr. Dadul Dewri Pub Kamrup College, Baihata Chariali, Assam

Editorial Team

Content	:	Dr.Subhrajeet Konwer, G.U.
Language	:	Dr. Abhijit Bhuyan, KKHSOU
Structure, Format & Graphics	:	Dr. Abhijit Bhuyan,KKHSOU

April 2018

ISBN : 978-93-87940-06-2

 This Self Learning Material (SLM) of the Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University is made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-Share Alike 4.0 License (international):
http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/

Printed and published by Registrar on behalf of the Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University.

The University acknowledges with thanks the financial support provided by the **Distance Education Bureau**, **UGC** for the preparation of this study material.

Headquarters : Patgaon, Rani Gate, Guwahati - 781017
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781006; Web: www.kkhsou.in

MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
CONTENTS

		Pages
UNIT 10 :	**Feminist and Subaltern Perspectives on Justice** Feminist Perspective on Justice; Subaltern Perspective on Justice; Comparison of the Two perspectives	**129-142**
UNIT 11 :	**Distributive Justice- John Rawls** Rawls on Distributive Justice; Comparison with the Entitlement theory; Analysis and Criticism	**143-154**
UNIT 12 :	**Concept of Democracy** Meaning and Definitions of Democracy; Origin of the concept of democracy : Principles of Democracy; Forms of Democracy; Concept of liberal democracy : Mechanism for making Liberal Democracy successful	**155-173**
UNIT 13 :	**Contemporary Theories of Democracy** Meaning of the Elitist theory of Democracy; Features of the Elitist theory of Democracy ;Criticisms against the Elitist theory of Democracy; The Pluralist theory of Democracy: Meaning of the Pluralist theory of Democracy, Factors responsible for the development of Pluralism, Importance of Pluralism, Features of the Pluralist theory of Democracy; Criticisms against the Pluralist theory of Democracy	**174-193**
UNIT 14 :	**Nationalism- Meaning and Nature** Meaning of Nation; Development of Nationalism; Kinds of Nationalism; Factors of Nationalism	**194-205**
UNIT 15 :	**Ideology; The "End of Ideology" Debate** Meaning of Ideology; The "End of Ideology" Debate; Francis Fukuyama and the "End of History"; Critics of Fukuyama's concept of "End of History"	**206-220**

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 2

This is the second block of the first course titled “Recent Political Theory” of the MA First Semester Programme in Political Science of KKHSOU. The block contains six units (units 10-15).

The tenth unit discusses the Feminist and Subaltern Perspectives on Justice ; The eleventh unit discusses the theory of Distributive Justice by John Rawls. The twelfth unit discusses the concept of Democracy. The thirteenth unit discusses the Contemporary Theories of Democracy , namely the Elitist theory and the Pluralist theory of democracy. The fourteenth unit discusses Nationalism- its Meaning and Nature. The fifteenth unit discusses the concept of Ideology, the “End of Ideology” Debate and Frnacis Fukuyama’s concept of “End of History”.

While going through the units of the course, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. You will notice some alongside boxes while going through a unit , which have been included to help you know some of the difficult, unseen terms. Again, each unit carries certain *activities* after every section. These “ACTIVITIES” will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called “LET US KNOW” after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS”. The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. It will be better if you answer the questions put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit. Furthermore, a set of sample questions has been included under the category called “POSSIBLE QUESTIONS” to give you a hint of the pattern of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 10 : FEMINIST AND SUBALTERN PERSPECTIVES ON JUSTICE

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Feminist Perspective on Justice

10.4 Subaltern Perspective on Justice

10.5 Comparison of the two perspectives

10.6 Let Us Sum Up

10.7 Further Readings

10.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.9 Model Questions

10.1 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.

10.2 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 equal 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.

10.3 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 experience of womenare rooted in theit overall to political situation and gender discrimination. 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 ?

.....

10.4 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).

.....

10.5 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.



10.6 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.



10.7 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.

10.8 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



10.9 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.

****

UNIT 11: DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE – JOHN RAWLS

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 John Rawls on Distributive Justice

11.4 Comparison with the Entitlement theory of Robert Nozick.

11.5 Analysis and Criticism

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Readings

11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.9 Possible Questions

11.1 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

11.2 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.

11.3 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.

.....

11.4 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.

11.5 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.

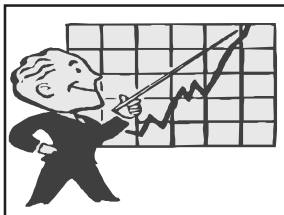
A crucial analysis will however reveal that Rawls had attempted to formulate his theory of justice by combining different ideas and value systems. His theory of justice is actually a combination of libertarianism, egalitarianism and communitarianism. Thus, there arises some theoretical inconsistencies 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.

.....



11.6 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.



11.7 FURTHER READING

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



11.8 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

11.9 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.

****

UNIT 12 : CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives.

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning and Definitions of Democracy

12.4 Origin of the concept of democracy

12.4.1 Principles of Democracy

12.4.2 Condition essential for sucess of Democracy.

12.5 Forms of Democracy

15.5.1 Variant of Indirect Democracy

12.6 Concept of liberal democracy

12.6.1 Mechanism for making Liberal Democracy successful

12.7 Further Reading

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.10 Possible Questions

12.1 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

12.2 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.

12.3 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 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 soverenty.
- Democracy establishe a form of goverment which remain accountable to the people. the people enjoy the set of rights and and the government is bound to protect the same each individual can his or her full potentialities.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : Explain the meaning of Democracy?

……

……

……

……

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'.

.....

12.4 ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

The concept of democracy has evelved 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' notion of "isonomia" and "equality before law". The idea is believed to be developed in ancient Greece the mean a kind of popular government but it was considered to be perverted idea. 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 Cossack Republics of Ukraine. The ideals of democracy is supposed to have developed during the European Renaissance and the Age of Enlightment, American and Frence 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 to 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"***,



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

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 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 .

12.4.1 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

12.5 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.

12.5.1 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?

……

12.6 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

12.6.1 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 which take part in the free and 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 Enlightment in Europe. The Enlightment 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 to the idea of rule by noble blood which has a privileged connection with God. It made one person superior to the other which

was opposed to the notion of equality. 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?

……



12.7 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



12.8 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.



12.9 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.

12.10 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 13 : CONTEMPORARY THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning of the Elitist theory of Democracy

13.4 Features of the Elitist theory of Democracy

13.4.1 Concept of Circulation of Elites

13.5 Criticisms against the Elitist theory of Democracy

13.6 The Pluralist theory of Democracy

13.6.1 Meaning of the Pluralist theory of Democracy

13.6.2 Factors responsible for the development of Pluralism

13.6.3 Importance of Pluralism

13.6.4 Features of the Pluralist theory of Democracy

13.7 Criticisms against the Pluralist theory of Democracy

13.8 Let Us Sum Up

13.9 Further Reading

13.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.11 Possible Questions

13.2 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

13.2 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.

13.3 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"?

.....

13.4 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

13.4.1 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.

13.5 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. THad 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?

……

……

.....

13.6 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.

13. 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)

13.6.2 Factors responsible for the development of Pluralism

- The pluralist 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 autonmy 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.

13.6.3 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.)

13.6.4 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.

13.7 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?

.....

.....

.....



13.8 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.



13.9 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.

13.10 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.



13.11 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.

****

UNIT 14 : NATIONALISM- MEANING AND NATURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Meaning of Nation

14.4 Development of Nationalism

14.5 Kinds of Nationalism

14.6 Factors of Nationalism

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

14.2 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.

14.3 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.

14.4 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, 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.



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)

.....

14.5 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 develop the sense of liberal nationalism. During this phase most of the countries of Latin America and North America were succeeded to attain 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 as 'non-western' nationalism as it was differ from western nationalism in many respects. During this phase many national leaders emerged like Nasser in Egypt, Nehru in India, Nikrumah in Ghana, Sokarna 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.

.....

14.6 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 develop 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, Hibru religion played an important role in creation of Ezrail and Muslim religion 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 and 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 the definite territory having common history based on race, language, religion feel some kind of emotional integration and create the 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.

……

……



14.7 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.



14.8 FURTHER READING

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

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

14.9 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



14.10 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 15 : IDEOLOGY; THE "END OF IDEOLOGY" DEBATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Meaning of Ideology

15.4 The "End of Ideology" Debate

15.5 Francis Fukuyama and the "End of History"

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

15.7 Let Us Sum Up

15.8 Further Reading

15.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.10 Possible Questions

15.1 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"

15.2 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.

15.3 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.

15.4 THE "END OF IDEOLOGY" DEBATE

Daniel Bell wrote the book "The End of Ideology : On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties". Danie Bell pointed out that in the western world "there is today rough concenses among intellectuals on political issues : the acceptance of a welfare state, the deserability of decents aliyed 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.

15.5 FRANCIS FUKUYAMA AND THE END OF HISTORY

Francis Fukuyama is a renowned American political relatant 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 stated that Hegel and Marx believe and 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.

15.6 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?

.....

.....



15.7 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.



15.8 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.

15.9 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.



15.10 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.

****



REFERENCE

1) Agarwal, R.C, (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi : S.Chand and Company, .

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

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

4) Chandrasekhar,S, (2014). *Political Theory and Thought*. New Delhi : Astha Publishers and Distributors,.

5) Dutta. A.K (2011). *Political Theory, Issues, Concepts and Debate*. Guwahati: Arun Prakashan.

6) Francis Fukuyama, 1992, *The End of History and the Last Man*, viewed in https:// ps321.community.uaf.edu>files on 20/12/2016

7) Gauba , O. P., (2012). *An Introduction to Political Theory.* New Delhi: Macmillan India Limited

8) Gutmann, Amy (1985): "Communitarian Critics of Liberalism" in *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Vol. 14, No. 3, Summer, pp. 308-322. (

9) Heywood, Andrew (2004): *Political Theory - An Introduction (Third Edition).* New York: Palgrave Macmillan

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

11) Johari, J. C. (2006): *Contemporary Political Theory*. Sterling Publishers Private Limited

12) Kymlicka, Will (2002): *Contemporary Political Philosophy*. New York:Oxford University Press.

13) Kymlicka, Will (1993): 'Appendix –I: Some Questions about Justice and Community', in Daniel Bell (ed) *Communitarianism and its Critics.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

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

15) Machpherson, C.B, (1973). *Democratic Theory: Essays in retrieval*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

16) Macpherson, C.B. (2010):*The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke.* Canada:Oxford University Press

17) MacIntyre, Alasdair (1984) *After Virtue*. Notre-Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2nd edition.

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

19) Sandel,Michael (1982): *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. New York: Cambridge University Press

20) Sharma,D.B and Sharma, Dipti (2011) *Political Theory*. Guwahati: Ashok Book Stall

21) Varma, SP (2006). *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.

22) Walzer, Michael (1984): *Spheres of Justice*: *A Defence of Pluralism and Equality.* USA: Basic Books.

****