LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

# POLITICAL THEORY-I

Edited By

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(SYLLABUS)

# Political Theory-I

## Objectives

- To familiarise the students with the social, political, economic and intellectual contexts in which sociology emerged as a distinctive discipline.
- To help students gain an understanding of some of the classical contributions in sociology and their continuing relevance to its contemporary concerns.

| S. No. | Topics |
|---|---|
| 1 | Wha is Political Theory and Why Study It? Nature of Political, decline of political theory. |
| 2 | Democracy and its characteristics Status of democracy in Developing countries, Rights and Human rights, Dimensions of Liberty, Equality and justice |
| 3 | State and Civil Society, Growth of Modern Nation state, Role of Civil Society, Sovereignty, Citizenship and Idea of Duty |
| 4 | Power and Authority, Legitimation and Obligation, Civil disobedience and Satyagrah and Concept of Violence |
| 5 | Welfare State and its functions, Libertarianism and Classical Liberalism |

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# Unit 1: What is Political Science and Why is it Studied?

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the advent of political science.
- Know the nature and scope of political theory.
- Explain the debate on the decline of political theory.

## Introduction

### What is Political Theory?

The Political study tradition is very old. In this era, the study of general problems of politics is done under 'Political Theory'. Initially the 'political science' tradition would be sufficient for explaining its nature.

### The Tradition of Politics as a Study

The study of 'Politics' has been practised from the old era. Political Science is comparatively new. In the traditional study of politics, the problems on which concentration was given, nowadays it is tried to understand those problems in a new manner. Again, the methods which were used in the traditional study, they are also changed today. Broadly, there was the primacy of speculative method in traditional study, but in today's era, the empirical method is given special importance.

### Empirical Method

The way to get the knowledge in which the conclusion is based on experience of sense organs (Eyes, Ears, Nose, Tongue and Skin). Because, generally the sense organs' experience of all the people are same, so the empirical knowledge can be verified.

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*Did You Know?* The empirical knowledge is the base of entire Science.

## Speculative Method

The way to get the knowledge in which all the elements of presented subject can't be studied, but on the basis of reasoning, their possible aspects, their inter-relations, effects and results can be considered. On adopting this method, the different thinkers can present different approaches based on the same subject.

The entire systematic thinking was done under philosophy; so all the skills were under the thinking area of philosophy. **The aim of nature is found out under philosophy and those small elements are considered which are the things beyond from our physical experience.** But **under the Science, generally, the inter-relations of those elements are considered which are the subjects of our physical experience i.e., we can observe them with the help of our sense organs.** Under the old tradition of philosophy, the thinking was also done on state system, which is kept in the category of Political Philosophy, but the experience-based study is totally ignored, it couldn't be said. The criticism, which was done by **Plato (428–348 BC)** of the democracy of his time, was extremely based on observable experience. **Aristotle (384–322 BC)** in looking for ideal state system studied 158 constitutions in his time. But **the developed techniques and tools of experiential study, which are circulated in modern era, were not developed in previous eras.** Anyway, the philosophical method is great in the thinking of the classical and medieval thinkers. **The study of politics from scientific method is considered as the gift of modern era. Therefore, the Political Science is mainly a Modern Science,** though the profit can be gained from the knowledge of traditional thinking in its study.

## 1.1 Advent of Political Science

## Traditional View

**Under the traditional study of politics, the word 'Political Science' has been used very loosely.** Generally, any systematic study of politics is named as 'Political Science' whether the Experiential Method would be adopted in it or Speculative Method. For example,

*Example* The concept of 'State' is based on Speculative Method and was also the centre of the traditional definitions of Political Science in which the 'Sovereignty' concept is specially focused.

Similarly, **the theories of main studying-subjects of state, Government and Legislation have been taken in these definitions.** For example, according to **J.W. Garner,** "The rise and fall of Political Science is done from state." It aims that in the Political Science, there is no need of the study of any social organization or process except state. According to **R.G. Gattel,** "The basic elements of past, present and future of state and political organizations and politics are used under the Political Science." **– Jakariya** has presented this view in these words, "Political Science presents such key points in a systematic manner according to which the organization and sovereignty of entire state are used." According to **J. K. Blunshlee**, "Political Science is a science which is concerned with state, which tries to know and understand the state in such a manner that what its key points are, what its basic nature is, in which forms it is presented and how it originated?" According to **Paul John**, "Political Science is that part of Social Science under which the key points and government principles of the state are considered."

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According to **J. R. Sealy**, "As the resources are considered under the Political Economy, on the life under biology, on the numbers in algebra, and on expansion and magnitude under geometry, similarly the research on the government process is done under political Science."

**R. M. MacIver,** on giving the importance to both the studies of state and government under 'The Web of Government (1965)', has written, "When we talk about the science of government then we are not doubting on the thing that the word Political Science is behavioural on its circulated mean or not. It is a very important knowledge which is concerned to state, to those situations in which the different kinds of government systems arise, to different qualities, to the inter-relation among ruler and ruling in different historical situations, to those methods under which the governments perform their activities according to their nature and also to many similar things. It would be perfect to give this knowledge the name of Science." Therefore, State and Governments are considered as the study-centre of political science briefly in traditional definitions. The word 'Political Theory' is used in a very contracted meaning in these definitions. Here it is meant with the organization of state or government.

## New Trends

The main cause of primacy of state in the study of political science under traditional thinking was that the definition of state was given as 'The activity of state' in it. But **in today's era the participation of masses and its groups has so increased that politics has not remained the activity of state only.** Therefore, now it is tried to define the 'Political Science' as the reference of detailed mean of 'Politics', but the nature of politics itself is so complex that the scientific method can't be used as finely as in the areas of Natural and Physical Sciences.

"Political Science is not a science in the meaning in which Physics is a science, but Political Science can be studied necessarily in a systematic manner and from scientific method." **– Steffen L. Wasabi.**

In today's era for determining the true limitations and nature of 'Political Science', it would be perfect to see it with the detailed reference of 'Political Theory'.

## 1.2 Scope of Political Theory

**The different aspects of Politics are studied under Political Theory. Politics is concerned with the public life**. In all the social institutions, only political arrangement is the subject which is concerned with entire community – not with the few countable persons or groups. It means that **the authority is used on all the people of society under the political arrangement; the rules are made and the decisions are taken for all; the rights, duties and obligations of everyone are determined and the measures are taken to develop the social life.** These rules and decisions affect the lives of all of us to a great extent. **Such result is the result of a process in which key points are followed—it is the main problem of Political Theory.**

This problem is the cause of human from the origin of human culture. It is very important that human seeks for the good life naturally and the infinite possibilities to develop his life are found in him. Other creatures—animals, birds, and moths are born with bounded from senseless rules; are developed with definite manner and then died; they don't develop any of their nature and culture. But **Human is a creature who continuously seeks the ways to develop his life and his surroundings.** For this, society-system is made, but not any social-system is perfect. Therefore, the criticism of circulated system starts and the suggestions of new system come in. Generally, any talented thinker provides the expression to this **plan of criticism and reconstruction.** These all expressions **construct the tradition of Political Theory.**

The attention is paid only on the explanations of facts under Natural Science so that the rules to regulate the natural happenings could be found, but **the three main functions of Political Science** are accepted—(1) **Description** (2) **Criticism** (3) **Reconstruction.** In these all the description functions

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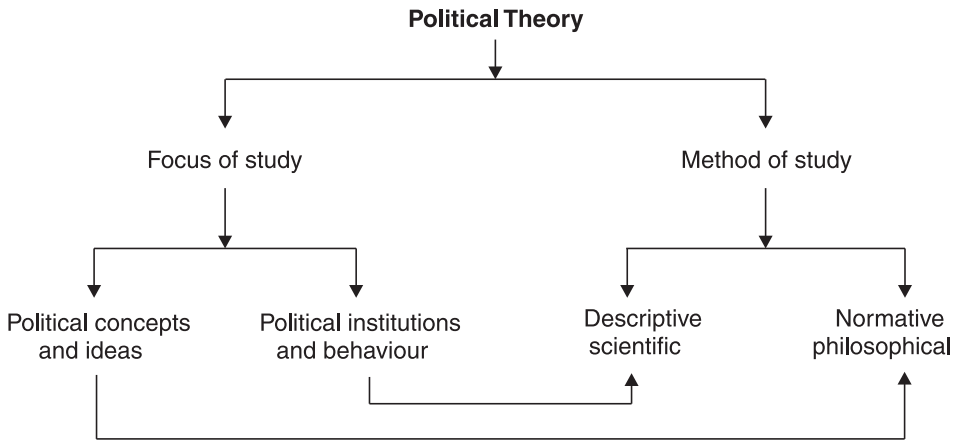
come in the field of Political Science; Criticism and reconstruction function come in the field of political Philosophy. Therefore, **there are two main parts of Political Theory – (1) Political Science** and **(2) Political Philosophy.** To understand the nature of Political Theory the knowledge of these two parts is necessary. Some of the thinkers consider the first in both as the abstract of Political Theory, some consider second as the same. But on looking very deeply it shows that **these both elements play the complementary role to develop the entire knowledge of Politics.**

Political Philosophy is mainly related to the thing which type of political life would be perfect for getting the 'Good life'? What is the good life – the debate can be done on this topic, but it is not the subject of scientific exploration. This is only the subject of ethical thinking. Political Science only permits to experiential knowledge. It doesn't give us the definition of 'good life', but we get the help in checking many of the assumptions about good life from it. Now we don't consider any assumption in the field of ethical life as finally bonafide but we are always ready to rethink on our old assumptions on keeping the new facts and evidences in mind. The mutual relationship between Political Science and Political Philosophy is cleared from it.

The scientific study of politics is an important gift of modern era. In this way, political science is considered as a modern subject. In short, the selection and use of perfect methods for study of different expressions of political life are done under political theory. The descriptive scientific method is adopted for political institutions and political behaviour, and for the study of political concepts and ideas, normative political method is used.

**Scope of Political Theory**




## Scientific Method

The method under which, the mind is concentrated on facts, and there is continuous attempt to find the mutual relation among them. Therefore, it is the field of exploration of observations and laws. It is aimed to get the reliable knowledge about facts. 'Political Science' is born from the use of this method in study of politics.

## Normative Method

The method in which such problems, in reference of different situations of human life, are considered like what and where should it be. Therefore, it is field of determining the purpose, goals and ideals of human life. The criticism of circulated arrangements is done under it, and the plan of social reconstruction is presented.

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## Philosophical Method

The method in which the basic concepts are constructed for solving the problems of human society; basic questions arise; to find which are the things we can investigate, which are the things we can't investigate. Which things are the beyond observation, to make them understand we construct the thinking-method based on facts and decide which type of knowledge we can trust, and which types of knowledge we can't trust? The knowledge of normative method is also considered under philosophical method. The coincidence of normative and philosophical methods is proved in the form of 'Political Philosophy'.

## 1.3 Nature of Political Science

The supporters of **'Political Science'** want to develop the study of politics as an independent subject so that its interpretation wouldn't be dependent on the description of religious assumptions, supernatural facts or mythologies and legendries. They give the fact that the study of politics should be done with the aim of finding the facts as physics and biology and establishing the correlation among them, i.e., under it, the general rules about political facts should be represented so that the real politics could be explained on that basis. As physics explains the thing why rain falls, or why the rainbow is seen sometimes in the sky, similarly political science should explain why are governments proved as stable or unstable, why do people vote for few special political parties, or why is the military rule established on removing the constitutional government?

*Notes* Correlation is that relation between any two elements that there comes a definite change in the other on changing in any one and some conclusions can be found about the nature and quantity of this change.

## What is Scientific Method?

The use of scientific method is very important for the scientific study of politics. In short, this procedure is followed under **Scientific Method:**

a. **Observation—**It means that we should investigate the facts from our sense organs (Eyes, Nose, Ears, Tongue and Skin). For this the help of few instruments can be taken, but the things which are out of reach of our sense organs, should not be considered. Therefore, we should only concern about empirical subjects; should not give the concentration on Supernatural o=90-r Transcendental subjects. For example, any happening can't be considered with the assumption of god's desire, divine miracle, the effect of planets and stars or the return of the doings of someone's last birth.

b. **Generalization—**It means that we based on our observations, should find the mutual relation or correlation among different facts and express it in the form of general rules—especially in the form of cause and effect relationship. As far as possible, these relations should be expressed as such quantities which can be reliable measured. Apparently, **to express the qualitative statement in the form of quantitative statements is the most important step of scientific method.**

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## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. Any systematic study of politics is given the name of ..... .
2. The concept of state is based on ..... method.
3. ..... is considered under Political Economy.
4. The supporters of 'Political Science' want to develop the study of politics as an independent subject.

There are two main methods of generalization:

1. **Inductive Method—** Under it, we move 'from particular to general' i.e., after observing the similar things, we establish the laws; and
2. **Deductive Method—** Under it, we move 'from general to particular' i.e., we think any general law based on general experience; then accept or reject it on observation basis. It is very must that the general law should be used everywhere and can be verified by the experiment. If the general rule is not cleared from the observation of new fact, it is would be mandatory to revise it.

   a. **Explanation—** It means to focus on the causes of presented event, situation or tendency. It might be that the correlation of few elements is coincidence only. It also might be that we get divert from the way of facts, and understand the work as cause or cause as work, as the warning is already given: therefore on explanation level, only reasonable correlation is considered and is clarified by the reason. Subjectively, our general rules and its exceptional are proved as useful after coming on explanation level.

   b. **Prediction and Prescription—** It means that we can predict the result based on perfect general rule on having a new situation or keeping in mind the known facts, and can advise the perfect solution to complete the definite target – as to increase the work efficiency, stability and satisfaction etc. But, to determine the aim by itself is not the part of scientific procedure.

## Difficulties in the Application of Scientific Method in the Study of Politics

Can we use the scientific method perfectly in political science also as in Physics or Chemistry? **Political Science is a Social Science.** We should not forget that **the precision in social sciences can't be expected as in Natural Sciences.** It has **many causes.** We observe the natural phenomena in natural sciences, which is operated from the immutable laws of nature. But in Social Sciences, the human behaviours are observed which are not regulated by the external laws as physical world. Human is a thinking creature; his personal and social preferences cause the difference in his behaviour. Second, social procedures can't be deeply observed as physical processes, because every social process is the part of any detailed process—it would not be possible to see it after differentiating from it. Then, the patterns of human relations are changed with the country and time and (as pure oxygen or pure sulphur) not any pattern is found in pure form. Besides it, the presence of observers affects the behaviour of observed persons from which there enter a barrier in its true observation. On the other hand, the observer itself, because of his biasness, can concentrate more or less from its need on some facts of any event. Third, the techniques and the tools of observing the social events are continuously developing, then also they can't be developed as the techniques and tools using in natural sciences. Finally, social organization is not rigid and unchangeable as physical world; therefore the society—scientist is not only satisfied from exploring the facts but is also, according to his assumptions and vision, ready to give advice for the development in social organization, and so this defines the boundary of a scientist. The desire of

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transformation of social organization is very sharp in political science cases. There the use of scientific method in it becomes more difficult.

But it doesn't mean that there is no possibility of use of scientific method in social science areas. There is no scope of establishing the explanatory laws under sociology and political science in social science areas as in economics. Then also few examples of explanatory laws can be given in the sociology and political science areas. One example is the theory of **Karl Marx (1818–83)** that any social change is the result of class struggle and class struggle itself is the result of forces of production i.e., when the means of production and the labour power used in it become more developed, then the social change is inevitable.

Second example is the 'Iron law of oligarchy' of **Robert Michaels (1876–1936).** According to it, on establishing any type of human organization, its control comes under a small group and this thing is also applied on democratic system. Third example is the general rule of **Sir Hennery Main (1822–88)** that the legal systems of developing societies are moving towards contract with stable status. One more example of the political science field would be that the multiparty system gives birth to unstable government which comparative stable government is produced by two-party system. These all rules are presented as such hypotheses, which can be verified from the natural science manner.

Over all, to explain the political behaviour, we can find such rules, which would be reliable, and universally acceptable as scientific rules. Then, at the time of presenting the social reconstruction policy, we can take the help from other social sciences such as an engineer takes the help from the natural sciences.

## 1.4 Nature of Political Philosophy

### Political Philosophy is Concerned with Facts as well as Values

To indicate the difference between Political Science and Political–Philosophy, we can say that **the Political Science is concerned with real or facts, while Political–Philosophy is concerned with ideals, norms and values as well as facts.** In other words, Political Science finds what does human do in political situations; Political–Philosophy determines what persons do in such situations and what they should do? For example, ancient Greek philosopher **Plato after describing the mistakes of politics of his era,** had demonstrated the ideal state-system for **establishment of justice**. Therefore, under political – Philosophy, we after observing the facts, criticize the facts using our discretion about 'good and evil' and 'right and wrong' and present the programme of new system for moulding the real with ideal. Therefore, **Political–Philosophy is concerned with 'facts' and 'values' both.** The simultaneous subsistence of these both is really a difficult thing. **The main problem arises there when any philosopher forgets to differentiate between explanation and advocacy even on combining facts and values with each other.**

Again, the traditional political–Philosophers are not so active about the facts exploration that is demanded under the today's Political Science. Old philosophers didn't have the perfect tools for observing the facts and they were also unknown about modern statistical techniques. Many imaginary things have also come with description of facts in their creations. For example, **Nicolo McKiawelli (**1469–1527**), Tomous Hobbs (**1588–1679**)** and **John Lock (**1632–1704**)** have presented their assumptions about human nature based on their limited experiences. In this, more focus is given on 'good - bad' rather than 'true - false'. Such assumptions can't be checked on science criterion. There these assumptions are not investigated during the exploration of human—nature under modern psychology. Again **Hobbs** and **Lock**, before the organization of civil society, have described the state of nature which is totally imaginary and therefore these both descriptions are different from each other. On the other side, when we get the knowledge of social life before the establishment of civil society on internal evidences bases under modern social anthropology then there is no scope of such contradictions as

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found in the descriptions of **Hobbs** and **Lock**. **Under scientific knowledge**, any description is given on observation and evidence basis. Here, **when any description of any event is accepted, then the old descriptions are rejected, but under political–philosophy many explanations and assumptions can be circulated simultaneously.**

Under political–philosophy, why can many explanations and assumptions can be circulated simultaneously? The main cause of it is that **the situation of which Political–Philosophy wants to explain, are concerned with the needs, desires and aims of human life. They neither can be found out nor can be investigated.** The needs and desire of human life can be the subject of subjective judgement and group preference. Therefore, it would be useless to find such uniformity in it which is found in a scientific rule. The debate can be done on rational basis of these assumptions, but none of these can be considered as finally permissible. If it is seen then **human freedom theory demands that human community should get the chances of continuous thinking and rethinking about their objectives. As the human knowledge spreads, his experience is differentiated, and new consciousness arises in it, similarly the new assumptions can be found out from leaving many of old assumptions. The tradition of political – Philosophy naturally helps it in this work.**

## Political—Philosophy Facilitates the Clarification of Concepts

Where the value exploration is the indicator of critical functions of political–philosophy, there the clarification of concepts indicates its intellectual function.

The creation of concepts is a must for systematic study of any subject. **Concept is such a device or a abstract principle with the help of which we can combine the views of deep subject with each other or can make a definite approach about it.** Let's present the arguments or preferences in any definite mean. Therefore, **the concepts are majorly used in the fields of Natural Science and Social Science both.**

But **the difference of two kinds between the concepts used in the fields of Science and Philosophy** is found – (a) the creation of concept used in science should be done on empirical basis, so that it could be presented as the possible quantity or equation. On the other side, we can also create the concept on the transcendental basis under philosophy. For example, the concepts of temperature or chemical change are concerned with empirical basis and these can be presented as quantity and equation respectively. But in the field of philosophy, we can use the concepts of natural law, natural right or human dignity which are based on transcendental concept; and (b) we can't use the concepts of value judgement under the field of science, but under philosophy, the concepts as right and wrong, good and evil etc. are majorly used under philosophy.

Political–philosophy is the field in which the concepts of social and political life of human are majorly used. It can be related to the three functions of Political Theory, i.e., description, criticism and reconstruction.

**For the development of knowledge, it is a must that the concepts are used in concept and definite mean**, but many concepts in the initial stage of knowledge are very unclear. For example, the concepts of authority, social class, justice, liberty and democracy are initially seemed so confusing and general that it is very difficult to mean it truly. These words are used in general meaning in general language, but after coming in the field of Political Theory it becomes very must to make the technical meaning of these constant so that these could be presented as definite concepts. As **Shelder S. Wallin** has written under his famous creation, Politics and Vision (1960)', "This nature is found at place to place that the words and perceptions we use during the discussion about political subjects, the same words and perceptions we start to use during describing the non–political events also. The terminology of Mathematics and Natural Science is used in limited technical references. On the other hand, 'authority of father', 'authority of church' and 'authority of parliament' are majorly used under political discussions." Therefore, when we use any word of general language for indicating

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any concept under political discussions then it would be very necessary to **make its definition mean stable. Political–philosophy specially helps us in making this mean stable and clear.**

**D. D. Rafeel** has described the **three objectives of 'clarification of concepts'** on discussing the functions of political–Philosophy under his famous creation 'Problems of Political–Philosophy (1976)'. These are:

**Analysis –** The analysis of a concept means that their elements are cleared on giving its definition. For example, when we give the definition of sovereignty in the form of supreme legal authority then its three elements are indicated by it, i.e., it is a type of authority, it is concerned with legal field and is supreme in its field.

**Synthesis –** It means that representing the mutual related concepts, the legal relationship between them should be cleared. For example, when we can say that the obligation concept is also added with the concept of rights (or both are the two sides of a coin), then we indicate the mutual relationship between both.

**Improvement –** It means that when a word is being used in many references then we advise so definition of experiment of it that it could be made more reliable and systematic. For example, we can say that the concept of sovereignty in the reference of state should only be used for indicating its legal authority—not for indicating the coercive power, then we develop or improve its definition with this manner that its thinking field could be truly indicated and could stop its confusing uses.

So political–philosophy delivers the perfect help in the field of creation, use and explanation of concepts related to study of politics. In short, we take the help from Political Science for authentic description of the facts under the field of political–philosophy and go under the shelter of political–philosophy with the aim of getting perfect insight for criticism and reconstruction. Therefore, it becomes very important to combine the entire knowledge of Political Theory got from both these sources.

## Why is it studied?

In today's era, the terminology of 'Political Theory' is used very broadly. On one side, it is investigated under it how a government works, i.e., the construction of political institutions and its related person's behaviour is investigated in it. This study comes under **'Political Science'** broadly. On the other side, we consider about the government objectives and the ways to achieve it under it. This study comes under **'political–philosophy'** broadly. For testing the relevance and significance of Political Theory, it would be perfect to think over its both aspects, i.e., Political Science and political–philosophy.

Politics plays an important role in our life. When we analyze the political problems from scientific method then we get the sufficient help to understand and solve it. For example, as we get the knowledge about earthquake from geology and about health and diseases from medical science, similarly we get the knowledge about the causes of conflicts and violence in political life and learn the way to stop them. Therefore, **the significance of Political Science is accepted everywhere.** On other side, we get the knowledge about the views circulated from era-epoch. Generally, many types of instructions about the aim of human life and the ways of its supply are found in it. So many contradictions are four in it that it seemed very difficult to find any conclusion. Therefore, **sometimes the significance is questioned** and is made the question of the significance of Political Theory. The objections, which are raised in presented reference, after investigating those, we can decide the significance of Political Theory.

## Sources of Inspiration for Revolutions in Our History

Few people consider the Political Theory as the source of inspiration of such revolutions which makes our life unsystematic on destroying the well-maintained system. On keeping in mind these objections **R. G. gatell** has written under 'History of Political Thought (1949)' that –

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"Political Theory is blamed that from the behavioural results approach, it is not only proved as sterilized as unproductive land but it is also destructive for real politics." **Barf** had said that one definite characteristic of disarrangement of state is that the people are ready to take the shelter of principles in it. **Lesley Steffen** believed that political–philosophy is generally the child of any very new revolution or the indication of forthcoming revolution.

*Caution* **Donning** had written that when a political system moulds in the form of political – philosophy then this condition is generally the indication of death for that system.

**Gattle** has warned that with the change of time, **the theories which have lost their importance, mostly become a barrier in the way of development.** People having the undeveloped knowledge of these theories, when become ready to die for them only creates problems. **But Gattle** has accepted that **all the Political Theories don't make such situations. In human history, many Political Theories have encouraged such revolutions from which the humanity has perfectly developed.** Whatever development has been done in democracy, individual liberty and international justice, most credit of that can be given to those theoretical doctrines, which are presented by the long series of talented thinkers.

## Encouragement to Mutual Respect and Toleration

Sometimes it is blamed that political–philosophy also ignores the realty so there is not any chance to adopt it in behaviour. There is doubt that Political Theory is concerned with very complex problems; many of these can indicate the main natures—can't represent the senseless rules. Then, it also doesn't give us the answers of debated subjects. What are the rights of a person, justice of a person or how would be the best system—No such answers can be presented of these questions which would be finally permissible or acceptable.

Political Theory can encourage many people for debating and discussing so that they could try to understand the approaches of each other. It is not necessary that they become agree on a thing. But **on establishing a mutual debate, the nature of tolerance, respect and good faith is encouraged in their mind** and this feeling makes the study of Political Theory significant. The holders of Political Theory reject their prejudices on establishing a debate among them and adopt the way of mutual help for seeking the truth.

## Definition of Terminology and Clarification of Concepts

The terminology which is used in political discussions and political arguments, to determine the true meaning of that terminology is main function of Political Theory. For example, **liberty, equality, justice, authority, democracy, nationality** etc. are number of the words, which are many times used colloquially, in papers, and magazines, critical creations. The different ideologies supporters can use these words in different meaning. **Under Political Theory, it is tried to make meanings of these words constant which are equally acceptable to different approach persons, and they could establish mutual debate on its basis.** Few people use it so cleverly that they hide the weak part of their argument or selfish and demagogues leaders divert the public on playing with their sentiments with the help of these words, until the universally acceptable meaning become constant. Many autocrats manage to legimitate their rule with fake explaining of these words, as **Mussolini** (1883–1945) had done in Italy. **Political Theory stops their misuse on truly determining the meaning of these words.**

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*Notes* The political leader who tries to arrange the support of public on encouraging their sentiments, not on giving sound arguments, is called Public activator leader.

Political Theory investigates the foundations of authority on clarifying the true meaning of political terminologies and its concepts; finds out the injustice contained in current or proposed management and gives the suggestions to remove it or at least make the debate start on this topic from which we get further help in solution of this problem.

Sometimes it seems that not very big result is found from this entire labour. **D. D. Rafeel** has written under his famous creation 'Problems of Political – Philosophy (1976)' that **the work of clarification of concepts is just like as cleaning the house**. Not any new thing is constructed by it. In it, we only remove the dust and garbage from the house so that the house becomes clean, but this work is not so that we become free on dong the entire work at once only. On continue living, the house becomes dirty again after few days of its cleaning. Therefore, it becomes necessary to clean it regularly.

On moving further on the drama of 'cleaning the house', **Rafeel** has written that as the developed tools of cleaning are invented, and then our working efficiency is increased. For example, previously, a normal broom was used for it, but now 'vacuum cleaner' has come which cleans very soon and very well. Similarly, in philosophy studies, when our argument system is developed, then our concepts are also cleared.

*Caution* We should expect from philosophy study that we'll get the final solution of our problems from it. We can only expect from it that we'll get the accurate manner of thinking and understanding from it and so our labour will be meaningful.

## Interpretation of History and Social Reconstruction

We are helped in explaining the history from the study of Political Theory. We get the knowledge of intellectual atmosphere of that era from Political Theory circulated on certain era and get the knowledge of the views concerned with political institutions and political movements. For example, political thoughts of **Plato** (428–348BC), we get the indication about the crises of Athens and other Greek states and get the knowledge about before revolution the condition of people, their thinking and expectations from the thought of **Russo** (1712–78).

**The knowledge of past political thinking gives us the help in understanding the current politics and international relationships**. Many of our current problems are born from the conditions of our past. In today's era, we use many of the theories, which are developed from past situations. For example, the government of the USA (United States of America) is regulated from the principle of 'Separation of Powers' even now; The British Government follows the principle of 'Rule of Law' even now and the principle of 'Balance of Powers' is even now considered as an important element of international politics. These all principles are the gifts of past thinking.

Our present is the link between our past and future. How will our future be? This question mostly makes us worried. Two assumptions are mainly circulated about the pattern of political change. According to first assumption, government is never made by human likings but it is the result of

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natural powers of historical development. **Hegel** (1770–1831) and **Marx** (1818–83) are the supporters of this assumption. These thinkers wanted to understand the natural process and rules of historical development so that human community, on recognizing its role in development, could accelerate its speed. These thinkers give special reference to change. As **Karl Marx** has said, "Philosophers have so far interpreted the world; the point is to change it."

According to second assumption, government is the result of vision of people itself. With this approach, Political Theory gives us an important tool to establish the best government system. According to **Karl Manhime** (1893–1947), social science shows us the way of social reconstruction. According to this argue, as human, on getting the knowledge of natural powers, has used them in constructing way and has constructed an awesome culture, similarly on getting the knowledge of social powers, we can encourage the human development. Political Theory will be an important part of this knowledge.

*Task* Express your views on explanation of History and Social Reconstruction.

## Excellent Intellectual Effort

The political thinking is also an intellectual achievement as the other forms of philosophical thinking. Therefore, it is valuable itself. Literate people want to understand the nature of that authority, under which they pass their life. They want to increase their vision about the best system of political life. **Plato, Aristo, Aquinock, Lock, Russo, Kant** and **Mill** etc. great talented philosophers have shown some interest in political–philosophy that is the proof of this thing that it is an important intellectual effort. **As talented people, on knowing the detail of literature, music and art, make their life more interesting, similarly on getting the knowledge of political–philosophy they want to develop their social consciousness.**

**If the talented class of society will not take interest in Political Theory then the general life can be damaged heavily. David held** has written under the preface of his important creation 'Political Theory Today (1991)' – "There is no doubt in that the overall works included with the study of Political Theory are laborious, but if it will be totally ignored then it would be always a danger that politics will be under the hands of mad, selfish and politics loving people. It is not mandatory that we get the best life on giving full concentration on these works, but we can bitterly understand at least the nature of contemporary political communities, their different power centres, places of internal conflicts and the mutual relations among them."

## Construction and Testing of Political Arguments

To solve our political problems, we have to decide about human nature, the authorities and responsibilities of citizens and the principles of justice many times. If we'll start to think over these type of questions then it would become more difficult. We get the knowledge from the study of Political Theory how the past great philosophers have shown their views on these questions. We get more help in reaching the conclusion on that basis. The views which are presented on the problem of government objectives and the ways of its fulfilment by the political–philosophers of many countries and eras, on investigating them we can construct such public policy that would be perfect for contemporary society.

Many difficult problems are presented in front of all the countries in today's era. For solving it, though we couldn't get the perfect help from traditional knowledge, but we can necessarily get few visions from them. Therefore, the study of Political Theory is even today considered as very useful and significant.

## Self Assessment

**Notes**

**State whether the following statements are True/False:**

5. Under deductive Method, we move 'From general to particular'.
6. In today's era, the terminology of 'Political Theory' is used in the narrow sense.
7. Our present is the link between our past and future.
8. The political thinking is also an intellectual achievement as the philosopher thinking.

## 1.5 Debate on the Decline of Political Theory

In the decade of AD 1950, the debate had arisen in the Political–Scientists that whether there is any future of Political Theory in present era or not?

In AD 1953, an American Political–Scientist **David Easton (1917 )** has claimed under his famous creation 'The Political System–An enquiry into the State of Political Science' that Traditional Political Theory is based on more speculation. There is too lack of deep observation of real politics; therefore, **to establish the Political Theory on scientific basis, it is mandatory to make it free from the tradition of history of mutually classics and political thoughts. Easton** wrote that Traditional Political Theory is the yield of that destruction which is the quality of history of past eras. Political thinking got the chance to arise because of this destruction in Eastern Greek, Italy of 15$^{th}$ century, England of 16$^{th}$ and 17$^{th}$ century and France of 18$^{th}$ century. There is not any relevance of it in contemporary society.

**Easton** has also written that no other great philosopher was born after **Marx** (1818–83) and **John Stuart Mill** (1806–73); therefore **What does it mean to attach with old thoughts as refugees. Easton** argued that Economists and Sociologists have presented the systematic study of real behaviour of a person, but the political- scientists are lagging in these cases. They had even not developed the perfect equipment–tools for explaining the rise and existence of Fascism and Communism. Then, Economists, Sociologists and Psychologists have played active role in decision-making process during Second World War (1939–45), but none asked about political–scientists. Therefore, **Easton advised the political–scientists that they should construct a behavioural political science with other social scientists** so that they could also get their perfect place in decision process.

**Easton** argued that the constructions of values are given special care under traditional Political Theory, but **there is no need of analysis of values in Modern Political Science.** Values give the indication of individual or group references, which take birth in few particular social situations and always included with same social situations. Contemporary society will develop the preferences perfect for itself, political–scientists should contribute in the construction of Causal Theory in the field of Political Behaviour only.

In any case, **Easton changed his approach after 1 ½ decade.** Under the presidential explanation of American Political Science Association in 1969 AD, **Easton announced the 'Post-behaviour Revolution' on giving a new turn to Behavioural Revolution of Political Science.** Subjectively, **Easton** demanded to give Political Science the form of Applied Science arising from Pure Science **and focused on the use on Scientific Research in the solution of difficult problems of contemporary society.** The meaning is that **Easton** recognized the trouble clouded on contemporary society and experienced the need of resurgence of Political Theory for its solution.

## Behavioural Revolution

It is that new nature of study of Political Science, which started in the decade of AD 1950. The main objective of it was that Political Science should divert its mind from legal formal framework of circulated institutions to the behaviour of those persons and actors who play the different roles in political fields.

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For example, more concentration should be given on the behaviour of MLA's, ministers, officials, judges, voters, welfare societies, elites, political parties, the workers of social revolutions and leaders etc. and find out the elements effecting these behaviours.

## Post–Behaviourism

In the field of Political Science, it was the revolution which started from the calling of **David Easton** (1917) in AD 1969. No relaxation is given in the use of scientific method for the study of political behaviour in it, but it demands for making the scientific knowledge as the tool of solution of social problems. Therefore, it focuses on re-establishment of relationship with the values.

The conflict, which was arisen about the reduction or fall of Political Theory in the decade of AD 1950, many of the thinkers have presented their views in that reference. **Alfred Cobbon** argued under the published text in 'Political Science Quarterly' in AD 1953, **that there is any reference of Political Theory among neither Capitalist systems nor Communism system.** Capitalism systems are based on the view of liberal democracy, but not any theorist of democracy is existing in today's era. Then, a big bureaucracy and military machine is dominated on the systems because of which there is not any role of Political Theory in it. On the other side, there is the domination of a new type of party organization and small oligarchy on communism systems. Therefore, there is no reference of Political Theory in it also.

**Cobbon** argued that **Hegel and Marx were interested in a small part of nature. Hegel** was concerned with territorial state; **Marx** was concerned with proletariat class. Both of them wanted to find the nature of human in their own references, but the contemporary politics is concerned with so formal groups and big community that it is not possible to analyze or direct it with the help of the thinking framework of **Hegel** or **Marx.** Besides it, **logical positivists have removed the values from their thinking area on concentrating their mind on facts.** Therefore, they have also contributed in the fall of Political Theory. Despite of all these changes, **Cobbon showed the expectation that the entire play has not over. Political Science has to answer the questions for which answering the logical system of other social sciences are failed.** Subjectively, Political Science has to develop the standards of criteria of judicious decision. The existence of Political Science will be real from these only.

## Positivism

It was a philosopher's revolution of Europe of 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century, which put this assumption that the true explanation of world events can only be done on facts and laws basis, not on intangible thinking or imagination basis. Therefore, to get the trustworthy knowledge about any subject, we should use the Empirical Method only.

## Logical Positivism

It is that theory which was presented by the theorists of 'Vienna Circle' in the starting decades of 20$^{th}$ century. They gave the logic that the trustworthy and evidential knowledge can be found only from Empirical Method. The value related questions are not the subjects of scientific knowledge. It is not possible to get the trustworthy knowledge about them. Therefore, all the questions related to values should be removed from our exploration area.

While **Seemor Martin Lypset gave** this logic in his famous creation 'Political Man' in AD 1959 that **The perfect values for contemporary society are pre-decided.** The old investigation of good society in the United States of America (USA) has completed now because we have got it. **The active face of current democracy is the nearest expression of that society. Therefore, the further debate on this topic is useless.** So **Lypset** also questioned on the reality of Political Theory.

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If it is seen then **the thinkers claiming for fall of Political Theory were defending to break the relation with the philosopher tradition of Political Inquiry for converting the study of politics in scientific form, but the thinkers favouring the political–philosophy never accepted their this claim.**

**Leo Straus**, focusing on the importance of political–philosophy, **has given this logic that the new science of politics is the characteristic of its fall.** Whatever ignorance of challenges of normative issues, it has done on adopting the positive view; it indicates the general political crises of western world. **Straus wrote that the Empirical Theory of Politics gives the education of equality of all values;** it doesn't believe that few thoughts are naturally higher levels and few of are lower levels; he also doesn't consider that there is an elementary difference between formal persons and wild animals. **So unknowingly, it commits a mistake to pour the clean water in the gutter.**

On continuing this debate, **Dante Germino,** under the creation 'Beyond Ideology – The Revival of Political Theory' published in 1967 AD, **has stated that there were two causes of fall of Political Theory in most of 19th century and starting of 20th century – (1)** The rise of **Positivism** which keeps the values beyond in the craze of science; and **(2) The primacy of political thoughts**, the fully developed form of which came in front as Marxism. But the situation has been changed now. **Many contemporary thinkers had given a new direction to political thinking so that the resurgence of Political Theory has encouraged.** Among all these thinkers, the name of **Michel Ocshot, Hanna Arrant, Bartrawn the juvenile, Leo Straus and Erick Voegalin** are particularly remarkable. Further **Christian Bay, Herbart Marquise, John Rolls, C. B. McPherson, Yurgen Heber Mass, Alasdair Mankitire and Michel Walzer** etc. made the tradition of political–philosophy stable from their important texts.

## Ideology

The set of those ideas and assumptions on which basis it is tried to prove any current or proposed system perfect. Ideology is the subject of faith; it doesn't encourage the reasoning. It encourages the people to act. Its encouraged people can be ready to a heavy devote for saving the circulated new system or establishment of circulated new system. **Germino** gave the logic that **to understand the new role of Political Theory; We should recognize it in the form of political–philosophy. It is the criticizing study of the theories of moulding the social existence of human in true form.** Therefore, it is concerned with the questions of right or wrong. It is not a Behavioural Science in which everything is left on bringing that on the sense – experience level; it is also not the ideology based on someone's opinionated ideology. In this that insight also comes with the knowledge of facts under which this knowledge is got. It is concerned with those infinite problems of human, which he has to face during his social existence. **Withdrawal doesn't mean to moral neutrality**. No political philosopher can be indifferent about the political conflict of his time, as the behaviourists think.

**Germino** believes that **the Political Theory can't rise with positivism which is not concerned with critical view. The distance between the traditional and behavioural views of Political Theory is so long that there is no possibility to merge them.** In short, behavioural political science, concentrating on facts, claims about the indifference about the values and critical view while the main objective of traditional political–philosophy presents the critical interpretation of political conditions on value basis. **Behavioural Political Science, on stabling the value–neutrality, has broken its relation with essential function of Political Theory.** Therefore, it is very important to resurge the essential function for regeneration of Political Theory. **Germino** gave the logic that **Politics is actually the criticism of Politics. The True Politics – Philosopher is the one who** picks up the gauntlet **'to speak truth to power' as Socrates.**

**Herbart Marquise** (1889-1979) has indicated towards one more difficulty of the demand of scientific in the study of politics and society. **Marquise** has written under his creation 'One–dimensional Man (1964)' that **when we try to convert the language of social science according to the language of natural science, then** it becomes the supporter of status quo. Under this nature, the definition of

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scientific terminology is given in such operations and behaviours which can be observed and measured. Therefore, **there remain no chances of critical vision in scientific language**. For example, at the time of observation of electoral behaviour, when people's participation is estimated on the basis of the number of voters, then there remain no chance to put the question how the current process of election proves the feeling of democracy, or not. **On adopting such a study system, social science doesn't remain the tool of social inquiry, but becomes the tool of social control.**

## 1.6 Summary

- **In the decade of 1970 and after it, the conflict between 'Political Science' and 'Political – Philosophy' was not so furious.** When **David Easton** indicated towards the increasing relationship of Political – Science with social values on the name of 'Post – Behavioural Revolution', then the supporters of Political–Philosophy also not hesitated from checking their assumptions on the base of knowledge of facts. Here, **Carl Hopper** (1902–94) has not hesitated from concluding about perfect social values on detailed representation of scientific method. **John Rolls** (1921–2002) has introduced his interest in adopting the empirical method to find the judicial laws. **C. B. McPherson** (1911–87), on criticizing the empirical system of **Joseph Schumpeter** and **Robert Doll**, has presented the radical theory of democracy. **Herbart Marquise** and **Yurgen Heber Mass** (1929) on criticizing the contemporary capitalism have introduced the deep insight of empirical observation. Now it is accepted that **Political Science helps us in sophisticating our tools as social and natural sciences, but to find the tools, we'll have to go under the shelter of political–philosophy**. Ends and instruments are mutually dependent; therefore **Political Science and political–philosophy play the role of mutual complementary.**
- The infinite end of human society can be expressed in the general terminology as 'The Truth, The Good and The Beautiful' and in abstract objectives as 'Freedom Equality and Justice', but to convert them in behaviour form every generation will have to deep study and analysis to its contemporary conditions. For example, with the new achievements of technological development, new revolution of mass media, new manners of trading, new policies of elites, the increasing financial and factual helplessness with increasing ambitions of public, the rethinking on real ends and instruments can become very important. **The old logics and the old guides will have to be investigated repeatedly in the reference of new situations.** When we, on getting the knowledge about new facts, don't hesitate in the re-explanation of past, then how can a law for present and future is accepted permanently? Therefore, **Political Science and political philosophy are the subjects of perennial pursuit. Their utility will never be down.** The fall in any of these can make a big problem for us, and it will be the result of our own carelessness.

## 1.7 Keywords

- **Synthesis:** Combination, Blending
- **Refinement:** Few change, research for development
- **Concept:** The face of an abstracted perception

## 1.8 Review Questions

1. What do you mean by Politics? Explain.
2. Explain the nature and scope of Political Theory.
3. Explain the nature of Political Philosophy.

**Notes**

4. What is the debate on the decline of Political Theory? Explain.
5. Why is the Political Theory studied?

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Political Science | 2. Speculative | 3. Property | 4. Independent |
| 5. True | 6. False | 7. True | 8. True |

## 1.9 Further Readings

*Books*

1. **Principles of Political Science—***Shailendra Sengar, Atlantic Publishers.*
2. **Principles of Modern Political Science—***Sterling Publishers.*
3. **Principles of Political Science—***B. K. Tiwari, D. K. Publishers.*
4. **Principles of Political Science—***Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

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# Unit 2: Democracy

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the meaning of Democracy.
- Understand the characteristic of Democracy.
- Explain the justifications and shortcomings of Democracy.

## Introduction

In today's era the idea of democracy is universally recognized. Liberal and socialist both appreciate 'democracy'. Their disagreement is over this issue that what are the suitable organizations for establishing the 'Democracy' in right and true mean? 'Guided Democracy' and 'People's Democracy' arrangements are being inspired at many places in socialist and new countries. In most of the dictatorship, the power attempts to get the 'popular support' by any way like encouraging religious feelings and by calling on the national interest. The democracy hypocrisy started for establishing the legitimacy within all these arrangements, such arrangements are not stood up on criterion of democracy on the degree of behaviour.

## 2.1 Meaning of Democracy

Right from plato to till today 'Democracy' is the subject of discussion in Political science. The 'Democracy' word is generated from the Greek word 'Demos' which means 'Masses'. 'Cracy' word

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is added with it that means, 'rule' or 'government'. So the meaning of 'Democracy' is 'Masses' or the governance of 'public'. The definition of **Abraham Lincoln (**1809–65**)** is most nearly to its meaning**.** According to him, democracy is the governance of people," by the people, for the people."

The meaning of **James Braise** definition is also similar with it. In the words of **Braise**, "Democracy word has been used at the time of Herodotus for giving the signals of such ruling systems in that the regulatory authority of state are not kept in the hand of some special divisions, but contained in all members of community." The meaning of these definitions is that **the last formula of authority and power are kept in the hand of masses in democratic system because public policy is made and applied by the objective of public interest.** The representative of masses can continue that governance, but they will have to gain again faith of masses after a certain time period.

## Classical Theory of Democracy

**Plato** and **Aristotle** saw active form of democracy in some old Yunani cities—especially in Athens. Its main characteristics were: (a) Equal participation of all Freemen in public matters of city-state (Police); (b) Free discussion after reaching public decision; and (c) more respect for prevailing process and the law of community. Yunan was proud on the law related to prevailing customs, and they considered it greater from 'Arbitrary Rule' which prevailed in 'savage race'.

## Freemen

The residents of old Yunani city state which got the authority of citizen, they were not more than 10%. Slaves, Aliens and women were involved in remaining population which did'nt have any citizen authority.

But that democratic form prevailed in old Yunani city-state, which cannot be considered as the idle government system. **Plato** criticized the democracy on the base that masses are not such educated that they can choose the 'best government and best wise policy'. Eloquent politicians collect the vote of masses to impress them within democracy and get public level. But these people are always selfish and ineligible, they guide the state towards downfall. Then **Aristotle** recognized it as 'Rules of many'. These 'many persons' were the poor, uneducated and indelicate which were disqualified. **Aristotle** presented the such classifications of state on the basis of his detailed study, in which government systems were kept in two detailed divisions 'Normal' and 'Perverted'. Here democracy presented a corrupt government system. **Aristotle** could'nt measure such societies in which all members are rational or respected equally. It was belief of **Aristotle** that here some people are great, noble, prosperous, wise and rational in society, but many people are zero in these qualities.

High quality government of noble, prosperous and wise people was called oligarchy and aristocracy by Aristotle. But when these people use their power in selfishness in the absence of any hook then their government changes into oligarchy that was the government of Scoundrel level. To find the idle and stable government, **Aristotle** reached on that conclusion that it should be the aristocracy and democracy. He gave it the name 'Mixed Constitution' in which authority will be in the hand of noble people but the acceptance of masses will be received for the policy of government. **Aristotle** writes that masses can be impaired as two different people, but publicly they are not bad, as little water gets dirty soon, but more water take in getting dirty. Noble people can be expert to running government, but how should be government- masses can suggest more about that, it is not mandatory to being a good cook for checking the food, it is not mandatory to be good waver to check the nice clothes. It is not mandatory to be an artist to judge the nice art, so like that it is not mandatory being the eligibility of a government for the good government. So **Aristotle** has not inspired the 'Democracy', but supported for great place in idle government system.

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## Modern Notion of Democracy

Modern perception of democracy is the gift of modern era. Nearly from 16th century such changes in sociological, economical, religious and cultural life of world started in which mid era of feudal system reduced or 'person' and 'people' got new prosperity every where. English thinker **John Lack** expressed that idea in the occasion **Glorious revolution** of England (1688) in 17th century that person had some **natural rights** which are not swiped by any one; there was a special place of right to life, liberty and property. For the safety of these rights law, government and state organisations are established. **Lack** suggested the logic that people establish state by the mutual consent, and they are not relaxed after establishing the ruling-system but monitor the work of government. They are as the paterfamilias which are appointed a sentinel for the security of state and now continuously seen that the Sentinel did not have sleep. Government should be got continuous can sent from resident for using his power and should prove that he is handling his obligation properly. Then, during the last of 18th century, the Promoter of **America Freedom (1776)** and **France Revolution (1789**) presented that principle to challenge the special authority of old prosperous division that every person is free and equal from birth. As an impact of these ideas–the commom man came out of their couch–shells of being simple obedient masses with no analytical brains of their own—to be cilizens of a higher state, who choose their own leaders or rules and also have a strict eye on their working process, so as to access the true meaning of the term democracy.

Here some modern writers expressed the ancient concept of democracy in their own way. Among them the name of **A. V. Daisy** from England (1835–1922) and **James Braise** are important. **Daisy** considers such government-system of democracy within his work 'Law and Public opinion in England during the 19th century' (1905) in that legislation is decided by majority. According to him, it will be dissilience to apply such laws which are not liked by masses. **Daisy** described the mutual relation between legislation and public-majority. But also pointed out those specific laws that are the gift of any specific historical setting. Since public interest are not similar in democracy, so in them similar laws are not made.

**James Braise** described democracy mainly as government system within his two work 'the American Common wealth' (American Democracy) (1893) and 'Modern Democracy' (modern democracy) (1921). According to him democracy is the government of masses in which sovereign will show by the votes". Briefly it is the "government of Majority". **Braise** writes that if we compare the qualities and drawbacks of democracy with other ruling-system qualities and drawbacks then the justification of democracy will be proved. According to **Braise**, the criterion of any government is 'public interest'. So at the time of judging any government-system it should be noticed that how it is able and skilled to provide help to business of resident, arrange the public matters, provide justice and provide protection from internal and external enemy? History witneses that these all work is done by government and other government systems. But the other extra quality of democracy is that it inspires people for self-education, because when people participate in government activity then the field of their sight and interest are very huge. It is not the 'government of masses'. Masses can use their authority in democracy by two types: (a) they decide such objects, which are supplied by them to government; and (b) they monitored that person in which hand they assign the responsibility of administration.

**Braise** is not claimed on that thing that democracy is the solution of all evils. But he gives more importance in comparison to other government-systems, because it raises the level of government upward. It is neither realized the imagination of world –brotherhood nor raises them dignity to free form corruption of politics, but it provides better government-arrangement in comparison of past.

## Democracy in Practices

'Democracy' established during 19th century in west side on the surface of behaviour. From the beginning this word was signalling representative government in which the election of representatives was on the basis of free competition, but there was only the authority to man for election. In preventive mean, democracy started in 1820 and 1830 in United State Government when many franchise described

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in many states. In 1820 Adult male suffrage applied immediately in France, but till 1871 there parliamentary government is not stated on stable basis. On the other side in Britain parliamentary government was established on permanent basis until 1688, but till 1867 there is not provided suffrage to many residents. The thing to give attention is that only male franchises are approved in all these systems. So starting democracy system was the incomplete expression of the idea of 'democracy' in modern era because they were not based on universal adult franchise. The women suffrage arrangement was started in united state authority from 1919, in England from 1928; in France from 1945 and in Switzerland from 1971 it is approved that all women are eligible for suffrage. So the idea of democracy got whole expression in 20th century in west field.

In today's era the idea of democracy is universally recognized liberal and socialist both appreciate 'Democracy'. Their disagreement is over this issue is that for establishing 'Democracy' in right and true mean what type of and what organisations are eligible. 'Guided Democracy' and 'People's Democracy' arrangements are inspired in many places in Socialist and new countries. In most of the dictatorship, the power attempts to get the 'popular support' by any way like encouraging religious feelings and by calling on the national interest. The democracy hypocrisy started for establishing the legitimacy within all these arrangements, such arrangements are not stood up on criterion of Democracy on the degree of behaviour.

### Guided Democracy

A corrective form of democracy in which consultation is given more importance in place of representation. This idea was kept by the early president of Indonesia, **Sukaran** in 1957. He gave logic that west model of democracy will not be sufficient for such countries in which the level of illiteracy and prosperity are different. Popular ministers within directed democracy take many decisions discussing with representative of different business.

### People's Democracy

That form of democracy which was adopted by socialist country of Europe (Hungary, Poland, east Jermaine, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania) after Second World War (1939–45). Within it all main sources of production were kept in socialist ownership, but for running government, dictatorship of the Proletariat is not established, but small businessmen, farmers and workers with their mutual co-operation run government. Normally, within these arrangements the civil liberties of people are cut.

### Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. …… is the subject of discussion in Political science till **Plato** to today.
2. Aristotle considers the democracy as …… .
3. It will be dissilience to apply such laws in democracy which are not liked by…… .
4. Braise has not claimed that democracy is the ……. of all evils.

## 2.2 Characteristic of Liberal Democracy

### Liberalism

The theory of politics in which on assuming human as a rational being, his independence is permitted as basic principle of theory and interference of state is denied in the economical activity of person.

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*Notes* Democracy is based on believes that abnormal possibility is found in ordinary people.

**—H. I. Frausdic**

Main sector of modern democracy is known as 'kind democracy'. Historically, Liberalism and democracy are generated from different customs. But in modern era, **the normal sector of democracy is nearly connected with Liberalism that in normal language, whenever any other analysis is not connected with 'democracy', until it is considered as the 'Liberal democracy'.** Historical situation is being special in the coincident of Liberalism and democracy. The Liberalism of 17th century encouraged the capitalism in economic life of society, in which the resources of production distribution and exchange centred in the hands of capitalists. In which industrialization and urbanization got on big scale. Resultantly, a big worker division is centered in huge industrial city. The condition of worker division became worse in the competition of open market. But this division became alert for power connected with their huge amount. Then worker-division demanded political authority for recover from their plight. At the end of 19th century Liberalism-capitalist had to give political recognition to masses for the security of their existence in which mainly involves the worker-division people. So Liberalism state adopted slowly-slowly 'universal adult franchise' with 'free market economy'. So the principle of democracy connected with liberalism and generated 'Liberalism Democracy'.

The supporters of liberalism give importance to institutions and procedures of democracy. In any country, there is the availability of democracy or not, to find out this they search that there whether the government is run by these institutions and procedures or not. Their believe is that to make public will as the base of government these institutions and procedures are compulsory. Any other procedure is not fruitful.

The supporters of liberalism democracy accepted these features of democracy.

## More than one Political Party freely Competing for Political Power

In liberalism democracy opportunity is given to different divisions, different approaches and different interests. Therefore, for this more than one political party is needed, in which these political parties preparing alternative programmes can achieve the support of public and getting political authority can give the proof of satisfying public. In this way in those countries in which only one political party has got the political authority. Their rulings cannot be considered as democracy. It is also necessary for liberalism democracy that the competition for authority is done according to certain open process.

## Political Offices Not Confined to any Privileged Class

Political status is got by the support of people in liberalism democracy, not by birth, by custom and by any kind. This specialty of democracy separates it from feudalism, monarchy etc. Every resident is equal in democracy. Any resident according to certain process, fulfiling certain conditions, can be the candidate of that post and getting support of voters he can be the officer of that post. He has to leave his post when he completes his term of office or a certain situation is generated (as breach the legislature) or on giving resignation by himself. The condition of necessary age, education can be kept for any political post, but only on caste, language, gender bases any person cannot disqualify or ineligible for any political post. Some places can be reserved for low caste division for represent them, as Legislature reserved some places for scheduled caste and tribes in India. The profit of reservation

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can only be given for the low division and weak division, so they can get representation in decision-making. This exception is considered similar to the feeling of democracy not against it.

## Periodic Election Based on Universal Adult Franchise

The behavioural manner to run democracy in today's era is representative government. There is no small community as old Yunnan in present era whose citizens can run direct democracy. Citizens select their representative after a certain duration (or if necessary then also before to certain duration) for representative government. The election in democracy should be on the universal adult suffrage basis, means the authority of vote should be all citizens of low age (as low age is 18), whether they are female or male, or connect with any caste, field and language. Voting should be secret so citizens can choose their candidate being fearless. The principle of universal adult suffrage adopted slowly-slowly in Liberalism-democracy, but it is the important condition of democracy. In India after freedom universal adult suffrage started (means starting Indian Constitution of 1950). The election of representative in democracy is for a certain duration so they got opportunity to apply their policy and programs, but they continuously feels that they will again get the believe of public for authority.

## Provision of Civil Liberalism

### *Personal Freedom*

Civil Liberty cannot bind any person without any reason, means he has the permission of unrestricted movements, and without the appropriate process there cannot any physical punishment or cannot make captive.

It is necessary to find the **freedom of thought and expression**, freedom of regulation, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of movement and personal freedom in Liberalism democracy. Citizens are recognized the normal interest on the bases of these freedoms and able to impress the policy of government making their interest group. Democracy is meaningful when government can make the source of co-ordination in mutual apposition of different groups. Besides that, on the bases of citizens freedom, the opportunity of constructive criticism gets to masses and ministers and government and by these criticisms government helpful to get it that how it can make more popular their to heir policy and programmes.

### *Independence of Judiciary*

It is also necessary for the meaning of Liberalism democracy that judiciary is independent from many parts of government mean executive and legislature. There are dominance of politician in executive and legislature in democracy, but judge is appointed by the eligibility and experience and it is difficult to remove the post. Judges can justice fairly and fearlessly because of independence of judiciary. Believes of masses became steadfast in present arrangement by it and the continuity of justice-process is continued in spite of political changes.

### *Conclusion*

Above mentioned quality of Liberalism democracy makes separate identity of it. In some special situation- as in emergency- in some conditions looseness can possible. But this looseness should be temporary basis and on returning the normal situation the institutions of democracy should be again established. It is an important thing that **we should satisfy to show the symptoms only on democracy.**

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It is possible in a developing country such as India that external part of democracy shows perfection, but it is distorted internally, but real competition is between in some powerful and outspoken division as big businessmen, business families, prosperous farmers etc. and these all are ready to source selfishness at the name of sources-interest of public. It is possible that 'vested interests' are tried to raise the feudal culture in public so people supported to **Srimnton**, king, old squire and grantee in election and did not thing about the regenerate the public. Then, it can also possible that any person and division have no boundation to get the political power otherwise political authority is always the legacy of some persons in real behaviour. There are full freedoms of newspaper but big families having monopoly on newspaper and by the hard work of these people are mold public according to their selfishness. Besides that it is also possible that the freedom of expression become fruitless because of the nature of stability of masses, abject poverty, superstition, ignorance and illiteracy. It can also possible that there is independency for judiciary, but some judge kept sympathy fro some special division and so in real meaning social justice is not boosted.

Briefly, external structure of Liberal democracy is not the sufficient certification of real democracy. It is also necessary to see with it that masses should be gets proper opportunity of self-development in it. **True democracy is that in which the possibility of regeneration of helpless and destitute division is very bright.**

## Self Assessment

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

5. True democracy is that in which the possibility of regeneration of helpless and destitute division …….. .

   (a) very bright (b) less
   (c) more (d) none of these.

6. People have the capacity of justice so democracy is …… .

   (a) impossible (b) possible
   (c) necessary (d) unnecessary

7. Principally democracy accepts that ..... will not be possible.

   (a) neglecting voting (b) neglecting government
   (c) neglecting officers (d) none of these

8. Person learnt to respect the feelings and ideas of others by which its …… is raised.

   (a) mental level (b) ethical level
   (c) physical level (d) none of these.

## 2.3 Justification of Democracy

*Notes* The capacity of justice is found in a human-so democracy is possible, but a human has the nature of injustice-so democracy is necessary.

**—Rainald Naibur**

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These are following logic in the favour of democracy-

## Prevention of Misuse of Authority

Where there is government, there is always danger that a person holding power misusing his political authority can cause danger to the public. The solution to escape from this will be that not to give autocratic authority on the hand of political authority, on them public keeps the impedus control. Establishment of democracy is done on keeping this proposal on mind. So democracy accepts that public will not be ignored in it, even the vote of any person will not be ignored. By the way it is not possible to fulfill the desire of every person, but democracy equally sees the opinion of every person. When person's opinion is given importance then their morale increases.**Thoughtful person does not only want skill administration, he also prays for sensitive administration.** Principally democracy is tried to provide a sensitive mechanism. Hawking concept of democracy is like the nervous system that nerve is connected to every person. So the whole sensation is automatically reached to the center-point of that mechanism.

But this should not be forgotten that it is not simple to give a reality form. As it is natural, some outspoken division got more opportunity of expression in democracy. This outspoken division is more alert for their selfishness. They make noise to see the problem on their interest that the danger arises for democracy. In such situations it is necessary to stay active and alert masses.

## Prospects of People's Cooperation in the Task of Administration

It is work of experts to run skilled administration and the responsibility of administration will keep experts within government- system. But these expert will be responsible to plebeian in democracy, so they will come near to life and will take decision by the opinion of people. It is very easy to run administration to get believe of public, **public will also feel happy or more courageous with the feeling of participation in government.** If doctor gets believe of his patient then patient will be well early. It hopes that the relations of expert and plebeian in democracy will be same.

But in today's era the work of administration is becoming harder, the distance between plebeian and their representation are more increased that the use of actual power came in the hand of bureaucracy. So by it the participation of plebeianis negligible in administration.

## Advancement of Public Education through Free Discussion of Public Issues

Democracy is known as the big use of public-education. It generates the interest of public in administrative questions, gives relative information and helps them to make wealthy opinion. The problem of nation is deeply described at the time of election in which the sources of communication are broadly used. All activities of government are point out after election and public gets more opportunity of expression. **People get opportunity to make their opinion about the problems of nation according to the free discussion; the light of knowledge arises.** In the words of **C. D. Burns**, "Whole government-system is an education system, but best education is the self education. So great government-method is the self-government that is the synonyms of democracy."

Whatever, **if the source of advertisement and public relation are in the hand of some people then** misleading will be famous in the name of public-education.

## Extension of Mutual Understanding and Respect

Democracy makes people sublime. In this it is considered that if the achievement of people is the return of government then it will be more costly for them. It inspired the self dependent, self-inspiration and sense obligation. **People learnt to respect the feeling and idea of others in democracy by which their**

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**morale level increases.** By it the characteristic of a person is established and developed the national characteristic. In the words of **Braise,** the dignity of persons is increased to meet the franchise."

But it is also important to note that **whenever the economic inequality will be there in society until near political equality neither it will increase the dignity of person, nor will high their morale.**

## Promotion of Patriotic Sentiment

There are many profits of democracy on feelings level. It increases the feelings of patriotism. When those beliefs generate in the hearts of people that there is own government in country, then **their position increases for country.**

People get opportunity to reach their thing to government in democracy and they are able to impress the viewpoint of government to collect public, so the possibilities of opposition reduce. The idle of democracy is the principle of equality and in true meaning the establishment of equality will finish the main reason of apposition.

One more logic is also given that with increase in the vote of public in democracy the government cannot unheard their demand for more days. So other government-systems have nature to ignore that work of public welfare, immediate attention on that in democracy so the **efficiency increased** it.

Whatever happens, it should not be forgotten that those logics are given in the favour of democracy, they continue to imagine an ideal situation. **It is necessary to see on the surface behaviour that the basic condition of democracy is fulfilled or not?** All profits of democracy are not received only by establishing democratic government system.

**The irony of democracy in modern era is that they try to move democracy and capitalism with each other in the big nations of world.**The result is that those ideals are repudiated on **political level,** their opposite ideals are applied on **economic level. Herald J. Laski (1893–1950)** has signalled towards its inconsistency in 'A Grammar of Politics' (1938)- "When the leadership of sources of production are in the hand of some persons within democracy, then one side the base of economic power is narrow, but other side the description of political power is more described because it depends normally on universal suffrage . These all are seen in United States of America and England. It is a serious inconsistency because its mean is that the objective of production in capitalism society will be against that principle of practicable which the democracy wanted to prove. The objective of production is in the capitalism society that the owner of sources of production gets more profit. But within democracy, a citizen wants to use his political power to increase the prosperity by using authority of state. On which he has right. **That connection economic group system and political democracy cannot continue for more days."** So from the establishment of true democracy the economic base of society will be kept more described as political base. Where masses did not get adequate economic security, their only political authority will not be able to keep them silent for many days.

*Did You Know?*

Democracy is that art or science in which masses are employed for the different divisions such as physical, economic and the normal interest of spiritual institutions. **—Mahatma Gandhi**

## 2.4 Shortcomings of Democracy

The supporters of democracy have hopes from the government system, they are not completed because of the some behavioural difficulties. That is why democracy is criticized and attention is paid on its demerits. There are different logic about democracy are described briefly:

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## Mobocracy

This logic is given by the adversary of democracy that plebeian are normally illiterate, non-responsible and goth. Mobocracy is inspired by giving importance to democracy on their opinions. The result is that **quality is more important than quantity**. In it opinions are counted not weighed. By this discretion and talent are neglected and that what ordinary people want that is happened and result is a social damage.

जुमहूरियत इक तर्ज़े हुकूमत है जिसमें,
बंदों को गिना करते हैं तोला नहीं करते।

जुमहूरियत – लोकतंत्र **–इक़बाल**

## Corrupt Leadership

Political discretion of masses is of very low level, **so public demagogue minister gets the opportunity to play openly** in democracy. Corrupt minister collect the vote to play with the feelings of public and inspires his selfishness at the side of protesting. Characterless politician make fools by the deal with the effective person of institutions and many places and deceive them. By the existence of political team he is factionalism inspired, and when authority came in his hand he makes his corrupt persons to sit on important posts and administration and thus increases corruption. Many principleless politicians managed the authority with other teams by which people's interest get damaged.

*Example* Such a political leader who tries to collect support by arising the feeling of people not giving the reasonable logic.

## Inefficiency

Government has to work to see the attitudes of public opinion in democracy, and it takes time to find out it. Now, government has to increase step to attention of his responsibility to public or representative. The result is that **government is scared to take courageous decision, and work continues slowly-slowly.** So democratic government is proved normally unskilled. Then masses are also not such experienced, prudent and operative that they will be profitable to government by the imagination. Apposite that, being the considerateness of public many times the experts of government have to give up their intelligence. By this unskillness increases.

## Extravagance

Logic against democracy is that it is an expensive government-system. In this crores are spent in the collection of public, advertising and election. If that money is used in other practical work then it would have contributed a lot in the national development. More logic is that for managing expenses of political team money is collected from big industrialists and businessmen. When the authority comes in hand these teams feel bound for fair-unfair advantage to their financer. So corruption is inspired and overall masses have to bear the losses.

The question is that by seeing the drawbacks of democracy will it be appropriate to abandon it? In that situation the alternative becomes important. The alternatives are aristocracy, oligarchy and dictatorship, in that no one has proved to be better than democracy. so there is only one alternative in presenting situation. It is that as far as possible, **the drawbacks of democracy should be removed;**

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**no solution will be achieved after removing of the democracy.** In the words of **S. D. Burns**, "It is not an ignorable thing that there are many mistakes in present representative meeting. But if the car is breakdown, then the use of a bullock-cart is foolish in place of bus, no matter even its imagination is more interesting."

Democratic system continues to accept some things. Those people are choosing for the special field representation, they will represent all people of that field. And it is also necessary to coordinate with the people of other fields, otherwise representative meeting will become the battle of the struggle of field interest. In this way, they are expected to set high moral values. Selected representatives should pay attention to national interest. Where the main objective of politician is wrest the authority by any way, and not let it go. Here the future of nation becomes dark. In democratic system to stop that situation Election commission has authority that it can select new representative and remove the old representative. The responsibility of citizens is not over after the selection of representative. To keep on eye on their work is also citizen's responsibility. This process is not so simple. For this it is important that firstly citizens should be able to decide about their interests. Secondly, who are the persons who will be able to represent their interests. Thirdly, when they have chosen representatives then they can see that the selected representatives are performing their duties or not. Political discretion or consciousness is the first condition of democracy.

All people of any community can participate in important decisions of state until they got all important information. So government neither can keep anything hidden nor there can be any boundation to get any information. It is another thing that to show the any other special information national-interest has possibility of damage. The question arises in parliament and legislative assembly, and many times the questions are showered, and government replies to them. Time to time government publishes report on different subjects. Newspapers have full freedom to inform about all facts to public. Citizens have freedom to give their opinion by any available medium. Briefly, citizens have right to say, think and know any thing within democracy.

Important decision is the result of public discussion within democracy. The key of democratic view point is contained in that the discretion of all people is high level in comparison of the some people's discretion. When all people of community will discuss about any problem their decision will be more suitable and wise. This thing was also accepted by **Aristotle** that, "People separately cannot give right answer like experts but collectively they can think more good. It is hard being corrupted more people in comparison to some people, as lots of water takes more time in getting dirty but little water immediately becomes dirty." **James Braight** described that viewpoint in these words, "It is believable that two persons are more likely to decide a thing in comparison to one person in deciding the thing which is more favourable to everyone. So, more is the number of such persons who have the ability to take decision more is the chance of that community to take right decisions. By the way the **Francis psychologists** specially **Grebiyal Tard** and **L Ba** concluded the study about crowd that the behaviour of a group is more logical in comparison of one person. Democracy is criticized on these bases. But it will be wrong to consider that crowd attitude is dominant on the democratic process. Wise discussion and debate are inspired in democracy. If crowd attitude comes then it is considered as a defect and its prevention should be done.

**Walter Bejhat** showed that to analyze the historical process on psychological process in his composition 'Physics and Politics' that 'Instinct of Discussion' is the key of whole social progress. The nature of emulation is primacy in the starting situation of society. So the method of behaviour becomes stable. By the way that stability is useful for the existence of society, but it is obstructive in the way of progress, so it is necessary to break it. This work is fulfiled by a new psychological power- that is 'Instinct of Discussion'. What is the reason that some societies are developed, and some are not? The idea of **Bejhat** that where power is found, there development is shown. In the words of **Bejhat**, "The nature of emulation is found everywhere, the boon of discussion is finding some people, and that is the reason that development is involved in small field of world." Such societies do not consider true any thing

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because it has been continued from era, or their existence is continued, but there is authority to show new opinion, and attention is paid to that thing. The tolerance to each other is the rule of democracy.

*Notes* The meaning of democracy is tolerance—not only for those people with whom we have agreed, but also for those with whom we have not agreed.—**Jawaharlal Nehru**

It can be concluded by this principle that the development of civilization is connected with the lifestyle of democracy. So it is not surprising that democratic life manner was more important in the development of civilization in ancient Athens. The importance of discussion was accepted in this method. **Perikliz** said in this reference "We do not consider discussion as the hurdle in the way of work. In fact, we understand that it is the primary requirement of any intelligent work. "The criterion of democratic life-style is that do we respect the idea and feelings of others? Respect does not still that we have adopted them or we are satisfied with them, but it is that our opinion is different from others, still we will not want that forcefully proving your ideas is against the principles of democracy. So, if democratic style is followed in the right way, it will boost new ideas and will open new doors for society's progress.

## 2.5 Conditions for Successful Working of Democracy

Some conditions will be suitable for the success of democracy—**the public should be eligible, sensitive and fulfilled with the feelings of responsible** in democracy. So it is necessary to develop these qualities in public. In other words, democratic state should arrange public education and generate the feelings of human values in public with the help of mass media. It is a historical fact that democracy is successful in those countries where wealthy democratic traditions have prevailed. In the country where the political structure stand without the footing of favourable culture for democracy, cannot stand for a long time. So where democratic ruling arrangement is applied there should be full attempt to develop the feeling of democracy in public.

Second, democracy works stably **when peace and arranged environment spread everywhere in country.** If there disturbances and crises are present in country then it is necessary to defer democracy until that normal situation is not achieved. It is the reason that emergency provision is kept in **democratic constitution** so that government can get more power to generate any danger internally or externally. Till normal situation is not achieved it can work as an effective ruling system.

Third, **Economy Equality and Social Justice are** necessary for the success of democracy. If the economic arrangement of society generates inequality then deprived division cannot astray more days by hiding the Political Democracy. If ruler divisions are not trying themselves for the justice distribution of income and property then oppressed class will displace all arrangement with injustice by rebellion. So it is important for the success of democracy that **different divisions got special authority on social level, and no is division seen with the low sight.** For example, Hindu-character system which is established different authority to different divisions on the bases of birth not favourable to the feeling of democracy. Its limit has been seen as the tradition of untouchability in which special caste people were kept in very unkind situation on the bases of birth. So in that religion in which females have been deprived with on sociological level, democracy cannot develop in their followers. The eradication of such a tradition is necessary for the success of democracy.

Briefly, **where democracy is to be established there only the establishment democratic ruling-system is not sufficient. If suitable social change is not with it then democratic ruling system will collapse internally.**

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## 2.6 Alternative Forms of Democracy

### Capitalism

That economic and political system in which the source (land, industries and natural resources) of social production are involved in private ownership. In the objective of private profit involves the whole production, distribution and exchange. This system is connected with market economy in which competition is inspired.

### Socialism

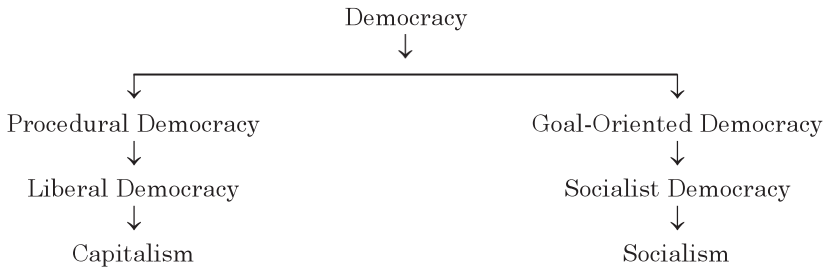
Those economic and political system in which the source of social production are keep in public ownership. Whole production, distribution and exchange are done according to the social necessity, and it proceeds according to the instruction of government.

Normally the institution of liberal democracy is known as the mainstream of democracy. According to the assumption, **democracy is that procedure in which the consent of masses is important for the public decision. It is hoped that public decision will be dedicated to 'People's welfare' on adopting that process.** So there is no sacrifice with that process for establishing the democracy. This form of democracy is known as **Procedural Democracy**.

On the other side, according to some describers the goal of democracy is the foremost. According to them, **arrangement, which inspires the 'People's welfare', is democracy; for this, necessary changes are brought in decided process.** This form of democracy can be said goal-oriented democracy. For example, the supporters of **Marxism** gave logic that if liberal democracy adopted on political level then capitalism can be established on economic level that only secures the interest of capitalist class, and inspires the exploitation of working class. So it cannot be considered democracy in real meaning. Marxism gave logic that true democracy is that which inspires the interest of working class, and it is possible under socialism.

### Alternative forms of Democracy

**(Alternative Forms of Democracy)**




The supporters socialism democracy consider the foundation of whole life to economic collection of society. They believe that economic power is the base of political power. They gave logic that whole power within capitalism is kept in the hand of capitalist division, and it's used against the working class. The primacy of civil liberties accepted within liberal democracy; socio-economic rights is important in socialism democracy, so in this provide broad arrangement of employment, education, residence and hospital facilities to people. The political team multiplicity consider necessary in liberal democracy; one political team monopoly accepted in socialism democracy that are dedicated to the interest working

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class. That team is the main source public decision. Here government officers and judges are being neutral to politics within liberal democracy, the demand from bureaucracy and judiciary in socialism democracy is that they will believe in the policy of authorized team.

## Comparative Study of Liberal and Socialist System

| The Issues | Liberal System | Socialist System |
|---|---|---|
| • Status of the Major means of production | Under Private Ownership | Under Public Ownership |
| • Purpose of production | Primarily Private Profit | Fulfillment of Social Needs |
| • Status of Rights | Primacy of Civil Liberties | Primacy of Socio-economic Rights |
| • Status of Political parties | Free Competition | Monopoly |
| • Method of Election | Selection of candidate | Approval of candidate by team |
| • Main Source of Decision-Making | Elected Government | Political Party in Power |
| • Character of Bureaucracy and Judiciary | Neutral | Commitment to Government |

So socialism system is appreciated as best alternatives of democracy connected with liberal system. Any ways, the supporter of liberal democracy are not accepted that logic-system and socialism is kept in the division of 'dictatorship' or Totalitarian System.

*Task* Express your idea on alternative forms of democracy.

**Dictatorship**

The arrangement in which whole authorities are on the hand of 'Dictatorship'. Dictators who were given extreme powers were magistrates of ancient Rome (Temporary Emergency). In modern reference, Dictator is such a man who carries the responsibility of established security, arrangement, peace at emergency time, and establishes his authority on whole government. His power is the source of their whole authority.

**Totalitarianism**

The principle that supports for establishment of control on the whole life of people and centred their whole power of state at one place. An authorized division decides the objective, the whole resources, jurisdiction and manpower used. No body is authorised to go against or to select any other aim outside. The Fascist and Communist system adopted this principle specially.

Socialism system cannot be considered as an alternative of democracy in real mean because the security of masses is not kept secured. The objective of socialism is commendable, but it will be rational to adopt the democracy as a process. Its process should be continuously corrected for removing the

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possible mistakes of liberal democracy, but the idea of democracy will be fruitless on adopting the socialism system.

> My perception about democracy is that in that weak person should get the same the opportunity which a powerful person can avail. —**Mahatama Gandhi**

## 2.7 Status of Democracy in the Developing Countries

**Developing countries and developing nations** are the group of those countries of **Asia** and **Africa** which were under colonialism till the half of 20th century and could not develop economically. These countries became free one by one after Second World War (1939–45). In this countries of **Latin America** are also involved which became independent from Europe Colonialism in the half of 19th century but these were not economically developed till the half of 20th century because of the hegemony of United States of America. These all countries are progressing their social-economic-political development. These countries are publicly called the country of '**Third World'.**

After independence many developing countries are trying to adopt democratic ruling system of westerm pattern. But they did not get success in that. Many countries adopted the way of dictatorship or military rule leaving the democratic way. Many countries reset the structure of democracy but gave the structure of one-party state to remove the basic principle of liberal democracy. In these countries many reasons are there for not being able to establish the right way of democracy.

### Lack of Consensus

The population of developing countries is huge. There live many people of different races and different regions which are known as different identities on different languages, religion and culture. These are called **Ethnic groups** in social language. So more differences are found social-economic political development of ethnic groups.

Every country has the majority of any special ethnic groups and it is more developed in comparison to other groups. On the occasion of progress, high post, industry-business and more property of country is more prominence of that group. That group is recognized as dominant group of country. Many backward groups are hold responsible to dominant group for their backwardness. So their believe in democracy is more weak.

Then, many people haven't been able to decide that how they will get justice? So the feeling of dissatisfaction is thriving in the heart of small group. When some groups express dissent in the work of government to show the dissatisfaction then it is tried to push their voice.

### Wide Regulation of Economy

It can be harmful to leave power of backward economy in open market. Since developing countries are backward economically, so state does more exchange of economy. In that gross economic inequalities are found, the control of government on economics is more necessary to remove it. Government got the base of legitimacy of his whole process to distribute the property of nation in poor division. Normally the logic is given that many alternatives cannot be found for less developed economy. Government feels forceful to adopt the same policy. So there scope is left for political parties to present any alternative policies and programmes. Suitable, popular policies and programs are pointed in head team of announcement. So there is no any occasion of competition on economic topic for small team. They handle the role of lecturer for the interest of their special voter-group.

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## One-Party Dominance

In this way one-party system established in many developed country, or at least one-party dominant system is established. This party got more vote in legislature and it does not allow emergence of the competitive teams. So dominance team is that team that is active especially in dependent war. This team makes place in the hearts of people by its charismatic leadership. It claims to take away in the side of development and modernization of country, so found the base of legitimacy of their authority.

## 2.8 Summary

- Many alternatives are not suitable of social policy in developing countries**,** there establish a primacy of one-party. That **primacy political authority** tries to prove the source of supply of democratic desire of their authority. **Sometimes it becomes the mantra of democracy by the popularity.** This arrangement is called guided democracy and basic democracy. In this consultation is more important in place of representation, and apotheosisthe strategic power of leadership. For example, contemporary president of Indonesia gave logic in 1957 that west pattern of democracy was not suitable for them to adopt it, more literacy and property will be necessary. So he inspired such an arrangement in which the representative of farmers, workers and functional groups can advise but didn't contribute in voting. In the relation of public policy the role of leadership and guidance are more important to reach the decision.
- To prove the trend economy favourable to democracy in developing country, sometimes the logic given that here dissent gets the occasion of expression, and at least under the authorized team the permission is given to debate on public matter.
- Briefly, in developing countries, the democracy is famous which does not fulfil the condition of liberal democracy. It is different from people's democracy of social country. Only India is such a country which has shown readiness in the process of parliamentary democracy. Here democratic process was also dismissed during infamous emergency.

## 2.9 Keywords

- **Dissent:** Not satisfied
- **Economic Inequalities:** Money related inequality

## 2.10 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by Democracy? Describe.
2. Write the drawbacks of democracy.
3. Describe the conditions of success of democracy.
4. What are the alternatives of democracy? Describe.
5. Describe the situation of democracy in developing countries.

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Democracy | 2. Government of many people | | 3. Masses | |
| 4. Medicine | 5. (a) | 6.(a) | 7. (a) | 8. (b). |

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## 2.11 Further Readings

*Books*

1. **The Principle of Modern Political Science—***Sterling Publishers.*
2. **The Principle of Political Science—***B. K. Tiwari, D. K. Publishers.*
3. **History of Political Science—***Shalini Wadhawa, Arjun Publishing House.*
4. **Political Science—***Neeraj Arya, Play Literature Center.*

# Unit 3: Rights

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know about the Rights.
- Know the Views of Laski.
- Know Human Rights.
- Know Civil Rights.

## Introduction

The chief originator of Historical Theory of Rights is **Edmond Burk** (1729–97). On hitting on the natural rights, **Burk** has given the fact that before the origin of cultural society the existence of which rights are expected, to apply those in a cultural society is a mistake. If anything like 'Social Contract' has happened then it would be completed only after rejecting the alleged rights. Therefore, it is very important to take care at the time of applying the Social—Welfare Theory in the reference of rights so that the dominant parties couldn't encourage their selfishness by ignoring the public at the time of defining the social–welfare. Therefore, it is very important to take care at the time of applying the

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## 3.1 What is Right?

When we think about the relation between individual and the state, then two things come in front: first, what an individual should get from the state—these are his rights; second, what should an individual do for the state—these are his duties. In short, **rights are those situations and chances got by an individual under the state from which he is helped in self–development.** According to **Herald J. Laski**, "Rights are those situations of social life without which an individual generally can't expect full self–development." From the views of **Earnest Barker**, "Rights are the result of that general system of justice on which the state and its laws are based." According to **G. D. Richy**, "Moral rights indicate that what an individual can beg from others, condition is that he has the permission from the society. When the state permits this demand legally then it adopts the form of legal right." Actually, rights are the evidence of the thing that the importance of individual is accepted in the state. The state where the dignity of individual is not accepted, there the individual has no rights. Then also, few sections can be deprived from the rights in any state. For example, only freemen had the civil rights in ancient Greek town – states; there not any right was given to slaves, women and aliens. Clearly, so right system is not based on the feeling of justice.

### Negative and Positive Rights

**The actions of the state on which there is no restriction by the state, can be kept in the degree of Negative Rights.** For example, right to freedom of thought and expression means only that not any restriction will be forced on these activities of individual by the state; therefore it is a negative right. It is not expressed from this that whose help will be given to the individual in these activities by the state? But if we demand that state should arrange the universal education for improving the thought – power of individual then it would be a positive right. Therefore, **positive rights indicate that what arrangements are done by the state for helping the individual in self–development.** For example, right to medical care, right to work, right to legal aid, etc. will be the positive rights of individual.

*Notes* The negative rights are specially focused in the capitalist state; the positive rights in Socialist State. Under the welfare state, possible positive rights are also arranged with the negative rights.

## 3.2 Liberal–Individualist Theory of Rights

Under the liberal–individualist Theory of Rights, initially the negative rights were focused; but later on under the concept of welfare state, the Positive Rights were also started to give the attention in it. The main theories of this assumption are following –

### Theory of Natural Rights

This theory was majorly circulated in 17th and 18th century. The promoters of Theory of Social Contracts present the view that **few rights were also existing before the origin of state i.e., state of nature.**

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**These are called 'Natural Rights'. The state has not created these rights but the state is born for the security of these rights.** It is the duty of state that to establish these rights as law on giving the legal permission. For example, **John Lock** (1632–1704) has kept **'Right to Life, Liberty and Property'** in the degree of Natural Rights. **These rights are contained in the personality of an individual, not dependent on the existence of state.** These are universal and infinite. There is no chance of any less – access in it. According to **Lock**, if the state could not protect the natural rights or diverts from this duty then to revolute against such states would be rational. But according to **Tomous Hobbs** (1588–1679), when on eschewing the state of nature, individual delivers all its rights to a powerful authority then he is bound to obey all the orders under the state. From the views of **Jyaan Jack Russo** (1712–78), when the state is produced then individual, on eschewing his natural rights, promises to work according to 'General will', because so he got the true liberty in the form of 'Civil Liberty' instead of 'Natural Liberty'.

If we see the previous history then **the concept of natural rights was the source of inspiration of many revolutions.** For example, it was said in the announcement of American Liberty (1776) that humans are equal from the birth and god has given few rights to them that can't be taken out. The right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are the main among it. Again, under the announcement of French revolution, The liberty, equality, security and property was counted in the main natural rights of individual.

Anyhow, **there are some problems aid with the Theory of Natural Rights.** According to G. D. Richy, "To define the word 'Natural' is very difficult, even impossible. Should it be taken in the mean of 'Real world' or in the mean of 'ideal'? Should it be considered as the opposite of 'Artificial' or of 'Spiritual'? or for differentiating among it and 'Cultural life' it should be considered as the synonym of 'Primitive'? When the mean of 'natural' is not definite then how can an universal list of natural rights can be prepared? 'The slave system' is considered as 'Natural' in a society, while in another place it is considered as against of nature. Few people consider the human as courteous by nature, few considers as wicked by nature. Few people consider the private property system as natural, others consider entire property as the social property, define private property as 'Theft'. Few people consider the male – female same by nature, others consider the female as the maid of male society by the nature. How can the difficult problems of society based on concept of natural rights be solved in such situations? But there is no more power in these objections of Richy. Cultural human by palpation of conscience, can find those real, true and Natural rights that will be universally acceptable. **The biggest quality of Theory of natural Rights is that if any section sees the injustice happening with itself within the law and system then he on confronting the natural rights, prepares the public opinion against that injustice.**

## Theory of Legal Rights

According to this theory, Rights are the gift of state. The Law – prohibition of law are the definition of rights and unauthorized. No right is infinite. All rights are bound with the law of country–time. It would not be considered as a right in any mean until the state permit any right.

The theory of legal rights is opposite to the theory of natural rights. Its supporters raise the point that if alleged natural rights are similar as legal rights then what is the use of it? If they are against them then what is the benefit of it? This is the reason that the main promoter of legal rights **Jerome Benthum** (1748–1832) has made fun of 'Natural Rights'.

**There are many mistakes** in theory of legal rights. The concept of 'Right' is aid with 'Right = Perfect'. If law is the definition of rights then should every order and law of state be considered as 'Right'? Will, on getting the legal permission to Slave–System, prostitution or bribery, all of these be right? **H. J. Laski** (1893–1950) considers that rights are not dependent on the permission of state. If it is seen that as the social consciousness is risen and developed, then the contemporary right – system is challenged and new rights are permitted on making new laws. Clearly, character of law is aid with the level of social consciousness. Therefore, law can't be considered as the final evidence in the matters of rights.

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## Historical Rights

According to this theory, rights are the gift of history. When the traditions become constant after the long time then rights are born. For example, what are the rights of husband – wife on each other – it becomes constant from the history. It would be known after the deep study of alleged natural rights that actually these rights have become constant by the long tradition.

The main promoter of Historical Theory of Rights is **Edmund Burk** (1729–97). On hitting on the natural rights, Burk has given the fact that before the origin of cultural society the existence of which rights are expected, to apply those in a cultural society is a mistake. If there were anything as 'Social Contracts' then it would be completed only after rejecting the alleged rights.

**The main mistake** of this theory is that it on discussing the rights, keeps the questions of right and wrong aside. If 'Slave–System' 'Many Husband–System' or 'Sati System' are circulated on the basis of rituals then should these all be accepted on the basis of rights and duties? Shall, giving new definition to the rights from the aim of erasing the injustice, we have to wait until a new system would not be constant by rituals? There is no doubt in that very large part of present culture is the gift of history. But it can be needed to give new turn to history for social reconstruction. New rights will be established according to the consciousness of new era after breaking old rituals in it.

## Social Welfare Theory

According to this theory, rights are the symbolic of those conditions that are necessary for social – welfare. The rights are originated from the society. Therefore, whatever be useful or desired for the society, should be considered as right; whatever be against of it that should be prohibited. Utilitarians are specially supported this theory of rights. In their opinion 'Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number' must be the base of entire right–system. There is no doubt in that It is theoretically right to consider the social–welfare, public–welfare or overall welfare as the basic formula of ell the rights, and is also rational. But what is overall–welfare? If the responsibility to define the overall welfare comes under any elite's hand then would that section not try to define it according to its selfishness?

## 3.3 Social–Democratic Perspective

Under social–democratic perspective, so system is envisaged in which the negative and positive rights of individuals could be balanced. The best expression of this system is seen in the view of Laski.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. According to historical theory, ..... are the gifts of history.
2. The main promoter of Historical Theory of Rights is ..... .
3. John Lock (1632–1704) has kept 'right to life, ..... and Property' in the degree of Natural Rights.
4. As a liberal thinker, Laski is the active supporter of ..... .

## 3.4 Views of Laski

**Herald J. Laski** (1893–1950) has tried to give new turn to the liberal–individualist theory of rights. **According to Laski, every state is known by the rights that it maintains.** Actually, **Laski** has focused on the right arrangement of positive rights with negative rights. The main assumptions of **Laski** about the rights can be expressed as –

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## Synthesis of Liberal and Socialist Values

**Laski** has, with the political rights aid with liberalism, focused on the protection of economical rights aid with socialism. He has given the fact that state, on protecting the liberty of individual, should give the economic security also. On supporting the 'Service State', **Laski** has presented the detailed framework of wide society.

As a liberal thinker, Laski is the active supporter of liberty. In the search of this liberty, he found that it is incomplete without socio–economic equality. According to him, the weakness of capitalism is that under it, the socio–economic equality is not given adequate importance, but the weakness of socialist system as united states is that under it, the liberty is put down on establishing the dictatorship. Laski is fully believed that the liberal and socialist values can be synthesized under the democratic structure.

## Moral Foundations of Rights

Moving on the footprints of **T. H. Green**, **Laski** has given the fact that rights are not the gift of state but its place is higher than the state authority. But on describing the mistakes of capitalism, **Laski** has moved ahead from **Green**.

**Laski** is mainly concerned with moral foundations of rights. This thought is contained in the definition of rights. In the words of **Laski**, "Rights are actually those situations of society without which generally an individual can't get full self–development. It is the aim of state to realize this thought; and for the fulfillment of this, it is necessary to protect the rights. Therefore, the rights come before the state in this means that whether they are permitted or not, the validity of state is dependent on these rights."

Rights are not historical in this mean that they are permitted in a particular era. But these are historical in the mean that society has demanded it on any level of its development. In other words, as the social consciousness is developed, then the demand of rights also becomes active. Rights are not natural in the mean that a definite and stable list of it can be made. But they are natural in the mean that with the social development, on considering them as logical, they are also demanded to give legal permission. This is the reason that on changing the time and place, the nature and elements of rights are also changed.

The moral foundation of rights demands that while offering rights should behave equally with all the individuals on delivering the rights. **Laski** has strictly rebelled the different rights of different sections.

## Rights and Duties

When the rights are established on moral foundations then it is necessary that the duties are also aid with them. Rights and duties are the complementary of each other. In the words of **Laski**, "To provide the protection to me from others means that I also stop myself from attacking on others."

With the concept of rights, this view is also aid that the individual and state both discipline the ideal objects. Therefore, the duty region of both the individual and state is similar. If state doesn't obey its duties then it is the duty of individual to protest against state.

## Social and Economic Rights

According to **Laski**, all three kinds of rights i.e., political, social and economic are given in the judicial society. The 'Right to Work' is very necessary to make the independence of individual very useful. The appropriate conditions of work and appropriate rates of labour should be made under the Industrial Production System. Workers, to protect from the tyranny of capitalism, should be participated in industrial management.

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Besides it, citizens should also be given the right to education so that they could be a good citizen. As the talented lecturer of liberalism, **Laski** has majorly supported the freedom of speech and expression for the citizens. The criticism of government is also included in it which is the foundation of democracy.

**Laski** has accepted the Right to Property on the condition that it would not be a barrier in overall welfare, and also help the individual in obeying the duty. Where the property became the source of use the power on others, there this right should be diminished.

On the basis of all these facts, **Laski** has encouraged the view of welfare state. Anyhow, **Laski** has not commented to diminish the capitalist system fully, but has proposed such amendments in it that this system would not be a source of suppression and harassment but could provide them liberty and protection simultaneously. Actually, **Laski's** assumptions are based on this expectation and belief that the Liberal Democracy can be the source of overall welfare of public.

## 3.5 Marxist Theory of Rights

According to Marxism, **the rights circulated in any state, in any era are the rights of dominant class.** Therefore, it is necessary for the protection of rights of worker class that this class should occupy the authority itself on replacing the capitalist class.

Because the rights are always included with the class character of state, therefore, the nature of rights is different under the capitalist and socialist system.

### Nature of Rights under the Capitalist System

The capitalist system is born from the demand of free market economy after industrial revolution (1760–1840). This system is based on the theory of free competition in economic field. The theories of liberty and equality are accepted in it to the limit where they encourage the free competition. Simultaneously, the right to property is provided full protection in it. The capitalist class, based on lordship of private property, adopts the role of dominant class, and the condition of working class remains dependent class.

**The equal rights of all the citizens are accepted from the point of law under capitalist system, but all the rights are of the rights of capitalist class actually.** The alleged rights of working class are based on the law of free competition, which can be represented from this formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

### Nature of Rights under the Socialist System

According to marxism, socialist system is the situation when working class, on removing the capitalists, establishes the social ownership on the main sources of production. Firstly, the dictatorship of the proletariat in it on state level, but on moving further the state is diminished from it, and classless and stateless society comes in existence. The first state is called 'socialism' or the 'first phase of communist society'; second state is called 'communism' or the 'Higher Phase of Communist Society'. The class division of society remains under the socialism, but the working class adopts the role of dominant class, and old capitalist class or its contemporary reaches in the state of dependent Class. The class difference is diminished after the establishment of communism, and the society becomes classless.

*Did You Know?* **Laski** is mainly concerned with moral foundations of rights.

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## Dictatorship of the Proletariat

According to **Marxism**, the system that is established after socialist revolution. The proletariat class adopts the thread of entire authority after establishing the public ownership on sources of social production, and take the help of use of force to diminishing the remaining of capitalism.

A difference in both of these states is also that **the forces of production are not fully developed under the socialism;** Therefore, **it is not possible to fulfill all the necessities of all the workers. But the forces of production are fully developed under the communism, and it is possible to fulfill all the necessities of all the workers.**

Under the socialism, because working class is a dominant class, so it is having the actual rights. But in this phase, the powers of production are not fully developed, therefore, the rights of working class are still determined by capitalist manner, i.e., "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." But under the socialism, when the powers of production are fully developed, and it is possible to fulfill all the necessities of working class, then new Right–System is applied. It is represented as this formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

It is very important that socialist system that was established after the revolution of AD 1917 in Russia from the inspiration of **Marxist** view, the special focus was given on the fulfillment of economic security and basic necessities of citizens in it. Under the constitution of AD 1977 of United States, the economic right system was made more stable. The Soviet citizens were also given the rights to work with the right to select the work according to own desire. They were also given the big rights to Relax, Holiday, Public Protection, Medical and Education etc. Though they were also given the rights to speech, publish and protest etc. but these rights could only be used on keeping in mind the public welfare and for making the socialist system more stable. Because only the higher authorities of Communist Party had the right to define the public welfare in socialist system, therefore on the land of behaviour, the public could not use the liberty of think and expression there. After AD 1985, under the policy of Openness, **The right–system of Soviet Community was tried to make comparative liberal**, but because of disturbing economic state of country and increasing administrative corruption it became impossible to continue the extended social – economic rights of the Soviet citizens, and on starting of AD 1991, the socialist system was eschewed from there.

## Self Assessment

**State whether the following statements are True/False:**

5. Under the socialism, working class is a dominant class.
6. The view of human rights is bound with the limits of 'humanity'.
7. Tom Pen has named the natural rights as 'human rights'.
8. The meeting of United Nations Organization announced the believable announcement of Human Rights in December AD 1958.

## 3.6 Civil Rights and Human Rights

**The Human Rights** are the rights that are got by the citizen of a state **on citizenship basis only, and those are conserved by law.** The legal status of all the citizens is accepted in democratic state. In other words, the Theory of Civil Rights contradicts any kind of discrimination based on race, gender, religion, language, culture, religion, etc. and demands for the protection of equal rights for majority and minority.

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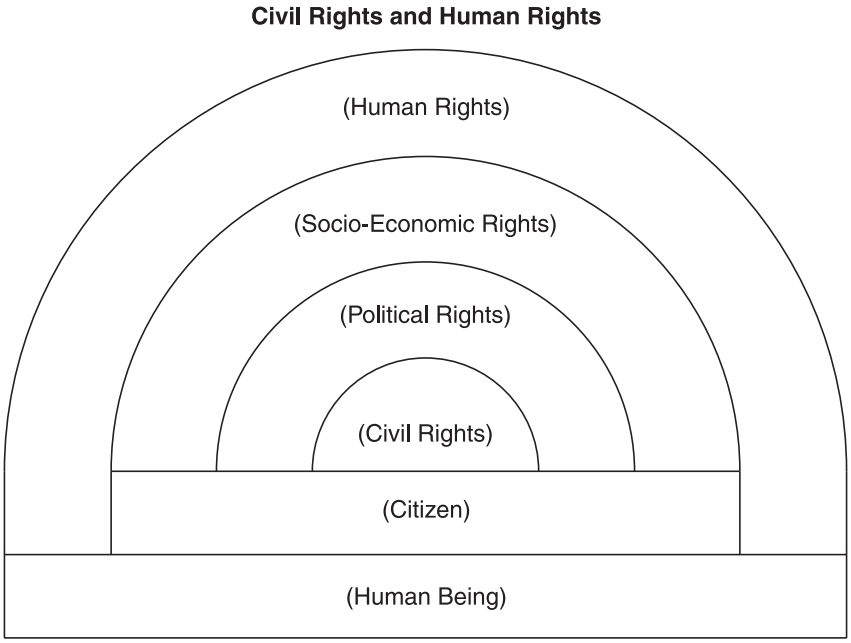
**The equality before the law, liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of movement, freedom of trade and profession, freedom of contract and right to property** are the main rights **under civil rights.** Besides it, **to use each public property, service and facility along with other citizens is also considered as the right of each citizen.** When any minority class is deprived from equal civil rights in any society, then they can put the **Civil Rights Movement** against it. For example, when the black civilians are deprived from equal civil rights till a long time in the United State America then they got these rights in AD 1964 on putting Civil Rights Movement.

On the other hand, **Human Rights** are the rights **that should be provided to every human as a human,** whether the law is developed for it or not. It is clear that **the thinking area of Human Rights is much broader in comparison to Civil Rights.** If it is seen then the cultured human permits the particular dignity of human from the inspiration of their reason or conscience, and these views are the root source of the assumptions of human rights. Our moral consciousness and social consciousness will be as developed, the thinking area of Human Rights will also be as broader, but only fewer of the rights among them will be conserved in the different parts of world; only those rights will get the permission as the civil rights. **The society where as much the Human Rights will be established as the Civil Rights, will be considered as much developed from moral point of view.**

**The source of Civil Rights is the view of 'Citizenship'. But the view of Human Rights is not bound with the limitations of 'citizenship'.** It might be, any prisoner or any insane person has been deprived from the human rights in any state. But then also he will be considered as deserving for the perfect human rights. Similarly, in any state, any foreigner, citizen of an enemy country or prisoner of war will not get the civil rights, but they can't also be deprived from the human rights.

## Civil Rights and Human Rights



## 3.7 Nature and Basis of Human Rights

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### Historical Development

If it is seen then, the use of 'human rights' terminology started in 20th century. These are called Democratic Rights at many places, though the 'human rights' terminology is very circulated; 'Democratic Rights' are the important part of it. Somewhere these are also called as 'Fundamental Rights'. The fact on which the 'Human Rights' are based, the concept of 'Natural Rights' is presented initially on the basis of those facts. Tom Pen (1737–1809) has named the Natural Rights as 'Rights of Man'. These rights were based on the fact that these are given to hum as a human being; therefore these are contained in the nature of human. These are not the gift of rituals, laws, state or any organization.

The initial indications of theory of Natural Rights are found in the Europe of 12th century. But the systematic trace of these was started in 17th century. In the initial stage of this century, Hugo Groshyas (1583–1645) has given the fact that the base of Law of Nature should be found out in the rational nature of Human. He made the foundation of International Law based on this fact. Again **Tomous Hobbs** (1588–1679) has given the fact that humans were having infinite liberty in the state of nature, but when they produce the Civil Society, they enchewed their Natural Liberty. According to Hobbs, there was no existence of Law and Order in the state of nature; this was the state of the battle of everyone against everyone. In such condition, the Natural Rights were unable to give any protection to human. The tradition of creation and following of law in society was started after eschewing these rights, and the feeling of protection was risen. The mean of getting back the Natural Rights will be – to get back in that condition of anarchy. Therefore, **Hobbs** gave the fact that Natural Rights are diminished after the establishment of Civil Society. Thus, **Hobbs** encouraged the Absolutism.

**Absolutism**

The ruling – system where the ruler or ruler – class use infinite authorities; his power is not bound with any of legal, constitutional, traditional or moral perceptions. Public has to silently follow the order or decision of ruler; they aren't given the chance to oppose or raise any question on it.

The credit of molding the Natural Rights in logical form goes to **John Lock** (1632–1704). **Lock** gave the fact that 'Right to Life, Liberty and property' is the inseparable part of rational nature of human; these are contained in the personality of individual; it couldn't be separated. The state and Political Organizations are made for the protection of this right. Therefore, when human enters in 'Civil Society' from 'State of Nature', then they eschew only fewer Natural Rights, no all the Natural Rights. According to **Lock**, on creating the civil society, humans promise that they themselves would not be the judge for the inspection of self-acts. They eschew the Natural Rights on the condition that state will protect their basic natural rights – i.e., 'Right to Life, Liberty and Property'. Thus, State is established as a 'heritage' or 'trust'. This state is bound with its duties. If it fails in the fulfillment of its duties then human can establish new state (or government) on removing that state. Thus, **Lock** has given the permission to the 'Right to Revolution' against the state on assuming the 'Natural Rights' as 'sacrosanct'. The three results of the logic system of **Lock** are especially famous –

1. Because all the humans are not got the equal rights under 'natural law', so a person can only accept the political authority of another person from his consent only.
2. The main duty of government is to protect the natural rights of individuals.
3. Natural rights of individuals determine the limitation of government authority. Therefore, the government which neglects the natural rights of its citizens, has no authority to obey the order and it would be legal to remove it.

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Other supporters of Natural Rights continued their believe on these assumptions of Lock. For example, under the 'American Declaration of Independence' (1776), this truism was cleared that, "All humans are equal from birth; their generators or creators have given them some Inalienable Rights. The Right to 'Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness' are included in it. Governments are established for the protection of these rights, and they get their judicial power from the consent of citizens. If a government moves to destroy these rights then public dissolves that government." Then such rights were claimed under the 'French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen' (1789) that is 'Natural, Imprescriptible and Inalienable'. In other words, these rights are itself gift of the nature; none can steal it; and they can also not be transferred to others.

Can the Theory of Natural Rights be considered as the Theory of Human Rights? The two similarities of Natural and Human Rights are very important:

1. As the Natural Rights, Human Rights are also based on Reason; and
2. As the natural Rights, Human Rights are also Absolute, Inalienable and Imprescriptible ; on permitting another right, these rights can't be eliminated anyhow.

But despite of these both similarities it is necessary to differentiate in the nature of these rights. The theory of natural rights was put in that phase of world–history when it was necessary to mold the human relationships into new form for encouraging the industrial revolution. These rights were the product of social conciousness. Its aim was to make the new entrepreneurs free from the control of state and to make the old serfs free for working in industries. These are so called the natural rights because they were dependent on the reason of human, and this reason was the gift of nature itself. In other words, these rights were nature by the character only. If they were truly natural then why did the philosophers of 17th century think over it? Why didn't the ancient or old philosophers?

## Development of Human Rights

| Nature of Rights | Corresponding System |
|---|---|
| • Natural Rights | Market Society System |
| • Civil Rights | Constitutional Government |
| • Political Rights | Democratic State |
| • Social Economic Rights | Welfare State |
| • Human Rights | Human World Order |

If it is seen then the thinking – tradition about nature and limitation of rights, which was started with the concept of rights, has reached on its logical result in the form of concept of human rights. The view of natural rights encouraged the freedom of contract from which the market society system was born. Then, the view of human rights encouraged the constitutional government. After it, the view of political rights made the foundation of democratic state; and the welfare state was risen from the demand of socio–economic rights. Finally, the consciousness demands for the Humane World Order that is still to be meaningful.

It is very important that concept of Human Rights is not originated with the concept of Natural Rights. This concept was mainly originated in 20th century. Subjectively, the problem of Human Rights has come in front as the worry of entire world after the second world war (1939–1945). During the Nuremberg Trials, The cases of 'Crimes against Humanity' were also put with the cases of War Crimes on Nazis of Germany. The accused of these cases did the brutal tortures on the Christians of their country, which were considered as 'Crime against Humanity'. This assumption was include with this action that the 'human Rights' are permissible itself; these are above the law of a nation; its violation would be considered as 'Crime against Humanity'. A broad list of these rights is shown under 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (1948).

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If it is seen then all kinds of rights—Civil, Political, Legal and Socio–economic rights are mixed together. The aim of this declaration is to inspire all the countries that they should keep the broad system of all kinds of rights for its citizens. But its thinking area has become so broader that we are not particularly helped in recognition of those human rights with which the condition of citizenship is not included.

## 3.8 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The general assembly of United Nations announced the universal declaration of human rights in December 1948. This organization requested to his member—nations that however their political condition be, they, in their countries—especially in the schools and other educational institutes, do its wide exposure and publicity. Actually, this declaration is perfect for a liberal, democratic and welfare state, and shows the wide plan of Human Rights.

There are 30 articles except a wide preamble in this declaration. It is said in preamble that the liberty, justice and peace can be established only after giving the permission to natural dignity and equality and the inalienable rights of all the people. The result of neglect and contempt of Human Rights has come in front as so acts of vandalism that has joggled the conscience of Humankind. The biggest ambition of public is to construct such world in which human has the liberty from fear and lack with the freedom of belief and expression. If human is not forced for the movement against tyranny and exploitation (in the form of last solution) then it is necessary that the Rule of Law should protect Human Rights.

### Rule of Law

The system in which all the citizens are put on equal law; that law is universal; and government uses its powers according to principles and procedures included with that law – not diverted from it.

United Nations Organization, for encouraging the friendly relationships among different states, understands important that the social development, appropriate state of living and wide liberty should be arranged on providing equal rights to all men – women. The Civil and Political Rights and equal legal conservation of human are given special importance under the represented declaration, and their wide framework is presented. But along with it, there is given a perfect place to Socio – economic rights, and the duties of human are also described for providing the stable base to these all rights.

Under Articles 1 and 2, on considering the Human as rational creature their dignity, liberty, equality and brother – feeling are also focused; and it is demanded that there should not be used any difference based on their race, gender, religion, language, culture, religion, political view, national or social community, property, birth or any other condition.

Under the Articles 3, 4 and 5, it is arranged for everyone, with the Right to life, Liberty and Protection, that none would be the servant of one, and none will behave cruel, inhuman or degrading.

From Article 6 till 11 Equality before the law, there is the arrangement of Equal Protection of the Laws and Legal way for everyone; Arbitrary, Arrest and Exile are restricted, and it is requested that the appropriate legal way should be followed on imputing on someone.

Under Article 12, the causeless disturbance on house, family relations etc. of anyone are restricted for the protection of privacy.

Under Articles 13 and 14, there is the arrangement of right to get the shelter in foreign for saving from liberty to travel anywhere, to stay or live, and exploitation.

There are the arrangements of Right to Nationality in Article 15, Right to get married and increasing the family from self-consent in Article 16 and Right to Property in Article 17.

The liberty of view and expression, religious liberty and make the assembly and peaceful meeting are included in Articles 18, 19 and 20.

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In the Article 21, there is right to elect the representative and participate in the government through them, and get the public post. Through this universal suffrage is organized by the wish of citizen considering the foundation of the government. So the article accepted the necessary character process of human right in democratic rule.

In this way Articles 1 to 21 promise to provide all arrangements to the civil, political, and legal rights of the world, which is the base of independence and security of the people.

On the other direction up to Articles 22 to 26 social and Economic Rights, means positive rights of the people are arranged. In this special care has been taken for social security, right to work, equal wage for equal work, proper or suitable labour, rest and leave, proper level of living standard, proper care for mothers and child, right to education and proper arrangement for education.

In Article 27, all people have given right to participate in cultural life of the society and literature, proper right and freedom has been given to utilize art and science. This right prevents the people of a state to interfere in cultural process for that it is considered as a negative right. But when any state arranges all the facilities to benefit its citizens for literature, culture, art, and science then this right becomes positive.

The aim of Article 28 is to arrange these rights at international level. So this article is related to the rights of practical area.

In the Articles 29 and 30, responsibilities of each person of the society have given importance because there only his complete and independent growth of personality is possible. It is said here that in democratic society all people must get equal rights.

Rights and independent for pertaining duty, public arrangement and general term to be fulfiled by rights and freedoms of people can be prohibited because any people as group cannot be given permission which destroys the equal rights and freedom. It cannot be rated this arrangement as the factfull result of human rights. In this way this demarcation presents arrangement of the modern democratic, auspicious, social, right decision.

This matter is important that as an energetic and active member of United Nations Organization according to the Constitution of India not only Fundamental rights and directive Principles of State Policy are included but also expressed in very effective manner. The High Court of India has pushed the above said arrangement and other matters like Human Rights of world declaration, Democratic motive along with Social rights several times in its justice. Government of India has established National Human Rights Commission 1993 in order to save the Human Rights and spread the awareness. This commission is working satisfactorily in the field of saving the Human Rights.

According to many International undertakings, all the nations of the world have decided to respect the human rights. In this European Convention on Human Rights (1950), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1969), **Helsinki Accords** (1975) and African charter on people's and Human Rights (1981) is mentioned promptly. Then people of many countries have prepared and established Non-Government organization to save the Human Rights of people. For example, 'People Union for Civil Liveries' and 'People Union for Democratic Rights' are doing important work in this direction. One of the Non-political Humanity organizations, ' Amnesty International' whose corporate office is in London finds out the political, religious and racial persecution suppressed people across the globe and sends the document united to Nation Organization and Council of Europe.

## 3.9 Broader Concept of Human Rights

The concept of Human Rights is always the subject of progress. So it is not possible to give the last content of these rights. Till now the Human Rights which are approved at several stages of the world can be categorized at separate levels.

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## Right to Life

Its meaning is that any innocent people would not face physical torture or he or she not be killed. Not only his or her health and life will also be saved. Right to life is the first natural right of human being; Right to save life is his or her citizen right.

Due to eagerness towords human Rights now long debates are organized. For example, courts of India are now accepting that to provide neat and clean atmosphere is a part of their Right to life. Not only this if any one dies due to heavy cold or scorching sun is also the disobey to the Right to life. If any person dies due to lack of security it is the disobey to the Right to life and proper action must be taken.

*Task* Discuss your thoughts on the right to property.

## Right to Liberty

Its meaning is that a person has right of thought and expression, religion and belief, to form organization, to conduct meeting and freedom of moving. In Democratic process Right to liberty is authorized as right of citizen.

## Right to Property

Its meaning is that a person must get physical things according to legal process, he has hold on that property and state will save his right. But now right to property is not considered as Absolute Right. The property which helps to control the life of other people or the property which is gained by controlling the id of other people is issued in public interest can be compulsory acquisition by the state.

## Political Rights

Its meaning is that a person can participate as a complete citizen in personal life of his society, nation or country; can select or choose government of self choice; can affect decision of government; and can get the political position according to fixed process.

## Right to Due Process of Law

In this category all those rights are considered which are the rule of law, equality before the law and equal protection of the law are injected to the concept. Absolutely, these are the rights of a citizen, but on the base of behaviour due to its ignorance excesses happen in such a large scale that it becomes a burning or hot question. In short, the meaning of this right in that law of the country should be clear and complete disrupted, and according to only that law action can be taken, not different from this law. So anybody may not be arbitrary arrested and without fair trial no one should be punished.

Principles of human rights demand that by making useless and stupid law or under the cover of legal action in human treatment should not be done to any human; any one should not be insulted or tortured to confess the crime or to know the unknown secret and no one should be cruel and disgraceful to anyone. For example, any female may be involved in any major crime, but to make her nude publically will be crossing the limitation of Human rights. In the same way, to hang any one till death would be legal.

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But to kill anyone by palpitate like dropping him in boiling qilar burn alive will be inhuman. In the police custody of many countries in the world the inhumanity which is done is the point of care to supporters of human rights. Somewhere the "possible criminals" are beaten by hunter; somewhere their nude body is turned dark with hot iron rod; somewhere their hands and legs and dangerous dogs are allowed to attack them, somewhere they are to urge by electric shock. In 1980 Bhagalpur (Bihar) vial eyes of thirty-two possible criminals were damaged. In the year 1994 Punjab Police engraved the word 'Jeb kukri' on the foreluadaf females. Supreme Court considered it as crossing the limitation of human rights; When many possible criminals are killed in police encounter, then people are doubtfull that these process may ditch the legal process.

There are several examples of crossing limit of Human Rights in other fields of social life also. Few years ago in Gulf countries the rich for their entertainment organized camel race, and human children were tied to neck of camel, camel ran fast when child cried. In many industries labours work complete day and night in inhuman situation, they damage their health and called their death. In India at such industries child labour prohibited, then also children of below age destroyed their life in hidden. But is it net crossing the limit of Human Rights by working in such a dangerous situation.

There are some examples of such work in transport company to carry heavy loads, sewing of matsrous picking of charcoal and cleaning the dig of ash, production of matchstick, crackers and blast; cigarette production, cutting of granite, cleaning of wool, welding etc. An era in which there is abjection if animals are treated with cruelty, in such an era how inhuman behaviour on human can be treated?

## Social Economic and Cultural Rights

Under this mainly come education, employment, social security, rest, living standard and health. These rights are many the result of social awareness. These rights are connected to the social justice. These may or may not be considered as Human Rights is a subject of debate. The point is discussed that in many countries of third world due to the lack of resource arrangement of these rights cannot be possible. The rights which can be given to the people of some parts of the world cannot be given to the people of other parts. How they can be treated as Human Rights?

| Third World |
| --- |
| The independent countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were influenced with colonialism. Natural and Human Resources of these countries are abused in such a way that they are at the basic level of development. |

Owing to the concept of Human Rights when the Rights are compared on the basic of ideal rights, then they are awarded with the best aim of the social life. In few parts of the world today there is no arrangement of rights to behavioural, then due to human rights its importance would not decrease. It will be suitable as principles of daily routine of public routine on daily basis of correct direction. The state which cannot manage this time due lack of resorts, it is necessary to recognize the rights for the long-term responsibilities.

Then in contemporary situation creating thoughts of Human Rights are also necessary. In today's era saving life health issues become more complex. **Owing to Terrorism, Drug Trafficking and Environt mental pollution new dangers are generated; it is the responsibility of state to save human life from them.** So this will be conceptual to involve this security arrangement in Human Rights. Owing to the try of Nation States were enough to save the cultural Human Rights, **to arrange the new rights will be effective for the ground level try.**

## Humanitarian Intervention

The principle when there is blatant violation of Human Rights in the country, and the government is not eager to stop this violation then other powerful nations may cross the border to save the victims by using their power. For this there is no need to seek permission form of government.

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The complete enquiry of situation of Authorized action of Humanitarian Intervention should be done under supervision of Security Council of United Nations organization otherwise strong nation will get a reason to intervene in the internal matter of other nations, and there will be lass in principle of sovereignty of nation state.

## 3.10 Theories of Human Rights

If we wish the Human Rights as such a resource that a person can be sowed from crude behaviour of arbitrary power, in this situation there is no option of dispute. But as an individual, community and state think according to the relation of Human Rights then we get several options. We can call these as theories of Human Rights.

**Comparative Study of the Theories of Human Rights**

| The Issue | Liberal Perspective | Libertarian Perspective | Markets perspective | Communitarian perspective | Feminist perspective |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Situation of people | Rights of Dramatist personage | Rights of Dramatist personage | Member of class | Unspeakable part of society | Based on Gender |
| Nature of Society | Collection of people | Collection of people | Division in supremacy and Dependent | All sources of social life | Male domination arrangement |
| Preamble of Authority | Sewant of people | Equivalent of private commercial Institute | Exploitation of Instrument | Recourse of general Benefits | Instrument of male domination |
| Aim of Rights | Selfishness of people | Selfishness of people | Benefit source of supremacy class | Fulfilment of general Benefits | Fulfilment of female Benefits |
| Position of Rights | Respected Place | Respected Place | Instruments of supremacy class | Unspeakable parts of heveral Benefits | Source to challenge male domination |
| Author | John Lock | Robert Nausic | Mark, Leven | Elesdayer Machination | Salamith Firestone, Shila Robathm |

Rights of people are given respect against the state in clouded **Liberal Theory of Human right. John Lock** (1632 Machentior 1704) is the main author of this principle. **Lock** has explained the difference of state and society that formation of state is done to save the natural rights on trust in which 'Right to life, liberty, and property' are supreme. If the state does not maintain the responsibility, it can be demolished. From this there will not any danger to the society because society can create or organize new state. Practically, **Lock** has not differentiated between state and government. In his view people are end and state is its means.

**Libertarian Theory of Human Rights** is mainly given by **Robert Nausic** (1938 Machentior 2002). A private firm is compared as state with the natural rights of people. According to this, people mainly get service from state to save their property because it is proved beneficial any other commercial

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meditation. State has no Rights that it recognises its people or their property because these people are its clients.

Markets theory of **Human Rights** is based on the thought of **Marx** (1818–83) and **Lenin** (1870–1924). According to this, general rights of any society are the rights of Ruling class or Dominant class which is situated by sucking the Dependent class. So capitalist society saves the benefit of rights of capitalists by sucking the working class. Working class has to establish new arrangement to save their rights and benefits which are main resources of production should be under social ownership and control. For this Revolution so that capitalists arrangement can be demolished. **Elesdeyer Machetes** (1929) and other community philosophers have presented communitarian theory of Human Rights. According to this benefits of people will be profitable same as common goods. There is no proper right of people other than right of community. By self compliance to the community person who get benefits; that is the base of his rights.

Finally Feminist Theory of Human Rights demands the re-establish of rights of female from the male-dominated society. The main authors of this principle are Shulamith Firestone and Shila Robtham. This principle wants to landmark change in the rights of existing process. Therfore feminist theory support the arrangement in which female are treated equally in strength and similar in respect.

## 3.11 Summary

- In the contemporary world the courage of Human Rights has invoiced, we can consider that great achievement of civilization. But several times wrong practices have been pushed forward. For example, criminals and terrorism are saved several times behind the veil of Human Rights, and the Human Rights of such people are forgotten when face a lot of problem due to inhuman action of these elements.
- Then many developed countries prohibit the developing country for the export of goods that is produced by the violating Human Rights. Like in its construction children and prisoners are worked as labour. No one even tried to know the truth.
- When injustice has been forwarded by the reference of Human Rights, then the concentration of classification of situation is necessary. There should be impartial metrication; one should not believe newspapers and magazines or representatives of selfishness. Any powerful country must not interrupt in the internal matter of other country on the reason of humanitarian interference.

## 3.12 Keywords

- **Natural Rights:** Rights provided by Nature
- **Ruling Class:** Class which Rule

## 3.13 Review Questions

1. What are Rights? Explain.
2. Describe the Citizen Rights and Human Rights.
3. What do you know about the dedaration of universal knowledge?
4. Describe the principle of Human Rights.

## Answers: Self Assessment

Notes

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Right | 2. Andmund Burk | 3. Independent | 4. Independent |
| 5. Truth | 6. False | 7. True | 8. False |

## 3.14 Further Readings


*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science—** *Shailandara Sengar, Atlantic Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Modern Political Science—** *Sterling Publishers.*

**3. History of Political Science—** *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

**4. Political Science—** *Neeraj Arya, Khel Sahitya Kendra.*

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# Unit 4: Liberty

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Introduction
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4.2 Dimensions of Liberty
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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the idea of liberty.
- Explain the miscellaneous dimensions of liberty.
- Understand the contemporary isolation principle.

## Introduction

The opposite mean of independence is slavery or bondage. A slave whatever he himself wants, he cannot do, but he has to do whatever his owner wants, liberal people are those who are not slave of anyone, means they are able to do anything according to their desire.

## 4.1 Idea of Liberty

When we discuss the problem of liberty or freedom as political principle then we think about two meanings of it:

1. In first meaning, freedom is a property of the human being. Its meaning is that where other elements of nature like things or fauna is regular with immutable laws of nature, here only human is the element who got the knowledge by nature of law and can make the source of his supply. So he can convert himself as he wants. Apparently, whole civilization and culture of human are the gift of that quality. In that meaning freedom is the normal quality of human, but in the field of behaviour the condition of different individuals can be different.
2. In second meaning, freedom is a condition of the human being in which people are able to fulfil the self-appointed goals and there are no external boundations which stop to give shape as they

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want. It is an important thing that the idea of freedom comes in front of us when we accept the capacity or quality of freedom in human. **The main deal of political principle is with 'the condition of freedom'**. Where the 'quality of freedom' is identified by the English word 'freedom', for identifying the 'condition of freedom'two words 'freedom' and 'liberty' are used.

Normally, freedom demands on the basis that 'man is a rational creature'. To describe that idea **J. R. Lukas** writes within 'Principle of Politics' that, **"freedom means that which rational agent feels better, and he is able to do that an his activity is not bounded externally."** If rational human will not get freedom then he will not use his capability. If there is no freedom then its meaning is—null, dull and failed. The meaning of freedom is that—giving self-desired form to future, capability of involving reality in their ideals and giving the tangible form to the capability of his personality. Formally, the concept of freedom shows the absence of restraint. The thing to note is that rational person demands such freedoms**. The principle in which all humans are considered rational human, they demand for same freedom for all.** But the principles that consider the capability of reason and logic found in some people, they create the situations independence for public by demanding the freedom. True freedom is that which is got to all public similarly.

**Earnest Barker** forces especially on the basis of morality in 'Principles of Social and Political theory' he started his discussion by German philosopher **Emanuel Kant** that 'rational nature exists as an end-in-itself'. Since human came in the category of such rational nature so human society should be considered one practicable, should not considered by only resources. So every member of state should be considered as free agent; it will be impossible to make slave to any one. **Aristotle** supported slave system on the basis that some people are considering in 'rational nature' category; they are the alive instrument, so they are not the officer of freedom. This assumption has continued to centuries. But modern science has proved that there is not any elementary difference in humans in which one is considered 'rational' and the other is 'less rational'. There are not lots of differences in the their capability, on that basis they can be divided in different categories like 'slave' and 'master'.

The opposite meaning of independence is slavery or bondage. A slave whatever he wants, he cannot do that, but he has to do whatever his owner wants, liberal people are those who are not slave of anyone, means they able to do anything according to their desire. That meaning of freedom is bounded by many limitations, because if there is not any formal boundation but the real situation stops person to do more. For example, person cannot do work being painful. **Human is not only rational as well as sensitive but** he can become sad because of pain and hunger. **So the detailed meaning of freedom will be that persons are not sad by any external or internal problem so those they consider best, there is not any boundation to feel that.** Its meaning is- freedom by hunger, fear and other things. It is not doubtful that it is very hard to get such situations. But we can check any state on such tests that how much he is capable to provide such freedoms to their pubic?

We consider at the time of discussion about freedom that **the desire of freedom is the nature of rational human** but **in special situation the discretion of human can be dull and he can become loath by freedom.** For example, any slave can be atisfied in his slavery. Some people forget the ways of freedom by becoming the slave. Some people become far from delightful protection of nature involving with consumer culture and forget the value of literate, music and art whose help to raise up by high level desire the principle of freedom demands that **the person who is not demands of freedom to being dependent. Then show the way of freedom and should raise the discretion.**

## Consumer Culture

The importance of such values and assumption in any society in which the consumption of things and assumptions are considered the signal of best objective and social prestige of life. In which the values of life like self control, public service or art interest are not in more interest.

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## Liberty and License

It is important for the use of meaningful result of freedom in society that the freedom of one person is not to be the boundation of the freedom of others. If every person is perfectly rational then he considers the ways that are suitable for everyone. So he does not create problem to use his freedom. But situation is only imaginable. People think in a different manner to work with their way on the field of reality. Then, the people who kept their discretion at side, it is another thing. In other words, human is fulfilled by the capacity of discretion, but when he is not completed, until the unrestrained freedom of person proved interrupter in other's freedom. So freedom becomes like free. In such situations **the freedom of one person becomes the problems of the other person. If a big fish wants to eat the small fish then small fish will die.**

Since freedom is used in society, so it will possible when it is available to every one similarly. If the 'freedom' of dictator is involved in tyranny on public then it will be against to the principle of freedom. If the freedom of stilling is theft the goods of others then it is a joke to say freedom. If the freedom of driver is involved drive car in any side and more speed then the freedom of others is not only stripped but the danger generates for their life. In the words of **L. T. Habhouse,** "The meaning of the autocratic freedom of a person will be that all remains are bound in dependence. So on the other side freedom is acceptable when every one is bound." It is the reason that freedom demands for rules and arrangement and the first condition that is connected with it that others also have same authority and freedom; different people freedom should not be boundation for each other. So freedom is hooked by similarity. **But it will not be sufficient to adopt the rule of similarity. The 'equal's authority' to fall each other will not consider in the definition of freedom; freedom principle should be used to continue in the reference of welfare not on the way of destruction.**

## Liberty and Authority

At the time to think about the mutual relation of individuals and state, the conflict came in front between freedom and authority**.** In other words **when the freedom of person and authority of kingdom generate conflict, then it is necessary to generate balance.** In starting the authority of state seems necessary for the security of freedom. The principle of freedom of individuals demands equal freedom of persons. It is necessary for that at the time of using their freedom the individual is not become interrupter in others' freedom. so the use of state authority is necessary for regular it. But more authority is not provided to state for supply the object. The authority of state does not finish the freedom of any person- so it is necessary to keep hook on state authority to confirm it.

Different thinkers have different point of views in the question related to freedom and authority. **Thinker Thomas Hubs** considers that the all profits of state authority can be beneficial when the freedom of a person is very limited. Hubs is mostly related to law and order state. He considers more the freedom of individuals its reason is that Hubs is known as the supporter of absolutism opposite to that, **John Lock** and **J. S. Mill** gave logic that it is necessary to limit the state authority for making stable the freedom of individuals

It is not doubtful that state provides more authority according to law. For example, British parliament considers powerful according to law but no state can use the more power. Any one sensitive legislature-which wants to continue their authority-will not pay attention to law possibily as much he will pay attention to political possibility. He will not see that what can he do at law level, but he will see that what can he do at political level? State has whole power for the establishment of law and enforcement. Forcing others is a physical weapon but moral weapon is more beneficial to get work from citizens.

So when individuals consider right the law of state and adhere to it, then freedom does not block. So the law and order of state should be based on the value system and morale assumption of population for the meaningful use of state authority, state won their heart and adhere to not constrained. Here legitimacy proved more powerful in comparison to blank force. Any rule, decision or order is signalled that people consider it welfare and suitable for whole world, so they are always ready to follow by

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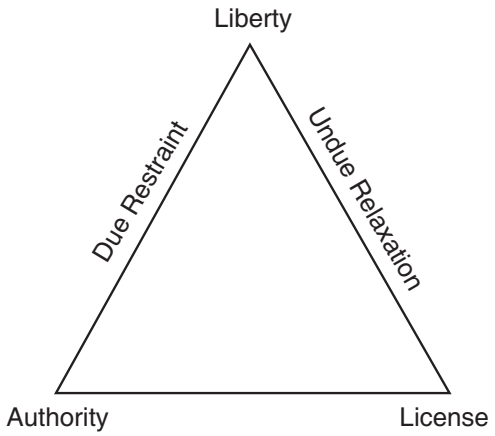
accepting by heart. Till the question mark is not put on the justification of present institution like justice of military force, police and court, till then force is not necessary.

> Untamed authority generates disorder. Freedom is the mother of order.
>
> **— Alexander Workman (1920)**

State should secure the democratic freedom of the public of state for the morale support of public. Freedom of thought and expression, freedom of assembly and association and freedom of movement have special importance. When this freedom is absent then the devotion of public shacked for the authority of state.

### Relation between Liberty, Authority and License




> *Notes* Black money is the money that is normally collected by illegal manner, or it is kept on hidden for saving the tax of it.

In present figure the relation shows between authority and freedom as well as freedom. The responsibility of authority is that he protects the freedom of individuals so other persons can provide freedom like that. But when freedom becomes more free then it takes the form of romance. In such situations the 'freedom' of one person becomes the 'dependence' of others, so by this the idea of freedom becomes waste.

## Law and Liberty

The formal meaning of freedom is 'Absence of Restraint'. But laws protect our activity. Does law limit our freedom or it is a source to make more reliable? It is a difficult subject. **The aim of law within democratic and welfare freedom inspires and protects the freedom.** How law fulfils this work?

We have seen that freedom is bound with the limitation of social life. The freedom provided to any person at that level as it does not create problem for others. **Where the freedom of one person can create danger for the freedom of other persons, at that place the boundation is necessary. As such protection is not applied by law**. **D. D. Rafil** writes in his important composition 'Problem of Political

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Philosophy' that laws protect our freedom. We do such work under it which we did not want to do, and the work which is done with interest we are far from that work. But that protection is allowed by laws, there can be two objectives. The first object is to secure the freedom of others, or some time can be the security of ours because law stops such types of behaviour, on red signal of crossroads law stops us to raise so we cannot generate problem in the freedom of others and self remains secure. So law protect us by intoxication because this habit can be proved danger for our freedom.

Other aims of the protection of law can be the security of ideals and social values, as law can protect our freedom for the security of equality and justice. For example, laws stop us to break rows so the equal authority of others can be secured. Law forces us for the payment of taxes so public service is mobilized and social justice can be proved.

At what level law stops our personal freedom, or on whom principle can not be considered against the principle of freedom, it is a hard subject. Rafil signalled such four fields in which the protection of laws consider rational.

**In the sphere of Crime—**That work society which consider danger for the freedom of society, that are consider crime within law and arrange for punishment. Crime related law is known as criminal law. For example, murder and thief are the crime, and criminal law arrenge suitable can be generate for public order.

In spite of that those work can be harmful for them, that are stop by law to considering crime. For example, use of drug addiction make the human life heaven, so it is protected by law. Suicide is consider crime, whose try for suicide those are punished.

**In the sphere of Civil Dispute—**The conflict that arise between corporate bodies and individuals, for solving it there are suitable arrangement within civil law, those work that creates danger for whole world, that considers crime, but the work that are harmful for special person and corporate bodies, that are dispose under civil law. For example, if any person harm to other by negligence, then he gave damages, not bear the punishment. If any mater turned out employe by wronge way, any one leave his wife destitute pr any one break the contract with any, then such matter are solve within civil law. But times any matter of civil law become so complex and make the subject of criminal law. For example, when any breach of contract matter becomes matter of fraud then comes under the criminal law; when mutual transaction matter becomes the matter of criminal breach of trust it becomes the subject of criminal law if any bank or cashier use money in wrong way, or any goldsmith ignored to take gold form any customer then its report can written in police and such matter will solve within criminal law. And driving car if ant one injured then the matter will comes within civil law.

**In sphere of Economic control—**Many economic activity of society become regular by modern state, so many activities of person are protected. For example state fixes the rate of minimum wages for every type of workers, and arrange the correction in inflation according to price table in designated place. The situation of work and condition is regular in industries within labor law, and master is bound by this rules. Other side, some important information declared necessary by law and te workers deprived by the rights to strike. Standard is decided according to the quality of goods of market and measurement cheaters are punished. So non-government banks also do work according to the instruction of government in our country.

**In sphere of Provision of Social Welfare—**The limitation of such law raised with the development of the perception of welfare state within it tax applied on prosperous division and help the poor division or services for whole society. For example, from the collected money by these taxes school, hospitals etc. constructed so free education is provided to poor division. So at the time of providing permission to drive on profitable place the travel agencies are forced to drive on that place where are not gain profit, but people of that area got profit by it. So when entrepreneurs establish the industries then they are forced to establish the industry on backward areas which reduce their profit, but the aim is to remove the unemployment in that area. It is hoped by these industries that they will get more

profit by more profitable areas, then some parts they will give in development, and provide support in social responsibility of government. Such examples prove that applied laws stop the freedom of individuals for proving the social justice.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. The formal meaning of freedom is …… .
2. Freedom is protected by…….. .
3. Freedom is used in…… .
4. Human is …… creature.
5. The main deal of political science is …….. .

## 4.2 Dimensions of Liberty

### Civil, Political and Economical Liberty

The principle of freedom works in three important fields within democracy. In this point of view three sides of liberty are acceptable—public freedom, political freedom and economic freedom. some people compare same meaning to express freedom as only 'absence of protection', but such a negative type approach is not able to describe freedom properly.

According to important work of **Earnest Barker** 'Principle of social and political theory', **there are three things in public freedom** although these are described separately—**Physical Freedom,** means because of the processing of state the life and health should not be affected or there should not be generated any danger so human variance freely; **Intellectual freedom**, means individuals are free to express their idea and opinion; and **Practical Freedom**, means individual works freely to establish the relation with other persons. In which first thing is watertight because any protection on somatic freedom is applied in the arrangement, social security and law, and these all are the important conditions of freedom. Somatic protection is suitable as the punishment of any crime, other wise not.

The question of idea and expression of freedom is tough. According to **John Stuart Mil,** the freedom will be in the interest of society and individuals. The nature of society is dependent on the knowledge of development. Where the atmosphere of discussion is available, the knowledge is not developed. Extinguished sense is possible in social policy when there are no boundations to present unpopular comments. To stop the expression of any opinion is not only the tyranny on that person who is stopped, but its meaning will be to deprive whole human caste, present generation and upcoming generation from that profit. If that opinion was right then we deprived to correct the occasion of society. If that opinion was wrong then we also deprived society form such profit because truth is more fair when it impinge with lie. **Walter Begat** also shows that tolerance is the key of social development against opinion.

It is not doubtful that idea and expression of freedom are important within themselves. But can the negative side of such a legislative be satisfied by freedom? Is there any mean of freedom for every between broad illiteracy and ignorance? If individuals are deprived to make right decision then what is the use of liverty. In order to fulfill the liberty of idea and expression, two conditions are to be fulfilled: (a) to develop the idea power arranged the suitable education for public; and (b) media of mass communication should not be in the hand of some people, but they should gets autonomy so they develop themselves their reliability. Then the multiplicity of the sources of public relation is also necessary so public can get chance to choose the right news and idea by information. If these two things are highlighted then the freedom of idea and expression becomes not only negative, but will become the positive freedom. As far as the freedom of contract is concerned, that is also not less complex. As far as the question freedom of contract is concerned this is also not less interesting, where the present

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importance of society leaves one person on the mercy of others. So modern consciousness gives the positive form to this freedom. **Walter Friedman** writes within 'Legal Principle' that in ancient time freedom of contract was considered the necessary part individual freedom, but industrial development proved that huge community kept far form real freedom to give the formal freedom. So state making protective laws and personal contract is bounded by legal responsibility. Not only manufacturer is held responsible within judicial decision, and master is held responsible for **employee.**

In today's era, most reliable expression of political freedom is able to see in democratic arrangement. According to **William Blakstan (1723—80)**, political freedom is the power to keep impedus on rule. But this thing is applied there where rule is on the hand of others. But where government is choosen by public, here its meaning will change. According to **Barker, political freedom is not only to control on government but also making government and keeping control on it is the power of political freedom.** Government means to freely participate in election on the basis of universal franchisee; control government means freedom and free discussion, in this all people can participate according to their capability.

Political freedom is converting the positive freedom in the negative freedom by this view point. But on principle level it seems simple, it does not seem so easy on behaviour level. Every body did not get political freedom by making only the universal adult suffrage. So two conditions are necessary—(a) generate suitable education and the character of nation, so people can understand the social policy and select the representatives to keep nation-interest upper; their votes are not to be used for the inspiration of the selfishness, emergency and group interest; and (b) power of money—especially the power of black money is not so increase that it becomes the decision element in election. If the representatives of public will choose on the financial basis then certainly corruption dominance will continue in government and public interest will only hypocrisy.

The problem of economic freedom is also not less complex. The most important thing is that **negative freedom and positive freedom show opposite side of each other in economical field. Economic freedom in negative reference is that the economic activity of human is not restricted.** So master and employee have full freedom of contract. In other words, this concept is not understood by present economic inequality, but the talent and hardwork of individual make the thing to sold. **Opposite to it the positive concept of economic freedom demands the removal of economic inability of general.** So it demands such changes in economic structure by which haves and have-not more difference that one division got chance of exploitation of the other division. Briefly, positive concept of freedom demands that economic power should be used to inspire the freedom of every one, not for the downfall of the freedom of some general.

## Negative and Positive Liberty

When we define freedom as 'absence of restraint' then we give attention on negative side. In other words, our mean is that **if any body wants to do something and able to do, then stops him for so. Such a type of freedom is known as negative liberty or formal liberty.** It is only the signal of permission, and it does not express that whatever he wants to do, he will get some help. State provides control when it provides negative freedom, social arrangement are not disturbed. It is not seen that whose and how much people will gain profit by it.

Obviously, such types freedom are not sufficient for general. **When society is suffering form heavy economic inequality, then negative liberty showed indifference viewpoint for these inequalities.** The liberty which sets free strong and weak, rich and poor, in its name strong will exploit weak and poor will be exploited by rich. For providing actual liberty to weak and poor, the liberty of strong and rich has to be restricted. The weak has to be provided with security; economic level of the poor has to be uplifted. The demand of positive liberty starts here**. Positive and substantive mean is that solid steps are to be taken to remove the social and economical inability of weaker division so everyone will be able to mobilize the sources.** For this regulation of social-economic can be necessary of life. These all regulations can cut the liberty of dominant classes of society, but it will be necessary for reliable form for the principle of liberty.

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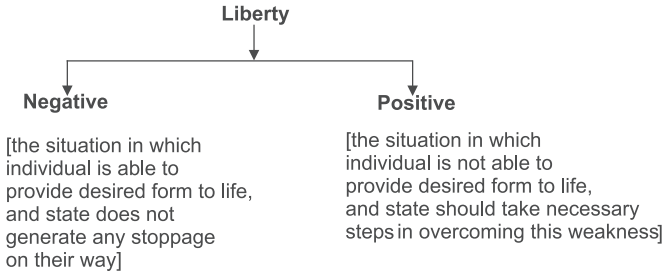
Normally political, citizen or legal liberty are the negative liberty in their limited means. For example, freedom of speech and freedom of worship express that which work is not protected by state. But social-economic positive freedom demands positive freedom, for example, freedom from hunger and compulsion is the indicator of positive freedom because state took hard steps for establishing it. Positive side of freedom is resulted in it in social concept because **that principle of freedom demands to remove that restriction and helplessness which is generated by social arrangement, and it is behavioural to remove it**. In many matters we feel helplessness in the absence of capability, but not complained. We cannot fly in the sky like free bird, but not complained that we are not free. Normally, nature kept us deprived from such capabilities, and success is not possible in such helplessness, it is not complained by any one. In other words, **complained is possible where our helplessness is the result of social arrangement, mean where social arrangement changes and that specialty can be removed.**

The power of inequality stops the inequality of power to reach till relative result. If every one gets similar freedom formally then the inequality of power makes it fruitless. **L. T. Hubhouse** rightly writes in his book 'Elements of Social Justice', "When weak side gets such authorities that if they also have such resources then they use it, then there is no mean of such freedom, because by it he is not able to get emergency protection. It is obvious that weak side does not need the authority of retaliation but the authority he gets, security should be necessary for use of it."

Briefly, negative freedom will be important for that people which are able to give desired form to their life. But the people those are around with social-economical helplessness, and not able to adjust their life, the arrangement of positive freedom will be necessary for them.




Within contemporary liberal thinking **Ijiya Barlin (1909–97), F. A. Hayek (1899–1992) and Milton Friedman (1912)** have given more importance to negative freedom in comparison of positive freedom.

## Self Assessment

**State whether the following statements are True/False:**

6. State keeps control on self to provide negative liberty of individuals.
7. The inequality of power did not stop the principle of liberty till reached the related result.
8. According to Frame, capitalism disturbs the creative activity of individuals.

## 4.3 Marxist Concept of Freedom

Marxist concept of freedom is different from its liberal – individualistic perception. Its main assumption is that:

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**Freedom Does Not Imply Loneliness-** According to Marxist viewpoint, Freedom is not such a situation in which individuals 'should leave alone'. Oppositely the situation of freedom or dependence is connected with social-economic reference. Different from society, alone and separate individuals cannot enjoy freedom.

Marxist is not accepted such assumptions of utilitarianism that adding different persons' selfishness the common interest of people cannot be proved. Oppositely it is necessary for public interest that different persons united and seen their interest. Individuals are really free within rational system of production, because in such situations whole society has ownership on the main resources of production; no one explicated to any one; and the forces of product will be such developed that every one can able to fulfill their desire and necessity. In other words, only socialism can inspire the freedom. Freedom is not possible within free market economy.

**Leap From Necessity to Freedom- Fedric Engels** in his famous work (Anti-during) (1878) has clarified the difference between necessity and freedom. Generally situation is like this in which human being and all physical things are bound by the laws of nature and nothing is controlled by human being. For example, law of gravition is the universal law of nature. Human being neither can change this in their will nor interfere in it, human being can only search these laws and on the basis of their scientific knowledge can utilise for their benefit. If individuals have no knowledge about natural rules then they pushed it in any side by untamed power. It will be the situation of necessity. Freedom is not the dream to free from operation of such rules. **Freedom means individuals getting the knowledge of rule of nature use it in arranged manner for suppling their certain objective.** In such situations individuals are not the slave of nature but they decide the objective of their life, and rules of nature become the sources of supply of objective.

Among all things of world and wildlife, human is only the element who freed himself by the slavery of nature to get the knowledge about natural rules, and the situation of freedom becomes possible. But this freedom is incomplete because at the time of control human forget to control the internal nature. Human society culture is pushed by the forces of production, means a small division establishing their ownership on the resources of production has been exploiting generals. The quantity of production has been increased within capitalism arrangement, but generals become helpless and infested. It is the situation of necessity.

## Scientific Socialism

Supporters of Marxist labeled their recognition 'Scientific Socialism'. His claim is based on logic that they do not dream to generate socialism to distinguish entrepreneurs but consider that on the basis of the scientific analysis of historical rules collective power of workers, downfall of the capitalism and establishment of the socialism on that place is impossible.

So human should use their control to get scientific knowledge of the production power of human in modern trend. **The knowledge of history is not more necessary for today's human, the capability is also necessary to change the history.** With the help of only **scientific socialism** human can enter in kingdom of freedom by kingdom of necessity. In communist manefesto of Marks and **Engels** the figure which has been sketched of community society in it importance is given to freedom. According to them, after socialism revolution in the series of social development when class distinctions will be removed, and whole production will be centered in the hand of the nation huge companionship, then political character of social power will be finished. Division and fill with divisional-protection with ancient such companionship came in existence in which **free development of every human become the necessary condition of free development of every human.**

## Humanist Basis of Freedom

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**Marx's** criticizes the capitalism within 'Economic and destroyed Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844' which was based on the fact, which allows a human to be a human only. He after destroying the soft feelings and creative power of humans with his own creativity can make himself isolated from nature and society. He destroyed the soft feelings and creative power of human. In such situation the capacity of his freedom get finished. The right way to get back the freedom will be to change the situation in which human experiences alienation. **Marx identified four levels of alienation-**

a. In starting, **in this human cut by their production and production process** because in capitalism society it is not asked by worker that which things are produced and how are they produced? Their work did not give them the satisfaction of creative work. For example, if any worker in feudalistic society made full shirt then he was satisfied that he made a useful and creative thing, may be made for some special person whom he can see to wear that shirt. So he feels alone with his work. But within capitalism arrangement no one make full shirt in big industries. Any one make color, any one make pocket, any one some other, any set buttons. There is not any sympathy with full shirt. Who wear it, and how show in it is- it is also unknown.

b. Second, **humans become stranger by nature.** Working on machine their relation with nature break and they do not enjoy the natural beauty and atmosphere of nature, like farmers become happy seeing black clouds on the sky or during the time of cutting crops all the farmers sing and dance all together, such types of enjoyment become rare for the factory workers. In this way human beings become stranger from nature and become the parts of machine. He does limited work on which a way comes.

c. Third, competition is more prime in economic system that **human cannot keep any heart relation with his companion.** In that competition profit becomes the loss of others so more conflict of interest arises. For example, when one worker fall ill then other workers get work at their place.

**d. Finally human beings become stranger by themselves** because the kingdom of necessity makes it the subject of brutish existence makes the subject of necessity in which they have no interest about culture, art and literature. In other words, **capitalism system makes it the slave of that situation that arises form self ownership of capital and property.** Its meaning is necessity of worker that the humanity of **capitalist** is as it is. Actually within the capitalism arrangement capitalism becomes the slave of the dictatorship of capital. Desire of more profit does not live him properly and he becomes nil by their all human quality. So he becomes deprived by true freedom among prosperity.

Marx's shows the way of communism for the discharge of isolation in which social ownership will establish on main major means of production, and every human will ready for the support in process of production by self-inspiration. When they will live together, they will work together and eat together then feeling of alienation will be automatically finished.

The criticizer of isolation-principle of Marx's gives logic that it was the idea of Young Marx; it was expressed in literature style or a poetry in which scientific precision was absent. It was the reason that in the work of **Mature Marx,** there is not any description of it. But the supporter of this principle claimed that in the starting work of Marx that idea is known as isolation, that are expressed as exploitation, division of labour, class domination, private property like scientific terminology.

*Did You Know?* The supporter of Marx's labeled their assumption to 'Scientific socialism'.

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**Ideology**

According to Marxist, from the starting of culture, society has been divided into two divisions, i.e., haves and have-nots. Haves division is the owner of production and resources, they using political power become dominant class. Have-nots division becomes helpless to live upon their labour. They have not any power, they remain in the situation of dependent class. During the process of social development the material needs of human being increase but their social consciousness decrease because prevailing thoughts creating fallacy in the mind of public break them to examine the main cause of exploitation, for this Marx has given this as false consciousness.

Marxist supporter of Hungary **George Lukach** (1885-1971) developed the ideology principle of isolation connecting with Marx perception. Marx describes the viewpoint as 'False consciousness. Lukach writes within his famous work 'History and Class Consciousness' that the theory of history of Marx is true, but it's incomplete. It is necessary to joint this reference with it that on different point of historical department different divisions see it on different points. All divisions in capitalist society are affected by their 'false consciousness'. Actual problem is that such situations that arise from class situation, it removes that reference and interview to real world? Leukach expressed the hope that proletariat reached on a historical situation because of increasing queerness in present social-economic life. If see then the isolation principle of Hegel is more close then the isolation principle of Marx's. Its summary is that worker can develop the capacity to generate objective knowledge because of isolation situation within capitalism.

## 4.4 Contemporary Theory of Alienation

### Views of Erich Fromm

Modern American Psychological and social viewer **Erich Fromm** show the pain of aloofness of human within contemporary human in 'Escape Fromm Freedom'. According to **Fromm**, capitalsim arrangement creates problems in creative activity of human; it stops to establish social relation with others; and it loath form himself and foggy their self-image. These situations create 'isolation' of human. Modern humans are not only feel free themselves by social-cultural boundation, but they become alone by leaving this boundation.

Physical Aloofness is helpless for human, but in contemporary world human feels such aloofness by cutting social contact, pattern, values and idea, it is their moral aloofness that is proved fiercer. When its aloofness increases more, then human becomes the prey of harmful mental disease as schizophrenia. The manner from save it will be human connect himself with world by the median of productive work and spontaneous love. The whole attention of **Fromm** is the tried to connect the breached relation of society and human in contemporary world. But its main drawback is that it only represents the person; He doesn't have any social or political plan to implement his events.

Schizophrenia = A mental disease in which patient is unable to link his feelings and thoughts with incidents happening around him.

### Views of Marcuse

Newmarxist thinker **Herbert Marcuse** (1898–1979) presented a strong explanation of separation of humans in current scenario. In his famous book 'One-dimensional man-studies in the Ideology of Advance Industrial Society' (1964) is given the logic that capitalist smartly using the media of mass

communication, made the dissatisfaction of afflicted peoples sensitive because it only excites traivial, material wants. It results in loss of human's multi-dimensional personality and remains only one dimension-satisfaction of cheap and material wants. This way consumer culture takes over the personality of humans and converts it 'one-dimensional' by sending the thoughts of creative freedom in backward direction.

*Task* Give your views on contemporary theory of alienation.

According to **Marcuse**, modern technological society caught human in his impression by encouraging 'False consciousness'. False consciousness is based on terror and consumer culture. In capitalist society both worker and capitalist are influence of terror of communist attack. Apart from this, technological revolution enhances the comfort and facilities of life. Today's society hopes for more and more comfort for their life. In this condition at some stages feeling of isolation has been almost disappeared.Workers job became very easy because of vast use of machine. Now not much is required to do his job and wages is also not so less that he could not survive. Therefore, he feels that somehow he is free from the situation of isolation. But due to the fix mechanical work their mind stop observing importance of freedom and creativity.

Today's employees could not understand that they have no more relation with creativity. They are covered around with mesh of spuriouspleasure,by getting tangled in this we could not imagine the real pleasure of constructiveness. This way totally unacquainted from the situation of separation. They work under the shadow of false consciousness. This false consciousness is not of religion, neither of supersensuous pleasure, but of hedonistic pleasure, which put cover on separation. Human lost in the attraction of golden cage like a bird who forgets the pleasure of flying in open sky. This is the irony of capitalist society that human not only lost is freedom but he is not aware of it. To find lost freedom very first he must be made aware about 'separation'so that he should know that he lost some precious thing and he starts search for it. Until he himself will not wish for freedom, there is no possibility to get it.

> When a slave starts feeling proud on foot shackles, wearing in his neck like precious ornaments, then there is no way out for him for freedom. —***Mahatma Gandhi***

## Views of Habermas

Neo-Marxism's brilliant spokesman **Yugrain Habermas** (1929) writes in his famous book "Legitimation Crisis" (1975) and under the other articles he noted problem of independence as Legitimation Crisis of capitalism. According to **Habermas**, due to singular development of science, technology and organization in contemporary world, human forgot responsibilityof reasoning and emancipation and rationality remains only to enhance technical efficiency. In other words, humans' reasoning power do not tell them the aim of their life but only tell them how to collect the means. Therefore, it does not show the way of liberty but makes him dependent by domination. Other side organisation of liberal democracy converted the mutual relation of humans into the commercial relation of buyer and seller. Base of democracy is—Political discussion, but in contemporary condition it never convert in shape of real debate, because people involved in this debate are linked with powerful andorganized Interests. Therefore, political decisions are result of mutual adjustment of vested interests, not the result of free public expressions. Media of mass communication do not spread information and liberal thought expressions but only promote the fake entertainment along with commercial interests.

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**Habermas** writes that the tradition society accepts the legitimacy of society linked with interpretation of historical, religious and philosophical facts. But capitalism defines scientific information and automatic machine as base of certification; therefore the traditional ways of legitimation had been demolished. It has been replaced by mutual benefit or equal exchange as fundamental of social organisation. And Market society's rule got the supreme recognition. Science and technology deprived the public from political consciousness by presenting technological replica sociological organisation, means they have no concern with sociological aims. They promote that problems which they are facing are technical or organisational and can be solved with the help scientific instruments. It feels like that human not only remain the creature who can think or decide but also convert into a machine who uses the ready made information. In this situation to retain the human's freedom again his reasoning needs to be diverted in new direction, so that human concerns about the aim of human-life.

## 4.5 Summary

- There is no doubt that principle of separation depicts the real picture of the plight of human lost under the crowd of vivid lights in modern society, but does not show the way of emancipation. If you look on principle of separation it looks like that it is the comparison of utopia and reality to point out the mistakes. In other words, it puts the real society in place of imaginary society where humans' all basic needs can be fulfilled, where everybody will accept the sociological organisation by heart, and where only restriction remains which human can accept happily. Such systems can be accepted as a goal, but cannot make it evaluation criteria of present system.

## 4.6 Keywords

- **Master:** Boss (like landlord)
- **Slave:** Servant

## 4.7 Review Questions

1. What do you mean by 'Liberty'. Explain.
2. Explain the different dimensions of liberty.
3. What to do you mean by Marxist's concept of liberty.
4. Give your thoughts on fundamental of contemporary separation.

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. 'Lack of restrictions' | 2. Similarity | 3. Society | 4. Judicious |
| 5. 'condition of liberty' | 6. True | 7. False | 8. True |

## 4.8 Further Readings

*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science—** *B. K. Tiwari, D. K. Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Political Science—** *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

**3. The History of Politics—** *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

**4. Political Science—** *Neeraj Arya, Khel Shahitya Kendra.*

# Unit 5: Equality

Notes

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Study idea of equality.
- Know various dimensions of equality.
- Explain Equality and justice.
- Learn the concept of liberty and equality.

## Introduction

Liberty and equality are the main political criteria of modern era. There were three ideals of French revolution – Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. They acted as motivational force towards modern think tank. The propagators of liberty initiated a new era after routing imperial power. But when the primary liberals restricted thought of liberty as basic principle of Free Market Economy, new imbalances emerged in society. The sponsors of equality undertook to route out that imbalance. It was expected that after establishing equality in the society, the aura of fraternity will evolve spontaneously.

## 5.1 Idea of Equality

The problem of equality and inequality has been the main point of political reflection since ancient time. For instance, Aristotle said that inequality is the root cause of revolt in various regions. But the criterion of equality and inequality keeps on changing in different times. There is an effort to provide logical definition for the idea of equality in modern era. Nevertheless, the idea of equality is a complex matter and sometimes the opponents misinterpret it in such a way that the promoters of it can never think of. Therefore, primarily it is essential to clear out the misconceptions permeated in the society.

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## Equality as a Statement of Right, Not of Fact

It is essential to clarify that equality is a matter which is demanded, as Rights are demanded. In other words, we believe that we should behave equally with all; we do not say that all human beings are equal. Sometimes we also discuss equality among human beings symbolically. For example, we say that, "All humans are born alike" or "God has created all humans alike"; or we say that "humans are intellectual beings" and from this point of view all humans are alike. All these statements indicate that all humans deserve equal rights. We do not claim that all humans have same physical and mental abilities, beauty or talent.

Sometimes to assert the equality of humans we also refer to their inherent equality and inequality. For example, we contend that the colour of skin may vary but colour of blood is same. Nature has not created different castes and creeds from different elements. A herb or medicine affects all humans alike; it does not differentiate between black or white. Blood group of non-white can match the blood of white, and can revive life, or eye donation can restore one's eyesight. Moreover, we also say that appearance of humans may differ, but their physical, mental and intellectual needs are the same, therefore, it is not fair to discriminate. Sometimes we also try to establish basic equality of humans on the basis of apparent equality. Nevertheless, equality is a belief, it is not a thing to be sought or acquired.

Sometimes to oppose the idea of equality it is argued that it is contradictory to the law of nature. When nature has created all things diverse – earth and sky do not ever meet; the sun, the moon and the stars, the hills and valleys, the rivers and oceans, flora and fauna, animals and birds, insects, men and women, white and black, tall and short, etc. are unequal, then why should we try to setup the law of equality against nature's discipline? Such arguments are given only by those who are being benefitted by these prevalent inequalities, and they wish to deprive others of equivalent rights claiming that this benefit is the reward of their competence. Truth is that we do not accept nature as it is but we keep on regularly interpreting it according to human needs. The overflowing river which can flood fields and houses, by constructing a dam over it we not only control probable devastation, but also generate electricity from mighty force of water and extra water can be used to irrigate the fields. So it is not logical to oppose the idea of equality in social life under the guise of nature.

## Equality as a Modern Idea

In given meaning idea of equality is a modern concept. Before American Revolution (1776) and French Revolution (1789), inequality in wealth, status and power was accepted as natural and fixed system in society and under current analogy an attempt was made to establish them as right and logical. From the onset of modern era a question mark was put on those inequalities to find out which inequalities were outcome of social system; which of them are unjust, and which inequalities could be eradicated through social activities? It means that individual's equality is an accepted principle and in social life only those inequalities can be accepted which have logical base.

## Idea of Equality Postulates Social Change

The supporters of equality demand to eradicate those inequalities from social life which seem unjust. Eradication of inequalities means demand of change in social system.

**J.J. Rousseau** (1712–78) in his book 'Discourse on the Origin of Inequality', differentiated between two kinds of inequalities in human beings: Natural Inequality and Conventional Inequality. Natural Inequality elaborates factual case, i.e., difference found in ages, health, beauty, physical strength and intellectual capability of human beings. These differences are because of natural system and mostly they are permanent and unalterable; humans have neither created nor can alter them. On the other hand, conventional inequality notifies disparities in wealth, prestige and power. Under this, only

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some distinct people get the privileges whereas general public is deprived of them. These differences are the outcome of social system and they are alterable; human beings have made them themselves, and can alter them. For instance, nature has created some people white and some black – this is an example of natural inequality. But if white people live in grand houses, and black live in huts, this arrangement is not done by nature; humans have done it. This is conventional inequality. When we say on the principle of equality that all white and black people should get equal rights and opportunities for education, prestige, wealth and amenities, we certainly are demanding social change. We do not demand that all blacks should be changed to white.

**Rousseau** has given an argument pointing out difference in natural inequality and conventional inequality, which can be further moved ahead in recent times. According to **Rousseau**, natural inequalities are often unalterable, but alterations can be brought about to a great extent in conventional inequality. If we see in reference to the modern era, with the progress in science and technology various natural inequalities are also not entirely unalterable. We know that individual's health and physical strength can be enhanced with proper nutrition; with proper education and training mental strength can be enhanced; even individual's beauty can be augmented with appropriate makeup and surgery. Various illnesses can be controlled if taken care of timely and humans can be free from physical and mental deficiencies. But possibilities of such improvements depend upon particular human beings social and economical condition; how much scientifically and technically advanced is the society in which he lives or how much elaborate and skilled social services are there? As such the borderline between natural inequality and conventional inequality is not deleted, but the area of conventional inequality goes on increasing and side by side the responsibility of the society to remove such inequalities also mounts on. In **John Reese's** words, "Whenever all or a few people notice that some inequalities are unjustified and a change can be brought about in them, only then the ideal of equality becomes motivational force of political life." (Equality) (1971). Human beings generally complain against some inequalities which are not natural inequality but those are such inequalities which have been absorbed by social system. Such inequalities appear in their social, economical and political order, and those affect a distribution of wealth and opportunities of development—they are not such inequalities due to which some are more talented, attractive and powerful in comparison to others.

*Notes* Social services are such services which are provided by the state to improve the quality of life of the citizens. There is a special place of those services which are provided for the welfare of poor and weak sections of society, for example, healthcare, education, transport, entertainment etc. of helpless children, aged and women.

## Equality Does Not Imply Literal Equality

A demand is made to eradicate any kind of inequality up to the point where it appears unjust or unjustified. The meaning of equality is not that all are made equivalent with blind eye. For example, we demand equal pay for equal work for men and women because we think that it is unjustified to offer less salary to women who work as much as men, we do not contend that there should be equal pay for men and women for all types of work. The same way to appoint different people on different posts on the basis of their qualification, experience and diligence is not against the principle of equality.

If we try to establish literal equality in the society there will be various types of discrepancies. If we propose to award equal marks to all the students, how will we select suitable candidates to grant any

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scholarship, higher education or to give admission to prestigious enterprises? If there is no special prize for special accomplishment, there will be no incentive for more diligence or conscientiousness. As such, our society will be deprived of those great arts or scientific inventions for which continuous effort and persuasion is needed.

Apart from this, if we apply literal equality, the society will be deprived of excellence. Under this system we may provide inferior instruments to orchestra's expert artists and superior instruments to inexpert people thinking that they will give out similar melody! We may give inferior books to meticulous students and better books to thick headed students, so that exam results remain the same! We may not allow pretty girls to groom themselves and provide untidy dresses to them whereas ugly girls will be groomed and made to wear beautiful clothes, so that beautiful and ugly girls look similar. Can we ever accept such ridiculous definitions of equality?

### Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. There were three ideals of French Revolution are ..... equality, fraternity.
2. In many states discrimination is proved to be the cause of ..... .
3. God has created all human beings ..... .
4. ..... demands respect for liberty of others.

## 5.2 Logical Grounds of Discrimination

Positive version of liberty automatically accepts some restrictions. Positive version of equality also approves some discrimination provided they support it without depreciating it. There can be two well - reasoned points of this discrimination: (a) There must be some logical reasons of the discrimination; and (b) In the event of free competition, some relaxation should be given to poor sector so that it does not suffer from any harm from powerful lobby.

First point indicates that there must be a logical base to grant or deny a right to anyone. Indiscriminate treatment should not be met out thoughtlessly to anyone. For instance right to vote should be given to all who are capable of using it or to all adults. It is not correct to confer such rights to only wealthy section of the society, because competence to vote does not depend on dominance of wealth. Some decades ago a reasoning was given in some countries to deprive women's right to vote because they are weaker in comparison to men. This reasoning was not logical as physical strength has nothing to do in executing right to vote. However, it is logical to deny an insane person the right to vote as proper use of vote cannot be expected from such persons. So when we claim that there should be no discrimination in allotting employment and houses on the basis of white or black race, we mean that the ability to work or use a house does not correspond with the color of the skin. Moreover, a black man needs employment and a house as much as a white man. Therefore, in this context difference in colour cannot be taken as logical base.

The criteria of the logical base should be applied to all those cases where prerogatives are conferred on a particular section and denied to remaining ones. Otherwise this discrimination will give rise to such a situation in which license will be given to one section for other's exploitation. **Herald. J. Laski** in his important book, "The State in Theory and Practice" [1935] has written that where a particular section is denied equal rights on the basis of not having wealth or not belonging to a particular caste, religion or section, there is always a desire to set up balance of power in favour of the elite. But on the criteria of reason these arguments are not justified. **Aristotle** favoured bonded labour policy, Locke and Hitler supported deprivation of citizenship to Roman Catholics and Jews respectively, but the

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persons placing such logic were just trying to authenticate their vested interests as sensible principles. Those who do not agree, when analyse those arguments based on sentimental presumptions, find that none of them is genuine.

Authoritative base for discrimination will be to provide appropriate concessions to weaker sections. This is unanimous principle of social organization, although vested interests entirely neglect it from time to time. Special care of a weak and unhealthy member is taken by the family. Taxes are collected on the basis of how much tax can be given by a particular person, but help of police, fire brigade or any other help is sent on the basis of one's requirement. Social services – such as transport, post and telegraph, electricity, water, fuel, roads, drains, gardens, playgrounds, school, hospitals, libraries etc are built to give maximum benefits to needy section. Immediate help is provided by the government for the victims of accidents, war, mutiny, drought, flood, epidemic or different maladies because they are in dire need of such help.

To provide protection to weaker section in social and economic field is greatly reasonable. For example, to provide appropriate representation to weak and minorities in decision-making bodies, public services etc. is in lien with the idea of equality. In present social circumstances the classes that start its education, training etc. late, if concession in age limit is given to them, it should not be termed as violation of equality. In India various arrangements are done for the members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes – such as seats are reserved in Parliament, Legislative Assemblies and Panchayats, in public services and educational institutions, concession is given in tuition fee, special scholarships are granted to them, free coaching is provided to them for competitive examinations, relaxation in age limit is given while giving jobs and application fee is either not taken or very nominally taken from them. Apart from this, there is elaborate arrangement for reservation for other backward classes (OBC'S). All these arrangements are made because these groups have lagged behind for centuries and cannot compete with others on pretext of equality. Therefore, special strategies will be kept in action till it is determined that their appropriate development has taken place and they can compete with them on the standard of equality.

## Debate on Reverse Discrimination

A few days back, in the U.S.A a question about reverse discrimination propped up concerning the idea of equality. Main point was that when an affirmative action is taken to benefit deprived section, preferential treatment is met out to give jobs and education to them; it involves discrimination for rest of the section. So this argument is given that if equality means 'Removal of Discrimination' it is not correct to adjust the previous discrimination in reverse direction. Should preference be given to people of black race and women to give admission in rare courses of higher education especially in field of medicine and law because in past they could not get such opportunities? It means that since in past those sections suffered discrimination on the basis of race and sex, now should discriminatory attitude carried on illogically for other sections just for compensation as the other sections are being deprived of equality in opportunity in today's situation?

### Affirmative Action

By this activity special concessions are given to backward section (such as women, blacks or any deprived section) to grant employment, promotion or admission in educational institutions so that whatever injustice inflicted upon them in the past, should be compensated.

Various arguments have been given in favour of Affirmative Action for the deprived section—

a. Some supporters justify it from the point of view of 'Compensatory Justice'. According to this argument, preference in opportunities of development should be accorded to members

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of black race and women to compensate for unjust discrimination done in the past, and now they should be given preference in opportunities for progress.

b. Some give this logic that the preferential treatment with them would be helpful in fulfilling the aim of achieving true equality. For example, with increase in number of black doctors and lawyers, concrete evidence will be noticed that they are equivalent to white races.

c. Some claim that due to scarce opportunities of development, the allotment should not be only based on merit but consideration should be there for merit as well as their need. The need of the deprived section is so acute that after getting minimum required qualification they should get preference in government jobs and educational opportunities so that they do not have to compete with powerful groups.

The opponents of 'Affirmative Action' also present various arguments to back up their viewpoint—

a. The promoters of Neo-conservatism think that idea of equality can only be applied on the pretext of 'Equality in opportunities'. By 'Affirmative Action' the effort to establish literal equality in the society will be disastrous because it will create a hollow or vacuum in the foundation of merit, excellence, authority and dignity which is setting stones of social stability and progress.

### Neo-conservatism

This principle repeats this assertion of conservatives that it is right to use old and used methods in place of new and unused methods because of the present experience. American Neo – conservatives give this reasoning that employment and higher study have increased in the society; work efficiency has decreased on giving preference in providing jobs and opportunities for higher education to women and non whites. Even then all efforts to eradicate poverty and discrimination from the American society have failed. So it is better to opt pre used ways.

### Procedural and Substantive Justice

Procedural Justice advocates that procedure of justice should be upright and after that whatever is the outcome, it should be upheld. On the other side, substantive justice endorses that right objective should be attained with justice; and for this needful adjustment can be done.

b. Some furnish the argument that affirmative action is total violation of Procedural Justice because it neglects logical base of the comparison of different people and to some extent it is also against substantive justice because with the ancient generation of women and non-whites the injustice that was inflicted upon them, the present generation of men and whites cannot be held responsible for that, then why should they be punished?

c. Thirdly, in reference to affirmative action, people of black race and women should not be seen as different individuals, but should be seen as collectivities with whom injustice had been done in the past. They were given preference only on the basis of race and sex—not on the basis of personal merit. For example, rich and advantaged black people get preference in comparison to poor and disadvantaged whites. In other words, the advantage of this preference is not enjoyed by truly deserving cases, but more alert and vocal sections of deprived group take entire advantage of it; and in the end,

d. Personal dignity and feeling of self respect is the main dictum of philosophy of equality. If a person knows that he has got this rare opportunity on the basis of preference which was due for deprived group—not on his own merit, his self respect will be hurt and an inferiority feeling will take hold of him.

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In India, issue of adverse discrimination is not raised vociferously, but in contemporary society there is special sympathy for deprived group. But here also the main problem is to identify suitable person. The country in which poverty is widely spread and opportunities for progress are so rare, there is always an apprehension that so called more alert and vocal sections of the under-privileged may acquire entire advantage by duping general public. To counter such situations the Supreme Court of India has planned to keep 'Creamy Layer' of 'Other Backward Classes'—means comparatively people of higher level or affluent will be kept out of the frame of reservation so that its advantage may reach to really suitable level. Moreover, to save new generation from despair and discouragement this thought is becoming popular that ample help and facilities should be available from the public fund but only when they acquire suitable qualification, then they should be allowed to compete the general category. In fact, the question of adverse discrimination is a complex issue for those solution we have to go ahead very carefully.

## 5.3 Various Dimensions of Equality

The concept of equality can be applied to various fields of social life. Eventually, we discuss legal, political, social and Economic dimensions are closely connected with each other. If we view the idea of equality from different angles, mainly following dimensions emerge before us.

### Legal Equality

In the beginning of modern era the demand for equality was raised in the form of legal equality. The meaning of this was that equal legal status should be given to all members of a society despite their inborn physical and mental faculty and other differences. **J.J.Rousseau**, in his famous book "The Social Contract" was written that it is prime characteristic of civil society to grant legal equality to all the citizens. According to him, nature has endowed human beings with unequal physique and intellect; social contract cannot interfere with this. But from Legal Right viewpoint, all are equal. **Earnest Baker** in his famous book "Principles of Social and Political Theory" (1976) has written, "The main principle of a state is that it gives similar legal status to us. We may differ from each other but our importance before law is same. So the meaning of the idea of equality is that, whatever is granted to me as a right, will be given to others in the same proportion and the rights which are given to them will be given to me as well."

Nowadays the principle of legal equality is recognized automatically but to gain recognition several years elapsed. In ancient societies, the idea of equality was totally unknown. For example, in Manusmriti different kinds of punishment were incorporated for different castes for same crime, or the lower is the caste of the criminal, more severe will be the punishment. Even **Aristotle** suggested that "a slave should be given stricter punishment as compared to a freeman, because a slave is less sensitive". In European history up to 18th century legal discrimination was very common. Prior to French Revolution the aristocrats were allowed to produce evidence in the court but the general public had no right to produce evidence for their defense. In England, there was no legal capacity of a slave, or from legal point of view he had no identity. Up to 1918 there was a rule that whoever gets poor relief, his legal capacity will be very insignificant because he would have right to vote like others. Up to 1870 married women did not have legal right to own wealth and till 1918 all women were denied right to vote. All these discriminations could be eradicated after long struggle.

One version of legal equality is equality before law. **J.R Lucus** in 'Principle of Politics' (1976) has given very emphatic definition of equality before law : "Equality before law does not provide confidence that the law will treat everyone similarly, but determines that the excess to law will be open to all, and only those issues will be discussed which are thought to be relevant under law. Nobody is too inferior to go in the custody of law; and nobody is too powerful to not to be responsible to a court. Anybody

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can demand assistance from the court; everybody is bound to obey their order. The courts will give judgement, after hearing both the parties, correctly and impartially, without any fear or favour." So the meaning of legal equality is that all citizens will be under equal subjection of law equally and all citizens will avail equal protection of the laws.

Legal equality is undoubtedly foundation stone of Legal Justice. But in some societies there is large gap between wealthy and poor, as such, legal justice is not enough to procure true justice. In legal equality all citizens can be equally benefitted if they are capable of taking help from the court for the compensation of their loss. As long as legal expenditure is too high, legal proceedings will be very complicated, and lot of financial discrimination will be there, so the probability of equal benefit of legal protection will remain uncertain. In India we are very much familiar with such situations. This is a real irony that here an innocent poor person can hardly prove his innocence but smugglers, black-marketers, hoarders, profiteers, adulterers and other anti-social elements engage shrewd and expert lawyers to defend them in court.

Steps are taken to provide the benefit of legal equality by extending free legal aid to poor. Even then it is difficult to presume that cases poor as well as rich will be presented in the court with same ingenuity. Lucas has warned "If one case is presented nonchalantly and the other very meticulously by engaging the services of the best lawyer, the object of justice cannot be achieved." In such situations the judge has big responsibility. **Lucas** has further written, "We greatly trust the judges that whatever difference is there in the skill of the lawyers, they will know the merit and demerit of the presented case. But we definitely determine from the medium of legal aid, the access to the court is not just hollow equality and because of inability to express or due to poverty, nobody is deprived of a hearing."

This matter does not end here. Even the judges have their social concepts. Most of the talented and successful lawyers and judges belong to higher section of society, and it is quite apparent that most of them in heart of their hearts have faith in the welfare of the rich section. As such they may analyse law and justice in such a way that poor may not get authentic justice. It is a matter of pleasure that sensible importance is being given to social justice in Indian judiciary. So the indications of progress in the direction of changing legal justice to substantive equality are being noticed.

### Social Justice

The point of view concerning making of social policies or the solution of controversies, in which keenness is shown to grant special relief and protection to weak and poor while deciding mutual conflicting claims of the different parties.

## Political Equality

The meaning of political equality is equality of the citizen's political rights. Its implication is—decision making bodies should have right of representation on the basis of equality or observing the rule, "One Man One Vote". It also inhibits the thought that nobody will be debarred from getting a political job on the basis of birth, sex or religion. It means there will be no privileged class which has absolute right on government job. The executives also would not give any special importance to wishes and welfare of any group or particular individual in the society. The principle of political equality depends on the credence that man himself is intellectual and he has political commonsense, although there is disparity in physical strength, genius, ability, education and wealth. Along with this a consensus is linked that if all have equal political rights, they will deliver the best eloquence to common good, and they will motivate and force the policy- makers to frame public policy in accordance to common good.

The demand of political equality began with the demand of legal equality. In the beginning there was no difference between them. As **D.D.Raphael** in "Problem of Political Philosophy" has written,

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"French Revolutionists were demanding the end of logic less privileges while asking for equality under which political rights were reserved only for wealthy and elite." In advanced stage of liberalism political equality was being recognized as democratic rights of the general public such as universal franchise, to enjoy liberty of following or expressing views about any political ideology without any fear or favour and have equal rights to form any to influence political opinion.

*Did You Know?* The Principle of Liberty believes in "Liberty of an individual."

The beginning of political equality was in form of progressive concept. Its result appeared in the form of establishment of democracy. But later on it was experienced this idea was not enough to fulfill the expectations assumptions of the public. As the capitalism came up, social and economic disparities went on increasing in the society. To eradicate them, the demand for socio- economic equality was put forward. In the first half of the 19th century the famous French writer **Alexis de Tocqueville** (1805–59) in the book, "Democracy in America" (1835) wrote that the discrepancies found in political equality and economic disparities were noticed. The democratic society will not abide by it indefinitely. So he suggested that the first phase of democratic world wide revolution was of change in political set up, but it would give rise to its second phase which is mainly of social and economic transformation. He predicted that after political turmoil there would be conflict between wealthy and poor sections. He wrote that the working class had begun to devote attention to social issues in place of political controversies and they holding such opinions and strategies which might annihilate economic disparity from the society. Thus, **Tocqueville** in his theory predicted the development of socialism whose main concern was to deal with the problem of socio-economic equality.

## Socio-economic Equality

The social and economic elements of equality are linked with each other in theory of socio-economic equality because there is close relation between them. Legal and political equality, in their original form were symbol of formal equality which can be termed as absence of discrimination. Social and economic equality demand Substantive Equality which is inspirational power of social change. The concept of legal - political equality was the slogan of primeval Liberalism. The idea of socio-economic equality was placed as objective of Socialism. The concept of socio-economic equality was the logical outcome of the pre-medieval idea of equality. So, it was a progressive idea which was opted later on by the Positive Liberal Theory.

It is important that the demand of legal–political equality was put up to give momentum to the rights of new middle class – or executive class of businessmen; the demand of socio-economic equality was put forward to enforce rights of the working class. The legal–political equality contributed to set up Capitalism. The aim of socio–economic equality was to promote socialism and wipe out the demerits of Capitalism. The supporters of socio-economic equality contend that only wealthy class of people were benefitted with legal-political equality; to save general public from injustice, establishment of socio-economic equality is essential.

In legal–political equality and socio–economic equality, the meaning of equality is not the same. Legal equality endorses equal legal identity of every individual; political equality also accepts full liberty of an individual per, "One Man, One Vote" dictum. But socio–economic equality does not demand equal share for all. Socio–economic equality only demands curtailment of those disparities which breed social injustice. For example, legal–political equality is meant to open avenues of education,

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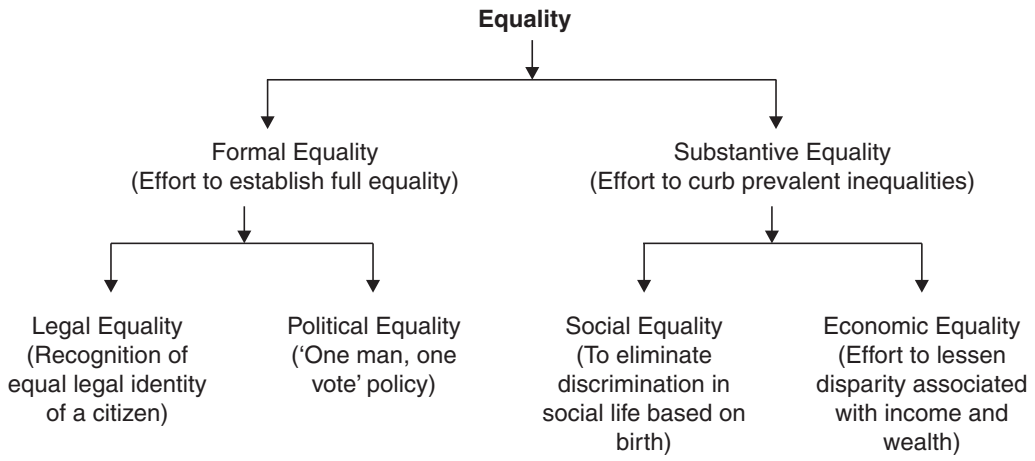
employment, journey, and entertainment etc. for all without any discrimination. But it does not ensure that the opportunity to take advantage of such a situation will be available to all. Socio–economic equality wants that amenities for comfortable, respectable and refined life should be made available to even poor and destitutes. Their helplessness may not result in exploitation by others. The idea of socio–economic equality has turned a modern state to a welfare state. The welfare state levies heavy taxes on wealthy people to arrange social services whose advantage is mainly enjoyed by poor. The extension of the facility of education, health, employment, rest-houses, cheap transport, cereal, fuel etc. to general public by the government are some of the efforts for socio–economic equality. Regulation of working conditions in industry, minimum wages, workmen's compensation, old age pension etc. enhances socio–economic equality. In short, socio–economic equality is a measure to rectify the imbalance eventuated from markets of financial system.

**(Dimensions of Equality)**




## Self Assessment

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

5. In European History up to 18th century the most common topic was of:

   (a) Legal inequality (b) Legal Equality

   (c) India (d) Russia

6. For the proposal to set up equality forcibly what will the independent society do?

   (a) Reject it (b) Accept it

   (c) Introduce it (d) None of the above

7. Instead of bestowing liberty to no one, it is better to give people:

   (a) Full Liberty (b) Partial Liberty

   (c) Financial Aid (d) None of the above

8. Quest of justice is only subject of procedure whose aim is:

   (a) Enhance liberty (b) Enhance justice

   (c) Motivate public (d) None of the above

## 5.4 Liberty and Equality

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| Liberty desires respect for other's liberty. | —Jawahar Lal Nehru |
|---|---|

When we discuss mutual relation of liberty and equality, it is essential to note how we match one definition with the definition of equality.

### Liberty and Equality as Complementary Principles

The principle of liberty trusts 'Freedom of a man'. In other words, liberty is meaningful only it is interpreted as equal freedom for all. If one's freedom becomes boundation for others, this state will be adverse to the spirit of liberty. If freedom of a powerful person scuttles the freedom of weak; if a clever person endangers the freedom of simple man; if the freedom of rich handicaps poor, the concept of liberty will become meaningless. This topic asks for reasonable restraints on liberty so that one's freedom may not hinder the freedom of others. It means that, I shall not enjoy my freedom to deprive the freedom of others. "We have to watch, how extensively can we implement this rule to maintain our mutual relations in the cultured society."

Under the social organization of the tribal, nobody has the permission to inflict harm to any other member of the organization with his physical strength or deceitful ways. As civilization progresses, the powerful section look for new zones to enhance its power and new and strong means of exploitation become available for them. Thus, in a civilized society one section not only with his physical strength increased his wisdom, but with the power of his wealth can exploit other sections. Moreover, these people's physical and intellectual capacity is limited and cannot be increased by grouping. But the power of wealth has no limits because in the absence of proper regulation a small section can amass entire society's wealth at one place. Secondly, he purchases the best talent and labour of the society and utilizes it for himself with his power of wealth and thus, expands limitless power. As a result magnificent buildings are built for a few and general public has to rot in slums. The wide gap of socio- economic discrepancy keeps on widening. In order to bridge the gap, voice is raised in favour of equality.

Therefore, the foremost demand is to restrict one class from exploiting others on behest of wealth. The system which upholds economic discrepancies assert that the rich have managed to earn exceptional wealth, status or power justifiably, whatever be the matter, this system cannot maintain idea of equality. The first requisite of equality is that there should be total change in the system which makes one section puppet by the other section.

**R.H.Tony** (1880–1962), **H.J.Laski** (1893–1950) and **C.B.McPherson** (1911–87) endorse that the principle of equality is supplement of liberty.

### Idea of Equality as Impediment to Liberty

Some thinkers have hinted towards those stages where system of equality becomes impediment to liberty. French thinker **Alexis de Tocqueville** (1805–59) has written that the main problem set up compromise between liberty and equality. The expansion of democracy encourages equality, it endangers liberty as much. Democracy sets up majority rule which in turn reshapes as Tyranny of Majority, Liberty demands respect of individuality, but democracy acknowledges the existence of Public Opinion and encourages the tendency of uniformity for all, this tendency forces individual to submit before democracy, hence, encourages the concentration of power. As a result those who hold different views are laughed at, and they are misunderstood for keeping different opinion by those who keep popular views. In democracy the power of public opinion is not only used for political

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coercion; it takes the form of social and moral force to suppress unpopular views. Public opinion is not seen as exercising any force seemingly, but internally it snubs new ideas.

According to this viewpoint, if the principle of liberty demands variety of interests and opinions, principle of popular equality encourages conformity of opinions and perspectives. According to **Tocqueville**, democracy has almost solved the problem of equality, but it has confounded the problem of liberty all the more. In fact, **Tocqueville** has not refuted the principle of equality. But he has given only this warning that in the sphere of expression of thoughts the demand of equality should not be taken as demand of conformity, and it should not be fostered to the extreme that it may become means of suppression of liberty. After being inspired by this logic English philosopher **John Stuart Mill** (1806–73) argued that if opinion of one is different from others, the society has no right to snub him.

But some thinkers oppose equality in reference to liberty. For example, the contemporary English Prof. **Isaiah Berlin** (1909–97) in famous essay, 'Two Concepts of liberty' (1958) upheld Independent Values of liberty and equality and claimed that they cannot be merged as one after he analysed their different values. But further he dismissed the claim of equality endorsed central value of liberty. According to **Berlin**, the meaning of liberty is only this and anyone does not have to face any impediment from anyone while realising his dream. Differentiating between negative and positive forms of liberty **Berlin** advocated that a state can only protect negative liberty; the positive liberty is personal matter of an individual and about that the state has nothing to do. **Berlin** has contended that if one cannot fly like an eagle by spreading its wings or cannot swim in the sea, like a whale, this is his shortcoming. Likewise, if anybody cannot afford fine food, world tour or expenditure of the court, he cannot complain to the state that he is not able to do so as he knows that there are no legal restrictions to avail these amenities. So Berlin dismissed the claim of equality and kept eradication of Socio-economic Inequalities out of the jurisdiction of the state. **Berlin's** logic is very unreasonable—**B.C.Parikh** wrote in 'Contemporary Political Thinkers' (1982): "If a person thinks that absence of amenities in his life is due to social system, hence, it is equal to interference in his liberty, what will be the reaction of Berlin?" So **Berlin** has presented a confused picture of the idea of equality by placing natural and moral inequalities parallel and he himself has tainted the principle of liberty by separating the principle of liberty from the principle of equality.

The contemporary Austrian thinker **F. A. Hayek** (1899–1992) in his renowned book "Constitution of Liberty" gave argument by admitting that principle of liberty and equality are contradictory and different abilities and talents are found in different people. When the rule of "Equality before Law" is applied, inequality of the income and wealth will result automatically. The method of curbing this inequality can be by imposing Authoritarian Rule and suppress personal talents and aspirations. Hence, the proposal to establish equality forcibly cannot be approved of by an independent society. In fact, **Hayek** has given so much significance to liberty in comparison to equality that he does not agree to claim of equal freedom. In his opinion personal law is a requisite for social progress. May be, very few people are ready to undertake big work which is helpful for the progress of the society. It cannot be denied such liberty on the pretext that very few people will be benefitted by it. According to **Hayek**, it is better to give liberty to some instead of not giving it to anyone, and instead of giving a little liberty to all, it is better to give full liberty to some, even if no freedom is granted to the rest of the people. While distributing Cake of Freedom, it is not essential to provide equal amount to all, but while affirming each one's portion it should be noted how much contribution is made by a person in the progress of the society. **Hayek** wants to solve the problem of the liberty of an individual under market strategy and suggests that the state should arrange for public sector. But without interfering in market policies how can the state mobilize social services—about this **Hayek** has not furnished any concrete planning. So even after being so strong supporter of Individual Freedom, **Hayek** could not prepare any solid ground for it. **Hayek** has weakened the roots of liberty by separating liberty from social justice.

## 5.5 Equality and Justice

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When we discuss mutual relation of equality and justice, it is essential to see how we are coordinating between the illustrations of equality with justice? **Aristotle** said, the meaning of justice is to treat equal people equally and unequal people unequally. So it is essential to know before awarding a judgement who is equal and who are unequal. **Aristotle** has warned that those who are equal, in one manner come to conclusion that they should be equal in all matters. For example, the citizens who are equal, start assuming that they should get equal power, wealth and, recognition. So when they do not get equal privileges, they experience feeling of injustice. There crops up feeling of prejudice which in turn takes the form of rebellion. To maintain peace in the society such susceptibilities should not be allowed to grow. So the idea of equality should not be encouraged in the state.

Nowadays, the people who wish to maintain prevalent inequalities of power, wealth and status; they endorse logic of **Aristotle** on the pretext of justice. They warn time and again, the people should not demand total change of existing system. For example, contemporary Austrian thinker **F. A. Hayek** (1899–1992) in his latest book, 'Law Legislation and Liberty: The Mirage of social justice' (Part–2) (1976) has given a verdict that the idea of social justice is meaningless. Justice is basically a feature of human conduct; no society can be fully justifiable or non-justifiable. If liberty is curtailed for the sake of equality, there surely will be tension, contentiousness and controversy in the society. The quest of justice is only subject of procedure, whose aim is to encourage liberty. Under this each person should get maximum opportunity to fulfill his selfish means depending upon his knowledge and understanding of his welfare.

### Libertarianism

One contemporary principle of politics is one that considers liberty of an individual as an authentic base of public opinion. This principle endorses free market economy as the prima facie of liberty and rejects the principle of Welfare State. It substantiates minimum intervention of the state in mutual relation of the people.

*Task* Express your views about the relation of liberty and equality.

**Hayek** and likewise thinkers endorse Libertarianism in the pretext of liberty. Libertarianism demands the system in which able and affluent do not have to face any impediment in the progress. They should not be bothered about the poverty or misfortune of others; burden should not put on the able and affluent even for the welfare of the weak and poor sections of the society. Libertarianism backs up Procedural Justice. In that system only formal equality is demanded so that able and affluent do not have to face any hurdle for any contract or deal for their benefit. Procedural justice supports to change all social relations to market relations. For him the meaning of equality is that all rules and regulations are applied to all members equally. According to him the state's Task is to watch that anyone or section may not jeopardize well-being of others with deceit or force. Under this a comparison is made between people's mutual relation and struggle of race. One need not worry who will win or lose. The Task of the referee is to inspect only that no competitor should cheat, may not violate any rule of the race or may not try to go ahead by taking stimulating drugs.

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**Egalitarianism**

A current principle of politics which accepts that equality is authentic base of public policy. It means that there is no need to look for rational grounds to uphold the authenticity while granting equal opportunities, rights and benefits to people; there is a need to seek suitable rational grounds to justify inequality or discrimination.

The people who do not want to keep the prevalent discrimination of power, wealth and status intact, this point of view is termed as Egalitarianism. The supporters of Egalitarianism agree that equality is always justifiable; only discrimination has to be justified. For example, in **John Rawls'** (1921–2002) Principle of Justice, there is demand for justifiable base of discrimination after upholding liberty and equality as basic principle of justice. His logic is that the society in which unfortunates and deprived section is forced to live a wretched, unhealthy and inhuman life, limitless opportunities to get personal progress and prosperity cannot be assured to fortunate people, although, they do not directly responsible for those unfortunate people. Egalitarianisms, vehemently criticize those thinkers who do not give heed to the needs of the weak and needy people of the society.

In contrast of Procedural justice, Egalitarianism endorses Substantive Justice or social justice. According to it open competition in economic sphere gives rise to such situations in which poor section is forced to work on the conditions laid down by the affluent section. Poor section is not able to procure enough power in social, cultural and political life to stop exploitation and utilize cultural heritage of the nation with other sections. So the objective of justice is to eradicate unjust discrimination in legal, political and socio-economic field. It means that those people who are being deprived of freedom and the opportunities of self-development because of these discrepancies and helplessness.

## 5.6 Summary

- This is important that there is a feeling of natural reverence and regard towards justice. But the idea of equality is not so non-controversial. So **L.T. Hobhouse** in his famous book, 'The Elements of Social Justice' (1922) has written, "Everyone honours justice. But at the mention of equality most of the people are scared and express displeasure." This quote indicates that whoever is supporter of 'Status Quo', or of 'Change' – he is ready to prove that his objective is in configuration with justice. But in the idea of equality the demand for such changes is concealed which seems to be against the expectations of many.

## 5.7 Keywords

- **Social services:** Social services are those services which are provided by the state to improve the quality of life of citizens
- **Political equality:** Equality of citizen's of political rights

## 5.8 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by equality? Explain
2. Describe different dimensions of Equality.
3. Comment on Liberty and Equality.
4. What do you mean by Equality and Justice?

## Answers: Self Assessment

**Notes**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Liberty | 2. Revolution | 3. Equal | 4. Liberty |
| 5. (a) | 6. (b) | 7. (a) | 8. (a) |

## 5.9 Further Readings

*Books*


1. **Principles of Political Science**—*Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*
2. **Principles of Modern Political Science**—*Sterling Publishers.*
3. **Principles of Political Science**—*B.K.Tiwari, D.K Publishers.*
4. **Principles of Political Science**—*Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

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# Unit 6: Justice

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know about different dimensions of justice.
- Study the principle of justice of Rawls.
- Explain viewpoint about women.

## Introduction

The concept of justice has been an important topic of political contemplation since ancient times. But there emerged a substantive change in it as modern age advanced. Under ancient system, to illustrate the form of justice, there was discussion mainly on just man, means merits of a good character man. The virtues were sought which inspired an individual towards justice. Individual's religion was given importance even in Indian tradition. A belief was attached with both the traditions that if all fulfil their duties, a social system will automatically be justifiable. In those days generally prevalent values and beliefs were regarded as lawful. So this viewpoint was totally suitable to maintain such established systems. At that time the main problem of justice was to know what the society wants from the individual? But in modern era social changes are taking place so rapidly that whosoever gets power, he makes others the means to fulfil his selfish interest. Under this situation an ordinary individual feels totally helpless. So this demand is put forward that attention should be paid to make social system justifiable. Only then an individual will get opportunity for self development. In today's world especially with inspiration from social consideration it is being thought that what type of just society will be there? Its aim is not to sustain the already setup system, but there should be encouragement of social change as per modern consciousness.

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The main concern of traditional viewpoint was individual character, whereas social justice is the main concern of modern viewpoint. Social justice usually demands improvement of the deprived section so that they get the chance to lead a respectable life. So this idea asks for reconsideration of distributing system of valuable goods. The main problem of justice nowadays is to find out authentic base for allocation of goods, services, opportunities, benefits, power and honours alongwith obligations and burdens to different individuals or to groups of society.

## 6.1 Historical Development of the Idea of Justice

**Plato's Theory of Justice**

Famous philosopher of ancient Greece, **Plato's** main problem was to find out form of social justice. The picture that he has drawn of justice is conscientious example of tradition point of view. **Plato** emphasized on the duties of the citizens in order to establish justice. He made three sections of citizens to set up justifiable system—Philosopher Kings, Soldier's Class and Producer's class. He gave the argument that if these three sections carry out their duties sincerely, the state's administration will automatically be justifiable.

*Notes* Social Justice generally wants to improve the plight of the deprived section so they get the opportunity to lead a respectful life.

According to **Plato** there are three main sources of behaviour of man—Desire or Appetite, Spirit or Emotion, and Knowledge or Thought. All these merits are, although found in all the individuals, but there is dominance of one character in one end of the character in somebody else. On this basis **Plato** has identified three sections of the society: if there is prominence of desire or appetite, they are suited for industry and business; those dominated by spirit opt to become soldiers or fighters; those who are endowed with knowledge earn recognition as philosopher. If we fix suitable characteristics for each one's nature, it will be easy for the state to decide suitable virtue as state is the individual writ large.

**Plato** has picked up four cardinal virtues. For Desire or Appetite, apt virtue is temperance. So the class associated with business should cultivate temperance in order to lead honourable life. For spirited and emotional people courage is the correct virtue. So soldier class should evolve courage to lead noble life. For knowledge suitable virtue is wisdom. The philosophers and intellectuals should foster this virtue. The last and fourth virtue is justice which is the super most virtue. This depends on correct combination of all the virtues. The meaning of justice in reference of the matter of an individual will be—temperate producer's class gets protection of brave soldier class, and both of them get guidelines from intelligent philosophers. So under **Plato's** idea of justice rule of Philosopher-Kings is recommended and soldier class and producers class are entrusted with the work suitable to their respective nature. They should cultivate their character by fostering fitting virtues in them. But for the sake of development of the entire society, these sections are directed to live in the control of Philosopher – Rulers.

| **Plato's Theory of Justice** | | |
|---|---|---|
| Social Class | Dominant Trait | Befitting Virtue |
| Philosophers | Knowledge | Wisdom |
| Soldiers | Emotion | Courage |
| Traders | Appetite | Temperence |
| | | Justice |
| Virtue Befitting the Social Organization | | |

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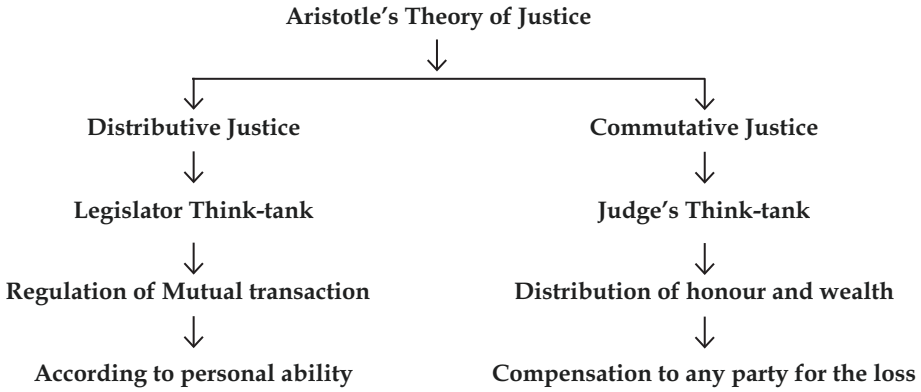
**Plato** thinks that without the light of knowledge the society go astray into darkness. If the reins of administration is not given in the hands of the philosophers, the producer class's unremitted appetite and soldier's uncontrolled passion will take the society to brink of disaster. If the rulers of a country are not well – versed in knowledge or money – hungry traders or war- monger soldiers take hold of the government, the administration of that country will be corrupt, temporary and catastrophic. As long as, there is no restriction on the entrance of inefficient and imposters in politics, there will be no end of deficiencies—politician instability, chaos and bedlam in the state. Until the philosophers do not become rulers of the world, or the rulers gain expertise in Philosophy, the state will not be free from its deficiencies.

## Aristotle's Theory of Justice

According to **Aristotle** the concern of justice is with the regularization of human relations. **Aristotle's** conviction was that the states come into existence because of people have similar idea about justice. Aristotle keeping practical sphere of justice inmind has differentiated between two types of justice – first is Distributive Justice; second is **Commutative Justice**, **Rectificatory Justice** or **Remedial Justice**.

The concern of Distributive Justice is with honour and wealth. This is for consideration of the legislators. Its main principle is 'Treating Equals Equally'. For this it is essential to find out as to on what ground citizens are measured as equal or unequal. **Aristotle's** suggestion was that in such cases, it is advisable to take help from prevalent customs or customary laws; the written laws will not be as useful because the rulers change or amend them whenever they wish.

**Aristotle** has given logic that according to distributive–justice the distribution of status and wealth should not be based upon Arithmetical Proportion but on Geometrical Proportion. It does not mean that everyone should not get equal proportion but each one should get portion according to one's qualification. How to ascertain one's capability? According to **Aristotle**, as per different constitutions different criteria are taken into account for one's desert. For instance, under Oligarchy, the criterion of one's competency is his wealth. On the other hand, under Aristocracy, it is decided on one's merits. **Aristotle** believes that in an ideal state, virtue is the yardstick for Distributive Justice. As much a person is endowed with virtue, as much competent he will be considered for high post and prize because only a person with befitting virtue will give the highest place to aim of human life and think status and wealth as secondary.




The concern of Commutative Justice is to regularize the Mutual Transaction of the people and to prescribe punishment for the crime. It comes under jurisdiction of the judges. Its aim is to maintain equal balance in mutual transaction of people, nobody should be cheated and no one is subjected to any loss. In case of crime, the aim of Commutative Justice will be that full compensation should be

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remitted to the party that has undergone any loss. In short, the aim of Commutative and Rectificatory Justice is to maintain balance in mutual relations or to re-establish the damaged relation. According to **Aristotle**, use of Arithmetical Proportion is more appropriate option in the sphere of Commutative Justice. In this matter, no discrimination is made on the basis of one's ability or inability, and status. After taking everyone as equal, only the act of a person will be scrutinized.

So we notice that in **Aristotle's** 'distribution of justice', interpretation of 'ability' is entirely different from its modern interpretation. In modern interpretation ability is decided on one's merits and acts. **Aristotle** has made prevalent custom as source of measurement of ability on which there is no control of the individual. On the other side, Commutative Justice has direct relation with a person's action, so it comes close to some extent to modern meaning of ability. Nevertheless, **Aristotle** is said to be the supporter of 'Status Quo' by formulating both types of justice. Status Quo is source of Distributive Justice. Commutative Justice demands that in the event of any change Status Quo should be restored. In conclusion, the relation of **Aristotle's** idea of justice is with the individual – how to distribute honour and wealth among them; or how to regularize their mutual behaviour? There is no scope to judge social system or to moderate it according to architectural concept of justice.

Apart from this **Aristotle** has indicated the existence of a Universal Law or Law of Nature which is beyond the law of any country or any era and whose relation is with the mankind. This concept was developed in Rome's legal documents through the medium of Stoic philosophy of ancient Greece. Then in medieval period the Catholic Church also accepted God as a source of natural law. To understand it man should take help of his reasoning which embodies spiritual power. On the onset of modern era Social Contractualists linked the relation of State of Nature with natural law. Precisely, there exist recognition that general law can be accepted as the version of justice only if it is compatible with the Law of Nature.

## Towards the Modern Age

In modern era, **David Hume** (1711–76) suggested that the meaning of justice is only obedience to rules because it has been proved with experience that those rules are bases of Common Interests. So 'Total Welfare' or 'Public Utility' is only source of justice; there is no advantage of looking for other sources of these rules in man's nature, reason or contract. The propagator of Utilitarianism **Jeremy Bentham** (1748–1832) said that the terminology of 'Natural Law' dims the true values. The distribution of public property, services etc. should be done on the basis of 'Utility' whose source is Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number. **John Stuart Mill** (1806–73) agreed that justice is the most important matter of social utility and claimed that the individuals want safety for themselves, so they expect such moral norms which ensure same safety to others also. So utility is the basic conception of justice.

In modern era one cannot believe in the concept of natural law of justice based on only utility. Hence, any unanimous criteria have not been accepted about the feature of natural laws, natural rights or public utility. Today we can only accept such concepts regarding justice whose creation has been done keeping in mind life's socio-economic and political truth.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. Plato has recognized four ..... .
2. For desire and appetite ..... is the appropriate merit.
3. To establish justice, Plato stressed on citizen's ..... .
4. Plato thought that without proper knowledge ..... will go astray in the society.
5. Some individuals link natural justice with the theory of ..... .

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## 6.2 Dimension of Justice

Under contemporary thinking the problem of justice is discussed from several angles, and deliberation of various forms of justice ensues. The various dimensions of justice indicate this: (1) What are the different aspects of justice? And (2) Under one perspective what is the interpretation of it about different practical areas of justice? In fact, 'Dimensions of Justice' are the efforts to understand the form of justice in various references. It helps in conceiving its full form.

### Legal-Formal Justice and Natural Justice

When justice is met out according to prevalent laws to decide the claims of two rival parties or to confirm rights and obligations of any individual or institution, it is termed as 'Legal Justice'. For instance, when an offender is awarded a punishment according to law of the nation, or when a decision is given to confer legal right for disputed property, it is termed as legal justice. When the International Court of Justice awards any judgment according to International Law, that is also legal justice. In legal justice, the existing form of law is accepted as the greatest evidence, and it is enforced impartially, therefore, it comes under the category of International Law.

But with help of system of law all problems concerning justice are not solved. The judges take help of natural law where the law is silent or vague. The main concern of natural law is with the unwritten part of the law. Where there is no answer of the question referred in the book of law, there it is expected that the judge will take help of his sense of justice. Under such situations the recognition is given to Law behind Laws, and the principles linked with this termed as natural law. This is called natural law because the source of its evidence is nature itself. It is evident that man naturally is a Rational Being. So the conclusions which are drawn after using intelligence or reason, are base of the natural justice. As nature is same everywhere, so the laws of natural justice are universal rules.

Some writers associate theory of natural justice with natural law that ensued from Stoic Philosophy and remained very popular in 17th and 18th century. **H.C.Marshall** in his important book 'Natural Justice' (1959) has clarified, in present time the usage of the term 'Natural Justice' is for limited content only, and in that context it gives indication of some Rules of Judicial Procedure. **Marshall** himself has referred to two prime factors of natural justice: (a) No one himself will be judge of his own cause; (b) The hearing of both the parties will definitely be conducted. **J.R Lucus** in 'The Principles of Politics' (1976) has given elaborate definition of natural justice in reference to legal procedure: ' The rules of natural justice contend that no one will be judge of his own cause; the judge will fully contemplate each case; while reaching the decision, the judge will flush out all irrelevant considerations from his mind; similar cases will be decided similarly; no case will be reopened once it has been awarded judgment, though, according to some proof documents right to appeal is accepted up to some limit; not only justice will be done but it should be noticed that justice has been done; not only bare decision will be given, but the details of reasons of reaching particular decision will also be furnished.' However, the think tank of Natural Justice is widening all slowly, even then it has been considered as conclusion of whole justice. Up till now, we see the superstructure of the law, as custom, precedent and enactment, all concealed principles of justice come in the category of 'Natural Justice'. Along with the development of social consciousness more and more portion of Natural Justice are being interpreted as new laws after giving up its unexpressed form.

*Did You Know?* Political justice gives importance to ideals of liberty.

## Social, Economic and Political Justice

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While thinking about the application sphere of justice we start judging the entire system of the society from the point of view, whether it is in accordance to justice. We identify three main spheres of social life from the point of view of convenience—social, economical and political, so when we discuss justice we also discuss social, economic and political justice. But in fact, all the three are spheres of application of only same principle of justice; all the three are supplement of each other, so they are incomplete without each other.

In broader perspective, from the terminology of Social Justice there is indication of 'social, economical and political' justice. In limited meaning, the idea of 'Social Justice' is in the social life everyone's dignity should be hailed; no one should be taken as big-small or high-low; the opportunities of education and progress should be easily available to all similarly, and all can utilize means of literature, art, culture and technique amiably on grounds of humanity. If discussion can be held for conflicting claims of different parties, a demand can be made to provide relief and protection to weak and poor section by 'Social Justice'.

The meaning of 'economic justice' is that any one may not acquire the power of controlling the life of others and makes them work on his willful conditions in the process of production and all may get the chance to enjoy benefit or win an award as per one's ability and hard work; in market setting no one should grab the power of providing goods and services on one's uncompromising conditions, but all may get the required goods and services on justified conditions as per their own capacity and need.

The meaning of political justice is that all may get the opportunity and right to take part directly in procedure of forming Public Policies; the option to get power should be open; Public Power should be used in accordance with general welfare of the people; all should have liberty to fulfill their interest and should have full liberty to express their views, to form suitable associations, to hold meetings, to instruct people, to achieve public interest as per their common sense and to have patience for others, different and contradictory views without hurting peace, arrangement and moral teachings.

This is important that in given meaning the political justice gives significance to the ideal of liberty. Economic justice gives importance to the ideal of equality; and social justice wants to incarnate the ideal of fraternity. Only after combining all these three, the elaborate ideal of justice can be realized in social life.

It is apparent, that the demand of social justice is the feature of the modern era. **Tom Bottomore** has written in 'Classes in Modern Society' (1965) that in the long history of the civilization the discrimination of wealth, status and power is generally accepted in such a state that no change is possible in them. In 18th century when American Revolution (1776) and French Revolution (1789) inspired to put question mark to this state, it was experienced somewhere that the social class system is living example of discrimination. So there ensued a detailed debate on this, and it was challenged from the point of view of social justice. Then such proclamations were issued – all individuals are free and equal since birth or free and equal in nature; any discrimination should only be done only on the basis of Public Utility. The aspiration for social justice gave rise to demand of re-establishment of rights.

In broader sense, the main concept of social justice is that whatsoever benefits are realized from organized social life, may not be conserved in the hands of a few people, but suitable part should be available for general public, especially for weak and poor so that they may generally lead happy, respectable and comfortable life. The expectations of social justice are that there should be direct relation of income and property with hard work and duty; not with privilege, convention or inheritance. The right to property should be accepted only if (a) property is hauled by saving from the income of hard work, and (b) the property is helpful in enhancing the person's general happiness and efficiency. It is clear, when property is linked with hardwork. The crude discriminations will automatically diminish or may disappear, because the capacity to do hardwork is after all limited. Its other results will be that if a particular person does not do hardwork as per his capacity, he has no right on property and

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not even a right to live. It is different for weak, disabled or helpless who must get right to live with inspiration from humanitarian sentiments.

After the end of economic discriminations, social property will not be a puppet in the hands of any section but it will become service-provider of the society. Only then true democracy will be established because then the elections will be won after getting confidence of the public not with power of money. Then opportunity for education and self-development will easily be available equally to all; the special institutions will not be in existence for the rich people. Then those who engage skilful lawyers in their defence with their power of money will not only be able to win cases in courts, but deserving justice will be awarded also to weak and poor section. Then contractors of black markets will not be able to receive adulation of simple and innocent public by pretending their benevolence but nobody has to depend on compassion and charity of others. Then, whatever production will be there in the society or whatsoever arrangements are envisaged, all will be executed keeping in mind the needs of the public, not to fill the pockets of the capitalists. Only then the social justice will not be barely a sheer ideal or political slogan but can be established on the citadel of social truth.

## Procedural Justice and Substantive Justice

In social life in which form justice is to be set up–on this topic in contemporary thinking, there is difference of opinions between the supporters of procedural justice and substantive justice. The supporters of procedural justice agree that procedure or method of the allotment of valuable goods, services, benefits, etc should be justifiable; what is due for whom—this is not a topic for debate. Contrary to it the supporters of substantive justice contend that the distribution of these benefits should be justifiable; keeping this goal into consideration necessary adjustments can be done in its procedure. If we examine it, the form of procedural justice is more or less same as legal-formal justice, and the concept of substantive justice comes near social justice.

The concept of procedural justice is linked closely to Liberalism. According to it the Task of justice is to regularize mutual relations of individuals or organizations. So under this suitable rules should be determined for the individuals on the basis of liberty and equality that are applied to all the individuals equally. In other words, the mutual relations of the individuals should be based on freedom of contract. The Task of the state is to watch that any person or group may not harm other persons or groups with cheating or force. Under this line of thought the comparison of mutual relation of people is done with race-championship. It is not correct to presume in advance, who will win and who will lose the race. The Task of the referee is to watch that no competitor may cheat; does not violet the rules; or consumes any stimulating drug and tries to pass ahead of others forcibly.

Thus, procedural justice contends that the rules of market economy are proof of human relations. According to it, the market activity attracts the objects of production itself and a situation is created for their best utilization. Due to artificial social policy to create impediments in its procedure, there will be wastage and misutilization of rare means and because of this everyone will incur harm. The names of **Herbert Spencer** (1820–1903), **F.A.Hayek** (1899–1992), **Milton Friedman** (1812–2006) and Robert Nozick (1938–2002) are prominent among the promoters of procedural justice. Apart from them **John Rawls** (1921–2002) tried to establish detailed principle of justice after combining procedural justice with social justice.

The principle of procedural justice opposes the discrimination of any kind among human beings on the basis of caste, religion, area, colour of the skin, sex, language, culture, etc., and upholds similar dignity and similar honour of all the people of the society. From this angle this is a progressive concept. But this concept accepts the market economy as a proof of ideal behaviour that all the people will adjust their mutual relations justifiably if similar laws are enacted for all and the government need not interfere in this procedure. Following this concept **Herbert Spencer** declared even up to this that the government should not provide any help to the disabled, but those who prove to be incapable

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in life – struggle should be allowed to die. **F.A.Hayek** has given logic that the government should give up the idea of controlling market- economy on the pretext of social welfare. **Milton Freedman** claimed that competitive capitalism helps free exchange economy; so the government should pick up only those cases which are not controlled by market-economy. The Task of the government is not to keep control over market-economy; it should not have concern with welfare of the mankind, social security, and market regulation.

**Nozick** has given the argument after upholding right to property as main human-right so the main task of the government is to protect the property. So **Nozick** supports police state. According to him, the state does not have the power for redistribution of property because they are mainly their clients. Any property in the society can be taken by production and voluntary transfer, the inequalities will emerge because of this procedure, and the attempt to change it at the level of distribution will be unjustifiable. According to **Nozick**, taxation can be justified only up to it is essential to bear the expenditure of Minimal State. To levy more tax is a sort of forced labour. **Nozick** took cover of this logic and opposed Welfare State vehemently. However, all these arguments endorse the situation that capitalism is the base of liberty and justice in which the workers depend upon the pity of the capitalists.

**C.B. Mcpherson** refuted the arguments of **Milton Freedman** and clarified that it is a folly to combine capitalism with Simple Exchange Economy. The extra-ordinary feature of capitalism is that under this system labour and capital are separate from each other and such labour forces come into existence which have no other option than selling this labour in the market. Thus a person's labour is detached from his identity, and majority of people are not able to deploy their power and expertise desirably in creative direction. Thus, capitalism smothers talent of the individual. Where is the scope for justifiable regulations in mutual relations of the people?

**Police State**

Police State is the state in which the duty of the state is limited only to maintain law and order, to punish the criminals and to realize taxes. It does not have concern for general public's health, education, necessary goods and arrangement of services or pleasure and pain. So such states present opposite form of Welfare State.

Contrary to procedural justice the contemporary concept of substantive or social justice is associated closely with socialism. The supporters of social justice agree that until the society has control over entire social wealth, means of production and distribution of benefits procured from social life, this distribution cannot be made justifiable. Free competition in economic life gives birth to such inequalities in which the poor section is forced to work on the conditions laid down by the rich section. The poor section has to face inferior stage in social, cultural and political life. So the aim of justice is to eradicate unjust inequalities from legal, political and socio-economic field. Its meaning is this — the individual or the group was deprived of liberty or opportunities for self development due to these inequalities or helplessness, the state should take special measure to protect their interests. The demand of social justice is that the benefit of social development may not be in the custody of selected few but arrangement should be made to extend them to stringent, poor, deprived and weak.

## 6.3 Rawls' Theory of Justice

Under contemporary liberals' contemplation of the controversy of 'Progress vs Justice', **Hayek** has taken the side of progress and has disregarded justice. In opposition, **John Rawls** (1921–2002) in his famous book 'A Theory of Justice' (1971) has given the argument that in a good society many virtues are expected; in those, justice has the foremost position. Justice is a mandatory condition of an excellent society, this is necessary but not a sufficient condition. Apart from justice, in any society other ethical qualities can be predominant, but an unjust society will be especially condemnable. The thinkers who

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want that in the programme for social progress the thought of justice should not interfere, they are putting the society in the danger of ethical decline.

## The Problem of Justice

According to **Rawls** the problem of justice is the problem of just division of primary goods. These primary goods are: rights and liberties, powers and opportunities, income and wealth and tools for self-respect. **Rawls** has acknowledged his theory of justice as pure procedural justice, although he has tried to establish Substantive Justice through this channel. From pure procedural justice indicates that those policies of justice which will be accepted unanimously, with the result of their utilization whatever distribution process will come into existence, that will essentially be fair. **Rawls** has strongly criticized those policies which want to achieve a pre-established target by neglecting moral worth. Hence dignity of the individual is the center point of **Rawls'** justice methodology. The policy of utilitarianiasm while calculating 'Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number' doesn't see whether any particular person can be harmed by it, like his life can be ruined by enslaving him. According to **Rawls**, even if you increase the blessings of already blessed people, you cannot balance the accounts of miserable people.

The famous book of Rawls 'A Theory of Justice' (1971) was published in the United States of America. Over there this was the time when the movement for equal rights for the minorities (especially for the blacks) was in its full bloom and different types of political dissent was vastly prevalent. Alongwith this it was also being experienced that however workmanlike may capitalist and united economics be in getting together things and services, they had given birth to such inequalities of income, wealth and power which could not be considered correct anywhere. Those radicals who were claiming for economic disparities, they were asking for justice in their statements again and again. Hence in the presented context recreation of justice was important. In **Rawls**' book the abstract and philosophical policies of justice were set-off in such a way under which strong suggestions were presented for reformation in the area of distribution of rights and wealth.

## Rawls' Methodology

To establish unanimous process of justice **Rawls** has taken resort of a special methodology. While pursuing methodology of social contract **Rawls** has used a Heuristic Device. Under this he has imagined that if people are set apart from their present social and economic conditions and also removed away from the knowledge of prejudice prevalent in society then how will they reform the rules, regulations and establishments of social life for maximum increase of their own rights in the prospective society? **Rawls** has named this fictional situation 'Original Position'. In this situation the rules that people accept after mutual agreement, they can be considered as the worldwide rules of justice.

While describing original position **Rawls** has imagined that humans are sitting behind a veil of ignorance. This is an imaginary situation in which humans are completely ignorant of their wants, interests, skills, abilities, etc. They don't even know that in realistic society which talks can raise conflicts. Hence either they should know if they are white or black, protestant of catholic, then it will not matter as they will not know the basis on which discrimination is done in society. But they have early knowledge of Economics and Psychology, and Sense of Justice.

Behind the veil of ignorance there are some restrictions also which are linked to the thought of morality. But they do not have the knowledge of the things that can raise mutual mutiny or prejudice. The humans that **Rawls** has imagined in the original situation, they are rational agents who have assembled with the motive of reaching common grounds to find out the rules of justice. They are self-interested, but not egoist. Because they are tied together with ethical rules they cannot be so self-centred that

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they are willing for any selfish means. In other words, their selfish feelings are controlled by ethical feelings. They are not envious also; their concern is maximum increase of their own primary goods; in what quantity others get these goods – they are not concerned about it. In Primary Goods Rights and Liberties, Powers and Opportunities, Income and Wealth and tools for Self-Respect are included.

According to **Rawls**, in this condition humans will not be ready to take any risk or to gamble, because behind the veil of ignorance they do not know how much they can bet? In this erratic situation whatever alternatives they have, they will choose the least dangerous way. In this way **Rawls**' individualism is not linked to individualism of libertarianism, instead it is in the degree of Moral Individualism. Then, the negotiators of **Rawls** who assemble with the motive of distribution of 'Primary Goods', they are not limited to the Liberty linked to libertarianism that gives prominence to economic gains, in fact they are means for the moral exaltation of humans.

> Justice does not know personal-foreign; does not differentiate between friend and foe; and does not think about relations too. This is the only reason why it is shown as blind everywhere.
>
> **—Joseph Edison (1612–1719)**

## Principles of Justice

According to **Rawls**, since the negotiators will not be ready to take any risks when the relevant provisions of basic conditions are fulfilled, hence every person will have an idea that when reality is disclosed he will find himself in the least advantaged position. Therefore, every person will ask that whoever is in the least advantaged position, there should be the provision of the greatest benefit for him. Every person will feel protected by this. Therefore, everyone will accept the following laws of justice.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Every person should have such similar rights to such wide freedom which can stand by similar freedom of others; | principles of equal liberty |
| 2. Social and Economic disparity should be arranged in such a manner that | |
| (a) The least advantaged get the greatest benefit; and | difference principle |
| (b) These disparities are tied together with the positions and situations which are accessible to everyone on the terms of fair equality of opportunity. | principle of fair equality of opportunity |

It is important to keep these principles in a special priority. Principle (1) will be given priority over (2) and within principle (2) section (b) will be given priority over (a). This means that if in the presented situation upon utilization of these principles many opposed alternatives come forward then the selection of relevant alternate out of them will be done according to this rule of priorities. For example, on the designated level of economic progress for any vested interest in principle (2), sacrifice of any vested freedom in principle (1) will not be justified.

Different principles demand that any departure from the 'Equal Distribution' of 'Primary Goods' can only then be justified when this can be proved that from this The least advantage will get the greatest benefit. In other words, any special prize for any person's distinguished ability and hard work will only be justifiable when society's abject people benefit maximum from it. After these terms are satisfied, under competitive economy the benchmark of workmanship can be applied.

The critics of **Rawls** blame him that he has found the justifiable basis to sustain capitalist arrangement with few conditions. But we should not forget that when these conditions are fulfilled a new humane look of capitalism will emerge.

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## Principle of Equal Liberties

Similar freedoms implied under the first principle of justice can be recognized in the form of those rights that are found under liberal-democratic systems. In these same rights for political participation, freedom of expression, religious liberty, equality before the Law, etc. are included. **Rawls** has accepted that in some matters some deduction can be done in similar freedom of people, but its consent can only be given on the condition that there should be increase in the total freedom.

## Arrangement of Social-Economic Inequalities

Under the second principle of justice **Rawls** has accepted the correct similarity of opportunity as the first condition of justice. The use of different principles begins after this condition is met. Out of these firstly this is accepted that there should be equal distribution of primary goods. Any departure from this rule can only be deemed correct when its result comes forward in clear benefit. According to Rawls, under the market system the disparity of income increases wealth by attracting hard work towards the most productive Tasks. In an ideal world every person should benefit out of this. But only this is not enough. To satisfy the condition of justice The least advantage should get the greatest benefit. Hence this principle endorses those social policies which have been formulated to benefit the comparatively poor and weak. The right to highest income can only be given to extraordinarily talented people under this condition. But when this condition is satisfied under competitive economy under competitive economy the benchmark of workmanship can be applied.

## Repudiation of Utilitarianism

Under his principles of justice, **Rawls** has opposed different forms of Utilitarianism. He has argued that the basis of Utilitarianism is Maximization of Total Utility, whether its distribution is in any form. In this any person cannot be certain that he will definitely benefit from it. While calculating greatest happiness of the greatest number the happiness of which person of the society will be ignored–nobody can know this. It is possible that one person in the society or few people are enslaved to achieve 'greatest happiness of the greatest number', but in this process who will be enslaved–nobody can know this. If in the basic situation, behind the 'Veil of Ignorance' Utilitarianist proposal is presented before rational negotiators, then every person's probability of becoming master or slave will be equal over there. In this condition no person will be ready to take the risk of becoming a slave. Hence this proposal will be rejected.

**Utilitarianism**

That principle of Morality, politics and lawmaking under which any Act, Rule, Policy or Decision can be considered correct or incorrect on this basis that how much it increases on decreasing happiness of affected people. This principle supports such common policies whose base is to promote 'Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number'. **Jeremy Bentham** (1748–1832) and **John Stuart Mill** (1806–73) are considered to be the main innovators of this principle. Both of them were English philosophers.

The main specialty of **Rawls**' principle of Justice is that he has not considered market economy as a straight forward model of procedural justice like **Hayek**, **Friedman** and **Nozick. Rawls** has tried to make procedural justice a device of social justice. He has made the arrangement that special talented people will be entitled to prize only when they use their talent for the benefit of the Least Advantaged people. But why will they do so? In this matter **Rawls** says that social life cannot be considered as an individual transaction. This is an area of mutual collaboration in which extra talented people can only benefit from their own talent and opportunities by coming together with lesser talented people. Here Chain Connection works between the most fortunate and the most unfortunate. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. Hence to strengthen the socially designed chain it will be essential to strengthen its weakest link. When it is strong this process will have to be repeated again after finding the weakest link. Till society exists, this process will go on constantly. This only will be the proof of justice.

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## Criticism

Many critics from different viewpoints have criticized **Rawls**' principle of justice.

According to collectivists, **Rawls**' principle of justice confirms the rightness of traditional liberalist capitalism arrangement in which it is believed that when rich people are allowed to accumulate wealth the poor also benefit from it. From this there is assistance to maintain the privileges of the rich. The principle of appropriate equal opportunity that Rawls has presented; the gap between rich and poor sections cannot be reduced even after sternly applying it. This principle allows socio-economic disparities with a feeble improvement in the condition of the least privileged people.

Another objection to Rawls' principle of justice is that it is very difficult to recognize the least privileged people. Rawls has not clarified that on which basis should people or groups considered least privileged? If they will be recognized only on the basis of income and wealth then we will not focus on needy people from other viewpoints. For example, those who have inadequate competency or talent, how can we compensate them?

According to Marxists, without the knowledge of economic and social facts it is not prudent to establish the principle of justice. To find out the laws of justice Rawls has kept humans in an imaginary 'Original Position' where they do not have the knowledge of socio-economic facts and they contemplate about it behind the 'Veil of Ignorance'. According to Marxists moral arrangements can only be understood with reference to Class Relations and Ownership Patterns. So-called contemplation behind the 'Veil of Ignorance' is baseless.

According to libertarians, Rawls has sacrificed human freedom while excessively stressing upon equality. Why should more competent and talented people be forced to work for the benefit of the Least Privileged people? Then, enterprising person can only progress by taking risks. The so-called supporters of Rawls are not ready to take even the slightest risk! How can such people progress the society.

According to communitarians, Rawls' politics-view does not claim to consider any concept of good life as better or worse than the others. By accepting such ethical neutrality it looses the opportunity to accept this concept dedicated to common good. Apart from this, Rawls has imagined humans to be autonomous and self-seeking by all intents. But objectively humans are indebted to the society for all their qualities and wealth, and his life is meaningful only through social benefit.

## Conclusion

In spite of all this criticism Rawls' principles of justice cannot be accepted as wastage of efforts. If you see Rawls has raised some heartbreaking questions about justice and has tried for their solutions. Through procedural justice he has tried to achieve the target of social justice. Others can be in disagreement with his thoughts. But he has given a new direction to the thoughts related to justice. Its main indication is that it is important to strengthen the process of justice to achieve the target of social justice, and while deciding the process of justice it is important to keep in mind the target of social justice. The critics of Rawls only present their own viewpoints; they do not present any such alternate that can be accepted globally.

> In the shadows of scarcity, indigence and disparity no democracy can last for long.
>
> **— Jawaharlal Nehru**

## Self Assessment

**State whether the following statements are True/False:**

6. Charles Darwin linked the life scientific progress with the laws of 'Struggle for Life' and 'Survival of the Fittest'.

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7. Rawls has imagined humans to be kind beings.
8. In the modern era the want for justice is normally linked to the want for social change.
9. Jeremy Bentham and Stuart Mill were both English Philosophers.
10. The concept of procedural justice is not linked to liberalism.

## 6.4 Justice and Social Change

In modern era the need for justice is normally linked to the need for social change. When we see that in the society some people even after being innocent, are compelled to live a humiliated and inhuman life, then with the wish of their reformation we raise the issue of justice. In this context the word 'Justice' becomes the synonym of 'Social Justice'. Therefore, this saying of **D.D. Raphael** is always relevant, "Generally, the term Social Justice is heard from reformists. The people who are satisfied with the present system, they consider this term with doubt." (Problem of Political Philosophy) (1976).

The people whose vested interests are linked to the present system, they give curious logic to rationalize prevalent inequalities. Some people accept this as 'God's will' and suggest that man should not interfere in God's testament, else God will get angry. To get free from one's own misery and bad luck, one can only pray to God.

Some people accept this as sins of past life, and contend that humans should repay their sins, only then they can be free from their bad luck.

These arguments are based on some superhuman beliefs. Neither is any effort made to find out their empirical evidence, nor it is considered of any need. Can we make such beliefs on the basis of scientific explanation?

Then, some people appeal for merit to try to cover up present injustice and disparity. Such people advocate that **Charles Darwin's** (1809–82) Theory of Evolution should be made template for social life. **Darwin** established the rules of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest in relation for creatures' evolution. On the basis of this rule the supporters of social darwinism accept free competition as the necessary provision of social progress.

**Social Darwinism**

The principle which accepts the procedure of competition and conflict as the key to complete progress while comparing social progress with life science progress. **Charles Darwin** (1809–82) linked the life science progress with the rule of struggle for existence and Survival of the Fittest. **Herbert Spencer** (1820–1903) applied this rule to social life and gave the logic that for the progress of society only worthy people have the right to lead a respectful life; weak and unworthy should be allowed to die.

The main recognition of this viewpoint is that the worthy people of the society have the right to get all amenities, wealth and respect. We should accept grief, impoverishment and plight of unworthy people as a natural state. **Herbert Spencer** (1820–1903) compared human society with live organisms and argued that the parts of this creature which do not function properly, the welfare of society is only through their loss. Society's capable members do not have the role to support weak and incapable members to breach the society's balance. The people who are left behind in the struggle of life; they should be allowed to die. The society's scarce and valuable resources will be damaged by snatching away the right of worthy people to nourish unworthy people. This will be a hindrance to social progress.

Is it justifiable to accept such interpretation to ignore present injustice? Have only those societies progressed where wealthy and capable people did not have sympathy for the weaklings? Suppose some victorious emperors have suppressed some castes or made them slaves and have constructed posh palaces, engraved tombs, magnificent pyramids, skyscraping towers, grand paintings, huge idols and monuments. These things are a part of our civilization. But for their construction the way

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in which exploitation of immense crowd was done, is that also a subject of pride for us? Does our modern consciousness consent to sustain those inhuman practices on the basis of which our old civilization was built? Then under today's industrial civilization–when we praise human rights so much — is the tradition of exploitation of humans still going on somewhere hidden and somewhere publicly? In developing nations, while creating the programmes for development, the deterrence of social injustice is a burning issue.

In presented context, two types of viewpoints towards justice are especially noteworthy – (1) Subaltern view; and (2) Feminist view. Therefore, to solve the problem of justice it will be appropriate to think about both these viewpoints.

## 6.5 Subaltern View

There is no unanimous definition for subaltern view. According to 'Concise Oxford Dictionary', this word means 'Of inferior rank'. In the world of social science this term indicates those people who are subordinate to others on the basis of caste, class, age, gender, office etc. Hence the main quality of subaltern view is 'Social Subordination'.

Under Marxism, recognition is given to two main sections of present capitalist society—Haves and Have-nots. These are kept under dominant class and dependent class, respectively. Out of these, the poor section is considered as proletariat, aggrieved with exploitation, oppression and injustice. The concept of proletariat category is done as propertyless working class who have frequently united for the protection of their benefits. On the other hand, the concept of subaltern section is done as those sections of society whose situation is very bad. The existence of those subaltern sections has been in every era of history, but in modern era there has been a heavy expansion in their numbers, and social awareness has also increased towards their plight. Today's subaltern sections are mainly produced by Industrialization, urbanization and cruel market economy. If you see, the existence of subaltern sections is a specialty of the developing third world countries. Therefore, with reference to justice it is necessary to pay attention towards them.

In short, whatever sets and sections of society are leading sub-human life because of social subordination, who do not have any ray of hope in their lives, and whose reformation is not being paid any attention, all of them can be kept under the category of subaltern sections. In other words, they are society's neglected sections. In India their numbers are large. For example, Bonded Labour and farmers working in farms, carpet industry, labourers working in glass industry and fireworks industry, children working in circus, labourers pulling rickshaw with hands in Kolkata, coolies hauling freight in train stations and markets, daily wages workers spending lives on footpaths, labourer hauling dirt on their heads, garbage labourers in big cities, boot polishing children on roadsides, elderly women cleaning utensils in homes, children gathering food from roadside bins, prostitutes fighting with cheap clients in dirty colonies – and many more different types of helpless, powerless, unassisted and sick people fall into the category of subaltern section. What stakeholder can these people be towards national prosperity who do not know the meaning of 'freedom'!

*Task* Present your thoughts on the various dimensions of justice.

While making the programme for nation-building, many questions can be raised with the purpose of providing justice to subaltern sections. Out of these the first question will be that under this is there any solution to provide these people the life of a human? May be these people will not be able to raise this question themselves—because where do these people have the consciousness—but society's wakeful and sensitive people are worried about their condition. These people are laborious by nature,

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but they do not get an opportunity to work at the right place. Hence their labour goes waste, or its output is very ordinary. In the presented context the second concern of justifiable progress is that by giving them appropriate support their power and talent can be discovered, and their cooperation can be taken in the main stream of nation building. The services that they provide, with the support of new technology they can be made more aptly enriched. Third, the level of their consumption is very simple and these beings are content in less. Hence the environment would not be harmed by providing them appropriate standard of living. The process of progress can be turned into a healthy direction by making this thinking of theirs popular amongst common people. In the end the feeling of gratitude, loyalty and devotion that is found in these sections, it can be promoted amongst common people to make progress more meaningful.

## 6.6 Feminist View

According to feminist view, in reference to justifiable progress the first question that comes forward is that do women also benefit from the process of progress as much as men? Is it not possible in a male dominated society that as a result of progress the power, respect and amenities of men increase sufficiently, but there is no remarkable improvement in the condition of women? The supporters of feminism remind us that in spite of so many opportunities of prosperity and development in developed countries, the women remain dependent, then how can we think that in developing countries the process of progress will encourage the upliftment of women? Such is the condition in developing countries that forget about opportunities of prosperity, women don't even have equal pay for equal work in their destiny. Mostly, this belief is prevalent that son carries on ancestry, but daughter is considered else's property and she is made to realize this from childhood that she has to go to others house after growing up. Therefore, not much attention is paid towards her nourishment and education. Due to the practice of dowry a girl is considered to be a burden whereas a boy is counted as one of the family's assets. A boy's birth is celebrated; a girl's birth results in sad faces of the elderly. The prejudice among boy-girl starts from the childhood itself. In villages mostly people educate boys; girls are kept illiterate. In cities higher education is considered necessity for boys; for girls light education is considered sufficient. In these circumstances it is important to see that as a result of development have the opportunities for girls for acquiring higher education and professional careers increased so much that the probability of women competing with men is quite bright.

There is no doubt that one issue of justifiable progress is to promote small family. To achieve the target of small family more attention is paid to the health of women and children. The thought of small family is the key to the progress of the entire society, but especially for women it is a means for emancipation. With advanced health facilities the Infant Mortality Rate lowers which leads to higher prospects of long life of children by which women are encouraged to give birth to fewer children. When a girl makes her mark in professional career by acquiring higher education then the greed of dowry gets over in the minds of the parents of her prospective groom. In these circumstances the girl is no longer a liability for her parents. When the boy's parents are able to make arrangements for sustenance during their old age then they will not be dependent on the boy. Such situations promote the nature of equality of girl and boy. Giving birth to fewer children — meaning one or two children only protects the woman's health, and the prospects of her long life increase. Upon getting rid of the botheration of raising many children the woman can put her power, talent, time and means to constructive direction due to which her respect in society increases.

Then, only small family can bear the expenses of modern technology to increase their domestic amenities by which the woman's life improves more. The woman whose whole life was consumed in the kitchen and to clean lot of children, she can now artfully support social responsibilities equally with the man. Wherever as a result of development progress has been made in this direction, the feminist view considers it meaningful by all intents and purposes. Along with this it is necessary to

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see that how much has women's participation increased in public life, and on the scale of authority till where has their representation reached?

For example, in India on the level of Panchayati Raj one-third positions have been reserved for women because of whom many women have got the opportunity to come out from the walls of their homes into public life and play meaningful roles. Slowly, in panchayats and then in legislative assemblies the target of half each proportion of men and women can be achieved.

The second important part of feminist view towards justifiable progress is that how much meaningful role can women themselves and womanlike Qualities can play in the process of development. Supporters of cultural feminism believe that the nature of a woman is not only different from nature of a man, but in comparison it is also of higher degree. According to this viewpoint women by temperament are in closer contact with nature; they pay more attention to the composition and activities of their bodies and the requirements of nourishment. In opposition, men naturally like to lead artificial life, and are eager to use everything as their own instruments. In the fields of culture and arts, nature is portrayed as a woman; by calling earth as 'Mother Earth' attention is focused towards nature's feminist qualities—tolerance, motherly affection and generosity. The supporters of Eco-Feminism argue that today's humans have destroyed the grace of nature and earth for their own happiness and pleasure in the same way as a man is intent upon raping a woman to satisfy his own lust. To protect the future of both woman and earth it is important to forget the differences of caste, religion, gender, region, language, culture etc. to promote the feminist qualities in the entire humanity. If man also grows feminist qualities such as courtesy, humility, loyalty and motherly affection then the process of development can be turned into a healthy direction.

The supporters of this viewpoint consider gender inequality in society as the link between humans and nature and argue that as men consider their domination on women as natural, in the same way humans consider their dominance on nature natural. When equality between sexes is established man will consider woman as his friend and colleague, not slave. With reference to environmentalism this will mean that humans will also treat nature as his friend and colleague, not slave. In this condition humans will pay full respect to the existence of nature; he will take care of it in the same way as in his behaviour with a friend he cares for his feelings. The result will be—a healthy environment which will not let the results of development deface.

## 6.7 Summary

- According to feminist view women can show the route of healthy progress to the entire society. Women believe in physical labour to fulfill life's needs. They pay more attention to maintain the environment and put more emphasis on cleanliness. Their experience of maintaining home, support children and fulfill every small need of the family stimulates them to maintain the entire environment. Due to their sensitive nature they do not let any harm to the nature. Then women's level of consumption is very low, and they become content in very little. Ruinous addictions like Smoking and drinking are considered a part of men's splendour, but women stay away from them by nature. From the viewpoint of environmentalism this nature is very commendable.
- If you see the parts of progress towards which feminist view brings our attention, they are extremely important. They who consider the feminist views favorable for the process of development, they are also correct. Then, to encourage respect for women, sensitivity and fair behaviour it is also reasonable to depict the importance of feminist qualities. But to consider women as symbol of complete merits and men as symbol of complete demerits it is not appropriate. For meaningful progress manliness and many manly qualities are also mandatory, but it is not important to raise arguments for this.

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- In short, if in spite of elaborate social change condition of women remains in the form of neglected or deprived section then it will be reasonable to consider it as an issue of justice. The need of social justice is that in the gains of social recognition and development, women should also get appropriate share.

## 6.8 Keywords

- **Physical Labour:** Labour done by body
- **Liability:** Charge, Responsibility

## 6.9 Review Questions

1. Explain different dimensions of justice.
2. What do you know about Rawls' principles of justice? Illustrate.
3. Present your views on 'Justice and social change'.
4. Annotate on 'Feminist View'

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Basic merits | 2. Patience | 3. Duties | 4. Darkness |
| 5. Natural laws | 6. Truth | 7. Untruth | 8. Truth |
| 9. Truth | 10. Untruth | | |

## 6.10 Further Readings

*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science**—*Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Political Science**—*B.K.Tiwari, D.K Publishers.*

**3. Principles of Political Science**—*Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

**4. Classic Politics**—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

# Unit 7: Idea of Duty

Notes

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know duty of a citizen.
- Discuss duty and rights.
- Explain meaning to be a citizen.

## Introduction

A good citizen is one who does duty for the society. He is always concerned about the interests of his society and state. He feels that the most important thing is what a person can do for the society. He must lead an honest life.

## 7.1 Duty of a Citizen

The person who is conscious towards his duties and rights in his society is a good citizen. He knows that he is a member of the group with which he is linked with many relations. He knows that he must live in good faith with the other members of the society. A man cannot live without a society. He cannot live alone. He must live with his fellow beings. When you live in a society you have to take care of other people and accept the traditions of your society. Apart from this there are some limitations also. These limitations and constraints are for the welfare and advantage of the society.

*Notes* The importance of duty in human life is the same as food for the body.

A good citizen is one who does duty for the society. He is always concerned about the interests of his society and state. He feels that the most important thing is what a person can do for the society. He

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must lead an honest life. Everyone is busy in his own life. We should be careful about our behaviour with others. If we do not help others we should at least not harm others. We respect each other's thoughts, so that others also respect our thoughts. Live and let live is a better thought.

Apart from normal duties, it is a person's necessity to abide by the law. In 51A of the Indian Constitution there is description of these elemental duties.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. The importance of duty in human life is the same as food for the ..... .
2. The formula for ..... is to maintain a balance between rights and duties.
3. A good ..... is one who does duty for the society.
4. Abiding by our duties provides a ..... to our life.
5. When we will make efforts to fulfill our duties then our ..... will themselves be attained.

## 7.2 Meaning to be a Citizen

The importance of duty in human life is the same as food is for body. When our body gets complete diet, only then it remains completely healthy. In this way to maintain the dignity of humanity it is important to fulfill our duties or to honestly discharge our responsibilities. If we remain dedicated towards fulfilling duties like religion then there is no reason that any interruption comes in this way. The way in which we get spiritual happiness by abiding by our religion in the same way we get contentment by fulfilling our duties. Whether or not a Task is completed is a different matter but making an attempt is important in itself. When we will make efforts to fulfill our duties then our rights will themselves be attained. In the scarcity of the feeling of duty the influence of the responsible people of the family will not be on their children. The unimportant greed of rights brings distance amongst loved ones. The probability of progress, welfare and personality building is hidden within duty; this is an opportunity to demonstrate ones own caliber and potential. Whereas, right is built as a result of abiding by duty. Duty and right are equally important in life, because they are very closely related. If every person is tuned in towards his duty then satisfactory progress of family, society and nation is inevitable. It is said that when you fulfill ten duties then you will get one right. The formula for a happy life is to maintain a balance between rights and duties. When we will step aside from selfish motive and think in this direction then we will find out that the way of welfare also goes through the way of duty. Abiding by duties is human nature, this thought brings us extreme happiness. In the blind race of modernism we do not have to neglect our duties. Else unhappiness, scarcity and problems will fence around our life, from which we have to save ourselves. There is belongingness in duty fulfillment. We get closer to each other. Along with this meaning of humanity gets completed by responsibilities and duty fulfillment. It is even more important to know its significance, because duty fulfillment only provides positive meaning to our lives.

## Self Assessment

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

6. In duty fulfillment there is

   (a) Belongingness (b) Truth

   (c) Right (d) None of the above

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7. Revolution in France happened in

   (a) 1889 (b) 1789

   (c) 1989 (d) None of the above

8. France created its constitution in

   (a) 1789 (b) 1889

   (c) 1946 (d) None of the above

9. United Nations in its general assembly announced global human rights on

   (a) 10th Dec, 1948 (b) 10th Sep, 1948

   (c) 10th Jan, 1948 (d) None of the above

10. French revolutionists broadcasted the principle of popular sovereignty in?

   (a) France (b) The world

   (c) India (d) None of the above

## 7.3 Duty and Right

**C.D.Burns** once said, "French Revolution did not ask for charity, it asked for human rights." Right is such an imperative situation which is essential for human progress. This is a person's demand which society, state and law recognise ethically and regard it their responsibility to protect it. Rights are those social situations and opportunities which are mandatory for the supreme progress of human personality. Society and state accept them with this reason only. Rights comprehend the freedom of those Tasks which can be proven worthwhile.

European politicians of 17th and 18th centuries had a strong belief that human rights are inherent and included in their nature. They in the natural situation, when society was not established, were available to humans. The great thinker of Athens, **Aristotle,** also had the same thought. In 1789, after French Revolution the national assembly of France declared human rights. Those original matters with which France raised the step of revolution all these matters were incorporated in this declaration. As a result of this declaration the social, political and psychological life and original principles changed. The effect of the declaration of human rights is obvious on modern constitutions. This declaration has an inerasable mark on the European life, thinking, history and sight. By this declaration for every human the rights for freedom, protection of wealth and protest against torture were given the recognition of basic rights. The declaration of human rights has very extensive impact. The influence of these thoughts is explicit on social, political, religious, economical, meaning every area related to human life. Socialistic philosophy has described clearly the area of these rights. Soviet Union has given fundamental position to these rights in its social rights. In 1946, when France composed its constitution it included these most important rights and included newer social rights in the constitution acts. These rights are included in all modern constitutions. They are counted in the citizens' basic rights. This is the era of caste and men-women equality. They also got a place in citizen rights. United Nations also created a detailed list of these human rights on psychologist basis. In relation to human rights the mark of changing social and political process is clear. On 10th December, 1948 United Nations declared its global rights in its General Assembly. This list was approved by majority of 48 member nations. All the modern values in human life are included in this list.

*Did You Know?* Do you know rights and duties are two backgrounds of the same substance.

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Ordinarily, the construction of the word duty is from the Tasks which people are morally committed to complete. We can comprehend from this word that a person does not do a Task from his own will or external pressure but from his internal moral stimulus. Hence behind duty there is an impetus of principle or intent. For example, behind the relations between child and parents, relations between husband and wife, true speech, etc. there is only a subtle moral relation. In the word duty there is fusion of the feelings of "karma" and "charity". It has a clear mark of unselfishness. Duty is another word for the responsibility for doing or not doing a Task. Duties are of two kinds—moral and legal. Moral duties are those whose relation is with the moral feelings of humanity, motivation of the subconscious or the nature for doing the correct Task. The state does not protect the duties of this category. If a person does not fulfill the duties of this category, his own subconscious may reproach him, or the society can blame him but the state cannot force him to fulfill these duties. True speech, protection of children, good behaviour, all these are examples of moral duties. Legal duties are those whose unfulfillment can lead to punishment decided by the state for the citizen. These duties are studied in political science.

Rights are not described in Hindu political science. Only duties are described in it. Duties are the centre of ethics. Rights and duties are closely related. Objectively, rights and duties are two backgrounds of the same substance. When we say that such a person has a right over such an object, then its second meaning is also that other persons' duties are that they should not consider that object as their own right and consider that a person's right only over that object. Hence duties and rights go hand in hand. When we understand that some rights are created when we live in society and state then we should also understand that we also have some duties while living in society and state. Essential rights are directly related to essential duties.

The French revolutionists broadcasted the famous principle of sovereignty in the world. Balance, freedom, brotherhood, these were the revolutionists' slogans. Public was jarred by their scarcity, without them the public was a victim of torture. Through the declaration of basic rights of citizens, modern constitutions have packaged the afore-mentioned view of politics. Importance has been given to human's birthright freedom, right to free life and equality of humans have been accepted. Today, all these thoughts are indivisible parts of human life. Modern architects have declared these basic rights of citizens in the constitutions. In Indian republic constitution also they have been given an important place.

*Task* Present your thoughts on duties and rights.

## 51 A. Fundamental Duties

**It shall be the duty of every citizen of India:**

a. to abide by the constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the national flag and the national anthem;

b. to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;

c. to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;

d. to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

e. to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;

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f. to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;

g. to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life, and to have compassion for living creatures;

h. to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;

i. to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;

j. to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement.

An ideal welfare state arrangement's target should be that the basic needs food, cloth and house for every person in the state should be fulfilled, the standard of living should increase slowly, people have freedom for their personal business-occupation and the government recovers taxes only for legal arrangements. Government should do a business only where private sector has failed, else corruption will increase.

In a welfare state it is the responsibility of the government to create ideal citizens, their responsibility who are in power, whom public has selected as their representative and their fate creator. The means for this change are education and character. The education system which was used to achieve selfish motives by foreign rulers for Indian citizens is now irrelevant.

The target of modern education system should be in the direction of character building of citizens and to make them independent. That education should be relevant to an independent nation, which kindles and completes a person's implicit qualities and abilities. In a welfare state the motive of rulers is not only to reign. Elected rulers should not forget that they are liable towards the citizens and in independent nations the voters are rulers of the ruler. The parts of sovereignty (parliamentary, executive and judiciary) should not forget that all of them have the target to serve the citizens and every step taken by them and decision taken should be to commend the path of citizens' progress. Citizens also should not forget that now they are not fighting against foreign rule, in fact, they have to cooperate with their own elected representatives and strengthen them so that they can protect the nation and continuously acquire energy to serve the citizens. The architects of the constitution were accomplished with far sightedness.

In the text of the constitution, fundamental rights were included, but citizens should also have fundamental duties, either nobody paid attention to this or it was not considered important. Probably they thought that the people of India and their elected leaders will remain Indians, but this hypothesis proved to be an illusion. After about two and a half decades by means of the 42nd amendment, part IVA Act 51A had to be included in the constitution in which the Indian citizens' fundamental duties have been described.

Act 51A is the ideal custom code of every citizen of the independent nation. The inclusion of this lesson should be in the syllabus of secondary education and intensive serious reflection on every duty should be the essential part of higher secondary and senior secondary education.

Any country should not be detached from its rationale. Our own cultural values and the life stories of our own great personalities are not hindrance to modernisation. According to Swami Vivekananda, 'For a strong India we will have to follow the path shown by our saints and will have to uproot the the lifelessness resulting from millennia of slavery. We must move forward, according to our own feelings, on our own path. In every nation there is one main flow, in India it is religion.'

## 7.4 Summary

- Some changes are important in present Indian mentality. Instead of opposing religion a consensus should be formed amongst all the religions and every Indian should be adorned

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with the qualities from the basic summary of all religions, this should be the policy of the government. It is important to change education. Citizens should give priority to not only their rights, but also to their duties.

- Government should be for the welfare and citizens of the nation should be set on the path of duty. Our culture should be the base and guide should be cultural values. Only then happiness will be created, establishment of fate governance will be possible and India will be able to become exemplary ideal for other countries.

## 7.5 Keywords

- **Fraternity:** Brotherhood
- **Indivisible:** That which cannot be divided

## 7.6 Review Questions

1. What are the duties of a citizen? Explain.
2. What is the meaning of being a citizen? Clarify.
3. What do you mean by duties and rights? Explain.
4. Describe fundamental duties.

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Body | 2. Happy life | 3. Citizen | 4. Meaningfulness |
| 5. Rights | 6. (a) | 7. (b) | 8. (c) |
| 9. (a) | 10. (b) | | |

## 7.7 Further Readings

*Books*


1. **Principles of Political Science—***Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*
2. **Principles of Modern Political Science—***Sterling Publishers.*
3. **History of Political Science—***Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*
4. **Classic Politics—***Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

# Unit 8: Citizenship

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## Objectives

After studying of this unit, students will be able to:

- Know principles of citizenship.
- Explain various dimensions of citizenship.
- Discuss criticism of the principle of citizenship.

## Introduction

Citizenship is a progressive concept. In medieval period—when the concept of citizenship was not started, and people were helpless before the immense power of the ruler—the plight of the ruler was like master and the subjects were like slaves. For example, in ancient Egypt the birth and death of people was on the mercy of the emperor. Whenever he wanted, he could have the capture the ladies and property of his people After the development of the concept of citizenship, such probabilities finished.

## 8.1 Concept of Citizenship

The meaning of citizenship is—in this state an individual is full and responsible member of any political community, and takes part in public life. A citizen is such a person who has allegiance for the state, and he has got protection from the state. The concept of citizenship is very old, but in the modern era it indicates the value of the person in the state.

In given context, it is better to differentiate between formal citizenship and substantive citizenship. For formal citizenship, membership of the nation is enough, on the other side, under other nations; all the members have civil, political and social rights which come under substantive citizenship. The citizenship to an individual will be granted on which conditions that will be decided by the law of that state. Generally, when some individuals get the citizenship of any other country, they have to give up the citizenship of original state, although, some states grant dual citizenship to its citizens without such

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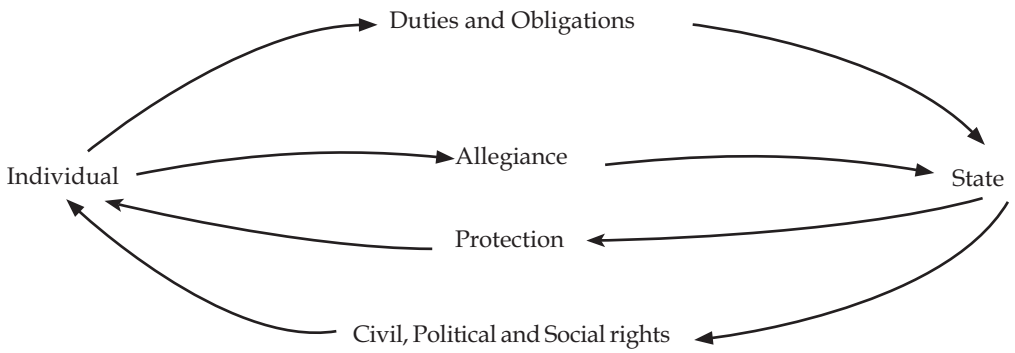
demands. This is also possible that the citizens or some groups may not be satisfied with prevalent rights of the state, so those citizens may demand the increase in rights and resort to social movement.

Hence, the original concept of citizenship was associated with sense of duty and in that the idea for rights was secondary. But in today's era the identity of citizenship is known by the rights, and the duties of an individual are accepted till it is essential to uphold those rights.

**Nature of Citizenship**
(Mutual relation of an individual and the state)




## Historical Development

Citizenship is a progressive idea. In ancient times when the idea of citizenship was not developed and the people were helpless before indomitable power of the ruler—then the state of the ruler was like a master and the state of the subject was like a slave. For example, in ancient time people's birth and death depended upon the will of the ruler. Whenever he wanted he could get hold of the women and property of the people. After the development of the concept of citizenship, such probabilities finished.

*Notes* In 19th century with the emergence of liberalism there was development of market relations which enhanced the new idea of citizenship.

The idea of citizenship in its early form is found in the political systems of ancient of Greek and Rome. It is to be remembered that the form of ancient Greek political organization was entirely different from recent Nation State. All the permanent members of recent democratic state are considered to be the citizen of that state, but among the inhabitants of ancient Greek nation- state very few freemen (about 10%) were considered as full citizen. The rights of those citizens were of course same—specially: no discrimination was done between rich and poor. Among others were slaves, women and other Aliens who had no civil rights. So **Aristotle** endorsed citizenship as privilege of the ruling class. It indicated the use of effective participation in the exercise of power. Nevertheless, in ancient Greek thinking the stress on its obedience is given after providing the pretext of duty to this privilege of the ruling class so that the political organization might prove helpful in granting good Life to all the people (means both citizens and non-citizens).

After the downfall of the Greek nation state, in the era of Roman Empire there developed a new definition of citizenship. In the beginning citizenship was privilege of the power holders only, but later on Plebeians and the vanquished of the war were also given status of citizens. Thus, various kinds of people came in category of citizens; only people of lower class and women were kept out of

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sphere of citizenship. So now the meaning of citizen is no more 'Protector of Law', but it was agreed upon that the citizen has protection of law.

### Renaissance

The period of history of Europe in which there was re-emergence of art and literature in conforming to old ideals. Its beginning took place in 14th century in Italy, and later on it spread in various forms in France, Spain, Germany and north Europe. Due to its influence there was significant change in the medieval viewpoint. Now art and literature were not just a medium of religious tuitions, but became a strong medium of the expression of human emotions.

### Glorious Revolution

In the history of England, the landmark incident of 1668 in which **Emperor James** II was disposed of the throne and his daughter **Mary** and her husband **William** of Orange's Coronation took place. **James** was supporter of Absolutism, **Mary** and **William** agreed to the condition to rule on the advice of the parliament. Thus, without any bloodshed in place of Absolute Monarchy, Constitutional Monarchy was established.

In Medieval Europe, when superiority of Ecclesiastical Authority was established on Political Authority, then worldly citizenship was no more a subject of discussion. When in 15th-16th century there emerged modern ideology in the wake of Renaissance; the concept of citizenship again became centre of attraction in Italian Republic. Renowned Italian thinker **Niccolò Machiavelli** (1469–1527) gave new life to this concept. In 17th century of England, **James Harrington** (1611–77) and John Milton (1608-74) did recreation of this. **Harrington** drew a picture of an ideal system for future which would be an Emperor of the Laws, not of men. The supporters of Glorious Revolution (1688) specially made the concept of citizenship popular.

In 18th century during American Revolution (1776), this concept was very popular in America.

The world known ideal along with French Revolution (1789) and Declaration of the Rights of Man and citizen reached up to its excellence. In the declaration of this there was replication of the concepts of **J.J. Rousseau** (1712–78). **Rousseau** in his popular book, 'the Social Contract' (1762) wrote that a citizen is a free and autonomous individual. He is entitled to take part in all the decisions that are bonding for all citizens. **Rousseau** experienced clearly after he saw the emergence of commercial society that it is natural to see tension between common good and private interests and this tension will wreck the unity of the society. **Rousseau** had this belief that for the sake of conservation of social unity, the highest priority will be given to 'General Welfare'.

### French Revolution

In the history of France, a significant transformation took place in 1789. Under that Bourgeoisie assembled together and dethroned Emperor **Louis** (1754–93); wiped Monarchy; and brought an end to the supremacy of the aristocrats and established Popular Sovereignty.

In 19th century along with the emergence of Liberalism Market Relations also developed which gave rise to new concept of citizenship. Now natural rights were accepted as the base of citizenship. The concept of natural justice was originally presented by **John Locke** (1632–1704) of England in 17th century. **Locke** contented that right to life, liberty and prosperity is the base of natural rights. To protect these rights the citizens create their states. If a state is not able to protect natural rights, the individual gets the right of resistance. Due to inspiration of these concepts, in 19th century the citizenship was considered to be the evidence of only legal status and the definition of rights of people was being given in the form of 'Rights against the State'. Nevertheless, the concept of negative rights gave significant contribution for the development of Liberal–democratic societies and later on in this

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society the concept of positive rights developed which took the concept of citizenship to its logical conclusion. In short, the activities of the individual on which there is no restraint by the state, are kept in the category of negative rights. On the other side, the special arrangement which was done by the state to assist the self-development of the individual, that gives vent to positive rights of an individual.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. The concept of ..... was originally presented by John Locke of England.
2. The supporters of England's ..... made the concept of citizenship especially popular.
3. The concept of ..... is comparatively new in the sphere of Social Sciences.
4. In the first half of 20th century ..... emerged in Britain.

## 8.2 Aspects of Citizenship—Civil, Political and Social Rights

In today's era three important aspects of substantive citizenship are recognized. They were kept in the category of civil, political and social rights respectively **T.H Marshall** in his book 'Citizenship and Social Class' (1950) has shown how these rights developed in Britain, due to which the concept of citizenship reached its excellence. This matter must be remembered that there at end of 17th century the concept of citizenship started with 'Prestigious Revolution'. **Marshall** had shown that in 18th century Britain there was development of citizenship linked with civil rights or civil citizenship. In 19th century there established citizenship linked with political rights or political citizenship. Consequently, in 20th century on account of using political rights, citizenship associated with social rights or social citizenship developed. **Marshall** has written that their courts protect the civil rights of the citizens; representative political institutions protect their political rights; and social services and schools provide reasonable social rights.

### The progress of Substantive Citizenship in England Marshall's analysis

| Period of Development | Form of Citizenship | Nature of Rights | Protective Institutions |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18th century | Civil Citizenship | Civil Rights | Courts |
| 19th century | Political Citizenship | Political Rights | Representative Institutions |
| 20th century | Social Citizenship | Social Rights | Social Services and Schools |

According to **Marshall** under civil rights equality before the law, liberty of the person, liberty of speech, thought, and faith, contracts s of property have special place. For the authenticity of civil rights it is essential that these rights should be equally given to Minorities as well as Majorities. In other words, at time of arranging these rights there should not be any discrimination with any Ethnic, Racial, Religious and Linguistic group. If with any of the groups–especially with minorities–any discrimination is met out, these groups can resort to Civil Rights Movement against this indiscrimination. For example, in the United States of American Civil Rights Movement was initiated to implement those rights that were implied in the laws but on the level of execution they were not available for the blacks. Particularly, they were deprived of public property and free utilization of public places and equal opportunities for employment. The result of continuous struggle and lengthy revolution came in the form of Civil Rights Act, 1964. This matter is to take into consideration that the law which was present earlier, but on the level of execution it has been proved ineffective, to enact new law to implement it is not sufficient. So

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civil rights movement should not only see that the laws should be absolutely clear , but also suitable conditions should be present to implement them, or under constitution or law the arrangement of rights was done , to implement them the courts not only should be free and capable but also ready. For deprived sections not only the access to courts should be there but the judge himself should also be alert and sympathetic towards the rights of the deprived sections while interpreting laws.

## Ethnic Group

It is a social group whose members recognize themselves that they belong to a particular group on the basis of same race, same physical features, same culture (language, religion, attire etc); experience unity among them; and separate themselves from other groups

According to **Marshall** the citizens have right to take part in elections under their political rights; it includes the right to work for the institutions associated with political power, it may be legislature or council of ministers. The system of political rights demands that avenues are open for all to take hold of political power as per a fixed procedure; the general public can elect rulers as per their choice; revert unwanted rulers; can influence the decisions of government, can criticize the policies, decisions and activities of the government; can present alternate policies and programmes. In communist countries (as in Populist republic of China and ex Soviet Union) only one party – Communist Party had hold of political power. Elections took place regularly, but only ruling party had the right to nominate the candidates. General public had no power to change the rulers .So the citizens did not have political rights in true sense, although they kept on calling their rule as populist system. In 1989 in Chinese capital Peking, thousands of youth demonstrators demanded to set up a democratic system in place of prevalent political system at Tiananmen Square, they were condemned as revolutionaries, and several of the demonstrators were butchered with bullets.

*Did You Know?* **Aristotle** contended that citizenship is the privilege of ruling party?

According to **Marshall**, the implication of social rights is the right of Economic and Social Welfare of fixed level and the right to utilize heritage of civilization and culture mutually with others. Under democratic systems the social and economic rights are often provided in the name of Welfare State. In Europe, the state of 19th century was termed as 'Night – watchman state' because its aim was to look after the property of the citizens. In the first half of 20th century, there emerged 'Welfare State' in Britain which slowly became popular in other countries also. Its aim was to ask the government to enact and execute policies and arrange essential finance for them which encourage group welfare. According to famous 'Beveridge Report' (1942) of **William Beveridge** (1874–1963), the objective of this state was to terminate five big-demerits — Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor, and Idleness. It was presumed that in future the ill-effects of economical system of free market would be beyond the control of the people – especially when people would be helpless due to Unemployment, Sickness, and Old age then the state itself would interfere in economic system and provide help to the affected people

## Welfare State

The image of the state in which it regularizes the Free Market Economy in such a way that expected help can be extended to poor and weak sections, and a net of Common Services can be arranged for all the parts of the community. This state comparatively does proper arrangement for general public for their social security, cheap heath services and education, transport on reasonable cost, entertainment, supply of food material, cleanliness of environment etc.

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This is important that in Britain the development of various dimensions of citizenship took place logically, and in this line it reached point of excellence. There the civil rights prepared a suitable atmosphere to nourish democracy, owing to that political rights were established. The political rights provided chance to the general public to participate in public life and influence the public decisions. Due to this social rights developed, and Welfare state was established. On the other side, in the United States of America the concept of citizenship could not go further than civil rights. So there women and blacks resorted to struggle and got success in it.

This is to be noted that after the Second World War (1939–45) the concept of citizenship developed in different forms in Western Europe and Eastern Europe. Under Liberal - Democratic Systems of Western Europe, civil and political rights were established, and social rights were established under Welfare State to counter Inegalitarian Tendencies of Capitalist Economy. But under Communist Dictatorships of Eastern Europe, arrangements were done for vast social rights for the citizens, and for this, heavy curtailment was done in civil and political rights. In 1989 in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania anti- government movement was initiated to press demands for basic civil and political rights. Consequently in all the countries there was downfall of communist system.

### Self Assessment

**State whether the following statements are True/False:**

5. Basis of citizenship is civil rights.
6. According to Nozick, the state is a small industry.
7. The state is a protective agency that leads in the free competition.
8. According to Marshall, the development of citizenship has been regularly in one direction like a straight line.

## 8.3 Theories of Citizenship

Under political discussion, many principles have been presented about suitable bases of citizenship and sphere of thought. Five principles are specially important — (1) Liberalism principle; (2) Libertarianism principle; (3) Communalism principle; (4) Marxism principle; and (5) Pluralism principle.

### Liberal Theory of Citizenship

According to this principle the base of citizenship is civil rights. They usually arrive at a logical decision by establishing equality and social justice in the society. Main as this principle backs up the development of rights, so it called Evolutionary Theory of Citizenship. The main spokesperson of this theory is **T.H Marshall** (1893–1981). **Marshall** in his important book 'Citizenship and Social class' (1950) has written that citizenship determines equal rights and duties, liberty and restrictions, powers and responsibilities of different individuals. These people mutually lay down conditions for their association. The concept of citizenship works in opposite direction of class division of the society. The social class encourages hold of property, inequality in level of education and inequality on the basis of system of economic structure among different people, but citizenship grants equal status and encourages equality.

**Social Justice**

In this system or policy valuable means and sources of happiness are not allowed to centralize in hands of rich sections, but such methods are opted that poor and weak also can get respectable portion as per their qualification, diligence and need.

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**Marshall** citing the example of England had shown that the concept of citizenship starts with the setting up of the civil rights; then with the setting of political and social rights respectively, it reached its excellence. At this stage, the rights of an individual do not depend on market system. So the citizenship in its fully-developed form encourages redistribution of goods, services, benefits etc. This stage is feature of social justice. For instance, when the people are not able to arrange for their family's health, education or residence from market income, they are entitled for the assistance by the state for being the citizen.

As citizenship enables the members of the community to share common heritage, the people are bound to have allegiance for the community. This concept strengthens the duty of citizenship.

The critics of this principle give this argument that this idea is too optimistic. When redistribution of social resources is done for arrangement of social rights, taxes are levied on some to give advantage to others in the society. To maintain congeniality and solidarity it is essential that unjust burden should not be there on those who pay taxes or they should not crib. This is really a difficult Task.

## Libertarian Theory of Citizenship

According to this principle, the state of citizenship is the result of people's free choice and contract. It upholds the image of market society as suitable base of civil life. The chief spokesperson of this principle is **Robert Nozick** (1938–2002). In his popular book 'Anarchy, State and Utopia' (1974) **Nozick** has signified that people take help right of private activity, market exchange, and voluntary association to prove their values, theories and preferences. The need for citizenship comes up because some required things and services are not available through these means. So public provision is mandatory for that. From this point of view the meaning of citizen is, rational consumer of public goods.

According to **Nozick**, the state should be accepted as large enterprise; the citizens are its customers or clients. The individual for the protection of his right to property, take the services of protective Association. The state is such a protective association that keeps ahead of others in free contest. So it obtains the sole right of using force in its territory.

The critics of this principle give argument that individualism based on free market is not sufficient for social solidarity. This image of citizenship will enhance grim fight of selfishness and acute debate in the society. For example, by implementing this concept of citizenship there will appear many questions—the people who do not take treatment from government hospitals or do not send their children to government schools, why should they pay taxes to meet the expenditure of these hospitals and schools? Or those who do not have immense wealth, why should they cooperate in maintenance of big police –force? Or those who do not have adherence for their country, or those who can earn high income with their talent and diligence by going to any place, why should they part with their share the expenditure of maintenance of vast armed forces of the country?

It will also be said if we argue further, that people should avail the services of private insurance companies for incidental needs of seeking help in case of fire, illness, accident, theft-robbery etc. As such the requirement of the state will end gradually and the idea of citizenship will be meaningless.

## Communitarian Theory of Citizenship

Contrary to Libertarianism, the citizenship's Communitarian or Republican Theory gives stress to solidarity of an individual and community. According to this, a citizen is such an individual who takes part in political debate and procedure of justice and plays an active role in framing future image of the society. In other words, the chief feature of citizenship is Citizen Participation. Among the chief promoters of this principle names of **Hannah Orant, Benjamin Barber** and **Michael Vaulzer** are especially noteworthy.

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The chief recognition of this principle is that the citizen should set his rapport with the community he belongs to, and takes active part in its political life; only then he will be able to contribute in accomplishment of common good and takes part in political life of it; only then he will give his contribution in accomplishing common good. In other words, an individual becomes a citizen in true sense if he merges himself in community's culture, traditions, recognitions and sentiments.

This principle wants to establish such a unity in the life of the citizens which is found in the family, religious community, or faithful members of labour union. They are bound to each other with the feeling of responsibility, devoted towards one goal and are ready to sacrifice to fulfill those goals.

The critics of this principle furnish this argument that this form of citizenship is pertinent for only uniform and small community as it was prevalent in Athens of 4th century B.C or Florence of 15th century. **J.J. Rousseau** in his famous book 'The Social Contract' (1762) did imagination of manifestation of General Will after aiming of at such community. In today's complicated society through the medium of debate vital points of concurrence can be found out, but it is difficult to know about that General Will which is equally agreed upon by entire community's sensibility.

### General Will

According French philosopher **J.J. Rousseau** (1712–78), the will of a particular community that is inspired by their own Ultimate Good and common good of every one is general will. This will is equally found in all the members of the community. It is different from different will of different people which evolves out of their instantaneous selfishness, greed or infatuation, and can push them towards moral degradation. Their general will only inspires them to universal welfare and general welfare..

## Marxist Theory of Citizenship

According to this principle, the rights connected with citizenship are product of class conflict, or to get rights after dominating rival section in class conflict is the foundation of citizenship. The chief interpreter of this principle is **Anthony Giddens. Giddens** in his two main books 'A Contemporary Critic of Historical Materialism' (1981) and 'Profiles and Critics of Social Theory' (1982) has refuted ideas of **Marshall** to clarify his own point of view. He has specially raised three points –

1. **Marshall** contends that progress is such a procedure in which modern world is being mounded in different forms through its inner logic. Contrary to this, **Giddens** believes that rights associated with citizenship are result of mainly class-struggle;
2. According to **Marshall**, the development of citizenship occurred in only one direction like straight line; according to **Giddens** the development of the citizenship did not take place like that, but there were good and bad times; and
3. **Marshall** has recognized three categories of the rights connected with citizenship—civil, political and social deemed rights; he accepted civil rights similar to others. Contrary to this, Giddens has differentiated in civil rights— (a) Individual freedom and equality before the law are struggled against such rights which mainly emergent bourgeoisie or capitalist class got after struggling against feudal privileges. These rights helped to solidify industrial capitalism and modern representative state. They deemed the interference of the state in economic system as unfair; bifurcating line was drawn between government and non-government sectors and political rights were linked to civil rights; and (b) Economic civil rights are such rights for those worker class and labour union struggled against bourgeoisie power machinery. In this the expansion of activities of labour unions, bargaining, and right of strike are included which challenged the supremacy of capitalism.

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### Class Conflict

According to **Marxism**, that struggle of Haves and Have-Nots which has been the specialization of human society from the beginning of civilization. In the ancient times master and slave, in medieval times landlord and farmer, in modern times capitalist and labourer have been the main receptacles of this class conflict. Out of these one class is the master of the means of the society's produce, and the other is compelled to hard work for his sustenance. There is no possibility of a consensus between their mutually opposing interests.

As per **Giddens**, the progress of citizenship and modern republic began in the latter half of the 16th century when the state's sovereignty and administrative framework expanded. In this way the state became capable to collect information about its citizens, to check their activities and for their surveillance. Hence it was not required to use only force to control its citizens. In this situation to function the administration in a smooth way ruler and peace became dependent on each other, such initiatives were created so that the public could not influence the administration.

In his new book 'The Nation State and Violence' (1985), **Giddens** has accepted that contemporary capitalists are different from the capitalists of the 19th century in all intents. In its adaptation labour revolutions have played the main role. In most of today's capitalist nations welfare capitalist has dawned upon which protects the rights of the citizens of the labour section. These citizen rights have proved an aid to strengthen industrialist capitalism. In this way **Giddens** has moved away from the basic values of **Marxism** and has come closer to this thought that in the framework of liberal democracy citizenship rights can be made meaningful.

## Pluralist Theory of Citizenship

According to this principle, the development of citizenship is a complex and multidimensional process. It cannot be tied together to any single reason, in fact for its appropriate description attention should be paid towards its different reasons. This principle's best representation is found in **B.S.Turner's** famous book 'Citizenship and Capitalism–The Debate over Reformism' (1986).

**David Held** has written in 'Political Theory and the Modern State' (1989) that from ancient times till today the meaning of citizenship has been interpreted that a citizen will have some rights against his community, and he will have some duties towards his community. These rights and duties are dependent on one another. In other words they are two sides of the same coin. One person's rights become others' duties; his duties become others' rights. The summary of citizenship is in participation of a person in the society life. It will be delusory to consider it as a result of class conflict. If we read history then we will see that many people have been kept deprived of their citizen rights based on Gender, Race, Religion, Property, Education, Occupation, Age etc. In modern times many agitations have been carried on against such discriminations. Hence in contemporary world the problem of citizenship should be seen with reference to the agitations related to Feminism, Black movement, Ecology and Children's Rights etc. It will not be tactical to keep different types of agitations in the simple category of 'Class Conflict'.

In short, the pluralist theory of citizenship attracts our focus towards all those trends and agitations which demand for the inclusion of the underprivileged sections into the mainstream. Because with the progress of social consciousness these agitations are spreading to newer directions, that's why the analysis of citizenship is a subject of continuous experimentation; it cannot be seen as framed in one readymade framework.

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### Comparative Perspective on Citizenship

| The Issue | Liberal Perspective | Libertarian Perspective | Communitarian Perspective | Marxist Perspective | Pluralist Perspec-tive |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The condition of citizens | Such people who themselves set the conditions of their association | Sensible consumers of public property | Such people who participate actively in common interest | A section whose members fight for their rights against influential section | Different groups who fight against prejudice based on different criteria |
| The counterpart of citizens confederation | Welfare state | Competitive market society | Corporate society | Labour union | Pluralist society |
| Target of citizenship | Welfare of citizens | Arrangement of important public goods | Common interest | Labours' rights | Co-existence without prejudice |
| Way of target setting | Justified allotment of rights and duties | Payment of state tax | Citizen participation | Class conflict | Social agitation |
| Innovator | T.H. Marshall | Robert Nozick | Hannah Orant, Michael Vaulzer, Benjamin Barber | Anthony Giddens | B.S. Turner |

## 8.4 Critiques of the Theory of Citizenship

Voice is being raised in the contemporary world that the prevailing principle of citizenship does not provide appropriate rights to all parts of the society. From this viewpoint two types of critiques are especially important – (1) Feminist Critique; and (2) Subaltern Critique.

### The Feminist Critique

The feminist critics of citizenship argue that even after the attainment of full citizenship to women they remain dependent in life. From the decade of 1970 the position of women in society and politics is a subject of special discussion. Before this it was supposed that after establishing men-women equality from the legal viewpoint women do not have any concern for grievance. After women got franchise, the studies presented about voting behaviour, this conclusion was drawn that in comparison to men, women take lesser part in voting. This was explained as this that women are more interested in personal and household matters; they are least interested in political and public matters, and they do not get enough time also for that.

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Few decades ago when families started getting smaller, and more and more women started working outside homes, then people did not believe much in this explanation. Then this was also seen that the percentage of women taking part in voting is continuously increasing, but in Political Authority their part is very less though it is slowly increasing. Worldwide in the election commissions women's count is about 50%, but in Political Representation their percentage is very less. In western European legislative assemblies women members are about 12% though in Germany it has reached to about 32%. In Britain's House of Commons the women's quota is 18%, and in the United State of America's House of Representatives their share is about 14%. Only in Scandinavian nations' legislative assemblies the share of women is not that bad. In the legislatures of Norway, Denmark and Sweden the representation of women is 36%, 38% and 45%, respectively.

In the area of international politics the state of women representation is even worse. For example, in November 1900 to sign the historical 'Charter of Paris' of New Europe 34 Heads of Government assembled. In this summit the end of Cold War was announced. In the newspapers' headlines this was named as 'The end of an era'. But feminists raise this question that 'This end was for which era?' At least this was not the end of the Patriarchal era. Wherever one saw in this collective group of 34 countries' rulers, only men could be seen in dark colored suits. After searching hard only two women could be seen – Norway's Prime Minister **Gro Brundtland** and British Prime Minister **Margaret Thatcher**. After two days of this summit **Margaret Thatcher** also resigned, and her position was taken over by a male prime minister. In these circumstances what meaning does complete citizenship have in the legal books?

### Patriarchy

Such a social arrangement in which the eldest male—like father or grandfather is the head of the entire family or extended family; he takes all the decisions, and all members have to abide by his words. This arrangement is an indication of male dominated society.

In countries outside Europe and America the representation of women on the political level is very less though some women have been successful in reaching topmost positions. Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Israel have had women prime ministers. Towards the end of 2005, in Germany women chancellor has held the position. In the beginning of 2006 women have reached the position of President in Chili and Liberia. Still the total number of women in top positions is very few. There are many reasons for this. Generally, women's time is consumed in looking after the children, and they do not get the sufficient opportunity to improve their personality. In this way they get this notion in their mind that a woman's world in inside the four walls of her house; she should not have any interest in public life. In society girls are taught from the beginning that they should pay more attention to personal relations; not on personal success. Boys are taught to be adamant, rude and bold; girls are taught to be obedient, shy and submissive. Boys are encouraged to become doctor, engineer and jurists; girls to become school teacher, nurse or secretary. In short, the experience that women gain in their professional life, that is not helpful for them to enter political life. This notion sets in from the way of social reasoning that men are thoughtful, mature, serious and robust whereas women are emotional, courteous and flexible. These qualities of women are praised, and the progress of these qualities are only expected in them. These qualities take them away from political life.

Hence feminists demand that till in public life the condition of equal participation of women is not fulfilled, till then the concept of citizenship cannot be taken to its legitimate goal. This thing needs attention that in India an initiative has been taken in this direction by reserving one-third positions on the Panchayati level. From this the women will get encouragement in the grassroot level to enter into politics. Slowly, their representation can be increased on this level, and arrangements can be made for their enough representation in legislative assemblies and parliament also.

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## The Subaltern Critique

The meaning of the subaltern critique of the principles of citizenship is that only by arranging for equal rights for all citizens on legal and formal level, there is no help to improve the conditions of the subaltern sections.

In the area of political science the concept of 'Subalterns' is relatively new. There is no unanimous definition for subaltern view. According to 'Concise Oxford Dictionary', this word means 'of inferior rank'. But it is important to discuss its referential utilization for its detailed study.

In the beginning the use of this word is seen in the social analysis of Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). According to Gramsci, the classes on which the Ruling Classes of any society use their Hegemony, can be known as 'Subalterns'. In other words, society's subject classes—who do not get any opportunity to use their power can be considered as subalterns. In a broad sense, peasants and workers are kept in the category of subalterns.

### Hegemony

The condition in which the ruler section by means of education, culture or publicity establishes the values and beliefs linked to their own interests as relevant and ideal qualities and recognitions for the entire society so that it seems that his rule is based on the consent of the people. By this the prevailing laws get legitimacy and to regulate them the need for coercion is very less.

Some contemporary historians have given special importance to subaltern perspective especially under the studies related to South Asian areas. They have accepted while expanding the basic perception of subalterns that in any society the sections that are subordinate to others based on caste, class, age, gender, office or any other basis, should be accepted as subalterns. Hence the main symptom of subaltern sections is social subordination. They have argued that the attention of historians was restricted to only the practices of the dominant groups because of which there has been an imbalance in the South Asian history-writing. To remove this imbalance the recognition of subalterns and the evaluation of their role is important. For example, the emperor or ruler who created Taj Mahal or any other grand monument, his name is taken very respectfully in history, but those architects, artists and labourers who created it based on their extraordinary talent, artistry and hard work, even their name is not taken anywhere. In the same way in India's national movement historians have limited their main focused on the role of the people, institutions and thoughts related to the elites. Hence this history is incomplete in itself. To complete it light should be cast upon the roles of the public also which was subordinate to the special sections. For example, there should be proper evaluation of peasant revolts in this. In the process of nation building also there should be complete utilization of the capabilities of the subalterns. The people of the special classes can be motivated and affected by the western education, culture and institutions whereas the roots of the subalterns are strongly tied to their nation's culture.

*Task* Present your views on the principles of citizenship.

It is essential to even more elaborate the definition of 'Subalterns' in reference to the subaltern critique of citizenship. In short, whatever sets and sections of society are leading sub-human life because of social subordination, who do not have any ray of hope in their lives, and whose reformation is not being paid any attention, all of them can be kept under the category of subaltern sections. In other words, they are society's neglected sections. In India their numbers are large. Till now there has been no arranged survey; let alone their classification. The correspondents of newspapers, radio and television keep giving little description. Some social workers or civil servants sometimes keep raising questions about them on public forums, or keep trying for their freedom. Economists probably by keeping them

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all below poverty line with support of economic growth plan to improve their condition. But their problem is not only economic, it is also social. Its solution is necessary on economic, social, political and in all levels. Here we can at least take few examples.

## 8.5 Summary

- In legal terms in India Bonded Labour has finished. But in few areas still this practice is going on. Child labour has also stopped on legal terms. But in the carpet industry of Muzzafarpur, hundreds of children still work hard from morning till evening in exchange for half a bread. In the fireworks industry of Shivakashi, children are made to labour in health deteriorating conditions. In the villages Marginal farmers and farm labourers still long for two times bread even after working hard. Kolkata's garbage labourers in which maximum are children—arrange for a meal by looking for items for the flea market. Children gathering food from roadside bins for a meal, children elderly and women dying from sickness in dirty colonies, prostitutes fighting with cheap clients in dirty colonies, daily labourers living their whole life on the footpaths, and many more different types of helpless, powerless, unassisted and sick people are this country's citizens from legal point. But they are not even humans in real life. Till these spots are not washed off from the sheet of citizenship, meaning till essential conditions are not provided to this country's helpless and unassisted people to live life like humans, till then to feel proud on the progress of the country's complete citizenship will not only be futile, but also delusory.

## 8.6 Keywords

- **Subjects:** Public, the people of any state or nation
- **Slave:** Person subordinate to someone

## 8.7 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by the concept of citizenship? Explain.
2. Describe the different aspects of citizenship.
3. Describe the different principles of citizenship.
4. Describe 'Feminist Critique'.

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Natural rights | 2. Prestigious revolution | | 3. Subalterns | |
| 4. Welfare State | 5. True | 6. False | 7. True | 8. True |

## 8.8 Further Readings

*Books*

1. **Principles of Modern Political Science**—*Sterling Publishers.*
2. **Principles of Political Science**—*B.K. Tiwari, D.K Publishers.*
3. **History of Political Science**—*Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*
4. **Classic Politics**—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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# Unit 9: Sovereignty

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Introduction
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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know concept of Sovereignty.
- Explain modern State and Sovereignty.

## Introduction

Modern world is a sovereign and independent unit. In traditional system the personality of the ruler is considered as synonym of the state and sovereignty was directly seen as identity of the ruler. The fondling father of modern sovereignty, Jan Bodan admits that the meaning of sovereignty refers to the super most controlling power over the citizens which no one restricts.

## 9.1 Conception of Sovereignty

- The concept of sovereignty is modern. Its origin is associated with emergence of nation – state.
- The evolvement of modern sovereignty took place in three steps.
  1. With the combination of ancient traditions and selected material used in medieval era.
  2. Usage by the dictator kings in the beginning of the modern world.
  3. With the installation of responsible government in England in 1688.
- The legal viewpoint of sovereignty was first elucidated by **Bodan** and **Hobbs** and later on **Bentham** and **Austin** explicated it.

### Unitary Concept of Sovereignty

- The principle of sovereignty—rich super most state is only called 'Sovereignty's Unitary Concept.

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- In the words of **Dr. Mahadev Prasad Sharma** the ratification principle of sovereign rich state is only called unitary system because its recognition is that in each free state there is only one ruler as all powerful and all individuals and communities are subordinate of it.
- Sovereignty is prime feature of the state. Owing to sovereignty the state claims supremacy on other unions and communities.
- According to the concept of unitarianism, the entire power of the society is centralized on one point and that point is the state.
- The recognition of the supremacy of the state can be met out with his power in sphere of enactment of laws and punishment.

## Defects Arisen Out of Concept of Unitarianism

1. Due to it there is no importance of the individual.
2. Out of this principle there is a voice saying that the state is an accomplishment and the individuals are its means.
3. The effect of this concept was very adverse on international politics and it has caused anarchy in international world.

## The Concept of Pluralism of Sovereignty

- In the closing years of 19th century and early 20th century pluralism emerged as reaction against unitarianism.
- Pluralism believes in the fact that in overall development of a man there is special contribution of various relations developed at social level.
- These associations are equally influential and independent of each other and no unit is more important or superior to the other. Pluralism, upholds the state as one union like other social unions.
- Pluralism contends that state is different from the society, and tries to bring state from the level of the supreme master down to level of servant.
- There are two sections of political pluralism—negative and positive.
- In negative denotation it does not approve of the concept of unitarianism that to solve all the disputes of the society only state is overpowering union.
- As per positive implication in state's administration there should be participation of social communities and unions due to two reasons. First—all unions have their own identification. Second—they play an important role in the fulfillment of individual's needs. This is such a Task that only the state cannot undertake.
- It expresses reaction against paternity and authoritarianism.
- Through the medium of abstract pluralism, it extends help in the direction of solid unitarianism for the/development of western political contemplation.
- It forces unitarians to confine themselves to narrow political area.

## The Principle of Bodan

- Bodan in 1576 in 'Six Books on the Republic' defined sovereignty for the first time.
- From the viewpoint of the principle of **Bodan** the king was supreme as maker and promoter of law.

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- By sovereignty **Bodan** meant—'That supreme authority on citizens and subjects which was not bound by law'. It was source of dictatorship, but it itself was not bound by law. It was above the laws enacted by it.
- According to **Bodan** sovereign divine law; was subordinate to natural law and law of the nation.
- The sovereign of **Bodan** was bound by the treaty with other states, alliance and fundamental laws of the state. It could not confiscate the property of its citizens.
- According to **Grocious**, 'Sovereignty is that political authority which is implied in the individual. His acts are not subordinate of any one nobody can quash his will.'
- According to **Dugit**, 'Sovereignty is order giving authority of the state. It is an authority of united nation in the form of state. It has the right to order without any condition all the individuals living in its territory.'
- According to **Donald Russell**, 'Sovereignty is all powerful and supreme authorities in the state which is not confined by any law or any other thing'.

## The Principle of Bentham

- **Bentham** has defined sovereignty as the supreme authority to enact laws. He has given stress that the source of law is not natural laws but sovereignty of the state.
- There are two dimensions of sovereignty—Internal and External.
- In internal sphere the meaning of the idea of sovereignty is—the state in its controlled sphere is the supreme authority. It is ultimate authority of forcing obedience of orders. Its implication is only with the law of the state.
- In external sphere the meaning of sovereignty is—the freedom from any foreign dominance or control.
- Sovereignty has following characteristics—supreme, all omnipotent, stable, non- transferable, indivisible, etc.

## Different Forms of Sovereignty

- Nominal or real sovereignty.
- Constitutional and political sovereignty.
- Legal and factual sovereignty.
- Public sovereignty.

## The Principle of John Austin

- If a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receives habitual obedience, from the bulk of a given society, that determinate human superior is sovereign in that society, and that society (including the superior) is a society political and independent.
- In the society there is a ruler who exercises sovereign power, that society is independent in itself.

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## Austin's Theories

- The authority of sovereignty cannot be limited constitutionally.
- Sovereignty can be bifurcated constitutionally in two or more associations

## Conclusion

1. It implies compulsorily to all related individuals and their unions.
2. The sovereignty holder is a fixed individual.
3. Sovereignty is indivisible. The will of the state sovereign is applicable to all the people and their unions living in the territory of the state.
4. State sovereign gets obedience spontaneously from immense community of the state.
5. Order is depth of the law. Whichever wish the sovereign expresses, that is the law, not obeying means giving invitation to punishment

## Criticism

- Fixed human sovereign is supreme and holder of autocratic authority.
- The idea of **Austin** expects traditions and practices of the society.
- **Hobbs** has endorsed autocratic sovereignty by his sovereignty related principle

## The Principle of Locke

- As supporter of 1688 revolution, **Locke** has presented the point of view of sovereignty of the nation and constitutional government. **Locke** is in favour of divided sovereignty.
- **Locke** has elaborated three supreme powers relating to sovereignty in his book 'Treaties on Government':
  - *(i)* **The supreme authority of the civil society—that is the final deciding source of the power of the government.**
  - *(ii)* **The supreme authority of legislature—civil society appoints legislators for good laws and security.**
  - *(iii)* **Supreme authority of the executive council related to the legislature.**
- According to **Locke**, the supreme power resides in the government, but behind the government and above the government there is collective highest authority of general public or there are not only one but also two kinds of supreme powers are there—one is of the government and the other is of the public. Both the supreme powers are not used together and at one time or in normal state they are used by supreme power of the government.
- The principle of Montesquieu sovereignty is the principle of liberty, because he based sovereignty on principle of bifurcation.
- The chief critic of legal or unitarian principle is Sir **Henryman**.
- German philosopher **Hegel** has given abstract interpretation of unitarianism. According to him, the state is highest position of social development; this is real identity of the individual. This is external expression of an individual's liberty.

Notes

## The Characteristics of Sovereignty

- **Prof. Gilchrist** and **Prof. Garner** cited the characteristics of sovereignty:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Originality | 2. Stability |
| 3. Dictatorship | 4. Non-deniality |
| 5. Omnipresent | 6. Eternity |
| 7. Unsearchable | 8. Indivisibility |

- According to **Prof. Gilchrist,** "The sovereignty of the state is arbitrary and unlimited. If in the sovereignty there are no factors like this, that state will not be a full state but just a group of people subordinate to some other states.'
- According to **Garner**, "The meaning of giving up sovereignty is suicide by the state".
- According to pluralists the sovereignty is divided between the state and various communities.
- The chief supporters of pluralism are Girke, Figgis, Barker, Maciver, G.D.H.Cole, Lindsay, Crab, Metland, Duegi and Lawski.
- According to Pluralists, the sovereignty is not with the state but divided in various communities whose set up is done by the individuals for the fulfillment of their needs.

## Concepts of Lawski

- In his earlier writings 'Studies in the problem of sovereignty', 'Authority in the modern state', 'Foundations of sovereignty' etc., **Lawski** has discussed the problem of sovereignty.
- **Lawski** has refuted vehemently the principles of sovereignty of the state furnished by **Bonn**, **Rousseau** and **Austin**.
- **Lawski** has stated that **Austin's** principle of determining sovereignty is not upright. **Lawski's** thinking is this, 'The real rulers of the society cannot be found out, to know about their identity is a tall talk'.
- **Lawski** did not agree to the opinion of **Austin** that the order of sovereign is law. According to **Lawski's** opinion order and law are two different subjects.
- **Lawski's** Pluralism is an extreme individualistic principle.

## The Concepts of Robert Maciver

- **Maciver** has strongly criticized the principle of sovereignty of **Hobbs**, **Bentham** and **Austin**.
- Like **Maciver**, **Laski** does not agree that sovereignty is arbitrary and indivisible.
- **Maciver** contends difference between state and society and he has criticized those erudite who agree that state and society are the one.
- In the words of **Maciver** "To uphold that social and political sovereignty as synonym of each other is an example of haste and with that one can understand the meaning of neither the society nor of the state."
- **Maciver** upholds that the state is a community likewise other communities.
- According to **Hobbes**, **Bentham** and **Austin**, authority is the base of sovereignty. But according to **Maciver**, authority can be the base of neither sovereignty nor the state.

## Self Assessment

Notes

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. Lawski's ..... is a violent individualist principle.
2. ..... believes that the state is a community like other communities.
3. The idea of Austin expects traditions and practices of the ..... .
4. Sovereignty is ..... .
5. Political pluralism has two faces ..... .

## 9.2 Modern States and Sovereignty

Modern state is a sovereign and independent unit. In the traditional arrangement the personality of the ruler was considered to be a synonym of the state and sovereignty was only evident in a ruler. The father of the modern theory of sovereignty **Jan Bodan** believes that the meaning of sovereignty is the highest control power over public and citizens which nobody can restrict. In the same way, Jurist **Oppenheim** says that sovereignty is a power which is free from the control of any other power. This is a well known fact that only state can be the head of such a power, no single person. **Hobbs** has named such a power as Leviathan and the Prince of Machiavelli is also the ruler of such sovereign state. Liberalist thinkers **Rousseau**, **Woodrow Wilson** etc. have challenged the concept of such autocratic sovereign, wealthy state, but everyone accepts that in practicality the state is experienced in sovereignty especially in international activity. United Nations accepts in manifesto Act 14 that states shall govern internal relations with the principles of sovereignty and international law. This fact is clear that in the definition of international policy and international relations no analysis is meaningful without accepting the state's sovereignty. Although immediately this needs to be added that after the initiation of globalization there has been rethinking about the state's sovereignty.

*Notes* In the internal areas the meaning of thought about sovereignty means—state is the topmost authority in its own control area.

*Task* Express your thoughts on the conception of sovereignty.

**Realistic state –** After the merger of imperialism this fact also came forward in the global perspective that states should not define their own nation's interest according to magnificent ambitions but realistically. After the two world wars not much scope for doubt was left on this topic. Whatever little was left, that was completed by the cold war. With the great powers, all the nationalists started feeling that it is meaningless to keep trying to expand their geographical boundaries. Realistic modern states seem to be self-focused. New realistics like **Kenneth Waltz** believe that it is a result of this realistic thinking that the nation-states in anarchic international arrangement are eager to help themselves for the protection of their existence, leaving behind the endearment of their treaty friends and supporters.

**Nationalistic state –** In the conception of nationalist state it is implied that the state's identity will be inseparably linked to nationalism. And as for the question of nationalism, with its description the questions entangled with religion, language and culture, the state's power, start becoming apparent in

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the form of its capability or weakness. As it has been said before, because the basis of modern state's power has been said to be secular, religious differences become a frequent danger to a nationalistic state's unity and integrity. In the era of imperialism amongst the colonials in spite of religious and language related diversity, it was possible to forcibly establish supreme power. After independence it has not been possible to forcibly impose the power of the state. Because of this the foundation of nationalism in the modern state cannot be placed on any particular religion, caste or language. The joint historical legacy and the challenge of the joint conflict can only be the bases of collaboration, cooperation and sentimental unity.

In totality the citizens of a nationalistic state accept that their collective interests keep more balance in comparison to the collective interests of any other nation state and mutual cooperation is necessary for its protection. This is ironical that in the age of globalization the worldwide interdependence of international economic activity has made this general knowledge also controversial. The policies of the World Trade Organisation have fueled the unprospectively petty racism, communist orthodox and defensive love for nation.

From the beginning liberalist and Marxist thinkers have said that nationalism is a divisive mindset that is responsible for many violent encounters. The disorders like Fascism and Nazism have been born because of such fierce nationalism. Marxist thinkers especially stress upon the fact that the interests of the proletariats worldwide are the same and it needs to be understood that state is such an institution whose invention was done by the bourgeoisie class for their selfish means and whose utilization is now over. It is ironical that the conduct of mainly communist states can be seen to be 'nationalistic' and their favours have been seen to be of double standards. Whether it is the conduct of the Soviet Union before the Second World War or of Maoist China, it is Vietnam or Cuba, Poland, Romania or Albania, only this fact comes forward that modern state's recognition is still mainly nationalistic. This fact probably is also applicable to the member nations of the western capitalistic group. Even though the United States of America talks about the brotherhood of the democratic world, but its own international behaviour can be said to be of prioritizing America's strategic and economic interests of the nation. Even today this concept is justified that nationalism is a strong thought which makes a state's governance influential.

*Did You Know?* Sovereignty has two dimensions—internal and external.

**Democratic state:** Modern state's recognition is in the form of a democratic state. The ruling government in the state may be dictatorial, its effort is always to demean to prove itself based on legitimate, justified and its subjects agreement. In international arrangement also democratic principle has such an extensive approval that the nation who is not known to be evidently democratic, there too this stubbornness can be seen that in an emergency, exceptionally, for the protection of the public only something like this has to be done. Bismarck era's secret diplomacy has been replaced by the open diplomacy announced by Wilson. Even though from **Alexis Tocqueville** till today there have been many such critics in their understanding it is not possible to always decide the state's sensitive policies in a democratic way. Especially, diplomacy is possible only through credibility and secrecy. Today it cannot be denied that the government which establishes a state's power should be considered to be answerable and responsible towards the public. Somewhere to strengthen the concept of democratic state the same liberalist-idealistic thinking is responsible whose seeds can be seen in **Immanuel Kant's** thoughts. **Kant** believed that democratic international arrangement only can make peace permanent. His argument was that democratic nations do not go for war against each other.

## Self Assessment

Notes

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

6. The ruler in the society is:
   (a) Sovereignty accomplished (b) Almighty
   (c) Weak (d) None of the above
7. Sovereignty is:
   (a) Divisible (b) Indivisible
   (c) Almighty (d) None of the above
8. Maciver does not believe that sovereignty is:
   (a) Indivisible (b) Autocratic
   (c) Autocratic and Indivisible (d) None of the above
9. Lawski's pluralism is:
   (a) Violent individualist principles (b) Autocratic principles
   (c) Indivisible principles (d) None of the above
10. Realistic modern states are seen as:
   (a) Happy (b) Angry
   (c) Self-focused (d) None of the above

## 9.3 Summary

- Modern states are also known as progress seeking states because the main motive of the state is the complete development of its citizens. After the protection of geographical unity and integrity, the remaining duties of the state consist of accumulating food, drinking water and health and medical services for the citizens. This process goes on continuously to improve the life of the citizens. Hence this thought is not legitimate that wealthy nations are not progress seeking and the modern state's recognition is only applicable on the developing nations. Today the role of welfare state is also accepted by those nations where under the argumentative pressure of free business and market continuous efforts are done to continuously satisfy the public sector.

## 9.4 Keywords

- **Democratic:** Related to democracy or republic
- **Diplomacy:** International politics

## 9.5 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by the concept of sovereignty? Explain.
2. Describe the specialties of sovereignty.
3. Present your views on 'Modern States and Sovereignty'.
4. Comment on Democratic state.

Notes

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Pluralist | 2. Maciver | 3. Society | 4. Indivisible |
| 5. Unfavourable and favourable | | 6. (a) | 7. (b) |
| 8. (c) | 9. (a) | 10. (c) | |

## 9.6 Further Readings

*Books*

1. **Principles of Political Science—** *Shailendra Sengar – Atlantic Publishers.*
2. **Principles of Modern Political Science—** *Sterling Publishers.*
3. **Principles of Political Science—** *B.K.Tiwari, D.K Publishers.*
4. **Classic Politics—** *Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

# Unit 10: State and Civil Society

Notes

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know concept of the State.
- Explain current crisis of the Nation-State.
- Discuss role of Civil Society.

## Introduction

The state is generally called, 'Politically Organized Society'. The state is such an accomplice which fulfills all the necessities of men from birth to death. On the other side, the state fulfills the special need of political organization; it makes restricted laws to grant peace and coordination, security and common services and takes decisions.

## 10.1 Concept of the State

Under the traditional politics-principle, prime place has been given to the concept of the state. In the well- known book of **R.G.Gettel**, 'Political Science' the definition of Political Science is given in the form of 'the science of the state'. In the famous book 'Political Science and Government' of **J.W.Garner**, this concept has been presented that "The beginning and end of Political Science takes place with the state."

In modern political principle there came many ups and downs. The promoters of 'Behavioural Approach' in the sphere of liberal ideology have even suggested that the concept of the state should be extracted from the Political Science.

Notes

For example, **David Easton** in his popular book 'Popular System—in inquiry into the State of Political Science' (1953) has given likewise arguments. The main objection of these thinkers is that the concept of the state provides no help in grasping political reality or political process because:

a. The word'state' indicates formal concept whereas politics is active even outside factual politics;

b. The conception of the state is done in reference to ends of the state which takes us toward the world of moral philosophy after avoiding facts of the politics; and

c. The concept of the state indicates to a special form of political union which gives lineage to the fancy of pre-state and stateless societies. It gives hints as if political unions are not worldly incidents. These ideas create impediments in practical study of politics.

On the other side, in the sphere of Marxist Ideology, the concept of the state is considered as essential part of continuous political analysis. This is important that in last decades liberal thinkers are also providing place to the concept of the state in the sphere of political- principle and comparative politics.

**Behavioural Approach**

The method of the study of political science in which attention is not centralized on Abstract Institutions and Ideas, but in the sphere of politics deep study of different Actors—such as voters, legislators, senior officers of executive branch, judges etc's behaviour is done..

## Meaning of the State

Ancient Greek politics- philosophers used the word 'state' either to indicate union of entire society or to indicate the aim of social life. Prior to them Italian politics—thinker **Nicolo Machiavelli** (1469–1527) in 16th century gave the definition of the state in the form of such an authority which uses power over the individuals. In the beginning of 20th century, eminent German socio-scientist **Max Weber** (1864–1920) stressing on the need of socio-scientific definition of the state expressed the idea, 'The state is such a human community which in designated territory claims monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force. **R. M. Maciver** and **C. H. Page** in the book,' Society in Introductory Analysis' wrote – "The state is recognized exclusively by all other associations on this basis that only it involves the authority to use force."

**Association**

That human–association which is formed to fulfil the general objectives of its members, and it inspires them to work amicably

**Herald J. Lawski** in his book 'An Introduction to Politics' (1931) has given the argument; "The character of all other associations is voluntary, and they are able to bind an individual only when he becomes member of them as per his choice. But it is compulsory for a person who lives in the state to follow the laws legally. So the modern state is the citadel of socialist fort. In comparison to other communities, the sovereignty of the state is its chief characteristic." **Frederick M. Watkins** has given the definition of the state as a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign. 'Watkins has particularly given stress on the matter of sovereignty; this is a feature of the supreme legal authority whose decisions are final. In comparison to all other human – communities, the state's chief discernment is that its orders are supreme.

## Elements of the State

When we consider state to be a special type of social union, it is necessary to give description of its elements. These elements set different recognitions of the state in comparison to other human – associations. The elements are—Population, Territory, government and sovereignty.

Notes

**Population –** Any association is created by the unification of individuals. A state is such an association in which several individuals are united together. So population is essential element of the state. How much population a state should have is not determined. Only this much can be said that it should have sufficient population which can look after the legal matters of the life. It will be better that this population is able to fulfill all the necessities of life themselves. If for any goods or services they have to depend on other states, at least they are capable enough to pay for them by giving their own things and services in exchange. Therefore, from financial point the population of the state should surely be self-dependent. Even then, in some extra ordinary circumstances any state can avail foreign or international assistance.

For the population of any state, it is not mandatory to belong to same caste, religion, community, language, or culture. But being subject or citizen of the same state, it is essential to have one centre of their allegiance.

*Notes* Under traditional political principles main position has been given to the concept of state.

**Territory –** Territory is the second essential element of the state. Other associations either live inside the state or sometimes spread to several other states. So they do not need separate territory. But for the existence of the state it is essential that its population inhabits a fixed territory, where its authority is unquestionable. No state can live in the territory of other states. In the event of any dispute in more than one state about any territory or right, it is essential to solve it by mutual compromise, by war or by international tribunal.

## Federal System

The system of government in which powers of the government is distributed in different zones. In this system there is a central government of the country, and for regional units there are different state governments although, some areas can be kept under the centre permanently or temporarily. India and American Federal Systems are its suitable examples.

Under federal system two types of government can live in one territory. It is known as Union Government and State Government. But their working areas are determined by the constitution. So only one state's sovereignty is recognized here.

Like population the fixed shape of the territory of the state cannot be determined. This territory should at least be big enough where the people of that state can at least live a self-dependent life from the economic point of view. But it should not be too big that the state cannot look after the responsibility of its protection, or other states may make it dependent. It is not necessary that the entire territory of the state is uniform but its different portions should effectively join together. Gypsy tribes—who are not bound by any territory—do not compose a state, may be there is any sort of political union in them, or may be all the members of the tribe obey the chief of the group.

**Government –** The third chief element of the state is government which may carry the services of the state to the population; protect the territory of the state; install peace and administration; maintain relations with foreign states and arrange required money to perform these Tasks. So the right of taxation is with the state everywhere. In modern era, the government is planning to provide various services for the public—especially elaborate arrangements are being done for their health, education, housing, transport, communication, entertainment, employment, rest etc. It has resulted in evolvement of 'Welfare State'.

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Whichever form of government may be there, but the government should be stable. If in any state, the government vanishes for some time on account of revolution or military defeat, it is not to be assumed that the government has vanished forever, but it is to be expected that very soon new government be established and take hold of the administration. If it does not take place, that state will lose its existence and it becomes subordinate of any other state.

**Sovereignty** – The state's fourth but basic element is sovereignty. The meaning of sovereignty is such an authority of the state, with whose power it can get its orders and laws implemented in its territory, and as a unit can indulge in business, friendship, or war with outside states. The state has the right of legitimate coercion due to its sovereignty. Other associates depend upon custom and traditions or needs, and their membership can be voluntary. But the membership of the state is compulsory, and the person who disobeys the orders of the state is recipient of punishment.

The state with the power of his sovereignty not only uses his supreme authority in his jurisdiction but also establishes suitable relations with other states and International Organizations. The state adheres to recognition international agreements or conventions with his own 'will', not due to any pressure of external authority. So sovereignty is mandatory trait of the state, which creates its own identity from other associations. A state can maintain its existence as long as it is divested with sovereignty. If due to revolution or external invasion the state loses its sovereignty, its result comes in form of anarchy because the state then disappears.

### Anarchy

The situation in which there is no control of the state on any of its territory is called anarchy. So there is no obedience of any rule or convention; there is no means of protection of general public's life, property and security.

Some writers agree that 'International Recognition' is an essential element of the state. Its meaning is that other states formally approve of its sovereignty over its territory and population. But this thing is important that 'International Recognition' is the outcome of sovereignty, there is no condition of its existence. Whenever any new state comes into existence – such as Bangladesh came into existence in 1971—some states of the world gave immediate recognition to it, and some greatly delayed in giving recognition to it. But on this basis one cannot deny the existence of that state.

## 10.2 State and Other Associations

### State and Society

Sometimes the word state is used in the form of society. But this is not proper because heavy misunderstandings can be produced from it. Hence it is very important to understand the difference between state and society.

Ordinarily, state is known as politically organized society. Society is such an association of people which fulfils all their needs from birth till death. On the other hand, state fulfills the important needs of political organisation for them; creates laws with the motive of giving them peace and administration, safety and common services, and takes decisions. Society binds together individuals in different ways, but all those ways do not come in the scope of the state. Social relations can be based on individuals' needs, customs, morality, courtesy, mutual goodwill, alliance or agreement, but political relations can be presented in the form of the expected laws and determinations to solve the disagreement arising from the conflicting demands of society's different sections, hence their main concern is command and obedience. Social relations fulfil all of an individual's needs—such as physical, emotional, intellectual, spiritual and other needs; hence there can be multiple subjects. But the main concern of the state is

authoritative allocation of values, and no other subject comes into this thought process until it is not related to this function.

### Authoritative Allocation of Values

The process under which the portion of public goods and services for different people is decided. This vocabulary is given by American political-scientist David Easton (1917).

Society and state are concurrent, hence it can happen that the people that are the members of any society, are also the members of a state. For example, the members of Indian society and Indian state will be the same people. But this can also happen that under any state many communities can come, which are united in the form of discreet societies. Truly, society is a loose community, hence searching for "many societies inside one society" and "one society uniting many societies" is not difficult. It may happen that some person's social relations can cross the state's boundaries, like his relatives, friends, known, supporters, admirers, customers or partners may live in foreign countries. These form an expanded society which is not tied down by a state's boundaries. Unity of the state cannot be so weak. Under the federal system many autonomous units can reside inside a state, but the utilization area of all these powers is pre-decided. On the other hand, such societies can also exist which are not united in the form of a state. For example, many gypsy tribes live in the form of societies, but not in the form of states.

State is formed from a society; hence society is a primary association. Society itself chooses relevant political association for itself. States can be formed, changed and broken, but society goes on forever. People can live without a state, but cannot live without a society. This is the reason humans are known as 'Social Animals' by nature. When ancient Greek Philosopher **Aristotle** said that a person is a 'Political Animal' by nature, he meant 'Social Animal' because he believed that state is equivalent to social association.

State is dependent on the society for its existence; society is not dependent on the state. **R.M.Maciver** has written in 'The Modern State' (1926): "Social life has some such forms—like family, church or club—which neither owe to state for their origin, nor for the inspiration for their formation. There are some such social powers to whom the state can give protection or can bring any change in them, but doesn't ever do their creation—such as custom and competition. And then, social inspirations like friendship or hatred establish such intimate and personal relations which the state's large network cannot control."

Hence, a person is not indebted to the state, as much he is to the society. But when society and state are accepted as one entity, and obligations of people towards the society are accepted as their obligations towards the state, then its results are catastrophic. In such situations a person's freedom is taken away by giving more value to his tremendous obligation to the state. On the grounds of behaviour the government utilizes the state's power. In this way all control is taken off from the government because of which doors to injustice and torture open up.

## State and Government

Government or administration is believed to be an important part of the state. On the grounds of behaviour the government leads the state. In the name of the state only the government utilizes its power and completes all Tasks. But it is not correct to accept the words state and government as synonyms. In comparison to the government, state indicates a more expansive and stable entity. Like **R.M.Mciver** has clarified in 'The Web of Government' (1965), "When we talk about the state; government is its administrative part. In every social association, there should be a center-point of administration; there should be such agencies through which its policies are given a special character

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and shape. But the association is greater than its part. In this meaning the state is greater as compared to the government and expansive too. Under the state there is a constitution, there are code of laws, a way to form the government, and a group of citizens. When we think about this whole creation, only then we are thinking about the state."

Hence till the time any state maintains its identity and independence, governments are formed and broken according to its prevalent policies; this makes no difference to the state's character. But if any foreign power establishes its rule over any state and suspends its process of establishing a legitimate government then the state looses its identity. Then this is also possible that the people of that state in such conditions also keep the feeling of their national solidarity alive or again brings it to life and establish their state again by fighting against the foreign rule.

State can become a symbol of the unity of its people. The image of the state can kindly the feeling of national pride and sacrifice in the people's minds. Government only arranges for the state's Tasks. Government asks for our obedience; state is a recipient of our allegiance. Government can be good or bad, useful or useless, but state is a symbol of our national pride. It may be that we are eager to criticize or deplore our government, still keep praising our nation's glory. If the government losses its credibility then it should be removed as per the decided policy, else our own loyalty towards our state may be lost. Citizens should continuously invigilate their government so that it can keep protecting their interests and high ideals according to the state's image. If any policy establishes the state's glory, but does not arrange for a control over the government, then its results will certainly be catastrophic.

*Did You Know?* State is such a human association that claims monopoly on the legitimate utilization of physical power of the allotted land.

## State and Nation

We normally recognize modern state in the form of nation-state. Hence sometimes nation and state also are understood as synonyms. But nation and state are different concepts.

Before understanding the character of nation it is important to differentiate between nation and nationality. Nationality is probably a term for a group of such people who are closely tied together with the same race, language, religion, culture, geographical compactness, etc. and are inspired by similar political aspirations and feelings of unity arising from similar historical development. Out of these maximum elements are dependent on the situations of their birth, hence the area of nationality is very constricted, and the scope of its expansion is very less. The feeling of nationality differentiates one group of people from another, and along with it sometimes its own superiority or the feeling of contempt is also hidden. Sometimes in one state the existence of different nationalities becomes the reason of severe tension.

Some writers give the definition of nation only in those words in which nationality is defined. Hence sometimes the demand for a separate state for every nationality is raised. But now this viewpoint is not accepted. In comparison to nationality the base of nation is very comprehensive, and that is the proper entity for the organization of the state. In this way the modern concept of nation reaches its justified result in the form of nation-state. In short, nation is known as the group of those people who live permanently in an allotted terrain and experience to be tied together in the formulation of unity due to the consciousness of general political aspirations, common interests, general history and common destiny even though they may be related to different kinds of nationalities. In other words, people of different kinds of races, when live together in the form of the citizens of the same state, even when they are related to different kinds of religions, languages and cultures, etc. and are ready to sacrifice

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everything while keeping integrity towards the same state, then they create their own identity in the form of one nation. Hence, nationality is not decided by a person's birth situations but it tucks in the permanent residents of the whole state into its own sheet.

Without doubt the members of one nation believe themselves to be separate from other nations, and in their minds there can be some prejudices also against other nations. But the justified result of the thought of nation will be—harmony between nations, co-existence and cooperation. After the First World War (1914–18), from 1920 the Principle of National Self-Determination has been accepted probably on the worldwide level. As a result not only many nation-states have been established, but the International Law for systematic mutual relations of the nation-states has also been developed with a rapid pace.

### National Self-determination

That group of people that recognizes itself as a separate nation, it has the right to decided that to which state it will belong, and accept which administration policy?

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. In the sphere of ..... the concept of the state is considered as essential part of continuous political analysis.
2. State is formed from ..... .
3. ..... is dependent on the society for its existence.
4. ..... is believed to be an essential part of the state.
5. State's fourth fundamental part is ..... .

## 10.3 Rise and Growth of the Modern Nation-State

In modern era the nation and the state are usually unified. The boundaries of the state are called "National Boundaries"; the welfare of the state is termed as "National Interest", and mutual relations of different states are called International Relations. Nation- state includes all the inhabitants, they may have relation with any caste, religion, language or culture etc., only condition is that they should be alert about their general history, general welfare and importance of general life and have allegiance for the central authority. In fact, the development of modern nation—state is the result of long history of human – civilization. Generally, following stages of this development are acknowledged:

## Tribal State

This is the oldest form of the state in which small tribes lived under the authority of their leader. There used to be a council to advise the leader. Those tribes based on Kinship Groups—means its members are people of blood relation. Some tribes were gypsies which cannot be termed as state. Most of the tribes settled at fixed areas. These tribes were bound by caste, religion and economic bonds and fought together to counter the enemies. The aboriginals of Australia come into this category.

## Orient Empire

This is the location where ancient civilization developed in the fertile valley of the Nile, the Ganga, the Yellow River etc. At these places different Kinship Groups came and started living together. They

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accomplished expertise in the art of war and got victory over other areas. The empires of ancient Egypt, Babylon, Syria, India and China come in this category.

## Greek City—States

When towards Israel and Mediterranean Sea the civilization developed, there emerged state in the European peninsula. Thus, Greek Nation-State came into existence because mountains, dense forests and oceans bifurcated the land in several valleys and islands whose protection was easy but they were connected by sea routes. Due to small city- states in that area no powerful and arbitrary emperor could come into existence but the citizens of these city- states ruled together. Only nominal number of people had civil rights in these city-states; more than 75 per cent population of Slaves and Aliens who did not have any civil rights.

## Roman Empire

When due to internal quarrel and external invasions, the city- states of Greece were destroyed, Rome became centre of entire civilization in Europe and Roman Empire evolved. Rome was situated in the middle of Europe and it was centre of boat-rowing. The people of Rome won over neighbouring people of the mountains and included them in their empire. An elaborate legal process was fostered to rule over people of different castes, religions, and rituals. The power of the empire had the stamp of particular religion. Under indomitable authority of the empire the liberty of people was suppressed fully. Democratic and local institutions of administration disappeared. Finally, this empire could not control its own burden and was completely shattered.

## Feudal State

After the debacle of Roman Empire, central authority disappeared. From 5th century medieval period started in which the whole power came into the hands of big landowners and feudal–leaders. Although, in small states the position of a king was considered as supreme, the main power was with feudal–leaders. The general people as Serfs did hard work in the fields and their life was subordinate to the landowners. Vast powers came into the hands of feudal-leaders and high officials of religious set up – especially in the hands of Pope. As the 14th century started, pope resorted to misuse his powers and he re-incarnated the authority of Monarchy .In those days even the authority of the landowners was being challenged due to the development of commerce–business and industry.

## Modern Nation—State

In 15th and 16th century nation-states emerged in Europe. Then the power of landowners and religious leaders had subsided, and apart from new economic treaties the people associated with the concepts of nationalism, language and unity of culture and natural boundaries of the country in the form of permanent groups. In this way firstly in France, Spain, England, Switzerland, Netherlands and Russia and later on, in Germany and Italy nation-states developed. In earlier nation-states Monarchy was very popular in which the whole power is in hands of the king or empire. But from 18th century in 18th century Constitutional Government came into being. In England this change took place in Glorious Revolution (1688) in a peaceful manner, but in France, for this the help of violence had to be taken under French Revolution (1789). During 18th and 19th century in Europe the leading nations took the assistance of Colonialism to enhance their economic prosperity after establishing National Consolidation. During this period, Britain, France, Holland, Portugal, Spain, etc. spread the net of colonialism in the areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America and exploited them greatly. But after the

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end of Second World War (1939–1945), in the middle of 20th century the debacle of colonialism began and new nation-states emerged on the horizon of the world. India, Pakistan, Myanmar (Burma), Egypt, Nigeria, Libya, Syria, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Cuba, Brazil, Chili, Argentina, etc. appear in the list of newly–emerged states who had to face grave problems for their political and economical progress.

Among them, in India democracy persisted regularly whereas in most of the countries military rule or different types of dictatorships were being established time to time. The main political problem of these states is that the people of diverse castes, religions, languages, cultures, etc. must wipe out their allegiance from narrow areas and centralize it with pivotal power which will not only unite them in one system but also possibly satisfy their sentiments, demands and aspirations.

## 10.4 Current Crisis of the Nation-State

In divergent periods of human history, multifarious forms of government came into existence but none of them could provide stable peace and security to the people. Greek city-states quarreled amongst themselves. Roman Empire set up control over different communities of Europe but it could not set up mutual amicability among them. Pope and emperors of the medieval period wanted to establish worldwide on the pretext of religious unity, but when different states became conscious of their national identity, the medieval empire shattered.

In today's time, the nation-state is facing same problem. It is of course, proved to be more competent in providing peace and security to mankind, but in today's new circumstances it also appears to be not able to do his role . Today, in the beginning of 21st century there started a quest of a new organization which may be more adept in fulfilling the expectations and aspirations of mankind. But what shall be the future appearance of the state—nothing is certain about this.

In the modern era, generally nation and state are considered concurrent, but there are many examples in which both are no longer concurrent. There exist such communities in various parts of the world which apprehend mutual unity on the basis of culture, language and religion, and invoke National Consciousness, but they are not in the position of organizing themselves in the form of a state. For example, Kurds are spread in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey although they identify themselves in form of one nation.

On the other side, some states are like that in which different Ethnic Groups though live together, but they are not able to unify themselves as one nation. The countries like Lebanon and Cyprus had been the victim of home war for a long time. Former Soviet Republic, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Ethiopia had been broken into fragments because of these activities.

Several people have settled in other countries after leaving their own country for bright opportunities of progress. But they feel so attached to their language, culture, religious allegiance and customs and traditions with their original country that they are ready to sacrifice their happiness for the sake of enhancing the prosperity of that country. For instance, the Chinese who have settled in foreign countries are giving their contribution in China's development.

The prime Task of Nation-state is to provide security to its populates. These days the invention of various destructive arms and ammunition has taken place. If we look at the probability of experimenting them, no nation- state will be able to provide full security to its populates. For example, if any country resorts to nuclear invasion with the help of refined missiles on some other countries, it will cause total annihilation of mankind up to considerable distance. Owing to it, pollution will spread in the atmosphere and hardly any portion of the globe will escape from its catastrophic influence.

Otherwise also, the pollution which is spreading because of the activities of different countries, its effect will not be confined to the boundaries of nation-states. The waste of heavy industries of the developed countries of the world is being thrown in the atmosphere, and the entire globe is being polluted due to it. This waste may be either drown in the ocean or bury in the earth, its ill-effect will

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spread far and wide. The amount of carbon dioxide increases in the atmosphere because of increasing consumption of petrol and diesel in the prosperous parts of the world and pollution proliferates. When in a country the forests are being cut, or hills are broken to construct dams either to extract lime-stone or to produce electricity, Soil Erosion takes place and cycle of weather disrupts. Due to these changes, danger of Global Warming in the world is looming large.

### Global Warming

The process in which the temperature of the earth increases because of growth of pollution in the atmosphere is called Global Warming. This pollution is produced due to growth in consumption of petrol and diesel and cutting of hills which causes erosion of the soil. It will result in big change in the nature of weather; the polar snow-cliffs will melt and sea level will be higher.

### Global Village

In all parts of the world the mutual communication has increased considerably and the media of mass communication has become so widespread that geographical distances do not cause any hurdle in keeping mutual relations. The news and effect of any incident in any corner of the world reaches quickly to other corners. Thus, on the horizon of behaviour the world has narrowed down as much as the people are the inhabitants of same village.

Generally, the boundaries of the states give rise to alienation among the nations. Due to Information Revolution several countries of the world have been connected so closely that any message reaches from one corner to other of the world immediately. Internet is source of knowledge; telephone, mobile, MMS. (Multimedia Messaging Service), E-Mail, fax, etc. send personal messages immediately to one corner to another corner of the world; with the help of the satellite programs on the televisions are shown simultaneously. Thus, in the realm of information technology international boundaries are being broken. Now it is acknowledged that nations have come so closed to each other that the whole world has taken the shape of a Global Village. In these circumstances of economic conditions, there is sufficient convenience to implement the policy of Globalization of Economy.

Under such conditions the capacities of nation-states have become very limited. Now for sake of security of the mankind and for happiness and peace, there should be creation of such organizations on global basis that can establish close cooperation among different nations and win over those destructive powers which have become a menace for the whole world.

## Self Assessment

**State whether the following statements are True or False:**

6. After the debacle of Roman Empire the central authority disappeared.
7. In 17th and 18th century there emerged nation-states in Europe.
8. The prime function of the nation-states is to provide security to its populates.
9. According J.W Garner the beginning and end of political science is in politics.
10. The word 'State' gives the indication of a formal concept.

## 10.5 Concept of Civil Society

In the history of political contemplation the concept of 'Civil Society' is very old. With time many important changes have come in this concept. For a long time 'Civil Society' and 'Political Society'

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were believed to be concurrent. Hence this word is also used as a synonym of the word 'State'. But in today's society's complex situations it is important to give importance to a different existence of 'Civil Society'.

## Historical Development

First and foremost ancient Greek Philosopher **Marcus Tullius Cicero** (106–43 B.C.) used the word 'Civil Society' in first century BC to indicate 'State'. But in **Cicero's** viewpoint this was not only the state's external framework but such a society whose members coexist as citizens, lead a civilized, cultural and decent life by abiding by Civil Laws. From this viewpoint, groups of vandal castes did not come under the classification of civil society.

17th century's English Philosopher **John Locke** (1632–1704) while considering 'Civil Society' and 'Political Society' concurrent, presented the belief under his principle of Social Contract that humans enter a civil society by sacrificing State of Nature. In the state of nature humans only abide by the moral rules inspired by their own consciousness, but when some Antisocial Elements make their life difficult; then they establish government to protect their natural rights; they give importance to the laws made by the government, and delegate the Task of justice also to the government. This way civil society is the means to establish discipline, organization and safety in the human society.

18th century's French philosopher **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** (1712–18) also while considering 'Civil Society' and 'Political Society' concurrent, has also conceptualized civil society as such a society that is an articulation of General Will that provides protection to humans and organizes his behaviour for its welfare. **Rousseau** differentiated Natural Inequality and Conventional Inequality and presented the thought that civil society does not trouble natural disparity but it makes all citizens equal from the viewpoint of legal rights by granting them Legal Equality.

### Social Contract

That principle of a state's origin according to which people have done the creation of the state with the motive of mutual agreement and mutual gain. Before the origin of state the condition in which people used to stay, is known as State of Nature.

### General Will

According to French Philosopher **J.J. Rousseau** (1712–78), the will of a particular community that is inspired by their Reason or for their own Ultimate Good and common good of every one. This is such a condition in which the will of all the members of the group is the same. Hence this will is different from those different kinds of wills of different types of people which are inspired from their immediate selfishness, greed or affection.

### Natural Inequality and Conventional Inequality

According to **Rousseau**, the differences of sex, age, health, beauty, strength, intelligence, etc. in humans are presented in the form of natural inequalities. Neither have these been created by humans, nor can he make any changes in them. On the other hand, the differences found from the viewpoint of wealth, prestige and power, they give an indication of conventional inequality. These inequalities bear from society's arrangement. Hence by doing important changes in the society's arrangement the unnecessary inequalities can be removed.

In the first half of the 19th century, German Philosopher **G.W.F. Hegel** (1770–1831) presented this belief by differentiating between civil society and state that civil society is an area of Universal Egoism

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where a person considers all other humans interests as a means to fulfill his own interests for the maximum accomplishment of his interests. Hence this is especially an area of economic movement. For example, when any person does a business then his intention is not to provide others livelihood or care for others, in fact, he tries to find out others' needs so that he can gain profit by fulfilling them. In opposition to this, state is an area of 'Universal Altruism', where a person rises from his own selfishness and is eager to sacrifice for the interests of the entire community.

In the latter half of the 19th century, German Philosopher **Karl Marx** (1818–1883) confirmed those symptoms of civil society that **Hegel** recognized. But according to **Marx** there is no difference between state and civil society. **Marx** argued that the civil society that **Hegel** has described has come into existence after the dissolution of the medieval society. The same civil society is active as a state in the modern world. This is based on universal selfishness. In this the person is given recognition as a citizen, and from legal viewpoint the equality between all persons is also accepted. Still in this all economic powers are centralized in the hands of Bourgeoisie. Hence all its laws only promote the interests of the Bourgeoisie.

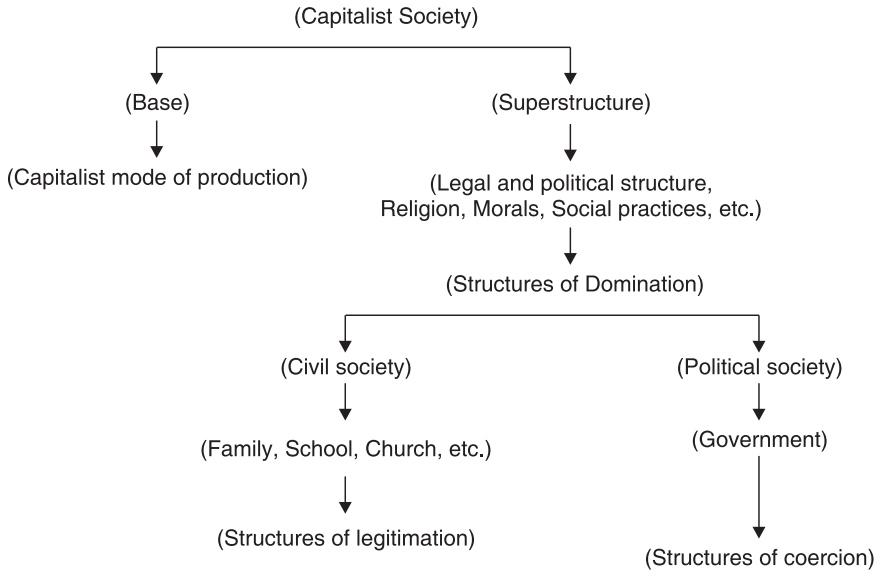
### Bourgeoisie

Under capitalism, that section which establishes its ownership and control over the main means of social production (land, industries, sources of top goods, etc.). Hence, it is a synonym of capitalist section.

### Base and Superstructure

In Marxist terminology, under this image similar to home-building, production methodology or economic organization is known as base or foundation. The different expressions—religions, moral values, social customs, etc. of society's legal and political framework and social consciousness are kept in the category of superstructure or upper framework. According to Classical Marxism, the changes that happen in the production methodology during social progress, as its result the changes in the parts of the superstructure happen automatically in accordance to it.

### Gramsci's Analysis of Capitalist Society



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In the first half of the 20th century Italian Marxist **Antonio Gramsci** (1891–1937) added a new dimension to the Marxian Analysis. Under customary Marxism society's economic organization economic organization was known as its base or foundation; its political and ideological framework was known as upper framework of superstructure. **Gramsci** differentiated the two levels of the superstructure of capitalist society by correcting this belief – (a) Out of these one level is 'Civil Society' which is close to the 'Base'. In this family, schools and religious institutions come which are Structures of Legitimation of the capitalist society; (b) second level is 'political society' under which state's structures of coercion come. These two structures together form the structures of domination. **Gramsci** has given special importance to the role of civil society. Because its organizations introduce the citizens to the rules of behaviour in the society and teach them that to keep the feeling of natural respect towards the ruling sections. Bourgeoisie society is dependent for its permanence upon the workmanship of the organizations of the civil society. If somewhere civil society fails to stop the dissent then the importance arises of the use of power for its suppression.

## 10.6 Role of Civil Society

Scottish social-philosopher **Adam Fergusson** (1723–1816) wrote in "Essay on History of Civil Society" that 'Civil Society' is the contribution of modern western civilization. In this system, different people were devoted to production and trade. There was no scope for this in oriental despotism, (a theory popular in ancient Asian societies) or Barbaric Societies (uncivilized societies of ancient Europe). **Fergusson** has given the definition of 'Civil Society' in the form of 'Individualist Market Society'.

French Philosopher **Alexis de Tocqueville** (1805–59) in his renowned book 'Democracy in America' (1835) expanded the think tank of civil society and gave a new dimension to it. For the sake of protection of Liberty, **Tocqueville** has given stress on the need of Intermediate Voluntary Association between the individual and the state which is considered as part of "Civil Society".

**Tocqueville** has given the logic that under Aristocracy the system of Diffusion of Power was prevalent which was broken down completely after the arrival of democracy. Under Aristocracy there were three centers of power; clergy and nobility sections were themselves rich with power; then, commoners also had the capacity to express their views owing to their large numbers. But under democracy whole power was being centralized in hands of majority. Because of this, there grew danger for the liberty of the individual. Tocqueville hoped that Intermediate Voluntary Associations would prove to be best means of establishing diffusion of power of democracy.

### Aristocracy

It is that form of administration in which the power of public decisions is vested in the hands of higher class. In medieval Europe this practice was prevalent. Under this system the society was divided chiefly in three sections: clergy and nobility were powerful sections; commoners were powerless, but they had the capacity to raise their voice up to high level due to their large numbers.

**Tocqueville** gave the logic that Intermediate Voluntary Associations would be fully capable of balancing the power of the state. They would expose such opinions which otherwise are neglected fully. They would make association people conscious of their social responsibilities and would shatter their social isolation and would inspire them to realize objectives based on mutual cooperation. Tocqueville referred to civil associations as school of democracy. In his opinion political parties were most important voluntary associations and freedom of press was the most essential condition.

In modern era the definition of 'Civil Society' has become all the more descriptive because now the work area of voluntary association has increased considerably. Now not only interest groups and political parties come in the think tank of civil society but also various types of associations of citizens

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create this. Now between individual (or family) and state various kinds of groups are found, they are all accepted as part of civil society. According to **David Held** (Models of Democracy) (1987) whichever associations of individuals are involved in economic deals, cultural activities or political debates, or their other groups who are not directly in control of the state and indulge in various kinds of functions, they all are included in the perimeter of the civil society.

### Interest Groups

These groups are organized considering the common interest of their members, and in order to achieve the common interest they are ready to influence public policy from to time. In the modern society various interest groups of workers, entrepreneurs, professionals, traders, consumers etc. are found.

According to popular book 'Civil Society and Political Theory' of **Jean L Cohen** and **Andrew Arato** (1992) civil society is the subject of public activity which is different from the state and Market Society. In its subject various kinds of groups and associations are included. There is ample scope of activities connected with participation of the individuals and their communication. The working area of civil society is the essential part of healthy democratic society. Cohen and Arato gave the argument that civil society not only terminates the need of political institutions connected with representative democracy but also performs the role of their supplementary group.

Again, American social scientist **Robert Putnam** in Larry Diamond and **Mark F.Platter's** edited book 'The Global Resurgence of Democracy' (1998) gave this logic in one essay, that associations connected with the society create social capital. This is the collection of social practices which makes individuals aware of duties connected with civil life, and teaches them mutual reciprocity. **Putnam** expressed sorrow that in modern American Society the associations connected with civil life are not so active in civil activities, hence, American Democracy depleted.

Here, British writer **Paul Hirst** in his popular book 'Associative Democracy: New Forms of Economic and Social Governance' (1994) has argued that voluntary associates can take the role of foundation pillars of democracy. He has presented such an image of democracy, in which Self- Governing Associations will perform all the public functions. It will decrease the burden of work of the state. Although these associations will not finish the need of government but they will perform its supplement role. When the parts of civil society will take hold of all public Tasks, the government's prime function will only be to look after the associations and to maintain rapport among them

*Task* Express your views about the role of civil society

Thus, in contemporary thinking civil society is considered to be such means which will encourage the participation of the citizens in public life; teach the lesson of civic virtue and public spiritedness. This system will not allow the sole right of only one public authority which can be seen in communist systems.

The critics of this viewpoint give this logic that if all powers come into the hands of voluntary associations then oligarchical tendencies may develop in them. In other words, more united, vocal and powerful associations may push behind the interests of other associations to promote the interests of their own members. The roots of democracy will weaken by this. To stop these tendencies it is important that state does not play the role of indifferent audience but is continuously wakeful for the interpretation and protection of public interest and to establish balance in different voluntary associations.

## 10.7 Contemporary Scenario

Notes

In the latter half of the 20th century New Marxist Philosopher **Herbert Marcuse** (1898–1979) gave the argument that for the analysis of modern world's problems it is important to understand that difference in state and civil society towards which Hegel attracted our attention. According to analysis of Marcuse, under Modern Capitalism domination of 'Civil Society' over 'State' gets established. On the other hand, under modern communism domination of 'State' over 'Civil Society' gets established. According to **Marcuse**, both these conditions are a hindrance in the way of civil liberty. Citizens' freedom demand that society should be freed of both these kinds of influences.

In the decades of 1960 and 1970 the concept of 'Civil Society' got special recognition. Then this was experienced that the organizations of civil society do not only work to strengthen the power of ruling class, but opposite sections also can correctly utilize this tool to promote their values. Hence, where on the political level it may be hard to challenge the power of the administration, there through the means of education and culture the Hegemony of the administrators can be entered. In the ending years of the 1970 decade and 1980 decade in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe the tool of 'Civil Society' was utilized extensively against Totalitarian State. In Poland by the means of the main tool of civil society 'Solidarity' the power of the government was challenged in its own way in favour of the labourer section. In this era 'Civil Society Movement' came forward in the form of the supporter of 'New Social Movements'.

### Totalitarianism

Such an arrangement in which state instructs and controls all parts of the lives of its citizens. Under this ordinarily by accepting a target of social life as inevitable all the resources of the society are put into the achievement of that target; nobody has the right to oppose that.

### New Social Movements

Contemporary world's those social movements which ask for widespread social change by getting inspired from special awareness towards the injustice spread in human life. In this Women's Rights Movements, Environmentalist Movements, Consumers' Movements and Peace Movements, etc. are especially noteworthy. The specialty of all these movements is that they work outside the simple transactions of political life. They are not hungry to establish control over state's power but want to mould the world in a sensible manner.

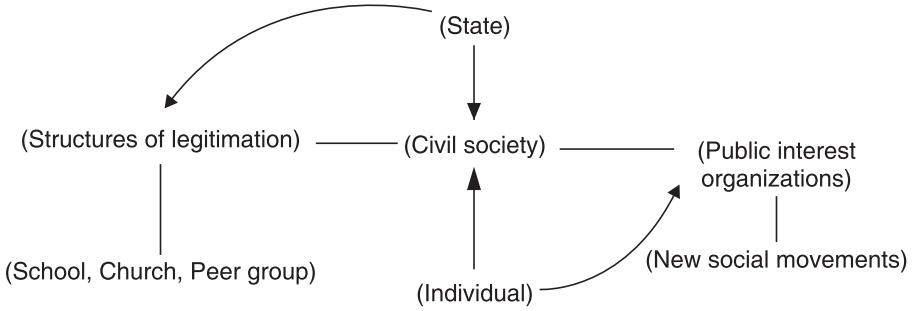
In **Bulgaria** a tool of civil society 'Ecoglasnost' raised the issue that the major industries (which were running under the control of the government) were badly squashing out natural resources, and were polluting the environment by spreading heavy pollution. In this way under the guise of Environmentalist Movement an attempt was made over there to start a movement against the government. If you see then the 'Civil Society' movements played an important role in the decline that happened on the European Socialist System by 1989. This is the only reason that in Post-Communist Systems also the concept of 'Civil Society' got enough popularity. In South Africa and Latin America also the concept of 'Civil Society' is believed to be an influential means against the authorities.

### Post-Communist Systems

The state-arrangements of those states where Communist Systems were prevalent for a long time, but after 1989 there this system was sacrificed–like Romania, Poland , Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Soviet Union, Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Notes

**Analysis of Civil Society**




Then the western intellectualists have started feeling that over there the indifference of people towards their citizen duties is increasing, to remove that civil society can prove to be an influential tool. In today's era people neither participate openly in political discussions, nor do they show any interest in the government's criticism. In such a situation 'Civil Society Movement' may inspire them towards free discussion and consultation by which the foundation of democracy will become strong. Hence these intellectualists want to spread a web of such Voluntary Associations which are free from both state and business-world. This is important that such associations can only thrive in democratic arrangement where people have Freedom of Speech, Association and Assembly.

**Civil Society Movement**

When some citizens raise their voices against citywide spread dirt, blocked drains, broken roads, electric cuts, scarcity of water, government corruption or such other complaints then its proceedings are known as Civil Society Movement.

## 10.8 Summary

- Civil Society Movement demands that public works should not be centralized in the hands of Bureaucracy, in fact public participation in this should be promoted. Then, civil society can also present such a stage where public gets an opportunity to criticize the state's policies and proceedings. In this way civil society can become suitable means for the removal of Economic Inequality and establishment of Social Justice.

## 10.9 Keywords

- **Association:** Relation, communication
- **Territory:** Knowledge of the nation's area or area of work

## 10.10 Review Questions

1. Describe the rise and growth of the modern nation-state.
2. What do you understand by the current crisis of the nation-state? Explain.
3. Present your views on the concept of the civil society.
4. Comment on the 'Contemporary Scenario'.

## Answers: Self Assessment

Notes

1. Marxist 2. Society 3. State
4. Government or administration 5. Sovereignty 6. True 7. False
8. True 9. False 10. True

## 10.11 Further Readings


*Books*

1. **Principles of Political Science—** *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*
2. **Principles of Modern Political Science—** *Sterling Publishers.*
3. **Principles of Political Science—** *B. K.Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*
4. **Principles of Political Science—** *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

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# Unit 11: Power and Authority

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know concept of Power.
- Explain concept of Authority.

## Introduction

**Katlyn** has clarified in her analysis of the concept of power that power does not mean position of 'Sovereignty' or military power. Criticizing the famous quotation of Morgenthau in which he has said, "Whatever final objective of international politics may be, its substantive objective is to grasp power." Katlyn has suggested that 'cooperation' can be one form of power.

## 11.1 Concept of Power

Power is the central concept of modern political science. In state sovereignty, government, law, etc. 'Power' is considered to be main implicit matter. **Katlyn** and **Lasswell** termed political science "Science of Power"**. William Robson** acknowledges political science to be the power of the society, its nature, fundamental activities detailed subject and conclusions related social science.

In ancient period political philosophers and thinkers did not neglect the concept of "Power". It is true that their viewpoint was traditional and so their attention was greatly devoted towards institutional study and history of the origin of the state etc. Still **Machiavelli, Hobbs, Kautilya, Hegel, Bosanke,** etc.political thinkers paid ample attention to the study of power and related factors. Kautilya has clearly written that, "The foundation of whole entire worldly life is 'Power of punishment'." Hobbs thought that the individuals have such eternal and untiring wishes to hoard more and more power whose end is only death. **Michells** has given this modern analysis that "The person who has usurped power, keeps on trying to make it stronger and extensive." These are such thoughts that enable us to grasp the importance and implied meaning of 'Power'.

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This fact has been accepted that, "In absence of 'power' politics is devoid of existence'. The sphere of politics may be internal or international, in both it is difficult to separate power from politics. In the words of **Prof. Hans Joachim Morgenthau**, "All kinds of politics, either domestic or international, are process of struggle for power." In fact, the role of power in politics is the same as that of wealth and rupee in market economy.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. Katlyn and Lasswell termed political science ..... .
2. Now it has been accepted that in the absence of power ..... is devoid of existence.
3. The use of power is instrument of ..... .
4. There is close relation between ..... and power.
5. Influence begets ..... .

## 11.2 The Power Concept of Politics

Power is the most important concept of politics. Because the relation of politics is with solution of conflicts so the distribution of power under the political community decides how to solve a conflict and whether all parties will follow the conditions of solving the conflict?

There are many problems in reference to definition of 'power'. In the beginning, there is no agreement on the subject of the definitions of 'power', 'impact', and 'authority'. **Robert Dahl, Harold D. Lasswell** and **Rove** have used 'power' in place of 'impact'. **Kautilya** has shown power in the form of 'use of force'. **Morgenthau** and **Katlyn** have used the word power to mean 'control'. **Hobbs** in his book "Leviathan" has referred power as "general tendency" and wrote that the will to grab power is human's unbroken and eternal whose end is only death. Even then it is a problem whether to accept that power is' objective" or 'instrument'. How to measure the power of a nation is a question?

## Nature of Political Power

In politics we are discussing power which is 'Political Power'. By political power we mean, how to control the mind and activities of individuals? Political power is slightly different from physical power. When violence adopts the form of reality it symbolizes sacrifice of political power in favour of military force. The definitions of 'power' are as follows:

**Robert Bierstedt –** "Power is ability to use force, not its actual usage."

**Maciver –** "Power is the capability to control, regularize and instruct individuals and behaviour."

**Arnold Brecht –** "Power is such a faculty which can mobilize one's will."

**Morgenthau –** "There is psychological relation between the people who trigger power and those on whom this is being activated. It provides competence to those who belong to first category to control the work of those who belong to second category by psychologically affecting their minds."

**Robert Dahl –** "Power is the name of special situation of people's mutual relations under which one party can get the work done by the other party by influence otherwise it would not have done."

**Goldhamer and Shills –** "One individual is called as much powerful as he can influence other's behaviour in accordance to his objective."

**Organski –** "Power is the accomplishment of impressing other's character according to his objectives."

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In political ideology **George Katlyn** was the first person developed a systematic principle and conceptual creation in which power is kept in the centre. **Katlyn** acknowledged the definition given by **Max Weber** about the relation of politics in which it is an activity to pressurize the struggle for power or the people who are in possession of authority. In his view the sphere of politics is study of social restraints or in all the more emphatically way, is the sphere of controlling human and even devilish intentions. **Katlyn** has given stress on this "Each process of control is a factor of political science". According to **Katlyn**, political ideology is the study of such location of control which in order to grab power is opted by original, but anonymous inspiration.

In analysis of concept of power, **Katlyn** has clarified that by power he meant not authority or military force. **Katlyn** criticized the famous quotation of **Morgenthau** in which he said, "Whatever be the ultimate aim of international politics, its immediate aim is to grab power.", **Katlyn** has suggested that 'cooperation' can be one form of power.

The most elaborate analysis of concept of power is found in the writings of **Lasswell** and **Kaplan**. They wrote, "The concept of power is perhaps the original concept of entire political science; the meaning of political process is to provide shape to power, distribute power and utilize power."

**Lasswell** does not deem it essential that the pedestal of use of force is always or generally, based on violence, or use of force in terms of violence and physical brutality can be taken as gist of tendency of power. The foundation of power can as much be faith, allegiances, habits and idleness as search for interests. It is also not necessary that when restraints are imposed, their shape is only violence. The meaning of power is only that specific control can be put up on the policies of others; there can be many and diverse methods to prove this control to be effective.

Political power, is in fact such a complex concept behind which there is always an acceptance that there can be several forms, such as, property, ammunition, civil rights, impact on public opinion—none can be considered as dependent on others. In brief, the meaning of political power is—control or command. **Robert Dahl** has clarified it all the more and wrote, 'A' keeps command over 'B' up to the limit, 'A' is able to extract work out of 'B', which 'B' would not have otherwise done. So political power is a relationship. Again it is such a relation which is not always vivid. Thus, if the army of Soviet Union was present in Afghanistan, and despite warnings of America Soviet Union did not withdraw its forces, we can say that Soviet Union had political power with it. But it is also possible that due to some other reasons the forces of Soviet Union might have withdrawn from Afghanistan, and it might be a coincidence, that Soviet army might have started to withdraw when India and other non-aligned nations were demanding strongly about this, it would not furnish any evidence of power of India and other non-aligned nations. Often, in the situation of 'Power Relationship" it is very difficult to guess why was there a change in the attitude of any individual or group?

*Notes* 'Power' is central concept of modern political science.

According to **Morgenthau**, "When we discuss power, our indication is towards that power, an individual exercises on the functions and minds of other individuals. Our concept of political power refers to the mutual relations of those power-holders and their relations with general public."

Three things can be said in relation to political power—First, among the political power-holders, it is natural to reveal superior - subordinate Relationship. Second—the use of political power is ultimately on general public and it has to obey the orders of those who hold power. Third—political power reveals psychological relations and not physical or physiological relations. According to Morgenthau, the users of authority and against whom this force is used—the psychological relation between these two nations is political power.

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**Organski** looks mainly at negative aspect of power. It means power is name of capability of stopping mostly other nations to do unwanted functions. Although, the capability to get the choice work done is also called 'power.' Thus, power can be either negative or positive.

## Power and Force

According to **Herald Sprout** and **Margaret Sprout** the meaning of power is—military force. **Inis Claude** has also agreed that the main aspect of the analysis of power is military angle. **Morgenthau** kept military element out of the definition of power and whenever he discusses power, his viewpoint is only political power.

There is emphatic difference between power and military force. The use of force is instrument of power. Here we are discussing political power. If force is used, it causes end of political power. The use of force depends on violence invisible but use of force is visible. In the words of **Bayerstrad**, "Power is competence of using force, not its real usage."

There are several types of political activities by which the person can impress others. They can be divided in three headings—(1) force (2) domination (3) manipulation. In force there is use of physiological powers which show physical activities. Force and domination exist together. Force is used to make the domination effective. In short, power is a descriptive concept in which force is implied in the same way as electricity is imbibed in clouds.

## Power and Influence

If 'use of force', 'punishment' and 'violence' are exiled from Power, it becomes 'Influence'. Influence is a powerless matter. According to **Karl J. Frederick**, "Influence is a secret power. It is minimally invisible semblance of power." According to **Robert Dahl**, 'Influence is relation in individuals, groups, communities, organizations and states. If specific words are used in reference of Influence—creators, by which a person inspires the other to act in a particular way otherwise they would not have done it at all."

In politics when a decision is taken, many incidents of human conduct affect it. **James March** has written, "For the study of process of taking decision, 'influence' is as important as strength is for the study of speed."

There is close relation between power and influence. Both confer energy to each other influence begets power and power produces influence. No situation of power relations can be without small amount of influence. **Robert Dahl** has agreed that influence and power are inter-related. Under influence it has been noticed that 'A' forces 'B' to perform something which otherwise 'B' would not have done. If physiological force combines with influence, it becomes power of influence.

The difference between power and influence can be cited. First, behind power strong physiological power and restrictions are administered. In influence, there exists tinge of insistence, manners and morals, whereas the nature of power is obstructive. Second, power is footed on fear and punishment so it is undemocratic and influence has footing of permission, so it is democratic. Third, the application of power can be seen whereas we can only infer influence. Fourth, power and force depend on physicists so its effect can be limited but once effect is generated, there is limit of its operation. **Alfred Wolfers** has differentiated between power and influence. By power, he means the capability of controlling others with threats. Influence implies art of using lure and persuasion to control others. In other words, the control achieved with punishment and force is called influence.

Some scholars approve that the concept of power is unable to clarify inner points of international politics. The concept of power can describe international relations only in that condition when real conflict has been going on. Prior to the condition of beginning of the conflict, the concept of 'influence' can adequately interpret the aspect of international politics. **David Singer** is one of those writers who

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gives the greatest importance to the concept of 'influence'. When he defines power, he attributes power to be the capability of influence .The expression of power is found there where there are three things —first, there should be conflict between two parties; second, the demands or needs of the other parties are truly fulfilled by one party and third, one party must have potential to inflict fear of restrictions on the other. Actually, the potential of inflicting fear is the factor on whose ground influential relation changes into power bearing relation.

From 4th November, 1979 to 5th May, 1980, if we look at the international chain of events in reference to Iran, we can conclude that America, although more powerful in comparison to Iran, was not so 'influential'. Even after resorting to unsuccessful usage of coercion, America could not transform its 'influence' to 'power' in the matter of 'captives'. America waited like a civilized nation, raised worldly public opinion, knocked the doors of the United Nation and its International Court, put economic and commercial pressure and even then when nothing materialized for six months, did futile military action to release the captives.

## Types of Power

Political power is expressed in three forms:

1. **Physical Power :** Each state's government uses political power but it is able to do so because army is subordinate of political authority. Whenever the army wants to terminate such subordinate position, the political power goes in the hands of army command. In international world it has been noticed that often Coup d'etat had been taking place and handing over of political leadership to military leadership is being executed. In the countries, where there is absence of democratic tradition and democracy is not approved of, military rulers kept on ruling with the power of military and coup d'etat has been taking place off and on. Administration of Latin America had been going on like this for years and The United States of America went on controlling the economic set up, in fact, through the medium of its Central Intelligence Agency it controlled the political power and played prime role in planning Coups in those countries off and on.

   Due to intense development of technology, physical power of the state is distributed in several components. Infantry, navy, air force and centers of ammunition and nuclear power. Due to such divisions of military power, the political authority gets some security and in big nations Coup d' eat is not able to take place easily.

2. **Psychological Power :** Psychological power is made up of symbolic devices which affect people's minds and sentiments. This is the method of controlling people's thoughts and activities through propaganda. The states keep on applying psychological power very meticulously in international politics. During Arab-Israel war, Israel very cleverly declared that it has got some atomic bombs. In fact, the aim of circulating such news is just to lessen the moral courage of Arab nations. In republic day parade India often displays multifarious tanks and specific arms and ammunitions to show its neighbors that India is sufficiently powerful from the point of view of military.

   Sometimes, the governments take help of propaganda to establish effective control over the public of the state. Several states indulge in broadcast over radio everyday, in order to enhance psychological influence. Radio Peking broadcasts in Hindi everyday. B.B.C. and Voice of America relay broadcast in many languages. The aim of such broadcast is to weaken the enemy, lessen its moral courage and to diffuse chaos in enemy or rival state and accomplish desired aims.

   Underlying meaning of power is to force the opponent to agree to a thing. If it is done by means of military, we term it as military power, but any nation can also be compelled by diplomacy,

propaganda etc. When we use diplomacy, propaganda, etc. in this form that the other nation becomes compelled to agree to our policies then this will be known as Psychological Power.

3. **Economic Power :** The use of political power is by economic resources. The foreign trade of any country is not only concerned with the sale of its commodities and earn foreign exchange, but to extend its political power in that country is also another important aim. Through the medium of foreign export, one state can make any other state dependent on it from economic point of view. The political influences of foreign economic aid are following – (i) the state cannot become self-dependent with foreign aid and becomes parasite from economic and technological point of view; (ii) With lure of getting immediate benefit from foreign aid the country is burdened with heavy loan, to get back from it is an uphill Task; (iii) For economic prosperity self-respect is more important than foreign aid. Lengthy economic dependence leads to weakening of the country's moral courage and self-respect.

   The countries which are providing foreign aid to India, they want that India should remain in their influence and close its independent activities and independent thinking. It is said that in 1966 we had to devalue our rupee because of foreign economic pressure. Most of the business of Nepal and Bhutan is with India so they are dependent on India from economic point of view. Multinational Cartel's of America are in the position of controlling economic condition of Latin American countries because two- thirds of their business is with The United States of America. In 1975, 50% of big Canadian companies' shares were with Multinational Cartel's of America. Most of the business of Western Europe and Japan is with The United States of America, so economic conditions of these countries are dependent of America.

## Techniques for Use of Power

A and B are two nations or individuals are they have one problem. We imagine that ' A' wants to do something and 'B' wants to do something different from 'A' In any real situation 'A' would try to influence 'B' . The question is this, what should both nations or individuals do to influence the character of each other? Ordinarily, there are four options. They can converse with each other, they can lure each other, they can use warning if needed, and they can resort to use force. Dr. Mahendra Kumar writes, "The state, in order to get desired response, uses some ways and means, they are mainly four—Persuasion; Rewards; Punishment and Coercion. If capability of controlling the conduct of other states termed as 'power', these way and means can be taken as techniques of use of power." Thus it is clear that there are four ways to use power—Persuasion, Rewards, Punishment and Force. We will explain all these four ways in short:

1. **Persuasion :** Persuasion is the easiest method of using power. If 'B' reconciles by the persuasion of 'A', its result is permanent. To use this method, 'A' has to undertake only one thing that he elaborates the whole situation in such a way that 'B' changes his opinion about it and agrees with him. In international politics, the pedestal of diplomacy is this only. Political representatives try to influence political representatives of rival states with their logic and meticulousness and make them respond according to their suggested methods. The success of a politician should be judged on this footing how far could he use the Art of Persuasion without taking help of reward, punishment and force?

2. **Rewards :** The second method of making behaviour of 'B' acceptable to 'A' is of lure or reward. In this method, one nation tries to influence the attitude of the other nation by promising some rewards. These rewards can be of four kinds—psychological, physiological, economical and political. Generally, rewards are physiological. Nation 'A' can offer rewards of territory, military assistance, military base, or training facilities to 'B' nation. Nowadays, there is a specific importance of economic rewards. One nation, in order to bring the other nation towards it, can offer loan or money as aid. After the Second World War, America ant Soviet

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Union adopted some policies for economic aid; those can be called methods of using power by offering rewards. The offer of liberating a subordinate nation or to support the viewpoint of any nation in an international conference, is the point that comes in political rewards.

3. **Punishment :** Third method of using power is 'warning of punishment. If 'B', despite persuasion and reward, does something which is unacceptable by 'A', in such a situation 'A' can give warning of punishment. In international politics punishable offences are being done off and on. But to make punishment effective it is essential that only warning should be issued, but no action should be taken.

4. **Force :** The last method of using power is 'force'. There is need to differentiate between punishment and use of force. Warning is given in the form of objection to punishment. But when actually, warning is used, it becomes use of force. In international politics the most extreme use of force is 'war'. In fact, it is final step of use of force. Its use is only applied when related nation is not forced to change its ways despite persuasion or reward and through warning. Use of force is only taken as last resort as a method of use of force.

## The Concept of Power—Views of Harold Lasswell

**Lasswell** agrees that political science is a synonym of science of power. In his view politics is the study of 'influence' and 'influenced'. He writes, "The subject of political science is the study of activities of power. He clarifies the difference between influence and power. Influence is any individual or group's value related position and probability and its measurement is possible by different indexes. Contrary to this, power has involvement in process of decision making. Power is a 'value' in itself and a factor of achieving other values. Influence is a process of changing policies of others. Instrument of using both power and influence can be either indebtedness or plea." According to him, "The aim of political relations is always the search of power by the individuals." "Power is distributory and the aim of political science is to determine how to distribute it and what should be its base."

Thus according to **Lasswell**, political science is the study of 'Influence and Influenced'. With this thought it is clear that he has extensive viewpoint about political science. He did not want to limit the study of political science up to the study of some institutions. He did not approve that 'state' and 'government' institutions are subject–matter of politics. According to him, the subject–matter of political science is 'power'. Power is not only limited to these formal institutions but also it is present everywhere. Influence and 'influenced' are found everywhere in the society. Power is the capability of implying one's own values on others. The political man is that whose main aim is to grab power. Thus, according to **Lasswell**, power is main substance of politics.

## Power as an end or as a means

**Power is means–**Is power a means in international politics? Why do states want to control the behaviour of other states? As wealth is a means and with money many things can be bought, in the same way power is a means of foreign policy and through the medium of power the aims of foreign policy can be achieved. Through the medium of power a nation can get respect, territory, raw material, security and friends. In 1962, China invaded India and stopped the war quite early. In 1979, China invaded Vietnam and also stopped the war after some days. It seems that the aim of China was just to display its power. So wherever it had the desire of getting some prestige, it also got at least some regional benefit. In both the cases China used foreign policy as means of power.

**Power is an End –** In international politics, sometimes people and the nation, do the mistake of upholding power as an end. Politicians's ambition of hoarding maximum power and the attitude of using force or giving warning on small petty matters transform 'power' as an end in itself. For Hitler

and Mussolini, power was not means but an end in itself. In political pragmatism of **Morgenthau** the gist of six principles is that, "National interest can be defined in terms of power. Power is national interest. The ultimate aim of foreign policy of any nation is 'Procreation of power'. Power is an aim in itself.

*Did You Know?* Lasswell accepted that political science is synonym of science of power.

In fact, power is also an end and it is also a means. Power is an aim in itself and it can be means of fulfiling other objectives. In international politics, power is a means because it causes fulfillment of national interest and it is an end because maintenance of supremacy of power is necessary for easy realization of national interest. America and China are considered to be powerful, so sometimes small states agree with them due to fear of their hoarded power. So in order to gain ones national interest, hoarded power becomes an end for America and China. Due to domination of power, it becomes very easy for America and China to get desired objectives. The interference of Soviet Union in Afghanistan, invasion of The United States of America on Grenada, the effort of India to liberate Bangladesh, interference of America in Gulf war, etc. are the ways to use power as means so that desired national interests are fulfilled.

## How Power is Measured?

In reference of power, it is a very important question whether it can be measured? Iran refused to release fifty American captives for more than six months and America kept on being just a mute onlooker. Should it be assumed that Iran is more powerful than America? Sometimes it has been noticed that despite large army and power, a nation is not able to clinch success in the field of foreign policy. America has been fighting with Vietnam for years but it had to withdraw from there in the end. It cannot be concluded that America was weaker than Vietnam. The national strength cannot be measured as per the outcome of a war because nowadays nations do not wage war alone. Suppose, 'A' and 'B' are two nations who have matter of discord between them, it is very difficult to declare in advance which nation will be able to influence the other. In the nuclear era it is all the more difficult to measure power. The power of a nation cannot be guessed on the footing of its possession of nuclear arms and its ability for invasion, but its power can be measured on the basis of its ability to defend itself in event of use of nuclear arms. The small and weak nations also have specific importance in international politics of power struggle. Big powers like America and China also cannot ignore the friendship of small and weak nations. In the United Nations, the decision is based on voting and in General Assembly the value of vote of small nation is equal to the vote of big power, so America and China have been trying to set friendship with more and more nations, even if that nation is weak.

While measuring power in international politics, following reasons should be taken into consideration –

1. **The difference between assumption and authenticity of power :** There should not be much difference in authentic and assumed power while measuring power of a nation. The power of a nation does not only depend upon how far it can affect the attitude of other nations but depends on this fact what are the assumptions of other nations about its power. For instance, prior to Second World War, Italy was assumed as big power, but during war it became clear that in reality Italy was not a big power. In reality, the power of Italy was assumed more than its real power and due to it before Second World War, Italy had been influencing the tendency of other nations.
2. **Relativity of power :** Power is always relative. Every state is either more powerful than other states or equal to some states, or less powerful than some states. One state at the same

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time only, in comparison to another state may be very powerful and in comparison to other states may be powerless. When we declare that America is one of the most powerful nations on the earth, we actually mean that if we compare the existing power of other nations with America, we conclude that America is stronger than all but one nation.

In the words of **Shooma**, "Thus, power is of relative magnitude and not of full magnitude. The profit of one nation is automatically loss of other nations. And, each state will not keep relations with relative power of other states considering time and place. But only keeps in mind the related power of such states which are taken as competitor or probable enemy. Power is local as well as relative. The capability of power decreases if distance is expanded as art and craft influence the strength of power."

To neglect the relative form of power and to assume power of a nation as coercive is one of the substantial and common mistakes of international politics. Measuring of power of France in between two world wars is the example of this. When First World War finished, France was assumed as the most powerful nation from the point of view of military power on the earth. Up to the moment of drastic defeat in 1940, in which its military weakness was exposed, France was considered to be like that. From the beginning of Second World War in Sept. 1939 up to the defeat of France in summer of 1940, the prime articles of newspapers exaggerated the wrong stories of French military power. In so–called war period, it was assumed that German forces dare not attack France as they heard about exaggerated power of French army that they had pierced through German lines. There was misconception that the military power of France was not equal to military powers of other nations, but it was completely independent. In itself, the military force of France was at least so sound in 1939, because of opinion set in 1919, so in 1939, France was assumed as competent nation as it was in 1919. The gravest mistake of that valuation is in inadequacy of knowledge of facts that in 1919 France had the ablest military force in comparison to other nations, and its closest rival Germany was vanquished and devoid of arms and ammunition. In other words, as military power, the supremacy of France was not its specific feature which can be recognized naturally. French people, of course, had distinct national symptoms, geographical position and natural resources which can be certainly picked up by others. Contrary to this, that supremacy was the result of strange powers. France was comparatively supreme to other nations in field of military power. The qualitative position of French army did not really decrease between 1919 and 1939. There was no deterioration as far as army, artillery, number and quality of airplanes and functions of the officers are concerned. Thus, the clever specialist like **Winston Churchill** could declare after comparing thirty year's French Army with the army of 1919 that only French Army is the sole guardian of international peace. **Winston Churchill** and his contemporaries did not compare the French Army of 1937 with the then army of Germany , but with the French Army of 1919 , which in the same year established its prestige as similar to German Army of 1919. This comparison clearly indicates that the position of powers of 1919 changed totally in later 30 years. The military establishment of France remained the same in 1937 as it was in 1919 whereas German armies got lot of excellence. The military force which was considered as complete, could not come up to expectation. If France and Germany's relative powers had been compared, it would have become clear and they could save themselves from terrible mistakes of political spheres.

**Hans J. Morgenthau** writes, "The nation that reaches the peak of power in any specific moment of History, it very easily forgets that all powers are relative. It believes it elegantly that the excellence it has acquired is an independent virtue and it can only be lost due to stupidity or negligence of duty. The concepts based on these foreign policies have to face serious dangers, because it neglects this situation that the excellent strategy of that nation is partially related to his personal virtues, whereas it is outcome of relativity of merits of that nation and other nations."

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3. **Comparative form :** The form is always determined as per comparative process. When we call a state powerful there is picture of those states in our mind that are weak. While calling a state weak, in the same way, there is picture of powerful states in our mind. The determination of the national power is, thus, possible only by comparison. While doing so, we compare the factors of building a state powerful with the factors of other states.
4. **Two nations are not equal from the viewpoint of power :** From the viewpoint of national power, two states can never be equal. This is as correct as from the viewpoint of power two individuals can never be equal. Apart from it, the importance of all factors of national power is the same. If a nation gives more importance to one factor and on its base frame its foreign policy, it will definitely have to face failure.
5. **Power should be trustworthy** : In international politics it is very essential to have trustworthy power. The warning, that is not reliable, has no role in the game of power. Suppose, the nation 'A' gives a warning to nation 'B', that it will use force if 'B' does not act according the wishes of 'A', and 'B' may imply that the warning is fake, then that warning is entirely useless.
6. **The importance of distinctiveness of power :** If a nation has heavy collection of atomic weapons and its rival thinks that it will never use them against it, there is no importance of such collection. If a nation has less destructive general weapons, and its rival thinks that at any time those weapons can be used against it, then those less destructive weapons will prove to be more effective than atomic weapons.
7. **Power is variable :** Power is a mobile or dynamic and the position of its diverse factors varies timely. If a country was a supreme power yesterday, it is not necessary that it will be able to maintain this position today or in coming time also. About this, Palmer and Perkins have written, "There can be increase or decrease in the size of the armies of a nation, its moral strength may fall or rise, leadership may change, raw material may be scarce or in plenty, there can be improvement in the legal process, inventions of new weapons can take place, production may decrease due to epidemic, floods and earthquakes and workers may be disposed of and moral strength may fall or rise, treaties are further demolished—all these positions have the capability of influencing various aspects of national power and, thus, nation's power can be a reason of position change."

## Self Assessment

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

6. Kautilya has shown power:

   (a) in form of use of force (b) in form of struggle

   (c) in the form of king (d) none of the above

7. In ancient times political philosophers and thinkers did not neglect:

   (a) king (b) concept of 'power'

   (c) state (d) none of the above

8. The most important concept of politics is:

   (a) power (b) devotion of king

   (c) state (d) politics

9. The power of politics that we are discussing is:

   (a) diplomatic power (b) political power

   (c) military power (d) none of the above

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10. Power is such an ability which can implement:

(a) its own will (b) politics

(c) diplomacy (d) none of the above

## 11.3 Concept of Authority

The place of authority in association is the same that soul has in human body. The way in which human body becomes inactive without soul, in the same way if we do not make proper arrangements for an authority in an association it will not be functioning. **Simon, Smithberg** and **Thompson** have agreed that work-allotment and authority are the most important qualities of association. According to them, "Whenever we make a framework of an association we have to allot space to every entity of the association and then these spaces are associated with some categories. These categories are called line of authority." Hence 'Authority' is that symbol which mutually links Tasks of different groups in the association.

### The Meaning of Authority

'Authority' is believed to be the key to the administration's Tasks. As traditional associations consider ideological associations as a network of rights relations. Authority is many times related to power and it has been known to give orders and has the right to abide by them.

High and upper persons' that capability on whose basis alongwith decision-making he can also influence his subordinates' behaviour, can be known as 'Authority'. This is also the permission given to a person to do something on behalf of the association.

According to **Henri Fayol**, "Authority is the right to give orders and the power to get them fulfilled."

According to **Alan**, "The power and rights given to arrange for the execution of important *Task*s is called Authority."

According to **Paterson**, "Giving orders and the right for the permission to complete them is known as Authority."

According to **Davis** "Authority is the right to take decisions and give orders."

According to **Theo Hemen**, "Authority, is that legislative power on the basis of which subordinates are told to work and they can be bound and upon violation of orders as per need the manager can take administrative action. In fact, he can also fire him from the job."

The above definitions are based on the principles of formal rights-authority and believe that authority is born from the upper level and reaches bottom by delegation.

But **Mary Parker Follett, Robert Tamon Bonn, Bernard, Simon** and other humanity related school philosophers say that till subordinates do not accept the order or thought of the senior management, the superior's order or thought cannot be considered as 'Authority'. Authority becomes meaningful when in the behaviour, subordinates accept it. From this viewpoint **Simon's** below definition is important:

"Right is the power to guide authority, decision-making and tasks of other persons. This is the relation of superior and subordinate between two persons. Superior takes decisions and inspires with this hope that the subordinate will abide by it. Subordinates hope for such decisions and their behaviour is decided by that."

In short, "rights-authority, is the power, situation or right for giving orders, taking decisions and to make others adhere by them, which becomes meaningful upon acceptance by subordinates and whose adherence by the subordinates is important to fulfill the association's targets."

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## Authority and Power

'Authority' and 'Power' feel like very similar words, therefore, in administration's language they have their own special meaning and one cannot be used for the other. The form of 'Authority' is legal in one way, whereas form of power does not necessarily have to be legal. When power is given the form of law it becomes authority.

**Karl J. Frederick** has written that "Authority is not a form of power but is such a thing which goes together with power. It is a quality of people and things which increase their power, a thing that produces power but is not itself power."

The existence of power is possible in lack of authority but its short-lived existence is not possible in the lack of authority. Authority can remain existent even in the lack of power. For example, a doctor or professor does not have power but they use authority in such a way that they have superior knowledge and experience. Power is unassociative, conditional and undecided whereas authority is associative, clear and decided. According to **Biarstad**, "Authority is the associative right to use power but not power itself. Power cannot be delegated whereas authority is delegated. Conscience lacks in power whereas conscience is implicit in authority."

When we study the associations of administration then we get many such examples whereas the top officers in the hierarchy, who have formally received the rights, do not use them. In place of them the subordinates use them. In this way top officers are only authoritative, not powerful. Subordinate officers are powerful even when they are not authoritative.

## Sources of Authority

In relation to the sources of authority three ideologies are prevalent:

*(i)* **Formal Authority Theory :** According to **Bernard**, "That concept of authority, in which remittance of rights is from social organizations to personal managers, is known as formal authority". This theory believes that the source of authority is the country's topmost law meaning constitution and right to maintain the sentimental values of the constitution is implicit in the social organizations. Therefore, in democratic nations the highest authority stays with the countrymen. According to this theory, in some departments the remittance of authority by constitution is through Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers, Cabinet Secretary, Director and his Sub-directors.

*(ii)* **Acceptance Theory :** This theory believes that subordinates are the source of authority. The belief of this theory is that formal authority is namesake and it becomes real and meaningful only when subordinates agree to abide by it. Hence the real source of authority is in the hands of those subordinates on whom authority will be used and who agree for one such use.

The philosophers who believe in behavioural schools support the 'Acceptance Theory' of Authority and in present conditions believe that Formal Authority Theory is a hindrance in the functioning of administration because it has dictatorialism; has implicit feeling of master-slave but the critics of this theory say that this theory sees authority apart discreet from sanction. Whereas the authority sanctionless by behaviour is proven meaningless. Apart from this the existence of the authority which is free from sanction or fear of penalty can give birth to anarchy in the organization in the same way in which in the scarcity of law and police the society can be a victim of anarchy.

*(iii)* **Competence Theory :** This theory is based on this assumption that worldwide able and competent persons themselves manage the reins of leadership, even if they are not given any special place or post in the organizations. This theory believes technical ability and influence of personality to be the source of authority. For example, economists, doctors, engineers, lawyers, professors, etc. are competent in their own areas and hence their authority is automatically accepted.

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## Functions of Authority

The importance of authority is in the form of a resource or a principle through which some targets can be achieved. It is said that through authority the decisions of the subordinate people who are dependent on others for the widespread decisions, their integrated behaviour is maintained in the group. When for the integration of the tasks of one group authority is used as a resource then authority mainly works in three ways. **Simon** has described these three ways in the following way—(i) It grants some responsibilities to those people who use authority. (ii) It uses sophistication in taking decisions. (iii) It establishes integration between the tasks.

The legal supporters of authority say that one main task of authority is that it establishes uniformity of individual tasks with the ideals established by society. Second important task of authority is that advanced level of intelligence is used for the decisions taken through it and they are highly influential. The third task of authority is that through it coordination is established in the organization. By comparing authority with the human body some philosophers agree that the way in which brain controls different parts of the body and in exchange receives information about their functioning, in the same way organization is the main duty of a powerful person that he keeps giving important instructions and orders to the other members and keeps receiving the introduction to the organization's activities.

## The Bases of its Obedience

This is a noteworthy question that why do people abide by authority? **Simon** etc. philosophers believe that a person abides by an order only because of the following reasons—(i) trust, (ii) uniformity, (iiii) pressure and (iv) legislature.

One person accepts the proposals of that person on which he has deep faith. In this way human nature has the trait that it gives more importance to people's advice and ideas who keep some uniformity. Sometimes due to many types of pressures a person has to agree with others. The means of topmost officials to get work done from subordinates is pressure. In the end in the organization people also accept others' authority because they think that they should accept it. Mostly people have this instinctive habit that authority's legislative form should be given recognition. Due to hierarchy in the organization the authority's activation is given legality. As per Simon's idea, "Authority is accepted because orders from top officials should be followed."

## The Concept of Authority—Views of Max Weber

In the learned who studied the concept of bureaucracy, the name of German sociologist **Max Weber** is noteworthy. He believed bureaucracy to be the contentious arrangement of administration. According to him the best means to bring a change in institutional human behaviour is bureaucracy. **Max Weber** tried to categorize authority. Weber's bureaucratic principle is a part of 'principles of authority'. Authority or dominance means classified power of control. In other words **Weber** raised the question that how a person claims dominance over others and to its answer he also said that the use of dominance can be accepted if it is legitimate and legal. **Max Weber** believed three types of authority or dominance:

1. **Traditional Authority :** When common public and subordinates habitually abide by the orders of any ruler or higher officials then this is the traditional basis of authority. Their orders are legal because they are based on some custom and usage. Two specialties are considered of such authorities—Based on Customs and Personal Arbitrariness. The people who abide by the orders they are known as 'followers'. They say that fulfiling the orders of their master is personal loyalty and their respectable position. In feudalistic arrangement this form of

authority can be seen. Even today religious leaders—pope, imam and priests are believed to be the symbol of traditional authority. In monarchic arrangement also the form of such authorities is found. Under it the subordinates are considered to be 'slaves'.

2. **Charismatic Authority :** When subordinates believe the orders of senior authority or common public believe the orders of politicians to be justifiable on this basis that they have magical influence of the authority then it is known as charismatic authority. Common public follow the orders of politicians because it believes in their unprecedented abilities and angelic qualities (charisma) and not in any post or rules. In this the subordinates are followers and follow the orders because of the charismatic and idealistic personality of their leader. For example, in many nations of the third world the dawn of charismatic leadership occurred after the Second World War. The angelic leaders of long national movements (like **Mahatma Gandhi**) were imbibed in public minds. Because of this after freedom when these leaders became the secretary of the working committee, they were accepted as not only the symbol of respect and unusual talent, but also the father of the nation. **Jomo Kenyatta, Sukarno, Bourguiba, Nasser, Nehru, Nyerere, Sheikh Mujibur, Jinnah, Yunus, Tito** etc. due to their unrivalled personality remained in the political system for a long time and were the recipient of the public's respect.

3. **Legal Authority :** When subordinates follow the orders on this basis that doing this is logical, legal, and appropriate from constitutional viewpoint then in this condition authority is believed to be legal (intellectual-legal). This authority is apart from the post acquired under constitutional laws. In the United States of America when any candidate of the Presidential post gains majority in the Electoral College or when in India the majority party in the Lok Sabha establishes any politician on the post of Prime Minister by electing him then that authority's basis is intellectual-legal or legal. In this the delegation of authority is done on logical basis and subordinates obey the impersonal orders established legally. Max Weber believes bureaucracy to be the replica of legal authority. He believes bureaucracy fostered and supported by different authorities to be the most influential element of the organization.

## The Concept of Authority—Views of Mary Parker Follett

**Mary Parker Follett** defined the concept of 'Authority' in a new perspective. She did the analysis of the psychological aspects of the orders given by officials posted in higher posts to the junior workers and said that "Order given by one person to another person demeans the other person". She believed that many people will want to work with other people by will but will intimately dislike the feeling of people being over them.

Follett demonstrated the law of situation and used it in relation to give orders in an organization. Many times many issues arise in relation to giving orders and accepting them. Apart from disregard of the orders by the workers, many times officials also from the pride of the authority to give orders, disrespect their workers and transmit inferiority complex. Hence for this problem's solution **Follett** stressed to 'Depersonalize' 'Orders'.

Managers and workers (upper and subordinates) should see the 'Logic of the Situation' and should jointly study all the factors of the 'situation'. **Follett** demonstrated that one person should not give orders to another person but they should get orders from the 'situation'. "Some person should not give orders to some others, but should agree to receive orders from the circumstances. If order is completely a part of the circumstance then no question arises about someone giving orders or someone receiving orders."

**Follett** is also opposes this belief that Authority should remain centralized on the top of any organization. According to her in the organization the use of words such as 'Ultimate Authority'

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and 'Supreme Control' is very delusory. 'The final authority is only an illusion'. She pointed out that human feelings get hurt by the situation of subordination of one person over another. In place of the concept of implicit ultimate authority in supreme authority, 'rights produced from functions' should be established. According to her, every person should be granted 'Authority of Function'. So every person should be responsible in the end for the task granted to him. He should have a right for his 'Job Area'. In her words, "Authority belongs to the job and stays with the job".

**Follett** believed that in the organization every person's authority instead of being 'Delegated Authority' should be tied to the authority and he should himself be responsible for it in the end. She writes, "The reason for delegated authority is that your main official has the 'right' to that complete authority although he believes that the delegation of some parts will be beneficial. I don't agree that a chairman should keep more authority than his work." In this way **Follett** does not believe in the delegation of authority and says that, "In reality one's authority cannot be granted to someone. In fact, it is that power which is implicitly loyal towards the work."

*Task* Present your thoughts on the problem of the definition-concept of power.

## The Concept of Authority—Views of Chester Barnard

**Chester Barnard** writes that if the order given to some persons is accepted by him then that proves the authority over him and that person is bound to do the work. But the disregard of the order means the unacceptance of the authority established over him. Hence **Bernard** concluded in relation to the authority that, "Taking this decision that whether any order has authority or not depends upon those persons to whom this order is given, not on those persons who have authority or who grant these orders." This principle stresses on the fact that the authority of an officer rests upon the acceptance or consent of individuals.

Bernard's theory of authority is authority 'From bottom to top' which is based on acceptance by the subordinates. He has not accepted high post or situation as the true source of authority but subordinate workers and acceptance given by them as the true starting point of authority. Bernard believes that a subordinate worker himself establishes authority for him. He also said that only in the following conditions a person will accept his officer's orders:

*(i)* When he fully understands the given order. Hence the treatment of the language of the order is very important for the subordinate worker.

*(ii)* When he understands that the order given to him is not adverse to the principles of the organization. Hostile and adverse orders cannot be carried out.

*(iii)* When he understands that in totality this order is favourable to his personal interests and is not malign to him in any way.

*(iv)* When he is capable of carrying out the order mentally and physically.

In this way **Bernard** stressed on the fact that those orders that are difficult or impossible to be completed in behaviour by the subordinate workers, those orders should not be given. But if the manager has to give unacceptable orders then he should give his subordinates enough education, training, encouragement and inspirations. Because true authority is decided by the subordinate workers only. According to him high and superior authority are not real, but a Fiction. Authority that goes from bottom to top only is real because through this process a person delegates upward the responsibility of the organizational decision.

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## 11.4 Summary

- In relation to the acceptance of orders **Bernard** has rendered the concept of the zone of indifference. According to him from the viewpoint of acceptance ability all the orders can be divided into three categories. Some orders are such that are not capable of being accepted so they are not carried out by the subordinates. Some orders are in the line of neutrality hence they are accepted or unaccepted by difficulty. Those orders that come in third category are indisputably accepted by the subordinates. According to **Bernard**, in the 'Zone of Indifference' only these third category orders are incorporated. People are indifferent towards some orders from the viewpoint of authority. They do not care about knowing that what the order is because they generally forecast their results and effects when coming into the organization. For example, if some person, who is entering 'Rajasthan Administrative Services', knows that in this service getting transferred after 2-3 years is a normal thing then he would not be too worried about his transfer orders, but will remain indifferent even though he is transferred anywhere. In other words, those orders with whose effects the person is acquainted, is often indifferent towards them. Such orders come under his 'Zone of Indifference'.

## 11.5 Keywords

- **Capability:** Competency, Potential
- **Subordinate:** Associate (person)

## 11.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by the concept of power? Explain.
2. Describe the techniques for the use of power.
3. Present your views on the concept of authority.
4. Describe the sources of authority.

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Science of power | 2. Politics | 3. Power | 4. Effect |
| 5. Power | 6. (a) | 7. (b) | 8. (a) |
| 9. (b) | 10. (a) | | |

## 11.7 Further Readings

*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science—** *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Modern Political Science—** *Sterling Publishers.*

**3. History of Political Science—** *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

**4. Classic Politics—** *Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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# Unit 12: Legitimation and Obligation

**Contents**

Objectives
Introduction
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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know meaning of Legitimacy.
- Explain characteristics of Legitimacy.
- Discuss importance of Legitimacy.

## Introduction

It is known by different definitions of legitimation that legitimation is the permission or consent of people which is granted to the political system. If the political system or institution does not get the permission, there is shortage of legitimation in that interpretation and such an arrangement cannot last long. The permission granted through use of force or threat, cannot grant legitimation to any political institution or system.

## 12.1 Legitimacy

Power and authority have close relation with legitimacy or legitimation. When the base of power is legitimacy, it is called authority. We shall discuss here, what is the meaning of legitimacy and legitimation and what is its importance in reference to power.

### Meaning of Legitimacy

Legitimacy or legitimation is the term for that situation, in which the general people of a political system start believing that the people who hold authority use it according to general permitted rules. **Dolf Sternberger** clarified this and wrote that it is foundation stone of the ruler's power. By this the government has the consciousness that it has the right to rule and on the other side the people who are ruled sanction that right.

According to **S.M.Lipset**, "The concept of legitimacy is concerned with that ability and capability, by which this confidence is generated and stabilized that present political institutions are the most appropriate for the society."

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*Notes* When the base of power is legitimacy then it is known as authority.

According to **Jean Blondel**, "The concept of legitimacy is that limit up to which the people uphold the organization related to them, and accept naturally without any inquiry—as broad is the sphere of consent or acknowledgment as authentic that organization will be."

**Cohen Alfred** writes, "The meaning of legitimacy is the acceptance of an agreement between the rulers and the ruled. In its very early form, it is such an agreement under which people agree to follow the orders of the government and pay taxes in place of to be alive and be out of jail."

By different definitions it is known that legitimacy is that consent or approval which is granted to a political system. If any political system or institution does not get the consent there is want of legitimacy in that interpretation and such a system cannot last for a long time. With the use of force or with threat of use of force, any consent of the people cannot provide legitimacy to any political institution or system. In other words, the consent of people should be based on this trust that this political system is more correct and appropriate than other systems, this political system is according to people's mental values and by this political system, people's upright needs will be fulfilled legally. If because of any fear or greed, people accord consent to a political system, we cannot say that the political system has got legitimacy. Thus, the source of legitimacy is not a consent got through fear or inducement, but it is an optional consent based on belief and values.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. Legitimacy of any system depends on its ..... and form should be in accordance with its values and belief.
2. Prof. Lipset's opinion is that any political system's stability and legitimacy, depends on its ..... .
3. Legitimate power is called ..... .

## Characteristics of Legitimacy

On the basis of various definitions of legitimacy, some characteristics can be noted which are the following:

1. **Ability to progress special confidence :** Legitimacy of any political system depends on this fact that, on the basis of their confidence, to what extent do the people there, believe the system to be legitimate. If some people snatch the authority by bloody revolution or through some illegal ways to fulfill their narrow interests, then the power of such people cannot get the natural acceptance from the public, but this is possible that after some time people start accepting that the new government is favourable to their interests. If such confidence develops in the people then that political system gains legitimacy. In this way in the concept of legitimacy such capability of the political system is incorporated that it yields to this confidence and maintains it that this political system and the organizations established by it are for the protection of their interests.
2. **Influence : Prof. Lipset** believes that the permanence and legitimacy of any political system depends on its influence. To gain the condition of legitimacy political system is not artificial,

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but it also has influential control over the citizens. **Kautilya** says that, 'Protection and interest augmentation of a kind man and penalty to the evil' is an important task of the state and political system gains legitimacy only when it completes this task in an influential way.

3. **Dependency on Values :** The relation of any political system's legitimacy also depends on the values of people. Any political system gains the people's natural acceptance only that time when it is based on the globally accepted values and beliefs of the nation's public. That nation in which democracy has deep roots, if someone snatches authority in an unconstitutional way then he has to face many challenges to gain legitimacy there.
4. **Legitimacy converts power into authority :** Legitimate power is authority, that is to say when any power gains the approval of the public that is legitimacy which takes the form of authority. If any institution or system gets its orders fulfilled using force and on the basis of threat then this means that it has power, but not authority. If power does not prove itself on people's sensible criteria then it cannot be called as authority. This means that legitimacy is only such a quality which transforms power into authority.
5. **Legitimacy is based on widespread social acceptance :** The legitimacy of any system is not dependent on some people but on the consent of a huge group of people. This greater consent should not be because of any external pressure or threat, but its base should be the sensibility of related people and their own trust, thoughts and qualities. In this way the relation of legitimacy is not dependent on society's few people or elite, but on a huge social acceptance.

   In short, we can say that the concept of legitimacy is based on that capability, by which people have the confidence that this political system is good. This is based on huge social acceptance. Legitimacy has the quality that it can convert power into authority. Any system's legitimacy is based on the fact that its practice and character are in accordance to people's values and trusts. **Lipset** writes that, "Group political systems are considered to be legitimate or illegitimate on the basis that values of the political system are in consensus with their own values or not."

*Did You Know?* Legitimate power is only known as authority.

## Types of Legitimacy

Different learned people have also described the types of legitimacy, following are the main among them:

**Classification of Sternberger—Berger** has described two types of legitimacy:

1. **Numinous Legitimacy –** This legitimacy can be seen in ancient Egypt's numinous emperors, Christ being 'son of God' in Christian world etc.
2. **Civil Legitimacy –** Its existence is seen at that time when by the administration, negotiation happens on the behalf of cooperation between several autonomous entities for common interests. Aristotle's polis, economic organizations of the medieval period and modern constitutional systems come under this category. In this category administration systems are tested again and again on this criterion in the form of election.

   German scholar Max Weber has told three forms of this legitimacy. They are—Traditional Legitimacy, Intellectual-Legal Legitimacy and Charismatic Legitimacy. Description of all these is done under types of authority.

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**Robert Dahl** has categorized Legitimacy based on governments. On this basis he has told two types of Legitimacies – (1) Governments who keep legitimacy, and (2) weak legitimate governments which are symbols of torturous networks.

*Task* Present your views on Legitimacy.

## Importance of Legitimacy

There is a long history of the concept of legitimacy. Today its meaning is not that which was in ancient times. Along with civilization's culture and political progress the effect of repressive power relations in human life and behaviour also kept on decreasing and the role of unrestrictive facts like effect, authority and leadership is also increasing continuously. This fact applies on both repressive and unrestrictive forms of power that when they are tied together with legitimacy then their power and effect increase, but when they do not gain the situation of legitimacy or they are seen with doubt then their boundaries increase too much with reference to influence human behaviour. Power, effect and authority are successful only by gaining the situation of legitimacy and by controlling others behaviour. **Dahl** says that, politicians are always trying to provide legitimacy to their tasks. They put the robe of their influence over legitimacy and by doing this only they get the rank of authority. In other words, influence can be changed to the form of authority only on the basis of legitimacy.

## Self Assessment

**State whether the following statements are True / False:**

4. There is a long history of the concept of legitimacy.
5. Democracy is not the rule based on public agreement.
6. Democratic system needs legitimacy the most.

## 12.2 Summary

- The influence of all political systems depends only on legitimacy, but in democratic system the importance of legitimacy is chief. Democracy is the rule based on public agreement; hence it is very difficult to get the public to abide by the rules on the basis of threat and terror. This is the reason that democratic system needs legitimacy the most. The use of force and pressure should be very less. Authority losses its rightness which can be deadly situation for political system in the future. To establish good relations between person and authority it is important that by authority efforts are made to obtain legitimacy to maximum boundaries. Thus political systems are always and everywhere looking for legitimacy. **Lipset** says that, "The stability of any specific democracy depends not only on economic growth, but also on the legitimacy and ability of the political system there."

## 12.3 Keywords

- **Legitimacy:** Legitimateness, Lawfulness
- **Belief:** Trust, Faith

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## 12.4 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by Legitimacy? Explain.
2. Describe the specialties of Legitimacy.
3. Describe the types of Legitimacy.
4. Describe the importance of Legitimacy.

### Answers : Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Workmanship | 2. Influence | 3. Authority | 4. True |
| 5. False | 6. True | | |

## 12.5 Further Readings

*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science—***B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Political Science—***Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

**3. History of Political Science—***Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

**4. Classic Politics—***Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

# Unit 13: Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know Gandhiji and His Religion.
- Explain the Concept of Truth.
- Discuss Gandhian Concept of Non-violence.
- Explain Gandhian Technique—Satyagraha.

## Introduction

**Gandhiji** gave the proof by his work that religion and politics are one. Like a saint he conducted the movement of freedom of India from foreign rule. He confronted the British rule with the ethical power of the soul based on love and non-violence. He peacefully protested against false laws and appointed path of peaceful non-cooperation against rulers who made those false laws. The strong British government experienced itself helpless in front of his non-violent protest and it intelligently moved aside after granting the ruling authority to the representatives of the public.

## 13.1 Metaphysical Basis of Gandhian Thought—Religion, God and Truth or Gandhiji and his Religion

Before **Gandhiji** a lot of thinking had been done on religion, but then to view the deformed aspect of religion in the then history and society and to view the religion cloaked in the flaws of contest,

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exploitation, immorality, hypocrisy, superstition, etc. he again had to think about this issue. Gandhiji precisely studied the world's different main religions and he comprehended that the concept of religion that is prevailing in the public is utterly delusory. That is why on the basis of his experiments and findings he again presented comprehensive interpretation of religion.

**Gandhiji** accepted religion as the fundamental fact of life and society which if taken out then the person and society will both become lifeless and blank. **Gandhiji** said while describing his religion -

"By religion my interpretation is not formal or traditional religion, but by that religion which is the foundation of all religions and which introduces us to its creator."

"Religion should be imbibed in our work. Here the meaning of religion is not sectarianism. This religion is away from Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, etc."

"Humans cannot live without religion. Some people in the pride of their intelligence say that they have nothing to do with religion, but this is similar if a person says that he breathes, but he doesn't have a nose."

**Gandhiji's** religion is basically humanitarian. Its ultimate goal is to serve humans. The main parts of **Gandhiji's** religion are truth and love or non-violence. They associate a person's physical, mental and behavioural aspects with religion. Their faith is in religious personality.

**Gandhiji** presented his religion as equipped with scientific form. Science understands nature's mysteries and whatever is true by experiment and proof, it presents it in the form of successive knowledge. In **Gandhiji's** knowledge and religion true research has the topmost place hence his target of religion and science is completely similar. Science does not give importance to old customary traditions, superstitions etc. and **Gandhiji's** religion also is grave opponent of old customary traditions and superstitions. In his own words, "I don't accept any such religious principle which does not test intelligence and opposes morality. I do not let any sayings of religious scriptures dominate my intelligence." **Gandhiji** also combined religion and culture. The basic feeling behind the blueprint of ideal cultural models is that whatever he has presented can be said to be spiritual. He believes that having faith in God and religion are unavoidable for the progress of humanity. Truth, non-violence, celibacy, non-stealing and non-greediness these five practices are important to abide by religion. These are natural and divine rules and they have worldwide value on human life. **Gandhiji** says that culture's different paradigms should be based on these rules.

**Gandhiji's** religion is religion of co-existence, religion of tolerance. **Gandhiji** believed in the equality of all religions. He used to say that no religion can claim to be superior over other religions hence all religions are equal. They are different paths to reach the same goal.

**Gandhiji** disliked conversion of religion. He had profound belief in his own religion that is in Hinduism, because Hinduism stays peacefully with the other religions and does not claim that truth is only in it.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. Gandhiji's religion is basically ..... .
2. Gandhiji ..... conversion of religion.
3. Gandhiji was first religious then ..... .
4. Gandhiji clearly declared—without religion, politics is ..... .

## 13.2 Spiritualization of Politics or Religion and Politics

To make a state religion-less, there was a great contribution of **Machiavelli** of Italy of 15th century. He postulated that in order to get political success religion and dogma should be separated from

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politics. He supported diplomatic politics. In medieval period so-called religion inflicted lot of harm to the society controlling the politics. So as a reaction secular politics got support, but after being secular, politics became too autonomous and derailed, it became synonym of deceit, became one of the reasons of debacle of mankind. Informing religion as tablet of opium, it is represented as discarded and abominable item.

The emergence of **Mahatma Gandhi** also took place in **Machiavelli's** politics era, this religious and spiritual saint did not approve the distorted form of politics. **Gandhiji** declared emphatically that without religion politics is a sin. He rejected prevalent values of politics and tried hard to implant distinct religious and spiritual values in politics.

**Mahatma Gandhi** did spiritualization of politics. He had the faith that if politics is proved to be a blessing for mankind, it must be based on highest moral and spiritual principles. He replenished politics with high morals and religious sentiments. He did not think that religion and politics are separate from each other. In his own words, "Those who say that there is no relation between politics and religion, they do not know the meaning of religion. There cannot be any politics without religion. Politics without religion is a death trap because it impairs the soul."

*Notes* Gandhiji contended that morality and pure thinking are true religions.

**Gandhiji** basically was a man of religious attitude and in the manner he followed religion in his life, on that pedestal he can be called a saint according to Indian traditions. Being a religious leader, he was not a supporter of dogmatism and did not follow blind religion and his viewpoint regarding religion was worldly and humanitarian. He thought that service of mankind is the basic concept of real spiritual life and his words were, "There is no religion without human activities." Thus, in politics he gave priority to 'religion and humanity', and not to 'authority'. Due to his worldly viewpoint about religion, **Gandhiji** entered politics and propagated importance of religion in politics. He entered politics because politics had been devoid of religion and he thought it was his duty to rejuvenate religion. In his own words, "If I take part in politics, it is only for this that politics has surrounded us like a serpent, and I want to fight with the serpent. I want inclusion of religion in politics." This quote clarifies that whatever works **Gandhji** was done in the sphere of politics, they were religious works only. He could not keep himself aloof from them, because there was indivisible relation of them with his life. Once, while discussing with **Polluck**, he also said, "Mostly with the religious persons whom I have met, are camouflaged politicians, but I wear garb of a politician, and by heart I am religious."

Gandhiji was a great work–oriented saint who believed that life is such a indivisible unit, whose diverse activities cannot be separated for each other and so he agreed that he took part in politics as a part of his religious duties. He assimilated religion in politics and tried to wipe out two-fold module of morality which is implied in these words, "Politics – is politics" and, "Business – is business." It was his conviction, if between worldly and religious aspects there is a wall of secession, not only religion's prestigious place will finish but also it will suspend its real function about which its existence is there. In **Gandhiji's** words, "Those who declare that there is no relation of religion with politics, they do not know religion. One who does not hail patriotism, he does not know religion."

According to **Gandhiji**, politics is country–religion, the individual does self infliction if he is separated from it, but his religiousness does not imply dogmatic religion, because he was against religious rituals and showy idol–worship. He had faith in human worship rather than idol worship. For **Gandhiji**, "Politics is like a corpse if it is separated from religion and it is better to put it into fire." In his view politics is a branch of religion and morality. According to his opinion, politics is not a struggle to get power and property but it is a continual process to make several of backward class people adept to lead decent life, to develop virtues of human beings, and to guide people for liberty and fraternity

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and depth of spirituality and social equality. A politician who makes efforts to clinch these objectives cannot stay without becoming religious.

**Gandhiji**, though agreed that politics is associated with religion but his concept was not that the government authority should be handed over to religious institutions or the state should become promoter of special religion or community. His ideal, 'Sarvoday' (meaning 'universal upliftment') social – system concerns with secular feature of state, whose implication is that the citizens of the state have full right to follow his own religion without any condition, the state neither protects nor put hurdles in the promotion of any religion. There is no particular religion or creed, but the state should be void of religion, or politics should fully obey potential rules-truth, non-violence, love, service, etc. **Gandhiji** said that the politicians should keep equal attitude towards all religions and in political or public life they should be firm with potential values of protocols and religion.

**Gandhiji** gave evidence of unity of religion and politics through his works. He managed the revolution of independence of India against foreign rule like a saint. He faced the British rulers with the moral strength of soul, footed on love and non–violence. He peacefully revolted against unjust laws and framers of unjust laws and determined the way for peaceful non-cooperation. The mighty British Government in end felt itself helpless against non–violent revolt and withdrew wisely after handing over charge of government to the representatives of the public.

**Gandhiji** contended that morality and pure conduct is true religion and he gave importance to moral values in politics also. In his view the politics which does not uphold basic truths of life is ruthless. The basic truth of life or values are aspects of religion, and due to them human life gets momentum, so they are in favour of spirituality of politics. When they ask to do the spiritualization of politics, then they want to eradicate 'Vigrah' (in Hinduism an image of a deity, which itself is considered divine once consecrated), disintegration, revolt, and tendencies of destruction and want maximum inclusion of amicable feelings, cooperation, harmony and factors of unity. Conclusively, his politics is supplement of religion.

As a matter of fact, **Gandhiji** was first religious and then politician. He could not give up protocol, religion or morality. He was religious—spiritual concerning mind, words and action, so in politics also he did successful experiment and exhibited that the principles of religious politics are not non-practical but they are fully practical.

## 13.3 Gandhiji and God

**Gandhiji** was very great devotee of God. He considered the whole world godlike. God is the name of the power which operates all the activities of the world. Without his help neither any progress is possible nor existence of life. In his words, "I can declare strongly that I can survive without water and air but not without God. If you extract my eye, I shall not die, but if you eliminate my faith from God, I shall not survive."

According to the opinion of **Gandhiji**, God is truth. So its attainment is the prime objective of the life, but elucidation of God is liberal like religion. The God of **Gandhiji** is neither Vishnu who rests on Sheshnaag, nor the justice rendering angel of 7th sky, He is "beyond description whom we can only feel, but cannot know. For me God is truth and love. God is morality and manifestation. God is illumination and source of life. God is conscience. God is Atheism of the Atheist. He is purest primary concept. He is only for those who believe."

**Gandhiji's** saying is, "If I had believed that God would meet me in the cave of the Himalaya, I would have immediately reached there but I know that I shall not find him separated from mankind." His God is omnipresent. **Gandhiji** elaborated the meaning of the word 'God' and called him 'Savior of poor', its implication is 'God of poor'. He declared in vivid words – "I do not have faith in any God except that God who resides in hearts of lots of mute people." **Gandhiji's** conception relating to God

makes it clear that he has managed to bring down God of heaven to the earth, transform him from unworldly to worldly, and saturated with human beings.

## 13.4 The Concept of Truth

According to **Gandhiji** 'Truth is God'. But there is a question, the truth which is God and whose procurement is the aim of life, what is that?

According to the opinion of **Gandhiji**, Hindi word 'Satya' (truth) originates from Hindi word 'sat', whose meaning is to exist. The reason of addressing truth as God is that truth is that which has authority, and it is stable. The authority of God is maintained in all the three periods, so it is truth. **Gandhiji's** aim of life was to undertake quest of truth. The name of his autobiography is, "My Experiments with Truth".

Generally, the meaning of the word 'truth' is only to speak truth, but **Gandhiji** interpreted the meaning of 'truth' most elaborately and insisted that to be true in thoughts, speech and behaviour are only truth. According to **Gandhiji** the worship of truth is true devotion.

According to **Gandhiji**, truth in life is relative, but with the medium of relative truth, one can acquire absolute truth and this absolute truth is super most aim of life, its procurement is prime duty of a human being.

In the environment of **Gandhiji's** truth, not only that person but groups and society are also included. He wanted that truth should be adopted by religion, politics, economic policy, and family. The new experiment of following of truth in politics is an unforgettable incident in the history of the world.

## Self Assessment

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

5. Religion of Ganghiji is basically
   (a) humanitarian (b) non-humanitarian
   (c) truthful (d) none of the above
6. Change of religion was Gandhiji's
   (a) like (b) dislike
   (c) hatred (d) none of the above
7. According to Gandhiji, truth only is
   (a) world (b) family
   (c) God (d) none of the above
8. In Gandhiji's view worship of truth is
   (a) true devotion (b) devotion of God
   (c) patriotism (d) none of the above

## 13.5 Gandhian Concept of Non-violence

Since ancient times, in India there had been lot of importance for non-violence. Yoga philosopher **Patanjali**, is given prime place to non-violence in the soul purifying activity of five yamas. In Jain religion there was great importance of non-violence. After his return from England, **Mahatma Gandhi** also was greatly affected by a Jain wise man **Ram Chandra**. **Lord Buddha** declared that the end of hostility is not hostility, but it can be ended by love. **Gandhiji** adopted the principles of non-violence

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from Indian traditions, Bible and from the books of **Tolstoy**; he used them practically and proved its success unquestionably.

**The Meaning of Non-violence :** The word wise meaning of non-violence is, not to do violence or kill. The meaning of violence is to inflict pain or kill any living being due to selfish attitude, anger, or will to torture. The root of violence is the feeling of selfishness, anger and envy. Contrary to this followers of non-violence win over these feelings and keep the feelings of love and friendship with all creatures, **Gandhiji** calls it non-violence.

For **Gandhiji** the meaning of non-violence is very elaborate, in which it is necessary to be vigilant about not only in actions but also in thoughts. Not to kill anybody is of course, a part of non-violence, but there is something else also in it. Wrong thoughts are part of violence, false lecture is violence, envy is violence, and to hope bad for others is violence. To keep hold on the things which are needed by the world is violence.

**Two Aspects of Non-violence :** Non-violence has two aspects—negative and Positive. Not to resort to violence on being addicted to anger and envy is its negative aspect, but this does not help in grasping full form of non-violence. The factual form of non-violence is known because of its sentimental aspect. Sentimental and positive non-violence is called omnipresent love and feeling of compassion. There are four basic elements of it, love, perseverance, opposition of injustice and courage.

The base of violence is hostility and base of non-violence is love. Those who follow non-violence, have the same love for their most fierce enemy such as a father has affection for his son who has indulged in adverse activities. They hate the bad points of the enemy not the person. They try to root out the bad points of the enemy with the power of non-violence and love. They bear the pain happily, but do not inflict pain on the enemy. The second element of non-violence is perseverance. If the follower of non-violence does not get early success in his effort, he is not in despair. He has firm conviction that non-violence is fool-proof Brahmastra; he will be successful in the end. Despite heavy failures, the non-violence follower does not lose heart and patiently goes on and on. The third element of non-violence is to resist injustice. Non-violence is not Inactivity or negligence, but it is continuous resistance of vices and injustice. Non-violence follower is not afraid of the autocracy of the arbitrator but counters him courageously, so the fourth element of non-violence is courage. **Gandhiji** has given lots of stress on this point. According to his opinion, non-violence is virtue of a courageous and brave man, and not a weapon of a coward. There is rivalry between cowardice and non-violence as between darkness and light. The usage of non- violence has importance as long as we use it if we have strength and full capability. The greatest merit of a non-violence follower is his bravery and fearlessness. It requires more courage than armistice war, because here the greatest weapon is the strength of soul. **Gandhiji** thought violence and use of force is better than not having strength of soul and courageousness. Once he himself said, "It is better for India to take up weapons and protect its self-respect than to lose poorly the prestige before a foreign state."

*Did You Know?* According to Gandhiji politics is state-religion and it is suicidal to keep aloof from it.

**The base of non-violence :** The base of non-violence of **Gandhiji** is the feeling monastic. His conviction was only one couscous power is present in all the creations of nature. There is divine tinge in all. When everything is Godly, and 'I' is also a form of God then how can one has enmity with anyone? The feeling of monastic forces all the creatures to obey the religion of love and non-violence as one soul pervades in all.

**Notes**

There are three conditions of non-violence—Gandhji has pointed out three below mentioned conditions of non-violence.

1. **Enlightened Non-violence :** This is non-violence of braves. This non-violence does not grow out of any painful situation but it emerges out of natural intonation of conscience. Those who adhere to it; do not do so thinking it to be the burden of non-violence but they accept it due to their inner thoughts and morality. Strong people follow it and in spite of being strong they do not at all use force. This form of non-violence should be adhered to, not only in political sphere but also in all the spheres of life. This form of non-violence imbibes immeasurable power of transforming impossible to possible and move the mountains.
2. **Reasonable non-violence :** This kind of non-violence may be opted as a policy according to expediency at time of need. This non-violence is non-violence of weak or it is passive opposition of helpless people. In this not because of moral belief but because of weakness non-violence is practiced. Although it is not as impressive as enlightened non-violence still if its obedience is done with honesty, veracity and persistence, desired objective can be clinched up to some limits. **Gandhiji** rejected this non-violence later on, and said, "There was no such thing as non-violence of weak. Non-violence and weakness were a contradiction in terms."
3. **Non-violence of the Cowards :** Sometimes, fearful and cowards also boast of non-violence. **Gandhiji** thought that such type of non-violence is not non-violence but passive violence. He believed that cowardice and non-violence cannot exist together like water and fire. Non-violence is faith of braves and to hide one's cowardice behind non-violence is to be condemned and hated. If **Gandhiji** has to choose between cowardice and violence, he will choose violence. About this he has vivid opinion." If our heart is full of violence, we should not cover our drawbacks under non-violence, it is better to be violent." Hence, **Gandhiji** was never in favour of cowardice.

**Superiority of the non-violence** : On the basis of history, **Gandhiji** postulates the superiority of non-violence. In contrast to **Karl Max** who believed in competitive struggle, he thought that the history of human society is advanced expansion of his idea of non-violence. It is said about aboriginals' communities that they were cannibals, but later on people thought it was wrong to eat flesh of human being; they filled their stomach with the flesh of the animals. After some time, human beings gave up the process of obtaining food through hunting because he was disgusted with continual wandering life of hunters. Then, he started farming and rearing of animals instead of killing them. It resulted in stability of life, and civilization evolved in villages, cities and nations. Thus, it is evident from the above mentioned progress of civilization that the use of violence has been continuously decreasing in the history and use of non-violence is increasing. If it had not been like this, violence would have increased and the ratio of non-violence would have decreased, and human race would have been annihilated long back.

Apart from historical development, non-violence is superior due to other reasons also—

**First reason**, is that it is a personal power which is also found in small, little, weak children and the aged people. Only youth can fight a war with weapons, but a very old and weak mother can bring back a strayed son on right path with the use of power of love. The use of power of love can be taken up also on animals.

**Second reason**, the use of non-violence is activated continuously and spontaneously. We do not have to make use of physical power. The people who indulge in usage of physical power need rest of some kind, but the person who adheres to non-violence, does not need any rest, because instead of using external weapons, he uses perpetually nourished feeling of love in his heart.

**Third Reason**, is that self power of non-violence influences the enemy in unconscious, unknown and indirect form and it is more influential than power of weapons. The activity of weapon power is immediate and momentary, but the impact of non-violence and love is indirect and everlasting.

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**Fourth reason**, violence results in failure and non-violence gets sure success. Non-violence and love can prove to be a failure for short time, but their ultimate success is certain, because non-violence and love have the capability of melting even stone-hearted hearts.

The features of **Gandhiji's** non-violence—there are two big features of non- violence of **Gandhiji**—first feature is its minute and expanded analysis and the second provides it new momentum and new expansion after broadening its sphere.

**First feature–**Before **Gandhiji** the common meaning of non-violence was not to take life of any creature and limit it to the subject of food. **Gandhiji** declared after its detailed analysis that it is beyond the topic of food. A non-vegetarian can be non-violent, fruitarians and vegetarians have been spotted in indulging in grave violence. A trader may speak lie, may cheat the consumers, may weigh less, but he sprinkles flour for ants, eats fruits. Even then that trader is more violent than a non-vegetarian trader who is non-vegetarian but is honest and does not cheat any one. Thus, **Gandhiji** analyzed animal violence and did a new and revolutionary change and expansion in the definition and limitation of non-violence.

**Second feature,** is the expansion in sphere of activity of non-violence. **Gandhiji** took out non-violence from the narrow periphery of personal and filial sphere and made it a weapon to counter all kinds of injustice in social and political field. He did not confine it to the decorous of saints only and made it public and omnipresent. In **Gandhiji's** words, "If non-violence is a personal trait, I will give it up. The conception of my non-violence is extensive. It belongs to cores. I am just its servant…. We have been born to prove that truth and non-violence are not the rules of personal behaviour but they can adopt the form of protocol of community, caste and nation. Non-violence is for all, for all places and for all times." He wrote in Harijan Sevak (a newspaper), "We should not make truth and non-violence an object only, but make such an object on which all groups, castes and nations can conform to." About non-violence this was the greatest original contribution of **Gandhiji**. For the independence of India, in the political field he did successful experiment of non-violence and proved above mentioned challenge true.

**The practicality of the concept of non-violence of Gandhiji**–This question arises out of the adoption of analysis of non-violence of Gandhiji whether the ideals of mansa, loquacious, completion of tasks, non-violence are practical? Can anyone arrive at the position described in Geeta and be free from all kinds of ill-feelings, and attain feelings of compassion and friendship for all? **Gandhiji** has given his own clarification in this matter. He accepted that it is very difficult to get rid entirely from violence for human being. He pointed out clear but minute difference between violence and non-violence and mentioned those situations in which individual has to indulge in violence and he cannot escape from it; as:

**First**, for maintenance of life, some amount of violence is mandatory, but is pardonable. This body is heritage of God, so nobody has the right to destroy it. For maintenance and conservation of body one should not kill animals, but the violence which takes place unknowingly, we need not worry about it. This is helplessness of the individual. Regarding non-violence, **Gandhiji** was not imaginative, but practical. He gave permission to kill those animals that harm property or human beings. While crossing a forest, lion, and tiger or while crossing a road a mad dog attack to end one's life, their slaughter is not included in the category of violence. This violence is called 'Duty in Distress.' It is worth mentioning that **Gandhiji**, although, gave permission to kill wild animals, but the feeling of his heart is, if people follow non-violence correctly, wild animals will also not harm human beings.

**Second**, to indulge in violence, in order to protect a refugee, is not to be criticized. If some oppressors come to trouble our dependents, to kill them is also not violence. Women and children are dependents on men in each society, if some body tortures them, he should be killed.

**Third**, to inflict violence on an ailing individual or creature so that it gets rid of pain, such violence is not an offence. For example, if any one's illness is malignant, there is despair all around, to kill that individual or creature is not sin or violence. **Gandhiji** permitted to poison a calf that was almost

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dead with extreme pain. It was of course, violence, but it is pardonable, because there is sentiment of extreme compassion and sympathy. He said," If my son had been suffering, there is no treatment, I should deem it my duty to finish his life."

## 13.6 Gandhian Technique—Satyagraha

The technique that Gandhiji used in the political area to give a defined form to the principle of non-violence, is 'Satyagraha'. The development of its name and basic principles was done in South Africa. The white government there was passing unjustified laws against Indians. Because of it there was fierce anger and dissatisfaction amongst the Indians settled there. Under **Gandhiji's** leadership they decided to non-violently protest against this injustice. This time this movement was given the name of 'Passive Resistance', but **Gandhiji** did not like this name because of two reasons. First reason was that it was an English term and Indians could not fully understand it. Second reason was that in this term the full assimilation of **Gandhiji's** formulated thoughts was not there. Later on Sh. Madanlal **Gandhi** suggested the term 'Satyagraha'. It means—Faith in good work. Gandhiji liked this word, but he was not fully satisfied with it. With the viewpoint of expressing the full meaning he rectified it and kept the name 'Satyagraha'.

**Meaning of Satyagraha :** The literal meaning of 'Satyagraha' is to request for truth. Its base is from truth or the power or love and non-violence produced by truth. It is everywhere different from physical force or physical power of weapons. This is the power of soul. The working of 'Satyagraha' is done on the basis of spiritual power. The fundamental principle of the complete sight of 'Satyagraha' is 'Truth only wins'.

**Philosophical base of Satyagraha :** The meaning of 'Satyagraha' is to protest against the oppressor while requesting truth. Not to bow in front of them and not agreeing to what they say. Oppressor and tyrannical only gain success when people get afraid and bow in front of them, but if people take a strong decision and declare that 'whatever you do, we will not obey you' then oppressing ruler can get them killed, but cannot make them obey him. When he gets the certainty that even if he gets his subjects killed he cannot make them obey him then he feels it meaningless to oppress them and leaves it. Apart from this on his heart he also gets the impact of the severe torture that the Satyagrahis bore. The dormant feeling of humanity in the oppressor arises by the Satyagrahis undergoing torture. Result from this, in the end a situation comes where the oppressor realizes his fault, and he starts regretting his torture. That time he makes alliance with the 'Satyagrahis' and 'Satyagraha' wins. This process is to stress on the change of heart of the oppressor by strong willpower.

According to **Gandhiji** this is the struggle of will power against physical power or animal power. In this the victory of will power over animal power is certain. In this struggle numbers are not important. Even one honest and strong firm 'Satyagrahi' can fight against big empires. **Gandhiji** himself fought against the British Empire.

**Qualities of Satyagrahi :** In the 'Hind Swaraj' or 'Indian Home Rule' in 1908 **Gandhiji** conveyed that the necessary qualities of a 'Satyagrahi' are truth, fearlessness, chastity, non-possession and non-violence. Honesty means that 'Satyagrahi' never takes resort to any deception, lie or cunningness. Fearlessness is an important quality of a 'Satyagrahi'. He should be fearless in all things, he should not keep any endearment or love and should be ready to sacrifice his land, home, wealth, personal freedom and even his life. Celibacy means to be free from the ties of all desires. It is necessary for the 'Satyagrahi' to take the vow of non-possession. Greed of money and 'Satyagrahi's worship cannot happen together. Non-violence is the base of 'Satyagraha', it means to be non-violent by mind, statement and acts which means neither hitting the enemy nor saying harsh statements nor thinking bad about him. **Gandhiji** increased few other qualities in the above mentioned qualities inculcated In Hind Swaraj and conveyed the obedience and worship of 11 qualities. These are the following qualities – non-violence (ahimsa), truth, chastity, non-stealing, non-possession, Bonded-labour or bread-labour, labour, control of the

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palate, fearlessness, equal respect for all religions, economic strategy such as boycotts (Swadeshi) and freedom from untouchability.

**Rules of Satyagraha** : The use of the weapon 'Satyagraha' should be done with very caution and intelligence at that time, when the use of the other ways of reprisal of injustice through peaceful means has failed. Before starting 'Satyagraha' the minimum requirement should be decided, request should be made to fulfill this requirement and even after severe torture and pressure movement should be continued until the requirement is fulfilled. In this obeying non-violence is completely essential. Its motive is not to win over or to humiliate the oppressor, but to make him favourable by changing his heart. 'Satyagrahi' does this task by undergoing suffering.

In 'Satyagrahi's personal life Gandhiji mainly stressed upon the obeying of the following rules:

1. 'Satyagrahi' will not harbour anger in his heart.
2. He will suffer the anger of the opponent.
3. While doing this he will never retaliate to assault or punishment. He will not submit, out of fear of punishment or assault, to an order given in anger.
4. When an official will come to arrest someone who is respectfully disobeying orders, he will voluntarily submit to arrest. When an official will come to confiscation his property he will not reprise against him.
5. If 'Satyagrahi' is the trustee of any property, defend that property (non-violently) from confiscation by the government, even if his life is in danger.
6. Person respectfully disobeying orders will not insult the opponent; will not cry out any slogan which is against non-violence.
7. In this conflict if anyone attempts to insult or assault his opponent, then Satyagrahi will defend the opponent (non-violently) with his life.

**Different forms of Satyagraha** : **Gandhiji** used 'Satyagraha' in India's political movements in three ways—

(1) Non co-operation

(2) Civil Disobedience

(3) Individual 'Satyagraha'

Before this the movement started by him in South Africa is known as 'Passive Resistance'. Although he himself called it 'Satyagraha movement' and believed it to be different from Passive resistance.

*Task* Present your views on religion and politics.

**Means of Satyagraha – Gandhiji** has advised the use of following means for 'Satyagraha' on a large scale:

1. **Non-cooperation :** The administration of any country is based not on its military power but on the public's continuous cooperation. If public does not give this support or cooperation to the government then the administration will soon become baseless and will end, but during non-cooperation the 'Satyagrahi' should always be non-violent.
2. **Civil Disobedience :** Second means is Civil Disobedience. **Gandhiji** led the Civil Disobedience movement in 1930. By this the unfair laws were opposed.
3. **Fasting :** Third means is fasting. **Gandhiji** believed this to be the most influential weapon. Two main reasons for fasting are self-purification and retribution against injustice and untruth.

**Gandhiji** has fasted not only for self-purification but also for the purification of others and to solve political problems. **Gandhiji** has commendably solved problems of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity by his fasts.

4. **Hijrat's voluntary emigration from the country :** This is a very old means. **Gandhiji** believed that when in a country the oppressor's tyranny becomes unbearable, then 'Satyagrahi' should leave that place. In the 1928 Bardoli Satyagrah (refusal of payment of taxes) when heavy tortures were done on the farmers of Bardoli then Gandhiji suggested Hijrat to them. The farmers went to neighboring Baroda state.
5. **Picketing :** Picketing means that till the time our requirement is not agreed upon we will sit stationary in our place. He was the supporter of peaceful picketing.
6. **Strike :** Its meaning is to keep all businesses, shops and offices closed to oppose injustice. Its motive is to bring the government and public attention to any injustice and to oppose it. **Gandhiji** wanted to use strike while being purely non-violent.
7. **Social Boycott :** If a person does anything which is considered heinous or bad by the society then his caste or fraternity stops all contacts with him. Human being is a social animal and this has strong effect on him and he is forced to stop the antisocial activity. **Gandhiji** has stressed to use this means in non-violent way. The boycott of any government official who does injustice can also be done in this way that the servants and untouchables working in his house stop working for him, shopkeepers refuse to give him food provisions and clothes. If doctors stop his treatment then in **Gandhiji's** view this is violent pressure, but if such a person is not invited to social ceremonies and festivals then this social boycott is always legal.

### Difference between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance

When **Gandhiji** used 'Satyagraha' for the first time in South Africa it was known as Passive Resistance, but there is difference between 'Satyagraha' and Passive Resistance and for this reason **Gandhiji** considered the name 'Satyagraha' appropriate for his movements.

There is following difference between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance:

(1) 'Satyagrahi' understands that the principle of non-violence is his basic fact and does not sacrifice it in any condition, but in Passive Resistance because of the weakness non-violence is practiced as a policy not as a principle. In Passive Resistance stress is laid upon the feeling of troubling the enemy, but in 'Satyagraha' the 'Satyagrahi' himself bears maximum difficulties. (2) Passive Resistance is a weapon of the weak and 'Satyagraha' is of the courageous. The courage which is needed for 'Satyagraha' that cannot be in one who keeps the force of cannons and guns. (3) Passive Resistance is based on enmity, rests on hatred and disbelief, in opposition 'Satyagraha' is based on love and has the feelings of love and generosity towards the enemy. (4) In Passive Resistance there is no place for creative nature or tasks whereas 'Satyagrahi' encourages himself by the feeling of service and engages in the tasks like adult education, alcohol prohibition, service for villagers, promotion of national language etc.

## 13.7 Gandhian Ideology—Belief in the Holiness of Ends and Means

It is clear from the concept of religion, God and truth that how much Gandhian ideology stresses on moral purity. **Gandhiji** gave supremacy to spirituality and morality in his life and this supremacy clearly reflects in his social, economic, political etc all kinds of thoughts. In fact, **Gandhism** instead of being a political thought process is more of a moral knowledge of life sciences. **Gandhiji's** thought was that all the political, economic and social problems of a person are basically moral problems and they can only be solved when the person gives more stress on pure behaviour and purity of the heart. Because Gandhian viewpoint is a moral viewpoint, hence it preaches the purity of both Means and Ends. **Gandhiji** used to say that Means and Ends are related to one another like blouse and saree.

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And one's impurity also corrupts the other. Hence if your Ends are best then look for the best Means to achieve it else the bad qualities received with the bad means will fade its excellence. **Gandhiji** did not agree with this statement of **Kautilya** that Ends should be good, whatever may be the Means. In his viewpoint the Means themselves create the Ends. In **Gandhiji's** words, "Means are like seed and Ends are like tree. The same relation which is in seed and tree is in Means and Ends too."

Gandhism's this thought of 'Purity of Means' differentiates it from Marxism. **Gandhiji** took the great step towards the spiritualization of politics by requesting purity of Means whereas Marxism has been the main supporter of the concept of 'Ends are justification of Means'.

## 13.8 Summary

- According to the opinion of **Gandhiji**, Hindi word 'Satya' (truth) originates from Hindi word 'sat', whose meaning is to exist. The reason to call truth as God is that truth is only that which has power, which is always permanent. God's power stays in all the three eras, hence this is truth. **Gandhiji** believed that the aim of his life was to experiment with truth. He named his autobiography 'My Experiments with Truth'.

## 13.9 Keywords

- **Non-violence:** Not being violent
- **Ideology:** Principles

## 13.10 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by spiritualization of politics? Explain.
2. What do you mean by the concept of truth? Clarify.
3. Explain Gandhiji's concept of truth.
4. Describe Gandhiji's Satyagraha.

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Humanitarian | 2. Disliked | 3. Politician | 4. Sin |
| 5. (a) | 6. (b) | 7. (c) | 8. (a) |

## 13.11 Further Readings

*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science**—*Shailendra Sengar – Atlantic Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Modern Political Science**—*Sterling Publishers.*

**3. Principles of Political Science**—*B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

**4. Classic Politics**—*Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

# Unit 14: Political Violence

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know problem of Violence.
- Explain some Violent Movements.

## Introduction

The meaning of communalism is, "To create fear of religion and instigate the sentiments of people and to spread religious fervour." Many elements are responsible for the rise and development of communalism, as; (i) the rise of **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan** as leader of Muslims; (ii) the British policy of "Divide and Rule" (iii) the division of Bengal and beginning of communal electoral areas; (iv) communal riots; and (v) demand for division of India.

## 14.1 Problem of Violence

In India geographical situation, historical traditions, demands of castes, religion and finance gave birth to 'regionalism'. The meaning of regionalism is not 'separatism'. In fact, regionalism is a weapon of political bargain. Sometimes, due to caste, communalism and economic points, the atmosphere of violence is created. We shall analyze the main forms of violence and elements of separatism.

*Notes* Forces of violence and separatism are the great hurdles in the way of unity and progress of a country.

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## Major Forms or Patterns of Violence

Many factors are responsible for the violent incidents in the country.

*(i)* **Caste Wars :** Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh and some parts of Tamil Nadu have been in grip of caste violence. In Northern Bihar such incidents took place in plenty. In 1977, in Belchi village of Patna in Bihar, there was such a massacre that the whole country felt a jolt. After that the event of Parasbeegha took place. In Bihar Bhumihar, Yadavs, Kurmis, Brahmins and Rajputs have prepared their own forces. In July 1996 about 200 armed people of Ranveer forces took the life of 19 people of a village. After the Dalit massacre of Narayanpur, on 12th February 1999 President Rule was imposed in Bihar which lasted for only 25 days. In December 1993, in Kanjardera village of district Fatehpur, Uttar Pradesh, a barbaric scene of violence was seen. Five people were burnt alive after the whole village was put on fire.

*(ii)* **Communal Riots :** In some cities of Northern India, in some parts of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka the communal state has not been good. Meerut, Aligarh, Ranchi, Dhanbad and Hyderabad have been sensitive areas from communal point of view.

*(iii)* **Naxalite Menace :** In the areas of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, hilly areas of West Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, Naxalite organizations expanded their influence greatly. They hold Lok Adalats and kidnapped the police and administrators. On 20th February 2000, in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh 22 policemen lost their lives due to blasting of land mine.

*(iv)* **Tribal Violence :** The tribal people of Assam, Orissa and North-Eastern areas are very disconcerted as there is no proper development of their areas. Many ferocious groups of Nagaland, Assam, Mizoram and Tripura are engaged in forcibly snatching money and shed the blood of innocent citizens.

*(v)* **Separatist Elements :** There are many separatist powers active in Kashmir. They are getting support from Pakistan. The innocent people are being murdered by the separatist elements.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. In May ..... President Rule was imposed in Punjab.
2. In ..... Bodo extremists blasted three bridges with bombs.
3. By Pakistan in ..... there was infiltration in Kargil area.
4. On 24th July 1985 there was an agreement between the Prime Minister and ..... .

## 14.2 Some Violent Movements in India

Violent powers are active in India. Below we will discuss some violent movements.

**1.** **Extremist Activities in Punjab :** Punjab's Akali Dal started such a movement taking many issues which slowly turned into a violent movement. Movement was started to gain political power, but religious support was taken. Hundreds of innocent people were killed by the extremists. In 1984, according to the military action Amritsar's Golden Temple was freed from extremists' clutches. On 24th July, 1985 an agreement was done between the Prime Minister and Saint Longowal and in 1985 elections were held for the Punjab legislative assembly. There Akali Dal formed government in the leadership of Surjit Singh Barnala. The Chief Minister showed bravery of confronting extremism, but he was unsuccessful in his motive. In May 1987 President's Rule was applied in Punjab. After 4 years and 10 months of President's Rule elections were held in February 1992 for the Punjab legislative assembly.

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Congressional council of ministers was formed in the leadership of **Beant Singh**, which gained remarkable success in fighting stopping the violence going on from 10 years. These attempts faced a tremendous hiccup by the murder of **Beant Singh** in September 1995, but all the big leaders of Punjab gave the reassurance of following the footsteps of the ex-Chief Minister. This statement of the leader of Akali Dal (Badal) **Prakash Singh Badal** is very jealous that "Akali Dal is committed towards the establishment of peace in Punjab and nobody will be given the permission to breach it."

2. **Jharkhand Movement :** In many tribal areas of the country separatist movement were started. After independence Bihar's tribals demanded Jharkhand state. With this demand the movement that they had started became violent. In 1989 Jharkhand Mukti Morcha announced 6 days off and economic block off, but in spite of the announcement of off and block off daily affairs went on as usual. Jharkhand leaders were given the commitment that for South Bihar's Santhal and Chota Nagpur an Autonomous Council will be established. National Democratic Alliance government took a meaningful step in forming Jharkhand state.

3. **Bodo Movement :** Bodo movement participants demanded for 'Bodo state'. Central Government and Assam Government have both clarified that the demand for Bodo state was not justified. In 1993 an agreement was done between the government and Bodo movement participants, under which a 40-member council had to be established. According to Bodo leaders under this council's rightful area are 3085 villages, whereas government included 2570 villages. In June 1998 Bodo extremists did bomb blasts on three bridges of Assam. In March 2000 Bodo movement participants committed to remain away from all illegal activities. That is why Indian Government also committed to suspend the campaign against Bodo Liberation Tiger for some time.

4. **The Gorkha Movement :** In 1986, the Gorkhas living in Darjeeling and neighbouring valleys started a movement for a 'separate state'. The leadership of this movement was done by Subhash Ghising. For about 2 years the trend of strike, off and violence went on. In July 1988 a way was found to end the movement. An agreement was made between Central Government, West Bengal Government and leaders of Gorkha movement that a 42-member Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council will be formed for the mountainous regions. Central and state governments both will give it full support subsidy, so that this council can work in an effective manner for the development of the mountainous regions. In January 1994 in the elections of the Hill Council the Gorkha National Liberation Party was the winner. The party's grand win proved that Subhash Ghising is this region's uncontested leader. Congress and Marxist Communist Party had to face severe defeat in these elections.

5. **Separatist Movement Being Launched in Kashmir :** The fighter elements trained by Pakistan have created an environment of violence and terror in Kashmir. Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front tied with Pakistan's land and organizations like jamaat-e-islami are enflaming terrorism in Kashmir. In February 1994 Indian Parliament passed a historical proposal by consensus. In the proposal it was demanded from Pakistan that it should "leave those areas of Jammu and Kashmir that it had occupied many decades ago by invasion."

   Terrorist powers are very troubled after the elections held in Kashmir for the Parliament and after that for the legislative assembly. Independent and unbiased elections have disheartened the terrorists. Pakistan wants that in Jammu-Kashmir the extinguishing sparks should be rekindled in the form of flames. In December 1996 an attempt was made for the murder of Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah. Before this bomb blast was done in a car of Jhelum Express going to Jammu Tawi. In May 1999 heavy infiltration was done by Pakistan in the Kargil area. Heavy defeat in the battle ground and being isolated in the international stage Pakistan had to move behind the Line of Control, but Pakistan's crooked conspiracies are still going

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on. His disgusting conspiracies should be revealed. Also it is required to correct all those powers, who have been misled by Pakistan. The moral of Kashmir's public should not be allowed to break under any condition and this is only possible when we are able to protect their lives and possessions. As for the question of autonomy, if Kashmir is given the status of a special state then other states will also make similar demands.

*Did You Know?* Bodo movement participants are demanding for a 'Bodo State'.

## How to Curb Violence and Separatists Elements?

Violent and Separatist powers are very big hurdles in the progress of the country. They can be curbed by these ways.

1. BJP and its supporting parties have given the assurance of establishment of new states like Uttaranchal, Vananchal and Chattisgarh in their election manifesto. The demand for the constitution of Vidharbh state by combining nine districts of Nagpur and Amravati divisions is very old. The Gorkha movement is going on in West Bengal's Darjeeling and Kalimpong areas. As far as the question goes for establishing other new states (Bodoland and Chattisgarh etc.), there can be some doubts about some of them, whereas the justification of some demands is clear. The movements going on to form small and different states cannot be known as separatist movements. If the formation of small state is practical then that area's development will get a boost. If Jharkhand bill, Chattisgarh bill and Uttaranchal bill got passed and these states got a form in reality.
2. Through some countries (Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan) Pakistani detective agencies are enkindling violence in India's north eastern states (Nagaland, Tripura and Assam). Along with strict action against extremism it is also important that strategies should be made for the development of the north eastern states. Through development strategies these states will get an opportunity to enter into India's mainstream.
3. The answer to Pakistan's vicious propaganda and terrorism will to be given diplomatically. Pakistan is giving money and weapons to terrorists. That is why India's request to the developed countries is to declare Pakistan a terrorist nation.
4. In north eastern India's mountainous and tribal provinces the custom of home rule has been going on from hundreds of years. Hence it is important to establish autonomous organisations, so that the culture and economy of these provinces can be saved.

## Self Assessment

**State whether the following statements are True / False:**

5. Violent and Separatist powers are very big hurdles in the progress of the country.
6. In 1957, the nation became independent, but liberation from the poison of communalism was not found.
7. Indian administration system is not religious.
8. India became independent in 1947.

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## 14.3 Digest of this Unit

**Communalism :** The meaning of communalism is, "To create fear of religion and instigate the sentiments of people and to spread religious fervour." Many elements are responsible for the rise and development of communalism, as; (i) the rise of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as leader of Muslims; (ii) the British policy of "Divide and Rule"; (iii) the division of Bengal and beginning of communal electoral areas; (iv) communal riots; and (v) demand for division of India.

**Ill-effects of Communalism** : In 1957, the nation became independent, but liberation from the poison of communalism was not found. In India the constitution of political parties has been done on communal basis. Administration is also not spared by communal resentment. The discussion of the ill-effects of communalism on the Indian democracy can be done in this way—(i) Communal basis of political parties (ii) during elections religious feelings are raked up; (iii) danger to national unity; (iv) sabotage and economic damage.

**Concept of secularism** : Indian political system is not religious. The state does not interfere in what a person's religious thoughts or beliefs are. Everybody has the right to believe in his own religion and propagate it.

**Racism in politics** : Racism is a very ancient establishment. Class system slowly turned into racialism and many sub castes were formed under one caste. The most terrible result of this custom was 'untouchability'.

Indian society has been fighting against caste system from centuries. In 19th century **Mahatma Phule** and in 20th century **Ramaswami Naicker** started the anti-caste movement in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, respectively. **Gandhi** and **Ambedkar** were strong supporters of balance and social harmony.

Politicians have been using 'caste' for their own profit and 'caste' also take support from politics. Politics is quite influenced by racism. These influences can be discussed in this way—(i) selection of electoral candidates on racial basis; (ii) contest for reservation; (iii) racial resentment; and (iv) necessity of national consciousness instead of racial consciousness.

**Language related factors in politics** : An arrangement was made in the Constitution that Hindi written in Devanagari script will be India's national language. In the decade of 1950 the demand for re-establishment of states based on languages became strong. In Punjab language related argument took the form of communal issue. In 1978 this change was made in the examinations taken by the Public Service Commission that apart from English the candidates will also be able to write the exam through other Indian languages.

**Problem of violence** – Main forms of violence are—(i) Caste Wars; (ii) Communal Riots; (iii) Naxalite Menace; (iv) Tribal Violence; and (v) Separatist Elements.

Some main violent movements can be discussed like this—(i) Extremist Activities in Punjab; (ii) Jharkhand Movement; (iii) Bodo Movement; (iv) The Gorkha Movement; and (v) Separatist Movement Being Launched in Kashmir.

*Task* Present your views on the problem of violence.

## Ethnic Violence

Apart from Hindi-Muslim conflicts and Hindu-Sikh brawls how do we look at relations between different racist groups? Like in Assamese and non-Assamese Assam for about 150 years the state's

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economic development was carried on by labour and business imported from other outside states. During this time, whose expanse has been for about one and a half centuries, Assam has been the home to so-called 'outsiders' who did not have any other home except Assam. Some people have really become rich but most people are disheartened and poor. Now Assamese people have raised the question of nationality. All Assam Students Union (AASU) and All Assam Gana Parishad (AAGP) movement (from which AGP rose in the form of political party) incorrectly understood 'outsiders' in the form of 'foreign' (including refugees who came from Bangladesh). In the state surprising numbers of 50 to 70 lakhs 'outsiders' were assessed. This job of freeing Assam from foreigners kept the state agitated for 6 years – from 1979 to the Assam agreement of 15th August, 1985. Hatred against Bodos, Bengalis, Marwaris and non-Assamese Muslims was promoted. This Secessionist movement became responsible for deaths of thousands of innocent people. The massacre of 1383 women, children and men in Nellie of Naugaon district and in surrounding 10 villages was a part of racial violence. ASGP also, which remained in power between 1985 and 1990, could not lessen racial tension.

## 14.4 Summary

- ULFA extremists started a movement which was so strong that instead of elections going to happen in January 1991 President's Rule was applied in November 1990, army and secured forces started a campaign to catch the rebels and confiscate their weapons. In June 1991 President's Rule was removed when new Congress government came into power in the state. But on the first day itself of the formation of the government ULFA extremists shocked the government by kidnapping some government officials along with some ONGC officials from different parts of the state. The May 1976 elections also could not stop the Bodo people from the activities of revenge. Extremists still want to feel that Assam is also like the nation's other states and this India is of all legal citizens irrespective of any language they speak, any religion they follow and any customs the follow. Bodo – a tribe that was 47% of the total population of Assam in 1947 and 29% in 1991 and till 1825 whose rule was in complete Assam – is demanding for independence now. Although an agreement was signed in February 1993 between the Assam government and All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) and Bodo leadership representing Bodo Peoples' Action Committee (BPAC), but this problem is still undecided. Bodo leaders and Assam government have not been able to agree on the subject of boundary context and delegating about 3000 villages to Bodoland Autonomous Council. Bodo people also do not want that Assamese language should be imposed on the people of domestic tribes. Bodo movement was carried on intermittently in the decades of 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990, although now it has gained strength. Now Bodo people are demanding for a union territory named 'Udayachal'. The violent activities carried on by Bodo extemists like bomb blasts, breaking down roads and railway bridges tell us that extremists are getting help within the country and from foreign countries. It is important to stress upon the necessity of strong steps to be taken by the government to suppress these rebellious activities.

## 14.5 Keywords

- **Violence:** Fighting, Murder
- **Extremist:** Person who is extremist

## 14.6 Review Questions

1. Describe the main forms of violence.
2. Describe some violent movements in India.
3. Describe the ill-effects of communalism.
4. Comment upon 'Ethnic Violence'.

## Answers: Self Assessment

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. 1987 | 2. June 1988 | 3. May 1999 | 4. Saint Longowal |
| 5. True | 6. False | 7. True | 8. True |

## 14.7 Further Readings


*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science—** *Shailendra Sengar – Atlantic Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Political Science—** *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

**3. History of Political Science—** *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

**4. Classic Politics—** *Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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# Unit 15: Classical Liberalism

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know meaning of Liberalism.
- Explain fundamentals of Liberalism.
- Discuss types of Liberalism.

## Introduction

Liberalism is not consistent and definite line of thought, its relation is not with a particular era or any particular person. It is the outcome of viewpoints of different ages and people. According to era and situation this line of thought has undergone changes also. As early liberalism was supporter of personal liberty, and modern liberalism gives importance to public welfare.

## 15.1 Meaning of Liberalism

The word 'liberalism' is derived from Latin word 'liberalis' which means liberty or 'related to free individual'. So the conception of liberalism is closely linked with the idea of liberty. Basically, the adjective 'liberal' is suffixed with such an individual or a principle which endorses the freedom of the individual.

It is very difficult to clarify what liberalism is, because it is neither a definite ideology nor it bound to any particular thinker. Not only this, it is not associated within period. In fact, it is an elaborated ideology. It is a definite vision of life which is fully dependent on human attitude. In this all those thoughts are included which on one side opposed dictatorship of ancient times whether it was of any king or of any class, of feudal system and privileges of the church. On the other side, it supported the individualistic viewpoints, tried to establish ideals of democracy. It tried to keep social welfare at top priority. In such conditions, it is difficult to postulate definite meaning of liberalism. Prof. Herald

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**Laski** said, "To analyze liberalism and to give its definition is not easy because it is not collection of principles but it is only a thought existing in mind."

To grasp the meaning of liberalism, it is essential to understand following sayings:

1. **It is not opposite of conservatism :** It is correct that liberalism specially is contradictory to ideology of prevalent viewpoint of conservatism. It always supported change. Conservatism which was established in England, was against improvement and change. It was symbol of protection of kings, feudal and officials of church; but liberalism nourished all revolutionary changes. It became symbol of personal liberty. It was guardian of revolutions of America and France. So liberalism was being considered to be contradictory of ideology of conservatism. In fact, it is reprehensible. Liberalism has opposed the ideas of modern socialism and communism though these ideologies also believe in revolutionary changes.
2. **Liberalism is not synonym of individualism :** Mostly, people agree that individualism is not only indivisible part of liberalism but its soul. In reality, it is a mistake to confirm liberalism as synonym of individualism because there is lot of difference between the two. The ideology of individualism does not allow the interference of the state in the life of an individual. But liberalism of modern age has accepted in advance the positive aspect of the state. The state has right to interfere in the life of an individual for the sake of public welfare.
3. **Liberalism and democracy are not synonyms :** Some scholars have accepted democracy as synonym of liberalism, but it is not logical. It is right that both of them have close affinity but both are definitely not the same. The basis of liberalism is liberty and it is against centralized rule. The root base of democracy is equality. In the words of **Sartori**, "The relation of liberalism is with political subjugation, personal aspect and form of state whereas democracy is sensitive towards the problems related to equality, social unity and policies of welfare."
4. **Liberalism is combination of democracy and individualism :** In fact, in liberalism there is combination of ideologies of democracy and individualism. In the words of **McGovern**, "As a political principle, liberalism is amalgamation of two different elements; one of them is democracy and the other is individualism." Thus, liberalism approves democratic process of administration and democratic ideals. It wants to provide full opportunities for the development of one's personality. Liberalism does not accept any kind of dictatorial system, it may be either monarchy or dictatorship or socialistic pattern of administration in which personality of the individual is sacrificed in the name of social welfare.
5. **Liberalism does not neglect social welfare :** Liberalism which considers an individual as end does not neglect social interests. Although, it contends that state is a means, it gives orders to curb the liberty of an individual up to the limit and keeps in view social interests. It is in favour of maintaining harmony between overall development of an individual and social welfare. With this view, **Sartori** writes, "In common words liberalism is principle and behaviour of a constitutional state for personal liberty and legal protection."

*Notes* Liberalism is combination of two different elements; one of them is democracy and the other is individualism.

In short, the principle of liberal politics came into existence after the debacle of feudalism, to alter politics in accordance to market economy. In the beginning, it opted for individualism thinking individual to be the centre point of politics but later on, it approved of the important role of groups in politics and opted pluralism. In the beginning, it approved market economy as suitable means of

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social welfare, supported Laissez Faire policy for the state, but later on it opted the principle of welfare state, accepting the need of regularization of market economy in favour of public interest.

In liberalism stress is given on two main items—in the first one, arbitrary rule is rejected and in its place aim of establishing an arrangement based on liberty of the individuals is kept; in the second, a demand is placed for free expression of an individual's individuality. Today, liberalism can be called an ideology of the capitalists, developed with the combination of individualism, democracy and socialism.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. ..... are means of progress and excellence of the individual.
2. ..... is supporter of intelligence and wisdom.
3. Modern liberalism accepts state's ..... form.
4. According to liberals the creation and fall are ..... .
5. The basis of laws is wisdom and not ..... .

## 15.2 Fundamentals of Liberalism

Liberalism is not a regular and definite ideology, its relation is neither with any era nor with any particular individual. It is the outcome of viewpoints of various ages and individuals. This ideology has undergone many changes according to certain era or situation. Early liberalism was the supporter of individual liberty and modern liberalism gives lot of importance to public welfare. The chief principles of liberalism are as follows:

1. **Public Welfare :** Liberalism is full of the feeling of public welfare. It gives stress on the feeling of 'Sarvjan Sukhay' and 'Sarvjan Hitay'. Due to the conditions grown because of Industrial Revolution, the welfare of individual became the aim of liberalism. It is not an enemy of capitalism and it wants welfare of all individuals and of the society.
2. **Liberty of the Citizens :** Liberalism is strong promoter of liberty of the citizen. Liberty should be given legally to all individuals. It wants system of law and order so that there can be end of autocrats and the development of the individual may possibly take place with fast speed.
3. **Confidence in Human Wisdom :** Liberalism is supporter of wit and wisdom and wants the right of wisdom on feelings and confidence. It appears that liberalism wants to endorse the importance of free thinking by giving preference to wisdom over sentiments. According to liberalists that criteria of decision is not blind belief but wisdom.
4. **Individual is an end and state is means :** Liberalism wants to maintain the prestige and pride of the individual. The society and the state are the means of progress and development of the individual. The supporters of this ideology declare that the society fulfills the needs of individual and government is there to fulfill the needs of the society.
5. **The establishment of Limited and Constitutional Rule :** The rise of liberalism took place out of revolutions in protest against the arbitrary Monarchies established in Europe. These ideas brought idea logistic mutiny. As a result mutinies took place in England and France and gradually limited and constitutional rules were established in most of the countries. It is firm conviction of liberals that powers of the government are limited and it can interfere in the life of an individual up to a certain limit. Thus, harmony can be established between personal liberty and social welfare.

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6. **The Concept of serial change in the society :** Liberalism of modern age presents concept of serial changes in society in place of revolutionary methods. **Marx** ideology talks of changing entire social system through the medium of revolution. Contrary to it liberalism presents a process to change the social and economic conditions constitutionally and gradually due to which there can be welfare of entire weak section and workers class. **Karl Pauper** has put forward a philosophical base for the concept of serial change in the society. He presented the principle of Social Engineering or Piecemeal Engineering.
7. **Economic Freedom :** Liberalism favoured personal property. In his opinion the state must levy essential tax. Every individual should have right to do any business, to earn money and spend it. The state should have minimum interference and control in the economic field.
8. **Resistance of conventions and traditions :** Liberalism does not want individual to be slave of old customs and traditions. Traditions may be good but liberals resist the blind faith in them. For the sake of progress and development, the resistance of traditions should be done.
9. **The Faith in Natural Rights :** Liberals approve of certain natural and ethereal rights which are available to an individual by birth. **Lock** has mentioned that life, property and liberty are ethereal rights. The state should protect them.
10. **Political Liberty :** According to liberals the governments formation and disintegration is the right of the public. The abode of authority is in the public and it should have right to choose the rulers.
11. **The Faith in Democracy :** Modern liberalism believes that democracy is more appropriate system of power than other systems. In democracy it is easy to change the rulers and democracy protects the rights and liberty of the public.
12. **Proper Interference of the State :** Modern liberalism is not against proper interference of the state. The state can impose restrictions on capitalists and exploiters for the sake of public welfare and public interest. Appropriate laws can be enacted in the interest of the workers.
13. **The establishment of Welfare State :** Modern liberalism approves of state's public welfare image. The powerful section of workers who came into existence due to capitalist economic system presented a very strong demand for the improvement of their social conditions. On the other side, **Marxism** was instigating the workers of capitalist countries to indulge in barbaric revolution. To solve this situation, the thinkers of 20th century initiated the welfare form of the state. Plan was presented for social and economic welfare of weak section by liberalism as it accepted the positive image of the state. The sphere of activity area of the state was widened. The ideal of public welfare had been determined through constitutional methods.
14. **Ideal of Secular State :** Liberalism has deep faith in secular state. The state should not have any religion. The individual should not be bound by religious commitments.
15. **Combination of Moral and Physical Needs :** Modern liberalism not only gives stress on morality but also accepts needs of physical achievements. Physical progress is supplement of moral progress but it is against wrong and immoral means.
16. **Feeling of Internationalism :** According to the liberal ideology all the nations of the world should solve the international problems on the basis of mutual cooperation. According to liberals, all the nations should get equal opportunities for development.

## Self Assessment

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

6. In reality to consider liberalism as a synonym of individualism is:

   (a) Fault (b) Necessary

   (c) Essential (d) None of the above

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7. Modern liberalism ..... the state's welfare form:
   (a) Does not accept (b) Accepts
   (c) Opposes (d) None of the above
8. Liberalism keeps ..... in the concept of state.
   (a) Abysmal devotion (b) Disbelief
   (c) Neutrality (d) None of the above

## 15.3 Types of Liberalism

By looking at the development of the last four hundred years of liberalist concept its two types come forward:

### Unfavourable or Traditional Liberalism

Unfavourable liberalism is also known as traditional liberalism. It demands for political freedom against feudalism, religious freedom against Popism. According to it the meaning of freedom is believed to be the absence of bounds which is also known as unfavourable liberalism. State was given bound and unfavourable role. While accepting rights and freedom of a person natural power in the hands of state was believed to be public's trust. Economic freedom was commended by supporting 'Laissez-faire' principle of **Adam Smith**, **Ricardo** and **Malthus** in the economic area while protesting against any kind of political interference in economic areas. Free agreements, business competition, free economy and free market were told to be requirements of economic freedom and interference of state in economic matters was protested. In other words, unfavourable liberalism gives importance to individualism in economic area. It is capitalistic section's economic viewpoint. It believes state and government to be essential evil and believes the government which does minimal rule to be the best.

The glorious revolution of England in 1688 is believed to be the first liberalist revolution. It consolidated this era's liberalist achievements and provided absolute constitutional basis. In 1689, the liberalism that was given importance its form was basically unfavourable, whose aim was to get liberalization to persons and groups from the power of rule especially from the basic power of the crown. Its main aim was to prove political motives, not of economic motives. The main principles of constitutionalism were included in these political motives – right to oppose, rule of fate, and segregation of powers. John Locke's book 'Two Treaties of Government' and 'American Declaration of Independence' are great symbols of this era of liberalism. Later the foundation of English utilitarianism that was laid by utilitarian thinkers **Bentham** and **James Mill**, gave the basis to political utilitarianism.

*Did You Know?* Liberalism keeps abysmal devotion in the concept of state.

In short, following are the main values of unfavourable liberalism:

1. Person should be given freedom in all areas—political, economic, social, religious, intellectual etc.
2. Meaning of freedom—is liberation from all kinds of power.
3. The basis of law is sensibility not order.
4. State and government are essential evils and the government which does minimal rule is the best.
5. State should not interfere in economic affairs.
6. Importance to individualism in economic area or Laissez Faire principle.

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In short, traditional liberalism gives value to free business and capitalistic economy based on agreement in which there is no interference of the state. Practically, this is the economic vision of capitalist section.

## Principle of Favourable Liberalism or Welfare State

In 19th century serious results were seen of free capitalistic economic and political system based on favourable liberalism. The progress of capitalism gave birth to such a section which did not have anything to sell except its labour power. Because of the progress of capitalism torture and exploitation increased on this section and many liberalist writers criticised this. Writers such as **Carlyle, Ruskin, William Morris**; priests such as **Saint Simon, Charles Fourier** and capitalists such as **Robert Owen** attracted the attention of public towards the torture being done on labourers. Liberalist vision started breaking down because of the economic exploitation of labour section. The principle of free competition became the principle of free exploitation for the labour section. At such time there was rise of visions of **Karl Marx** and **Engels**. They appealed labour section to be united and get rid of capitalist system based on exploitation through means of socialist movement.

Now in changed circumstances capitalist section needed a new vision to confront labour section's movement. Hence the thoughts related to state's work, freedom, state and person etc. started changing. The viewpoint of unfavourable state and freedom started converting to favourable state and freedom. Now police state started changing to welfare state. State started being believed to be unavoidable in the form of a welfare organisation instead of being believed as a necessary evil. State started being believed to be state's friend not enemy.

In 20th century liberalism had to face two challenges. One was democratic challenge and the other socialist challenge. Democratic challenge confrontation was solved by giving adult right to vote to the demand for political equality and the socialist demand for economic equality was tried to be fulfilled through the means of state's interference in economic work, welfare role, policies to improve economic condition of poor labour section. Increasing state's power was believed to be important to bring economic equality. In 20th century also this nature kept on increasing and state's activities started increasing in economic areas. Now liberalist capitalist kept on giving consistent support to increase the state's power. Now state's work was believed to be to get rid of the hurdles coming into the way of development of a person's personality, solving arguments in the society, controlling economy, working for the poor's welfare by putting taxes on the rich, peace-keeping and harmony by establishing caste equality in society. This was known as rectified liberalism or favourable liberalism which was changing the reasons for the changing situation in capitalist way. In liberalism this change was necessity of changing situation of capitalist section. Now liberalism got new support in the preaching of democracy and socialism. Today liberalism is vision walking with the support of crutches of democracy and socialism. Today liberalism is mingling with socialism and this principle is known as favourable liberalism. The vision of favourable liberalism is found in the thoughts of **J.S. Mill, T.H.Green, Arnold, Hobhouse, Riche, Hobson, Laski, Keens** etc.

*Task* Present your thoughts on the basic principles of liberalism.

In short, following are the main specialties of favourable liberalism -

1. Favourable liberalism did not believe state to be evil and established it as a moral and welfare organisation.
2. Opposition was not seen between state and freedom but state was believed to be creator of necessary conditions for freedom.
3. Freedom is favourable and it can be found through state.
4. State can be social reformist and can be assistant in freedom through welfare work and development of personality.

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5. Control and induction of economy should be done by state.
6. Change in society can be brought not through revolution but by labour development.
7. Parliamentary democracy is the best means of getting social change.
8. Control should be on state's power and this should not be unrestricted.
9. State can control the rich and for society's welfare work wealth should be accumulated by putting taxes on them.

The development of favourable liberalism is not blocked. Names of **Schumpeter**, **Dahl**, Chapman and **Rawls** are mentionable in neo-liberalists. **Mcpherson** also has provided a new direction to liberalism.

## 15.4 Major Liberalism Thinkers

There has been a long tradition of liberalist thinking. Liberalist thinking is seen spread across different time periods in the views of **John Locke, J.S.Mill, Herbert Spencer** and **T.H.Green**. In the modern era a glimpse of liberalist parts is found in the thoughts of **Hobhouse, Laski, Isaiah Berlin, Friedman** and **C.B.McPherson.**

### Neo-Liberalism

- Generally, neo-liberalism is emblematic of state and specially its Heegliya concept and intellectualist hostile nature in the principles related to communism.
- This lays maximum stress upon a person's personality and also its social groups and in this way it is understood that state is group of states, guild of guilds, tribe of tribes, tool to make administration a coordinator of human activities and to accommodate requests between mutually hostile organizations.
- The maximum stress of new-liberalism is on the fact that humans should be liberated from all types of torture whether it is of sections (as happens in communist society) or is a crowd (as happens in democracy) or is a party (as happens in Fascist rule).
- Neo-liberalist person in complete personality and basis of free expression, keeps faith in the ability of humans to make that expression valuable for himself and the society and to support those organizations and policies which protect free expression and the assurance of that freedom and inspire it.
- Because of the reason of giving stress on distributive justice the description of new-liberalism is done in the form of supporter of elderly system which means that a person should be given economic freedom.
- The names of **Schumpeter**, **Robert Dahl, Chapman** and **John Rawls** are mentionable in the supporters of neo-liberalism.
- According to **Chapman** justice does not give the consent for inequality whereas considers it important because the first requirement of distributive justice is to distribute those profits which according to consumers' topmost power make maximum profits. In the same way **John Rawls** has written that the institutional disparities which influence perspectives of human life are important in every society.
- One main symptom of neo-liberalism is to stress upon the requirement of a free or open society.

## 15.5 Summary

- To describe what is liberalism is very hard because neither is this a defined concept and nor is it tied together with a special thinker. Not only this, this is not even tied to a specific time

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period. In reality this is a broader concept. This is a defined way to enrich your life which is completely based on human nature. In this generally all those thoughts are included which protested against tyrannies of ancient rulers, whether it was of some kings or of some sections, feudalistic administration system of medieval times and dictatorial special rights of Church and on the other hand supported individualist viewpoint, made full efforts to establish democratic ideas and did the venture of keeping the social interests chief. In this condition defining a definite meaning of liberalism seems very hard. **Prof. Herald Laski** has rightly written that, "Describing liberalism, giving its definition is not simple because not being a group of principles it is just a thought situated in the mind."

## 15.6 Keywords

- **Liberalism:** policy which gives equal opportunity to everyone
- **Meaning:** Context, explanation

## 15.7 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by liberalism? Explain.
2. Describe the basic principles of liberalism.
3. How many types of liberalism are there?
4. What is Neo-Liberalism?

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Society and State | 2. Liberalism | 3. Public welfare | 4. Public's right |
| 5. Order | 6. (a) | 7. (b) | 8. (a) |

## 15.8 Further Readings

*Books*

**1. Principles of Modern Political Science—** *Sterling Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Political Science—** *B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

**3. History of Political Science—** *Shalini Wadhwa, Arjun Publishing House.*

**4. Classic Politics—** *Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*

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# Unit 16: Welfare State

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know rise of Conception of Welfare State.
- Explain definition of Welfare State.
- Discuss functions of Welfare State.

## Introduction

The meaning of welfare state is expansion of sphere of state action. The expansion of sphere of state action is usually interpreted as curb on personal liberty. But it is done in such a manner that the personal liberty is hardly affected and state as well as the individual also have independent sphere of action. As a matter of fact, the concept of welfare state is different from western democracy and communist dictatorship. Western democracy creates such a position of political liberty, in which there is no economic liberty of the citizens. Contrary to this, communist dictatorship which is based on economic protection lacks political liberty.

## 16.1 Rise of Conception of Welfare State

The implication of welfare state is for that state in which the use of power of rule is not for the interest of one section's welfare only but it is used for the welfare of entire public. The idea of welfare state is, so, not new. In India, since ancient times the concept of rule by **Rama** is so popular, it is the symbol of such a state, in which efforts are made to groom the personality of an individual independently.

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Although Indian political thinkers endorsed the divine rise of kingly status, they have also analyzed in detail the duties of the kings. Their original idea was that all the functions done by the king should be carried out keeping in view the welfare of the public. This thing can be clearly seen in ideology of Mahabharata, Memorandum of Parasher, Markenday, Manu and Yagyavalkya. For example, **Veda Vyasa** has stated in Mahabharata, "The king who does not treat his subject as his own sons, and try for their all round development will share the sins of hell." This kind of concept was also popular in city-states of Greek. The state was considered to be a moral organization by **Aristotle** and **Plato**. The aim of the state is not to work for the progress of one class but all the citizens. In medieval period there is no mention of this idea. But in 18th and 19th centuries this can be seen in the ideologies of **Thomas Penn**, **Thomas Jefferson**, **Count Green** and **Benthem** that the state should work for the welfare of its members.

Thus, the concept of the welfare state has always been in its original form. But in present time this idea is being used for a particular implication which is outcome of present conditions. It can be called as reaction of modern industrializations. The rise of the concept of welfare state is the result of the following tendencies:

1. **Reaction against Individualism :** In the second half of 18th century and beginning of 19th century, the 'Laissez Faire' policy of individualism was opted by most of the states of the world and according to this policy the area of work sphere was made limited. As a result of opting of this policy, most of the states of Europe became wealthy. The wealth was being concentrated in only some hands. On one side there grew a very wealthy section, and on the other side, there was a workers' class which did not have means of living despite working harder than their capacity. In such a situation, there grew discontent among majority of people and **Ruskin, Karlayal, William Godwin,** etc. scholars expressed their displeasure. A demand was put forward by large number of scholars to take active measures to improve that wretched condition of majority section by the state instead of watching it like a mute onlooker.
2. **The rise of Marxism and Reaction of the Capitalist States :** In order to abolish individualistic system, in 1848, **Karl Marx** and **Angels** published Communist Manifesto. In spite of getting inspiration from the communist ideology, Sarvhaara Group in Soviet Union in 1917 did a successful revolution and communist rule was established in systematic way in Soviet Union despite all external and internal revolts. This communist regime definitely was against the prevalent capitalism in the western countries and one of the reasons of fear. Under such circumstances capitalists countries started re -thinking about their system and they reached at this conclusion that some basic changes are essential to maintain the present system. They tried to make their system of administration suitable for public in order to restrict the mounting influence of communism.
3. **The Impact of Developmental Socialism :** In 19th and 20th century, there was evolvement of one more form of socialism, that is, "Developmental Socialism". The objective of this ideology was to formulate the economic system of the country according to socialism by circulating socialist thoughts through the medium of peaceful and constitutional means by keeping aloof from revolt and violent ways. By developmental socialism the stress was laid that necessary efforts should be made to improve the conditions of lower sections of the society. Welfare state was the spontaneous outcome of this attitude.
4. **The Expansion of right to vote and progress of Democracy :** At the end of 18th century in Britain and other democratic countries there was a system of limited right to vote. So the interest of the lower class could be neglected. But due to improvement law of 1832 there started expansion of right to vote and in 20th century India and other countries opted Adult Franchise. For these states it became essential to take care of majority votes belonging to lower class. It was necessary to expand the state action sphere in order to improve the conditions of the lower class. So the idea of welfare was taken up.

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*Notes* The objective of welfare state is to arrange all those facilities for the people which are essential and helpful for their personality's development.

Apart from this, it was also considered that the meaning of democracy is not just the right to vote but is to provide various conveniences in political, social, cultural and economical field to make their life happy, respectable and morally superior. To grant authenticity to democracy, it was essential to opt the idea of public welfare and eventually it was done so.

As a result of above mentioned ideas, the concept of public welfare was opted by most of the states of the world.

## 16.2 Definition of Welfare State

In its present form, these definitions have been given primarily of the welfare state. In 'Encyclopedia of Social Sciences' published in 1918 it has been said while defining welfare state that, 'Welfare State is that state which feels itself responsible to provide minimum status of life to its citizens.'

According to **T.W.Kent**, "Welfare state is that state which arranges extensive social services for its citizens." There are various forms of these social services. Under these there is arrangement of education, health, employment and old-age pension. Its chief objective is to provide all kinds of security.

According to **Dr. Abraham**, "Welfare State is that which manages its economic system and its aim is to distribute maximum income equally."

**Jawaharlal Nehru** declared in his lecture while defining Welfare State, "To provide equal opportunities to all, to annihilate difference between rich and poor and to raise status of life are primary elements of Welfare State."

In all above definitions more stress is given on the economic part of social welfare, but the concept of welfare is not only physical, but also related to human liberty and nature. In 1954, while delivering lecture at convocation of the Mysore University Justice **Chhagla** put into words the appropriate concept of welfare state, "The function of the welfare state is to construct such a bridge by which an individual comes out of the wretched condition and enters such a situation, which is progressive and purposeful. The true objective of a welfare state is to make it possible for a citizen to enjoy liberty."

Thus, the meaning of a welfare state is the expansion of action sphere of the state. The meaning of action sphere of the state is taken as curb on personal liberty, but the welfare state expands the action sphere of the state in such a way that there is no apparent curb on personal liberty. Along with the action sphere of the state, there is action sphere of an individual too. As a matter of fact, the concept of welfare state is different from both western democracy and communist dictatorship. Western democracy grants such a condition to political liberty, under which there is no economic security to the citizens. Contrary to this, in communist dictatorship which is based on economic security, there is lack of political liberty.

But the concept of welfare state is a successful attempt of harmony between political liberty and economic security. In the words of **Hobman**, "Welfare state is an agreement between two guests in which on one side there is communism and on the other side there is uncontrolled Individualism." Welfare state is based on public interest and here it means the fulfilment of general necessities after removing inequalities of political, social and economic opportunities. The objective of this system is not commitment of interests of a particular class only but commitment towards all the classes of the public.

## 16.3 Characteristics of Welfare State

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Keeping in view the above mentioned concept of welfare state, following are the main characteristics of the state:

1. **Arrangement of Economic Security :** Welfare state is primarily based on the idea of economic security. The experience up to date, clarifies that whatever be the form of regime, in practice, the political power is concentrated only in the hands of those who are economically powerful. So it is absolutely necessary to have economic security to use the political power vested in general public. In reference to welfare state, the meaning of economic security can be taken from the following three things:

   a. **Employment for all :** All the people, who have the capability to work, should be definitely awarded some sort of work as per their qualification by the state. The people who are unable to do any kind of work or the state has not been able to assign some work; 'Employment Insurance' should be devised for them by the state.

   b. **The guarantee of minimum status of life :** A person should get at least that much of remuneration for the work done, that he gets minimum status of life. In reference to minimum status of life, the economist **Crouther** said, "The arrangement should be made for the rights of the citizens to provide enough food to maintain their health. They should be without any worry for house and clothes of minimum status of life. They should get fully equal opportunities for education. They should get proper protection from unemployment, illness and agony of old age." In welfare state there should be sufficient arrangement for not only one but should be for all.

   c. **Establishment of maximum equality :** The complete equality of property and income is neither possible nor desirable. There should be proper proportion between individual's income after minimum economic status and his social welfare works. As far as possible there should not be much difference between income's minimum and maximum level. The establishment of equality of income should be up to that limit by which no one can exploit the other.

2. **The system of political security :** The second characteristic of welfare state is the system of political security. It should be taken up in such a way that the political power is available for all the individuals and they can use it according to their intellect. To achieve this objective following things are apparent:

   a. **Democratic Rule :** In Monarchy, Dictatorship or Aristocracy an individual cannot discharge his duties on the basis of his wit. Precisely, under these political systems he does not enjoy any political rights. In welfare state, the execution of political interests are taken as executing economic interest, so only the system of democratic regime can be termed as welfare state.

   b. **Citizen Liberties :** Only after establishing democratic government by the constitution, political security is not ensured. To get the objective of political security practically, the atmosphere of citizen liberty should be there. The citizens should have the liberty of expression of ideas and organization of political groups. In the absence of these liberties, persuasion of public welfare cannot take place and without the persuasion of public interest welfare state will be equal to body without soul. In communist countries like Soviet Union, there is no citizen liberty for the citizens; hence those countries cannot be called welfare states as there is no political security over there.

3. **The system of social security :** The implication of social security is with social equality and to establish this social equality, the individual should be given importance as individual after eliminating differences grown due to religion, caste, race, colour and property. In the

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words of **Dr. Beniprasad**, "The principle of social equality is based on the idea that there is importance of every individual and no one can be taken just as a means of any other individual's happiness." So in welfare state there should be insertion of principle of equality of all the aspects of life.

4. **The increase in action sphere of the State :** The principle of welfare state is a reaction against individualistic ideology and is based on this feature that the state should carry out all those functions of public interest due to which the liberty of an individual is not abolished or decreased. By this the arrangement work should be done not only for economic, social and political security but also as **Hobson** has mentioned, "As doctors, nurses, teachers, traders, producers, agents of insurance companies, masons, railway controllers and in hundreds of forms."

5. **The Feeling of International Cooperation :** Apart from all these, one welfare state is not only concerned with the interests of the particular state but it is international. The scientific progress and the development of political consciousness have brought all the countries of the world so close to each other that a single state with suffering humanity cannot lead its life happily. A welfare state is based on the idea of, 'Entire world is my family'.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. The meaning of welfare state is expansion of action sphere of ..... .
2. Welfare state is based on the idea of ..... .
3. The idea of social security is with ..... .
4. The complete equality of ..... is neither possible nor desired.

## 16.4 Functions of Welfare State

The traditional ideology bifurcates the functions of the state in two parts (compulsory and optional). It is being upheld that compulsory functions are carried out to maintain state's existence but optional functions depend on special conditions and viewpoint of the government though they exist for the interest of the public. But due to the result of the development of the concept of welfare state, the boundary line between compulsory and optional functions has almost deleted and now it has been said that so called traditional optional functions are as much essential for a state as compulsory functions. The primary functions of a welfare state are as follows:

1. **Internal super arrangements and security from foreign invasions :** As long as a state does not have the capability to defend its territory from foreign invasion and safeguard its respect, and does not guarantee the security of life of the individual by setting internal peace and order, it is not fit to be called a state. To carry out this job the state keeps state force, police, and government servants, arranges justice and levies taxes on the citizens to cover the expanses incurred on these functions.

2. **Arrangement of mutual relations of people and relations between state and people :** There is difference between thoughts and actions due to selfishness of human beings and having divergent ideologies. The difference between thoughts and actions may change into a conflict in absence of any restriction. So there should be control over mutual relations of people by the state. For this the state enacts laws and with the help of police and judiciary implements them into actions. Apart from it, in the present times, it has become essential to regularize the relations between the state and the individual and this function has to be done by the state only. This function of the state is very important and liberty of the individuals and authority of the state depend only on the execution of this.

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3. **Regulation and development of agriculture, industry and trade :** The responsibilities of welfare state can be fulfilled by only that state which is prosperous from economic point of view. So these states should take up the regulation and development of agriculture, industry and trade. It includes subjects of creation of currency, standard measurements and scale, regulation of trades, treasury assistance to farmers, construction of canals, opening of stores for distribution of seeds and improvement of agriculture. The state should conserve forest, natural means and property and establish balance between agriculture and industry.

4. **Functions related to economic security :** One extremely important task of welfare state is related to economic security. Various things are included in economic security, out of them employment to the individual and establishment of maximum equality are important. All those who possess the physical and mental capability to work, must be given some sort of job as per their qualification by the state. The people who are not fit to do any kind of job or the state is not able to provide any job, for them the state should arrange for 'Allowance for subsistence of life'.

   Although, welfare state cannot establish total equality of income but as far as possible, there should not be much difference between minimum and maximum income of the people. The equality in income should be maintained up to the level that no one may exploit others on the pretext of money.

5. **Raising the status of life of the public :** Welfare state should give guarantee of minimum life status to the citizens. Such arrangements should be made that the citizens can keep themselves healthy and for this they must have enough food, house, education and common facilities of health. The state should try to further raise the standard of living of the individuals.

6. **Functions related to Education and Health :** The objective of welfare state is to arrange for all the facilities that are needed for the development of their personality. For this there is reference to health related facilities and education. Thus, the state establishes educational institutions and up to a certain level education is made compulsory and free. The arrangement of industrial and technical education is also done by the state. In the same way, hospitals and delivery centres are set up whose services are free for common people.

7. **Functions related to Public Conveniences :** By the welfare state functions related to public conveniences are taken up such as; transport, means of communications, radio, means of irrigation, banks, and scientific implements of agriculture and so on. Although, the state charges money for these facilities, but importance of these facilities are from this point that an individual on his own cannot arrange for these means, it can be done only by means infested state. Except this, only justified money is taken by the state for all these facilities. Whatever benefit is there, goes to public fund and it is naturally used for extending more public facilities.

8. **Improvement of the Society :** The objective of welfare state is not only economic but also social welfare. From this point of view the state should take measures to eradicate social mal—practices such as—drinking alcohol, child-marriage, untouchability and caste-system.

9. **The Facilities of Entertainment :** In order to provide facilities of healthy entertainment to the public by the state, the arrangement of public gardens, play-grounds, public swimming pools, cinema theatres, radio, etc. should be done.

10. **Arrangement of liberty of the citizen :** All the citizens should get the liberty of expression of thought, meetings, form organizations, etc. by the state so that practical availability of democratic ideals is possible.

11. **Functions in International field :** The ideal of welfare state is related to not only with any particular state but with whole mankind. So a welfare state should opt for not war but way

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of amicability and cooperation in international sphere. A state may use force to defend its boundaries or honour, but force should not be used against any state just to fulfil political or economical avarice. Some duties of welfare state have been mentioned above, but it is very difficult to prepare a list of all the duties of the welfare state. From where the interference of the state in the life of the individual begins and where does it end, nothing definite can be said about this. The appropriate reply to this question can only be given in reference to local and international conditions and individual's requirement. In today's complex circumstances, no one can survive for oneself or by one's own efforts and so to give respect to public welfare functions by the state has become the need of a good life. So the state should provide all facilities to its citizens for the total welfare of the people.

*Did You Know?* A very important function of a welfare state is related to economic security.

## 16.5 Evaluation of Welfare State

Although, welfare state is the most popular thought of present time still there are many arguments against welfare state, they are as follows:

1. **Curbing of Personal Liberty :** Some people say that after adoption of the idea of welfare state the functions of the state increase considerably. There is naturally increase in powers of the state and extremely powerful states totally curb the personal liberty of the individual. American Secretary of States Bayarnaise has spotted the glimpse of Big Government on this basis.
2. **The Blow of Optional Organization :** When the functions of the state increase on adopting welfare state policy, the state indulges in such activities which are menacing for the optional organizations and the optional organizations which carry out useful role in relation to human life, fizzle out.
3. **Fear of Bureaucracy :** On adopting the policy of welfare state, there will be great increase in bureaucracy and this big increase will produce red-tapism, bipartisanship, corruption and other demerits.
4. **Extremely Expensive :** Welfare state is very expensive ideal because too much of money is needed to execute different welfare schemes of the state. The state with common means of income cannot bear the burden of such expenditures. **Senator Taft** has declared, "The policy of public welfare will drag the state towards bankruptcy."

The welfare state cannot be rejected because of defects pointed out above. In fact, these defects are not of welfare state, but of human frailties. Firstly, there is basic difference between welfare state and all- powerful states. The meaning of welfare state does not exercise its right on total life of an individual. In a welfare state not only a big scope is there for liberty of the individual, but it provides a real entity to the liberty of the individual. Due to welfare state there is no contradictory impact on the action-areas of optional organizations. Because of this, there is no decrease but an increase in their activities and importance, as far as, the defects of bureaucracy are concerned, they are the outcome of defective system of rule and weakness of human character and they can be abolished by proper improvement. Apart from it, this has been noticed that the policy of social welfare causes immediate heavy expenditure but there is good impact on the efficiency of the citizens. There is rapid increase in production and national income. In practice, the policy of public-welfare has been opted by almost all states of the world in one form or the other and there is no option except opting this.

## Self Assessment

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**State whether the following statements are True / False:**

5. Healthy entertainment is foundation stone of successful personality.
6. The present state is a welfare institution.
7. The welfare of workers is not an important task of the state.
8. Education is secondary stage of significant social life.

## 16.6 Democracy of Welfare State

Certain people, specially, individualistic are of the opinion, that the policy of public welfare is menacing for democracy. They thought that democracy puts stress on personal liberty, but welfare state increases its action-sphere immensely and causes great blow to the liberty of the individual. Welfare state gives jolt to initiative, self-sufficiency and self-confidence of the individuals. They bank upon the state on every matter and their condition becomes like a slave. They say that there is no difference in a welfare state and totalitarian or communist state. The action sphere is expanded to great extent also by welfare state, heavy taxes are levied on the public on pretext of public interest, a large part of their legal property is snatched from the higher class of the society and if any individual dare to oppose such policies of the state, he is branded as 'enemy of public-welfare' and is subjected to great suffering. Welfare state produces a 'Monstrous Government' which terminates the liberty of the public and democracy.

Above mentioned viewpoint about the mutual relation between democracy and policy of welfare state is not correct. As a matter of fact, the policy of public welfare has granted strength to democracy, and not weakened it. During the period of world wide economic crisis between 1920 and 1930, American President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, opted 'New Deal Economic Policy' and averted anti-democratic economic crisis. **Wilson's** progressive economic policy, **Roosevelt's** new deal policy and **Truman's** Fair deal became subject of current criticism but today all accept the fact that this policy saved American democracy from stumbling. In the same way, by Britain and other states of Western Europe the policy of 'Laissez Faire' was opted in 19th century, but as a result of this policy the plight of lower class (workers and farmers) became pathetic. The discontent in the worker class grew all the more violent and there was an apprehension after the First World War that those states would shun socialism. But those states got success in lessening the discontent of the workers by opting various schemes of factory laws and welfare of common public. In current time in America and in the states of Western Europe, works regarding social security plans, assistance in cost of produces of agriculture, free education and medical aid, arrangement of houses, labor-welfare schemes, development of natural resource security in unemployment, illness and in old age are being looked after. Due to these welfare schemes, communism could not establish its impact in these states. Thus, policy of welfare has acted as preserver of democracy in those varying circumstances.

As far as the relation of Indian, African and Asian new-democracy is concerned, the policy of welfare state is life-giving strength for them. These states have opted democracy in political sphere but economically their condition is very bad. On one side, there is a tiny affluent rich section and on the other side, there is a huge poor section that does not have even enough food to eat. This grim poverty has been a great problem for democracy. Under such circumstances, to grant minimum life-status to all and to fill up the gap between rich and poor is very essential and this is possible only by opting for policy of public welfare. India and other countries did the same. In fact, democracy and welfare state are not opposite to each other but they are complementary to each other and in current circumstances it is absolutely essential to opt policy of public welfare for the preservation of democracy.

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*Task* Express your views about welfare state.

## 16.7 Functions of Modern State or Proper Sphere of State Action

The functions of the state vary according to conditions of place and time. In ancient times, only those functions were done by the state which were essential for the existence of the state. But these days functions of the state have increased so considerably that it is difficult to make a list of them.

In relation to sphere of state action there is propagation of liberalism, socialism and idea of welfare state. In present times only socialism and concept of welfare state are endorsed. All sections of present times accept that the sphere of state-action is sufficiently elaborate. In present times the functions which are discharged by the state can be classified into two headings—(1) Essential or Compulsory Functions, (2) Optional Functions.

**Essential Functions :** It includes those functions of the state, which are absolutely essential for the existence of the state. Every state discharges these essential functions even if it is underdeveloped. These essential functions are as follows:

1. **Protection from Foreign Invasion :** The function of safeguarding the boundaries of the state from foreign attack is such a function without discharging it, the state cannot preserve its existence. This function is done with well-organized and systematic forces of navy, infantry and air-force.
2. **Handling of Foreign Relations :** To protect the state from foreign invasion, the state manages a well-organized army. But to stop such situations to take place at all and mutual good relations are ever maintained, foreign relations are managed by the state. The function of maintaining relations with other states has been managed by the state since very early period. Under this set up, the state sends its ambassadors to other countries and arranges to keep the ambassadors of other countries in its own country.
3. **Maintenance of peace in internal areas :** Another main function of the state is to protect the life and property of the citizens. It saves the citizens from internal turmoil and protects their personal liberty. The state which is not able to establish peace and order in the state has no right to be termed as 'state'. To set up peace and order, the state arranges police force and under special circumstances to undertake this function, the state uses the armed forces.
4. **Arrangement of Justice :** The function of establishing peace and order cannot only be executed by army and police, but supreme legal system is also needed for this. So arrangement of justice is also compulsory function of the state. To solve the conflicts between one individual and the other individual and between individual and state, the establishment of courts is done in every state.

**Gaitil** includes economic work also in compulsory functions of the state. To determine tax, to operate export and import, arrange currency, to manage territory, forests and public property, post and telegraph, and railway figure are among various functions of the state.

**Optional Functions :**The concept of optional functions concerns with those work, which may not be essential for the existence of the state but they are in the economic, social and political interest of the citizens. These functions can also be independently done by the individuals but the state can perform them more efficiently than the individuals. In current time it has been agreed more and more optional functions should be performed by the state. The optional functions are as:

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1. **Education :** Education is first stage of superior social life. Without education no individual can develop his personality. So in current time, in every state more stress should be given in educating the public. Usually, it has been accepted that free and compulsory primary education should be imparted by the state. In present era, more stress should be given to industrial education and for mental development of the citizens there should be establishment of reading rooms, libraries and laboratories.

2. **Protection of health and Cleanliness :** The pleasure of life depends on good health. Only a healthy individual can efficiently fulfil the duties of social life. The state enacts various laws to preserve the health of the public. Efforts are made to avoid harmful conditions by those laws. Apart from this, the arrangement of cleanliness, light, clean water, hospitals, nursing homes, etc. are done by the state. So the citizens will be able to protect their body and their physical development is possible.

3. **Arrangement of means of Transport :** In modern time, the meanings of transport are life-lines of economic, social and political life. Today no state can live without the convenience of roads, trains, telegraph, planes, radio, telephone, industry etc. For the convenience of the public and for economic development, the arrangement of these facilities is done by the state.

4. **Assistance to Trade and Industry :** An important function of the state is to help trade and industry. This function is performed through various means by the state. It levies tax on imported items, provides financial help to industry, establishes research centers, arranges fairs and exhibitions, grant scientific education, etc.

5. **Welfare of the Workers :** Welfare of the workers is also an important function of the state. In modern times, in order to save workers from capitalists and big landlords, the state enacts factory law and minimum–wage law.

6. **Arrangement of Banking and Currency :** Usually, in all the countries of the world the arrangement of currency is done by the state. It fixes the exchange rate of its currency with currency of other countries.

7. **Progress of Agriculture, Village and Organization :** In modern time, the government gives stress on progress of agriculture and the work of village organization. For the progress of agriculture the facilities of electrical wells, agricultural research and other facilities of these kinds are given. For village organization there is establishment of village Panchayats.

8. **Assistance to Helpless, Disabled and aged individuals :** Present day state is a welfare state. The state performs various kinds of functions for the security of aged, poor, blinds, helpless, and disabled people. In some states, assistance is given to unemployed and arrangements are done to give pension to the aged.

9. **Arrangement of Entertainment :** Healthy entertainment is foundation stone of successful personality and social life. So the state does the function of providing means of healthy entertainment to its citizens. The state plans gardens and parks, play grounds, public swimming pools, cinema, radio, theatres, etc. Under this work, the state keeps restrictions on cinema and dance-clubs so that entertainment may not turn vulgar.

10. **Social Improvement :** In present time, the work is performed for social progress and improvement by the state. For example, in India, efforts have been done against untouchability, difference of caste and creed, child marriage and polygamy. It is the duty of every progressive state to eradicate social bad practices.

In fact, there are so many optional functions of the state that to enlist them is not possible. The function of the state is to provide such facilities and conditions to the citizens that there can be their welfare and progress. The optional functions have become as important as necessary functions. Up to the previous

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day, the functions which were supposed to be optional appear to be necessary today. Along with the development of civilization, the action sphere of the state is increasing day by day.

The compulsory and optional functions which have been mentioned here, can only be performed appropriately by democratic and welfare state.

## 16.8 Summary

- Ideals of welfare state have association with not only one particular state but the whole humanity. So the welfare state should opt the way of good feelings and cooperation also with not only in any war in international sphere, but also with most of the states. To defend its existence or honour, force can be used by the state but force should not be used just to fulfil political or selfish motive against any other state.

## 16.9 Keywords

- **Democracy:** Commonwealth
- **Laissez Faire:** Policy of non-intervention by the government

## 16.10 Review Questions

1. How did the conception of welfare state rise?
2. State the characteristics of welfare state.
3. Comment on 'Democracy and Welfare State'.
4. Describe the modern state's works.

### Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. State | 2. Economic safety | 3. Social equality | 4. Wealth and income |
| 5. True | 6. True | 7. False | 8. False |

## 16.11 Further Readings

Books

**1. Principles of Political Science—** *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Modern Political Science—** *Sterling Publishers.*

**3. Principles of Political Science—** *B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

**4. Principles of Political Science—** *Raj Kumar, Arjun Publishing House.*

# Unit 17: Libertarianism

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## Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know libertarianism.
- Explain berlin's thoughts.
- Discuss egalitarianism.
- Elaborate the principle of Rawls' justice.

## Introduction

The concept of independence has been an old subject of interest for liberalism. Under Classical Liberalism main importance was given to the unfavourable description of independence, and in the interest of a person's independence stress was put on the unfavourable role of the state. Modern liberalism accepted the state's favourable role in the interests of the independence of persons and groups. Under contemporary liberalist principle comprehensive analysis has been done for the state's role in Negative Liberty, Positive Liberty and protection of a person's independence. Under contemporary liberalism those principles that stress upon a person's 'Negative Liberty', and present a new basis to legitimize the policy of 'non-intervention', they are known as 'Libertarianism'; those principles which believe a person's 'Positive Liberty' to be state's responsibility, they are kept in the category of Egalitarianism. The mutual conflict of these two principles is the main issue of contemporary liberalism. If you see then in this issue resonance can be heard of the mutually conflicting assertions of liberty and equality.

## 17.1 Libertarianism

In the second half of 20th century, some thinkers of liberalism had an experience that the principle of 'Welfare State' is against the liberty of the individual. So they tried to recycle non-interference philosophy in the theory of liberalism. Their attachment with freedom or 'liberty' rose again, and it was necessary to give it another name. There appeared scope of elaborate regulation in meaning

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sphere of the old word 'liberalism' which had link with liberty. So to indicate new theory, the use of the word 'libertarianism' began.

In short, liberationist individual believes in full Autonomy or freedom. He hopes for his liberation from all those institutions that install limit on his world-view. So he wants to eliminate religion, family and customs and conventions except political institutions which try to adjust an individual into a readymade mould. On philosophical level, it refutes deterministic outlook of human life and believes that the character, thinking and actions cannot be taken as outcome of his circumstances. In other words, it agrees that man is creator of his destiny. So it is against all social and legal restrictions on individual's freedom of action. In political sphere libertarianism demands that to provide full opportunities for individual's progress and prosperity, his economic activities are free from all restrictions.

Libertarianism claims as it takes inspiration from Natural Rights Theory of **John Lock** (1632–1704) that the individual had some rights before his political life. Neither can they be suppressed nor can they be given up in the interest of collectivity. It includes the right to acquire and hold property, and right of Freedom of Contract. These rights are not at all the gift of the state, to maintain artificial balance of the rights, the state has not been given permission to interfere in the establishment of these rights, and Libertarianism claims that it is wrong to harm rich in order to benefit the poor. His argument is, to do welfare of any one section of the society and then resort to taxation is in fact, handing over the fruit of labour to one from the other. This tendency will make the people shrink from doing hard work and it will cause harm to entire society. Contrary to this, if a state does not force any individual to do a particular work, all the people will not be able to yield their best to the society. It means that the capitalism which believes in interference is an essential condition of social progress.

*Notes* At its climax, libertarianism believes that absolute rule is illegal.

Libertarianism, at its climax thinks that absolute government is illegal. So at the point of coming close to anarchism, it should not be forgotten that anarchists imagine use of force whereas extreme- libertarians want to establish such a system in which there will be need of security and implementation of contracts, but this duty will be entrusted with private agencies. On the other side, moderate-libertarians want that this duty should entrusted with the government and that will be more lawful. For this it is advisable to establish Civil and criminal courts. The state should look after duty of national defense. So they endorse night watchman state.

The names of **F.A.Hayek**, (1899–1992) and **Robert Nozick** are specially significant as promoters of Libertarians.

## Views of Berlin

**Isaiah Berlin** gave this argument that the state can only protect negative liberty of the individual; the protection of positive liberty does not come in action sphere of the state. According to **Berlin**, the meaning of negative liberty is there should be no restrictions on the individual on determining the activities according to his own common sense. The positive liberty expects that the individual must have full control over himself. How far an individual can use his liberty? It depends on his character, his capability and means; the state cannot do anything regarding this. The state can do this much, that it does not impose any restriction on his self-determined activities. So in the given meaning political liberty is only negative liberty. It demands such a system, that nobody has to face any problem while fulfiling his aim from any other individual. If an individual cannot fly like a kite, or cannot swim like a whale in the sea, it is his own weakness. Under such condition we cannot complain that he should

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be debarred from political liberty. Likewise if someone is not in a position of affording a thing of his choice, such as bread, world tour, or seek protection of judiciary—but there is no legal restriction on them, he has no right to say that he has not got political liberty. It is his personal matter whether an individual has the capability to realize his ambitions or not, the state has nothing to do in this matter. Berlin has made positive liberty as a subject of an individual's capability and refuted authoritarianism and promoted liberal-individualistic principle. But it is the root of liberty and a mechanical concept which leaves an individual totally on the mercy of free market system where he himself is held responsible for his helplessness. In this there is no scope to agree that a weak, poor and helpless individual may become victim of cruelty, greed and deceit. **Berlin** has given such a definition of liberty and tried to rationalize capitalism.

As far as the mutual relation between liberty and equality is concerned, **Berlin** in his famous essay 'Two Concepts of Liberty' (1958) agreed in the beginning that liberty and equality have different independent values. And then he gave an argument that if an analysis is done, they cannot be transformed in one. But later on, he established liberty as central value and pushed the claim of equality far behind. Differentiating negative and positive forms, **Berlin** presented a logic that the state can only protect negative liberty; positive liberty is personal matter of an individual about that the state should not have any concern. Thus, **Berlin** dismissed the claim of equality by keeping the subject of eradication of socio-economic inequalities out of action sphere of the state. The argument of **Berlin** is so irrelevant - indicating this, **B.C.Parekh** has written, "If any individual thinks that absence of means in his life is the result of social arrangement, so it is equal to interference of others in his liberty, what will **Berlin** say about this? In fact, **Berlin** has presented an illusory outlook of the principle of equality by keeping socio-economic inequalities parallel to natural and moral inequalities, and he has inflicted heavy blow to the principle of liberty by splitting the principle of equality from the principle of liberty."

## Views of Hayek

**F.A.Hayek** gave definition of different dimensions of liberty and presented a new logic-series in favour of negative role of the state. **Hayek** has given description of four kinds of liberty:

a. **Individual Freedom :** It demands that an individual should not be forced by arbitrary will of any one;

b. **Political Freedom :** It demands that an individual can participate in selection of his government, process of enacting of laws and control over administration;

c. **Inner Freedom :** It demands that an individual must get guidance in executing his considered will, and he should not be overpowered by momentary excitement or situation.

d. **Freedom as Power :** It demands that an individual must fulfill his aspirations, and can choose his desired way out of various alternatives.

**Hayek** has given a reasoning, that the individual freedom is different from other three freedoms, those three freedoms are not conditions of individual freedom. It is possible that any non-democratic may be restrictive. In such situations a political liberty is neither necessary nor sufficient for individual freedom. The inner freedom of the individual may be abolished due to his moral weakness or tendency to be carried away by momentary emotions, it has nothing to do with his being forced to be helpless, so it is also different from individual freedom. Freedom as power is based upon his power of action; it has nothing to do with non-interference of others. It may be, that any individual may be capable but is not able to perform something as per law and on the other side someone is not capable and he is not being restricted also. So power of freedom can be recognized exclusively from Individual Freedom.

**Hayek** says that it is important to keep safe the basic meaning of freedom, meaning 'Absence of Restraint'. By keeping its utilization area safe, we can increase its value. To prove the state's heavy interference, collectivists should not preach 'freedom'. If freedom is seen in the form of the power to do something then

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in the name of giving many options to people or increasing their power many legal steps can be taken. Its result will be that under the burden of false concept of freedom real freedom will die. In reality, **Hayek's** connotation is not that government should not arrange for any kind of assistance or opportunities for citizens, in fact, his argument is that government should not make any such arrangements in the name of 'freedom'; any should not put any hurdles in the person's true freedom.

**Hayek** has given this reasoning to confirm his principle of freedom: in modern times there is extreme expansion of knowledge. But the whole knowledge is not centered in one individual only but it is scattered among innumerable human beings. The higher the amount of knowledge in the world, comparatively the smaller will be the portion for an individual. To bow before the will of others means to uphold incomplete knowledge of someone as one's own ideal is menacing. So the best system will be to allow the various human activities to coordinate naturally and spontaneously. Central direction of social system is appropriate because it is based on limited knowledge of the organizer. The above mentioned activity of the state leads to encouragement of competition. Apart from this, it should do some service functions without taking help from 'use of force' because market policy does not accomplish all the needs of people. But the state should frame such rules and laws whose aim is to change market-system to distributive justice.

**Hayek**, in his renowned book, 'Constitution of Liberty' (1960) agreed that liberty and equality are two contradictory principles and gave an argument that different people have different abilities and skills. The rule of 'Equality before the Law' is already there and the natural outcome of this situation is 'Inequality of Income and Wealth'. To restrict this inequality there will be one option that 'Authoritarian Rule' should be installed and talents and aspirations of individual will be suppressed. Thus, the option of enforcing equality like this will not be accepted by the society. In fact, they have given so much priority to liberty in comparison to equality that now he does not even uphold the demand of equal freedom for all. According to him 'Individualistic Freedom' is essential condition of freedom. It may be only nominal people want to perform some significant functions which may be helpful in the progress of the society. They cannot be deprived of the freedom on the basis that very few will be able to draw benefit out of it.

For example, if an individual wants to set up a new radio or television center, he should be given free license for this. According to **Hayek**, not to award freedom to anybody, it is better to provide freedom to at least some and to give small amount of freedom to all; it is better to give full freedom to some, and some of them may not get any freedom at all. While distributing 'Cake of Freedom', it is not necessary that all must get equal amount, but while deciding every one's portion, it should be taken into consideration how much that individual can contribute in social progress.

In his latest publication, 'Law, Legislation and Liberty: The Mirage of Social Justice' (part – 2) (1976) **Hayek** has given an argument, the concept is that 'Social Justice' is meaningless. Justice is, in fact, trait of human conduct; no society can be justifiable or unjustifiable. If for the sake of equality the freedom is curtailed, there will certainly be tension, quarrel and contradictions on the question of unjustified distribution of Life's Goods. The search for justice is just a subject of procedure whose aim is to encourage freedom. Under this, everyone should get maximum opportunities to realize their selfish mottoes according to their knowledge and understanding of their interests.

## Views of Friedman

Second main liberalist, who tried to prove specialty of capitalism, is **Milton Friedman**. In his book 'Capitalism and Freedom' he tried to prove eighty years old arguments of **Herbert Spencer** in a new way. **Friedman** has written that from the viewpoint of liberalism, the freedom of an individual or family is the ultimate criteria of judging social system. From the outlook of **Friedman**, the meaning of 'Political Freedom' is that people who live with an individual must not force him. Competitive Capitalism is essential condition of freedom in which private enterprise must have full opportunities for free exchange. He has given a logic that the government should handle only those cases, which

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are either not managed by market system or lot of expenditure is incurred on them and for them the use of political system will be best option. The function of the government is to give support to market system and carry out its remaining work and not to exercise its control over it. It means that the government should be free from the functions of welfare and regulation. The government should not handle control price or support price, wages, determine the rate of rent, regulation of import and export, arrangement of social security or housing subsidy, are not the functions of the government. The functions of the government are—maintain law and order, define property rights, to determine economics games, to solve issues after giving their interpretation, to implement contracts, to encourage competition, to prepare monetary framework, to tackle technical monopolies and to provide protection to helpless and orphans who are not protected by any family or charity. The chief argument of Friedman is that freedom is meaningful in the activities of voluntary cooperation and exchange of the people. Only capitalism sets rapport with voluntary cooperation and exchange of the people and grants ample opportunities and atmosphere for political liberty. The state which uses its power and tries for central direction of whole economic system, curbs liberty of an individual. So social system cannot go hand in hand with political liberty.

## Views of Nozick

**Robert Nozick** in his popular writing, 'Anarchy, State and Utopia' (1974) complying with logic–process of **Lock**, gave this argument that an individual has certain rights in state of nature. So he will appoint protective agencies to protect their property. Out of them the chief protective agent will have monopoly for use of force in fixed territory. So that will emerge in the form of 'State' like institution before all. From this point preservation, justice and protection are three legal functions of the state. Except this all other uses of power is illegal. The state has no right of redistributive transfer of property of its citizens, because they were basically its clients. So there is no justification of 'welfare state'. **Nozick** gave the logic that without force or fraud, the generation and transfer of wealth is legal. The pedestal of the right to property is that an individual should be entitled to it. To prove that an individual is morally competent is not necessary. There are two legal methods of gaining property—Production and Transfer. Legal rights are outcome of voluntary exchanges. **Nozick** has given a reasoning that due to divergent abilities and diligence of different people, many inequalities appear at production level, no effort should be made at its distribution level to bring about any change. But if there only one source of water in a desert, no one will be allowed to have sole right on that. **Nozick** has tried to show that libertarian society—which grants freedom to mould life as per wishes of all the people and groups—is proved to be logically defined concept of utopia.

## Self Assessment

**Fill in the blanks:**

1. ..... believes in total autonomy or liberty of an individual.
2. Libertarianism at its climax believes that ..... is illegal.
3. ..... is essential condition of good society.
4. ..... draws our attention towards the shortcomings of libertarianism.

## 17.2 Egalitarianism

Socialism has drawn our attention to the shortcomings of Egalitarianism. It demands a system in which the powerful, talented, resourceful and well-versed members must not face any impediment in their way of progress. They should not have to do anything with poverty or misfortune of others.

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In other words, there should be no burden on able and affluent section if the society does something for welfare of weak and poor section. Contrary to it, Egalitarianism supports such a system in which favourable conditions and enough opportunities should be available to both able and affluent sections and weak, poor and deprived sections. Its logic is, the society in which unlucky and deprived section is forced to lead a inhuman life, the lucky people cannot be given unlimited liberty for their personal progress and happiness and prosperity; may be they are not personally and directly responsible for their misery. Egalitarianism contends that all the members are beads of the same chain in which strong beads cannot remain aloof and unaffected because of the plight of weak beads. The supporters of Egalitarianism vehemently criticize those thinkers who in name of liberty do not pay attention to the needs of weak and needy.

Following the tradition of Liberalism, **C. B. Macpherson** and **John Rawls** are those thinkers who uphold the liberty to be of uppermost value and favour to carry its benefit to deprive section. So under contemporary liberalism, they can be termed as representative of Egalitarianism.

## Views of Macpherson

**C.B.Macpherson** writes while criticizing **Friedman** that there is difference between capitalist economy and simple exchange economy. In simple exchange economy, various independent producers are masters of the means of production and compete with each other so that their exchange should prove to be the most advantageous. Because the means of labour are directly available to them, so they also have the option that whenever they wish they leave the method of exchange and start making things of their use by themselves. But in capitalism, labour takes the form of different resources, which can be bought or sold in the market because labour is seen as possession of an individual. The extraordinary thing about capitalism is, in this system labour and capital are separated, and a Labor-force comes into existence which does not have enough capital on arranging the means of production. So they have no other options except selling the labour in the market. The greatest flaw of the capitalism is that in this system the labour of an individual separates from his personality and majority of people are not able to devote their power and expertise in creative angle. The power of a horse or machine is measured on this point, how much work can be done by it, whether work is being taken by it or not. But an individual is only termed as an individual when he can utilize his power and expertise in the fulfilment of his objectives which he has determined out of his consciousness. It is real basis of man's liberty. In capitalism there is no scope for this.

**Macpherson** has criticized the concepts of **Joseph Schumpeter** and **Robert Dahl's** Elitist-Pluralist and has written that these concepts have downgraded democracy from humanist aspiration and changed it to market equilibrium. Its aim is to lighten the conflict in class-divergent society so that welfare of affluent class is kept intact. This point of view maligned the moral foundation stone of democracy. It demonstrates ostentatiousness of free competition between rich and poor, tried to establish mock liberty for poor. The aim of true democracy is to take an individual away from current competitive society to such a society where there are ample opportunities for creative freedom. For this it is essential to re-enliven the primary concept of democracy.

Basically, democracy was 'Government of the Poor'. Even today the true democracy is that which is voice of the oppressed, and it should grant opportunities to control the authority and changes the current system to poor section. Under the classical theory, democracy was taken as a means with whose help down-trodden people get opportunities of developing human capabilities on the basis of human equality. The Elitists and Pluralists principles of democracy have made democracy a means by which people as political consumers can book their needs in political market. In this market, those who have firmly fixed shops, sell their commodities on their own conditions and do not allow other shops to set there. In such type of democracy no one's welfare is to take place.

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*Did You Know?* Non-interfering capitalism is an essential condition of social progress.

## Rawls' Theory of Justice

In contemporary liberalism in controversy of 'Progress vs Justice', **Hayek** took the side of progress and ignored justice. Contrary to it, **John Rawls** in his renowned book 'A theory of Justice' (1971) argued that in Good Society, there is expectation of many virtues; the place of justice is first and foremost. Justice is essential but not a sufficient condition of Good Society. In society there can be predominance of other moral virtues except justice, but unjustifiable society is particularly depreciated. The thinkers who demand that in program of social progress the idea of justice should not prop up, they are taking the risk of carrying the society towards moral debacle.

According to **Rawls**, the problem of justice is the problem of legally distributing the primary goods. Following are the primary goods: Resources of Rights and Liberties, Powers and Opportunities, Income and Wealth and Self Respect. **Rawls** has given his theory of justice the name 'Pure Procedural Justice'. It means that the principles of justice which are accepted unanimously and as a result whichever system of distribution comes into existence, will compulsorily be justifiable. **Rawls** has severely criticized those principles which do moral valuation of an individual but wants to realize pre-determined goals. The principle of Utilitarianism, while assessing 'Greatest Happiness of Greatest Number' does not notice how much a particular individual can lose, as his life can be disturbed by making him a slave. According to **Rawls**, the happiness of happy people may be increased greatly, but it will not equalize the amount of sorrow of a grieved person. To determine the unanimous process of justice, **Rawls** took the help of a special logic-doctrine. While following logic-doctrine of social contract, **Rawls** imagined such original position, in which different individuals are sitting as rational agents behind veil of ignorance, and they are absolutely ignorant of their needs, interests, skills, abilities, etc. and even do not know which topics can generate conflicts in the society. These people want to seek method of maximum increase of the 'Primary Things' for themselves but they are not prepared to undertake any risk or gamble. According to **Rawls**, under such conditions of uncertainty the people will choose the least risky way. Each individual upholds himself in the 'Least Advantaged Position' and demands whoever is in 'The Least Advantaged Position' should be given 'Greatest Benefit' According to this 'logic-doctrine' finally three rules will be accepted in the same sequence: (1) Principle of Equal Liberty or the liberty of an individual cannot be sacrificed for the sake of any other benefit. It includes equal right of Political Participation, Freedom of Expression, Religious Liberty, Equality before Law etc; (2) Principle of Fair Equality of Opportunity ; and (3) Difference Principle. According to it, departure in the distribution of primary things is upheld right only when this is proved that it will benefit the individuals having least advantaged position. In other words, the special prize for any one's extra-ordinary skill and diligence will be justifiable only when the poor and down-trodden people may get the greatest benefit out of it. After the realization of these conditions, under Competitive Economy the standard of expertise can be determined. The critics of **Rawls** lay these charges that he has found out 'justifiable' basic of sustaining capitalism. But it should not be forgotten that after the realization of these conditions, there will appear a new human form of capitalism.

## Actual Imbalance of Group Interests

Contemporary Liberalism opted the principle of democracy and put a claim that liberal democracy establishes harmony among all the interests of the individuals. The people form interest groups with all other people of same interest, and public policy is an outcome of free bargaining of these Interest groups. On the whole, it establishes market economy as ideal of political process. But in fact, market economy is as justifiable as liberalism thought it to be. In the market of politics, some are able to grab

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important positions with cheating or by force and then move the society according to their conditions. In the market of politics, all the groups are not similarly organized, alert or resourceful. For example, the controller of commerce- trade is more organized than organized consumers. The result is this, just a few 'vested interests' use their indomitable power on whole society.

Thus, there grows a sort of imbalance, liberalism is content in extending only a little help. In developing countries this imbalance is enlarged greatly, so here liberalism can only become instrument of vested interests' interest means.

## Self Assessment

**Multiple Choice Questions:**

5. Liberalism is:

   (a) an active political philosophy (b) feeling of liberality

   (c) liberty (d) none of the above

6. Justice is good society's:

   (a) need (b)essential condition

   (c) inspiration power (d) none of the above

7. In the programme of social progress the idea of justice should not come up:

   (a) as interference (b) before it

   (c) in the heart (d) none of the above

8. Nauzik gave the argument that without deceit or force there is earning or transfer of property -

   (a) essential (b) not essential

   (c) justifiable (d) none of the above

## 17.3 Summary

- Liberalism is a dynamic political philosophy. It came into being in 17th century to enable the newly formed middle class to gain eminence after the downfall of feudalism but looking at fast growing workers class, it accepted many changes in its outlook. On one side, it upheld the principle of democracy in detail, and it also picked up the idea of 'welfare state'. But it had so deep association with capitalism, that sometimes it appears as if its new form is a strategy to save capitalism from being shattered.
- Liberalism Retains its bourgeois character—the birth of liberalism took place to protect the interests of new middle class or bourgeois character against feudal powers. In order to annihilate feudal privileges, it promulgated the slogan of 'liberty' and 'equality'. Early liberalism disapproved of regulation and control by the state to provide help to bourgeois section to set its dominance in the sphere of industry and trade and supported the policy of Laissez Faire. For the prestige of new wealthy section gave recognition to Rights to Property as a fundamental right and exterminated the pauper and poor class senselessly. According to **R.H.Tony**, in 18th century on the pretext of right of property, there was stiff opposition of the rules of Factory Legislation and Housing Reforms. The rules to prevent the fake material or to maintain cleanliness of personal houses were objected. These days such arguments are not being given but the rights of wealthy people are thought to be so sacred and injustice meted to poor is thought to be just a normal condition. After 18th century when **Bourgeois** formed government, liberals supported action-sphere and descriptive regulation of the state. During this period, the arrangements which were done for the welfare of the lower class or workers class aimed at lessening of increasing discontentment. They wanted that the system

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of capitalism should go on without any hurdle. Liberalism grew because of revolution against Feudalism and followed the way of reform or incremental change and in its stage of excellence; it held the policy of revolution wrong.

*Task* Express your views on Egalitarianism.

**Contribution of Liberalism :** The biggest contribution of liberalism is that it initiated a beginning to establish a modern, dynamic and logical system after challenging a traditional and conservative system. There is no doubt that the promoters of liberalism have been the spokesmen and well- wishers of new middle class and capitalists, but they promulgated the slogan of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' and launched a new thought-process. They encouraged faith in logical reasoning. Reason is a dynamic force and when on the basis of reason the process of providing new definition to social relations begins, it cannot be stopped if it is carried up to capitalism. In order to reach logical result, it has to make friends with democracy, constitutionalism and socialism and in midst of these logics and arguments, the quest of true liberty by human beings is still on.

## 17.4 Keywords

- **Destiny:** Luck
- **Autonomy:** Freedom
- **Liberation:** Independence

## 17.5 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by Libertarianism? Clarify.
2. Describe Hayek's four types of freedom.
3. What do you mean by Egalitarianism? Explain.

## Answers: Self Assessment

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Libertarianism | 2. Complete rule | 3. Justice | 4. Egalitarianism |
| 5. (a) | 6. (b) | 7. (a) | 8. (c) |

## 17.6 Further Readings

*Books*

**1. Principles of Political Science—** *Shailendra Sengar–Atlantic Publishers.*

**2. Principles of Modern Political Science—** *Sterling Publishers.*

**3. Principles of Political Science—** *B. K. Tiwari, D. K Publishers.*

**4. Classic Politics—** *Neeraj Arya, Sports Literary Academy.*