

# A Comprehensive Textbook of Political Theory

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# **A Comprehensive Textbook of Political Theory**

(Full Textbook for B.A. 1<sup>st</sup> Semester in Political Science  
as prescribed by Manipur University)

**Dr. Th. Siamkhum**



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# **Author's Note**

1<sup>st</sup> August 2018

This Textbook, 'A Comprehensive Textbook of Political Theory' has been hurriedly written and compiled to meet the urgent requirement of students studying B.A. 1st Semester in Political Science in Colleges affiliated to Manipur University.

As is hurriedly written and compiled to meet the urgent need of the students concern, I believe, there might certainly crop up some omissions and commission, including typing errors, here and there. However, efforts shall be made to do necessary corrections, if there any, in the next publication.

Sd/-  
Dr. Th. Siamkhum  
Author

# **Annexure-I**

## **About the Author**

The Author, Dr. Th. Siamkhum is an Associate Professor of Political Science in Churachandpur College. He joined the College in October, 1990, and now has completed 28 years of regular service in the College.

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He then registered himself for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Manipur University in 1987, and was awarded the Degree in 1989.

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# Unit-I

## (1) Meaning of Politics

The term, 'politics' has been derived from Greek word, 'polis' which means 'city' or 'city state'. Politics, therefore, is essentially and intrinsically associated with the word, state. When man, as a social animal, live together with his fellow being, there exists a society or a society was created; and when a society, compose of a number of individuals was created, there was a need for the creation of an authority which shall regulate and control the activities of individuals living in the society. Accordingly, an authority was created which shall have the power to control and regulate the conduct of individuals living and composing the society. The authority that was so created was what we called, 'state'. The authority or state that we called, 'state' that was created was endowed with sovereign power over citizens and subjects; and the power, that was given to it was political power, which was essential for its perpetual existence and for the regulation of the conduct of people living in it. The power, which is endowed with state, therefore, is called, political power. No other social institutions have been given such power and that state is the only social institution that has been in possession of political power. Therefore, politics is an inseparable part and parcel of state. Politics, as such, refers to the function of state relating to the regulation, governance and administration of the people living in the state.

Further, when an organization is created with the aim to regulate the whole community or society, it takes the character of polity. As such, polity denotes an organization, where rules are being made and decisions are being taken for the whole community and authority is exercised over each member of the society or community. The term, 'political' therefore, refers to something that is public, as distinguished from something that is private or something applicable to a limited number of persons, Sheldon S. Wolin, in his book, 'Politics and Vision'

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(1960) has beautifully summed up, the characteristics of the term, 'political' as follows: "Of all the authoritative institutions in society, the political arrangement has been, singled out as uniquely concerned with what is common to the whole community. Certain functions, such as, national defense, internal order, the dispensing of justice, and economic regulation, are declared as the primary responsibility of political institutions, largely on the grounds that the interests and ends served by these functions were beneficial to all members of the community".

As seen in the preceding discussion, state and polity or politics are intrinsically associated with one another; and that by virtue of its possession of political power, state enjoys a unique position among all social institutions. Emphasizing the importance of state, Aristotle said, man by nature is a political animal; and that living in a state was so natural for a person that he who lived outside the state or who did not need a state was either a beast or an angel.

## **2. Meaning of Political Science**

Having discussed, what politics is, and what sort of relations it has with state, it would be desirable in the interest of students of political theory to see what political science is.

The term, political science is for the first time used by Aristotle who said political science is a master science. There are quite a number of scholars who have offered each of their own definition to the term, political science. According to Paul Jenett, "Political Science is that part of social science which treats of the foundation of the state and the principles of Government". According to Bluntschli, "Political Science is a science which is concerned with the state, endeavor to understand and comprehend the state in its essential nature, various forms, manifestation and development." Garish, a German author maintains, "Political Science deals with the origin, development, purpose, and all political problems of the state. Dr. Garner says, "Political Science begins and ends with state. Lastly, according to Seeley, "Political Science investigates the phenomena of Government as Political Economy deals with wealth, biology with life, algebra with numbers and Geometry with space and magnitude.

A close examination of the above definitions given by different scholars, make us to believe that all of them come to a consensus on the point that political science is an academic discipline, which is concerned with the study of the functions of state and government relating to the management, regulations and control of individuals composing the state. Political Science is, therefore, an academic discipline which deals with the study and investigation of state and government by adopting scientific principles, and reasons. Some scholars are also holding the opinion that political science is not only the study of state and government, but also it is the application of empirical theory and scientific methods for analyzing political matter so as to arrive at conclusion. Soon after the final conclusion of World War II, political scientists in USA adopted a number of scientific methods for investigating and for analyzing political matters, incidents and issues; and then framed models and concepts which, finally constituted body of political science.

Political Science, as discussed in the preceding discourse, is almost essentially an academic discipline, which is defined as the study and investigation of political affairs, relevant governmental matters and lively issues influencing the functions and decision making process of government or persons holding political power. This aspect of political science includes, teaching and political research and investigations, which are carried out by universities and academic institutes. The aim and purpose of these researches and investigations is, to arrive at certain concrete conclusion, to prepare models and concepts; and also to suggest general principles which prepare the general corpus of political science.

On the other hand, outside academic institutes; schools, colleges and universities, many interest groups, journalists and other people do conduct research work and do investigate about political matters including that of governments' activities. However, all these do not generally constitute a part of political science, mainly because in all these research works, there is hardly any continuity; and that they are not conducted exclusively for academic purpose. Their sole purpose is, to satisfy the transitory public interests.

David Held, another scholar on the subject, holds quite a different view. According to him, politics is a practical activity about

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the discourse and struggle over organization of human possibilities; and in this sense, political science can be defined as a study of power. Politics or political science as defined from the angle of power, suggests the existence of three components – political science relates to political activity, to political power or powers and to capacity of various agents and organizations. As mentioned by Held, any definition of political science must encompass all these components. It is all about the activities of people and organizations, which has power orientation. Politics and political science has also been described as activities of cooperation, negotiation and struggle over the use, production and distribution of resources. There are different types of resources available in a given society; and production and distribution of these resources have to be preceded by a definite policy on the part of the government so that equitable distribution could be made. There should also be a government policy for enhancement of production so that there is no scarcity. Therefore, there is a need for cooperation, negotiation and resolution in case conflict arises. The involvement of government and state authority is, therefore, inevitable. Politics or political science, therefore, is the study of activities relating to cooperation, negotiation and conflict and conflict resolutions.

Harold Lasswell, another renowned scholar on the subject, defines political science as an empirical science, as an empirical discipline as the study of the shaping and sharing of power and a political act as performed in power perspectives. According to the above definition of political science, political science is a social science which deals with conflict and cooperation from the angle of power. Whenever conflict arises over any issue, the authority or state takes steps to make settlement or resolution, but no resolution or settlement of conflict is possible without power. Therefore, political science can be defined as an empirical discipline dealing with shaping and sharing of power. In short, political science is all about the study of power exercised by state or agencies authorized by state.

In a nutshell, therefore, political science can be described as an academic discipline dealing with the study and investigation of various activities of state and government in relation to citizens and subjects. It is the study of state and government in action.

### **3. Nature and Scope of Political Science/Theory**

#### **(a) Nature –**

It is universally accepted that political science is a scientific study of state and government. Society which is the result of the social instinct of man consists of a number of social institutions; and state is one of such social institutions. But, state is different from other social institutions like economic, religious and cultural institutions in that state is not only a social institution, but also, it is a political institution. Unlike other social institutions, state is endowed with political power, the power to make rules and regulation to control and regulate the conduct of individuals composing the state. State maintains law and order in the society; protect human life and enables human beings to make all round progress. The state, today, performs multifarious functions so that it could promote the welfare of the people.

As the function of modern state has considerably increased, the idea of welfare state came into surface. The definition of politics and political ideas has undergone changes. According to traditional thinkers, politics is something that has to do with the study of state and government. However, today, the definition of politics and political science is no more confined within a limited sphere. The subject is variously defined and includes many notions. The idea of politics encompasses numerous aspects of political behavior of individuals, groups, associations, agents, etc. Even the study of international relations is now included in the study of political science. To sum up, politics is a broad concept which under goes changes with the change of time.

Politics essentially implies the existence of issues and also, the existence of controversy. It is urged that where there are issues, there must also be controversy. Issues are never homogeneous and the heterogeneity of issues creates an atmosphere of debate; and, therefore, politics cannot be separated from controversy. In other words, politics is all about issues which may be of different kinds and of different nature; and when there are issues to be dealt with, there arises controversy,

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which needs to be resolved. According to Wasby, “where no controversy exists, where no issue is being debated, politics does not exist.” the controversy pervades to all sections of society as well as to all sorts of groups, institutions, individuals, organizations, etc. In other words, controversy, disagreements etc are inherent in politics.

JDB Miller, in his book, ‘The Nature of Politics’ puts much emphasis on “the disagreement nature of politics”. It is true that the controversial nature of politics indicates the disagreement among opinions, issues and explanation. When there is disagreement among individuals, organizations, institutions, groups, etc. controversy or debate is bound to crop up. The point here is, according to Miller, the disagreement is the true nature of politics. It is difficult, if not possible, to think of politics which does not involved any type of disagreement. It is because of the existence of disagreement that there arises struggles and conflicts among the actors of politics. Miller further maintains that if there were no disagreements among individuals, groups or organizations, political action could not get any scope for emergence.

However, it would certainly be a mistake if we conceive that controversy and disagreements are the exclusive features of politics and there is absolutely no place for compromise, consensus and agreement in political arena. People, organization, even states, etc. do have points of disagreement on any political and other issues, but they take step to resolve those differences, disagreements, etc. by debating, discussing the contentious issues facing them. Then and there, they were able to resolve the controversies and disagreements and reach a consensus. A consensus or agreement has, in any way, been reached, less the functioning of society or existence of social life would have been impossible. In short, politics has been characterized by agreement, conflict and conflict resolution.

It has also been seen that many modern scholars on political science believe that politics also involves power and influence. In an analysis of politics, important questions are being often raised; who gets, when and how? Politics, therefore, is said to be the provider of answer to these questions. The point here is, only through the exercise of power and influence an individual or organization or even, state gets what it wants. It is for this reason that USA has been trying to force

North-Korea to abandon its nuclear ambition; and in this connection President Trump asserted during his Asian Tour in November, 2017 that “we will negotiate with North-Korea from the position of strength” Politics, therefore, provides the way of getting the desired objective. It is obviously for this reason that Lasswell, Dahl and other scholars on the subject maintain that if this question is ignored in the study of politics, its central idea will lose its importance. Therefore, it is for this reason that power and influence can never be kept outside the scope, and nature of the study of politics.

Again, politics is parasite in nature and scope as it exists in all forms of state and society; it exists in primitive, tribal, modern, developed, developing, and under-developed and in democratic as well as communism. The forms and nature of politics may be ever-changing with change of time, situation, etc. Though politics has assumed new dimensions and new forms in different ages, yet politics still exists. Today, we call national politics, international politics, local politics, party politics, regional politics, etc.

Finally, an essay on ‘Politics’ published in Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics maintains “politics, in fact, is the manifestation of civilized and ordered society. In such a society, people are endowed with reason, and because of that quality there arises disagreement and there are also procedures for the resolution of this conflict or disagreement. It is the existence of these two disagreements and resolution which generates an atmosphere of politics. Guided by reason, individual do not want to continue the disagreement and start to find out ways and means for resolution.

#### **4. Methods and Approaches to the study of Political Science**

The terms, ‘method’ and ‘approach’ are used loosely or interchangeably in social sciences. However, as far as possible, distinction should be made between the two. While method could be used to denote a particular way of doing things, approach is considered as a wider term which could comprehend not only the method, but also the focus of a study so as to understand the given phenomena. Vernon

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Van Dyke, in his “Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis” 1960, has stated, “An approach consists of criteria of selection – criteria employed in selecting the problems and questions to consider and in selecting the data to bring to bear; it consists of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data.” He has further stated that: “In brief, approaches consist of criteria of selection – criteria employed in selecting the problems and questions to consider and in selecting the data to bring to bear; it consists of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data.” He has further stated that “In brief, approaches consist of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas, methods are procedures for getting and utilizing data.”

It is to be seen that an approach is normally wedded to a particular method while method is not necessarily wedded to a particular approach; and therefore, an approach suggests the relevant method too. For example, behavioral approach is associated with scientific method, because behavior of several actors in a political system is capable of scientific study while the normative approach is associated with philosophical method, because norms and values can only be determined philosophically and not through scientific method. In the same way, philosophical approach and historical approach are associated with the adoption of philosophical and historical method respectively.

## **5. Traditional and Contemporary Approaches**

Broadly speaking, the approaches which were adopted to the study of political phenomena before the end of World War II are considered as traditional approaches. On the other hand, those approaches adapted to the study of political situation after the end of World War II are regarded and called, ‘contemporary approaches. Alan Ball, in his “Modern Politics and Government” 1988, has rightly suggested the traditional approaches to the study of political phenomena is not, as yet totally outdated, but it is no more the favor of modern political thinkers to use them. Further, it is neither possible nor feasible to furnish comprehensive lists of the traditional or contemporary approaches. Though there may be some distinctive features between the

two, there cannot be any water tight division between them. A few decades ago, it was maintained that while contemporary approaches focus on facts while traditional approaches focus on value. However, today the distinctions between empirical and normative approaches to the study of politics and political phenomena cannot be treated as conterminous with distinction between traditional and contemporary approach. However, while the traditional study of politics and political situation was dominated by the study of philosophy, history, law and institutions, philosophical, historical, legal and institutional approaches are largely identified as traditional approaches. The contemporary approaches, on the other hand, are faced with the problem of the identity of the discipline itself. The contemporary approaches, therefore, put focus on phenomenon of politics as a process as manifested in the behavior of different actors in a political situation which is sought to be studied by Scientific method. Therefore, behavioral approach is a typical contemporary approach to the study of politics. Again, contemporary political science seeks to enrich itself by the relevant achievements of other social sciences which lead us to the interdisciplinary approach. Therefore, interdisciplinary approach is also a contemporary approach.

## **6 Empirical and Normative Approaches**

Empirical approach as a contemporary approach to the study of politics, seeks to discover and describe facts while normative approach seeks to determine and describe value. The empirical approach seeks to make an empirical statement which is concerned with data and facts whereas, the normative approach seeks to make a normative statement which is concerned with what 'ought to be' or 'should be.' These forms of expression could not be literally followed as a distinction between the two approaches. To be exact, empirical, statement is a statement which is concerned with a situation which can be observed by our sense experience, which can be verified by repeated observation and whose accuracy can be tested. On the other hand, a normative statement tends to express preference for a particular type of order as dictated by a sense of duty or universal need or by commitment to moral principle or ideal. Though there can be strong arguments in support of normative

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statement, it is not, however, capable of being discovered, being described or being verified by our sense-experience. For example; ‘what is justice?’ This question may be answered in many ways; such as justice is treating equals, equally, and unequal’s, unequally or justice is giving equal freedom and equal opportunity to all, provided that any departure from equal distribution will prove beneficial to the advantaged, etc. All the answers purporting to define what justice is, express a variety of values preferences; and none of them is based on empirical observation or is capable of empirical verification.

Again, there could be a statement demanding something to be done for the fulfillment of definite purpose. For example, we may say, ‘everybody ought to vote in the election so as to make democracy functional. In other word, in order to make democracy functional, it is a pre-requisite that everybody ought to vote. These statements are certainly empirical statement because the statement can be empirically verified or repudiated. Therefore, in order to see that a normative statement requires something to be done so as to serve an intrinsic value which is an end in itself? However, an empirical statement requiring something to be done is intended to serve an instrumental value which is a means to higher end. For example, do regular exercise to improve your health or plant more trees to reduce environmental pollution. Therefore, it is the content of a statement not the form which makes it empirical or normative.

The supporters of empirical approach maintain that while empirical approach is objective, the normative approach is subjective. The terminology adopted by empirical and normative approaches for approval or disapproval of any proposition creates confusion. The words, ‘true or false’ ‘right or wrong’ may have different meanings in the context of say, mathematical and moral questions. It is, sometimes, assumed that empirical approach refers to true or false, right or wrong as absolute category while normative approach treats then as conditional.

Finally, while empirical approach is largely descriptive, normative approach is said to be largely prescriptive. Empirical approach seeks to discover laws which could not be altered or change, say, law of gravitational force or the sun rises in the east and sets in the west. These are beyond human control, but can be discovered and

describe as to how. Normative approach, on the other hand, is concerned with laws and condition largely created or adopted by human society, which are alterable. They can be examining as to how far they are morally right or wrong and prescribe the right course. Also, in normative approach, prescription may be preceded by description. For example, Plato and Aristotle had given description of their experiences before prescribing their respective solutions. In empirical approach, however, description may be followed by prescription for the achievement of certain obvious goals, such as economy and efficiency or some specified goals like health and stability.

## **7 Traditional Approaches**

In the light of the preceding discussion, the philosophical, historical, legal and institutional approaches could be clubbed together as representing the main traditional approaches.

## **8. Philosophical Approach**

The most important contributors of philosophical approach are Rousseau, Mill, Sidgwick and Vernon Van Duke. In the first place, the philosophical approach is concerned with the clarification of concepts used in a particular discipline. It determines the nature and end or purpose of state and then casts about for the best forms of political institutions for the realization of this end. Vernon in his “Political Science: A philosophical Analysis” observed “A philosophical analysis is an effort to clarify thought about the nature of the subject and ends and means in studying it. Put more generally, a person who takes a philosophical approach to a subject aims to enhance linguistic clarity and to reduce linguistic confusion; he assumes that the language used in description reflects conceptions of reality, and he wants to make conceptions of reality as clear, consistent, coherent, and helpful as possible.”

The philosophical approach begins with abstract concepts, and then attempts to harmonize them with the actual fact of history. The main danger of this approach is that it may easily become imaginative

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and visionary. It is also possible that it may not have any basis and sink into empty ideology.

In the second place, the philosophical approach seeks to evolve standard of “right and wrong” for the purpose of critical evaluation of the existing institutions, laws and policies. Majority of classical political theorists represent philosophical approach. Its themes are generally concerned with more reasoning which cannot be subjected to scientific test. Although the empirical aspect of such reasoning can always be questioned. Also, the moral aspect of such reasoning could also be questioned from the view point of modern consciousness. For example, Kant’s concept of human dignity which rules out all types of slavery is closer to modern consciousness as compare to Aristotle’s defense of slavery.

Majority of classical thinkers put much emphasis on the two main themes – art of government and ground of political obligation. Aristotle postulated that man is necessarily a political man, and then elaborated his view on these two subjects. Machiavelli talks of art of government on the assumption of the very selfish and ungrateful nature of man. However, art of government ceased to be a part of mainstream political theory. Hobbes, on his part, puts focus on the ground of political obligation his absolutist view of political obligation, which was supported by Rousseau and Hegel. However, Locke, the first thinker to repudiate the absolutist view of political obligation, postulates ‘right of the individual against the state, which makes him the pioneer of individualism which later on known as liberalism.

As seen in the preceding discussion, it could be seen that political philosophy is mainly concerned with the logic of the grounds and limits of political obligation. Concepts of individual’s right and revolution are the by-product of this debate. Conceptions of freedom, equality and justice are extension of the theory of rights. The concept of democracy denotes an effort to translate the concept of individual’s rights into concrete political institution. Furthermore, concept of authoritarianism, totalitarianism and fascism, etc largely represent the negative side of this effort.

To conclude, it could be said that political philosophy seeks to replace opinion by knowledge as originally postulated by Socrates. Values and facts are indispensable part of political philosophy, which

enables us to undertake a critical and coherent analysis of political institution.

## **9. Historical Approach**

The historical method, which could also be called experimental method puts emphasis on the study of history. A proper study of history is an invaluable aid to the students of political science. The term historical approach to political study may be used in two ways – Firstly, it may denote the process of arriving at the laws governing politics through an analysis of historical events that is, events of the past as exemplified by the theories propounded by Hegel and Marx. Karl Popper described this approach as ‘historicism.’ It implies that historical processes are determined by their inherent necessities, which are beyond the control of human ingenuity. He criticized historicism as it insists on discovering what is inevitable, and then advocates for totalitarianism for its realization as Hegel and Marx have done for the realization of their respective vision of future society. In the second place, historical approach stands for an attempt at understanding politics through historical account of political thought of the past.

It is a fact that we can draw a conclusion for future guidance by studying the origin, growth and development of political institutions of the past. History is a key to proper explanation of the past as well as the key to proper interpretation of the future. Historical method is largely inductive in character. It is based on observation and study of political facts and situations of the past. Learn a lesson from the past, the past mistakes, the past peaceful environments, the past conflicts and conflict situations; then draw a kind of political system and institution for the present and the future. Since, historical approach has its own limitations, as with other methods, it has to be supplemented by the adoption of philosophical or ethical method which involved ultimate end. As a matter of fact, almost all political theories are the product of history and that history serves as an important instrument of moulding history by its ideological force.

Critics of historical approach maintain that it is not possible to understand ideas of the past ages in terms of contemporary ideas and concepts. They also maintain that ideas of the past are hardly any guide

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for resolving the crisis of the present day world which was beyond the comprehension of the past thinkers David Easton, a prominent contemporary thinker, has warned against living parasitically on ideas of a century old and failing to develop a new political synthesis. The fact is that what was a good and ideal political system may not always remain good and ideal for the contemporary world. With the change of time, there are also changes in every sphere demanding a new system and idea to suit the new development.

## **10 Legal Approach**

The legal approach to the study of politics and political situation seeks to understand politics in terms of law or legal perspective. The legal approach put its main focus on the legal and constitutional framework in which, different organs of government have to function, inquires into their respective legal position, their power and the procedure which makes their actions legally valid. For example, legal approach to Indian politics will proceed to analyze legal implications of various provisions of the Indian Constitution, duly documented by the decision of the Supreme Court of India as well as by the opinion of legal luminaries, procedure of formation and legal position of the two Houses of Indian Parliament and State Legislature, procedure of election, appointment, powers and position of the President, Prime Minister, Governor, Chief Ministers, Central and State Cabinet, etc. In the same way, legal approach to international politics will largely tend to analyze it in terms of the requirement of international laws.

Though legal approach might be having certain limitations in understanding the complex political situations, the processes and behavior, which might operate outside legal frame work, yet it is not entirely insignificant approach to the study of political science. Moreover, all political processes, in order to become effective and stable, must culminate in legal provisions, whether it is an independence movement in a colonized country or an agitation for civil rights or certain concessions for any sections of society.

## 11 Institutional Approach

Institutional approach and legal approaches are closely related to one another. However, the two are not entirely identical, and have significant differences. Unlike, legal and other approaches, institutional approach is not much related and dependent on other approaches – historical, legal or philosophical. It is the only approach among the traditional approaches, which gives independent identity to the systemic study of politics. The institutional approach is also sometimes, referred to as structural approach. Mac Ivar maintains “institutions are establishing form of procedure” Institution relates the structure and machinery through, which human society organized, directed and executes multifarious activities required to satisfy human needs. Traditional approaches, particularly institutional approach seeks to understand politics from the angle of institutions and their functioning. State and Government themselves are institutions, which have various organs like the Parliament, the Cabinet, the High Court etc. which are also considered as institutions. Political parties in democratic political set up are also, in their own way, political institutions.

In order to better understand, the institutional approach, it would be appropriate to under what institution is. In a nutshell, an institution is a set of offices and agencies arranged in a hierarchy, where each office or agency has certain functions and powers within their respective jurisdiction. Each office or agency is manned by persons with definite status and role; other persons also expect them to perform this role. The activities of an institution, however, are not confined to its office holders. Therefore, an institution is “any persistent system of activities and expectations, or any stable pattern of group behavior” “Political science: A philosophical analysis” Mac Ivar, 1960. (In the institutional or structural approach, emphasis is put on the rules and regulations, procedures of the institution, etc. for the analysis of political phenomena and development. the supporter of institutional approach do not give much importance to the impact of the institutions or rules upon the individuals; and they are inclined to say that the institutions in political analysis are of prime importance. Political Science therefore, has been studied in the light of the functions and behaviors of institutions that existed in the political system.

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Accordingly, the supporters of institutional approach proceed to study the organization and functioning of government, its various organs and their functions and of course, political parties and their rule and functions in a democratic political set up.

## **Criticisms of the Traditional Approaches**

In the first place, traditional approaches to the study of politics and political problems have been under criticism on the ground that most of the traditional approaches, including institutional, legal, philosophical approaches failed to give importance to individuals composing the state. The individuals in the state, indeed, played a vital role in shaping and moulding the nature of politics. Individuals, as a matter of fact, are important actors, both in national and international politics. Institutions are there only because there are individuals who run and manage those institutions. It is the individuals who control the structure, functions and other aspects of the institution. It is therefore, a wrong assumption that politics is the study of institution.

In the second place, most of the traditional approaches to the study of politics and political problems are descriptive in nature. While descriptive nature of political study is important, it is also important to be analyse. Mere description of fact does not necessarily constitute the subject matter of political science. It is the interest of a researcher to know what is happening as well as why it is happening and why it happens at a particular time.

In the third place, it is argued that the traditionalists have a limited view of things within the institution or institutional framework. But, political researchers, today, are not inclined to limit the area of their analysis of politics within the four walls of institutions. They have to investigate the role of environment into which is included international politics, multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations or trans-national bodies. The decision making process of nation states is influenced by international events and the political activity of other nation states. The traditionalists do no recognized the interdependence of nations and international politics, which today plays an important role in the study of politics and political problems. From

this point of view, the traditional approaches to the study of political science are incomplete.

In the fourth place, the traditional approaches to the study of political science do not cover the study of political institutions and political problems in the today's third world countries. The traditionalists confined their area of study to only western countries, their institutions, their governments, etc. No importance was given to the study of political institutions, which were prevailing in many Asian and African countries.

To conclude, it would be appropriate to quote Stephen Wasby, who said, "Just as a dissatisfaction with an over concentration on the philosophical approach to the study of politics had brought a shift towards the study of institutions and formal structures, with an accompanying more from normative to empirical outlooks, so there was increasing realization that institutional approach did not encompass all the world of politics. Scholars began to recognize problems in the use of "state" concept. Other basic emphasis was also questioned. Because, not all rules and structures have been reduced to law, the legal approach to politics and the institutional approach had never completely coalesced. Political Scientists of an institutional bent, freed from the European location of political science within faculties of law, recognized that there is much material within political science not subject to legal examination.

## **Contemporary Approaches**

Contemporary approaches to the study of politics, is distinguished from traditional approaches in two respects (a) They attempt to establish a separate identity of political science by focusing on the real character of politics; and, (b) they try to understand politics in totality, transcending its formal aspects and looking for those aspects of social life, which influence and are influenced by it. The following approaches are regarded as contemporary approaches:-

- a. Behavioural Approach
- b. Post-Behavioural Approach
- c. System Analysis

### **(a) Behavioural Approach**

Behaviouralism, as an approach to the study of political phenomena, is particularly associated with American Scholars on politics after World War II. However, its origin may be traced back to the work of Graham Wallas, “Human Nature in Politics” and Arthur Bentley, “The Process of government,” which are published in 1908. The two scholars put more emphasis on the informal processes of politics and less on political institutions in isolation. Wallas sought to introduce a new realism in political studies in the light of his finding of contemporary psychology. While traditionalists view man as a rational being who follows his selfish-interest, man, as revealed by the new psychology is not a rational being in this sense. The traditionalists and classical economists hold the view that man is a rational and self-interest being while the new psychology revealed that man is not a rational and self-interest seeking being, and that man’s political activities are not totally guided by reason and self-interest. Wallas, therefore, insisted on exploring facts and evidence for understanding human nature and its manifestation in human behavior. He was, therefore, holding the view that political process could be understood only by analyzing as to how people actually behave in a political situation, and not merely by speculating on how they would behave. Bentley, on the other hand, primarily sought not to describe political activity, but rather to provide for new tools of investigation. He was fascinated by the study of informal groups that he intended to ignore almost completely the formal political institutions. Greatly inspired by sociology, he preceded to undertake a study of the roles of pressure groups, political parties, elections and public opinion in the political process.

Charles E. Merriam (1874 – 1953), another pioneer of the behavioural approach, in his article, “The Present State of the Study of Politics” published in *American Political Science Review* (1921) and in his book; “*New Aspects of Politics* (1925)” criticized contemporary political science for its lack of scientific vigour. He devaluated the work of historians as they had ignored the role of psychological, sociological and economic factors and human affairs. In his presidential address to the American Political Science Association (1925), Merriam exhorted

political scientists to look at political behavior as one of the essential objects of inquiry.

After the Second World War, there were new attempts to develop a new behavioural approach to the study of political science, particularly through the writings of American Political Scientists. David B. Truman, Robert Dahl, David Easton and Heinz Eulau were among the most notable contributors to the development of a new behavioural approach to the study of politics and political phenomena. Behaviouralism, as an approach to the study of politics and political problems, stood for a shift of focus in the study of politics, from the formalism and normative orientations of the legalistic and philosophic school to political behavior, yet political behavior was its main focus. For a better and a deeper understanding of behavioural approach to politics, it would be appropriate to see what Geoffrey K. Roberts says; Political behavior, as an area of study within political science, is concerned with those aspects of human behavior that take place within political context, that is, within a state or other political community, for political purposes or with political motivation. Its focus is the individual person as voter, leader, revolutionary, party member, opinion leader, etc – rather than the group or the political system, but it necessarily takes account of the influences of the group on the individuals behavior, the constraints of the system on the individuals' opportunities for action, and the effects of the political culture on his attitudes and political habits.

Political behaviouralism sought to account for the psychological and social influences on behavior of the individual in a political situation which involved the study of such processes and factors as political socialization, political ideologies, political culture, political participation, political communication, leadership, decision making, and even political violence. An understanding of most of these processes involved interdisciplinary and cross disciplinary research. In any case, behaviorism as a movement in political science did not remain confined to the study of individual based political behavior, but developed into a set of orientations, procedures and methods of analysis.

David Easton, a prominent behaviouralist prescribed eight major tenets of behaviouralism which are; regularity, verification, technique, quantification, values, systematization, pure science and integration.

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According to him, any political inquiry conducted according to these guidelines would be conducive to generate reliable theory and scientific explanation.

### (b) Post Behaviouralism

Relevance and action were the twin slogans of post behaviouralism. It represented no complete departure from behaviouralism rather it stood for consolidating its gains and applying them for problem solving and crisis management. David Easton drew the attention of contemporary political scientists to the impending threat of nuclear bombs, inner conflicts within the U.S. which might lead to civil war or dictatorship, and undeclared war in Vietnam, which was perturbing moral consciousness the world over. The post-behaviouralism, according to Easton, seeks to re-introduce a concern for values in the behavioural approach itself.

Distinctions between behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism could be drawn as below:-

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>The issue</b> Nature of study purpose of inquiry</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Behavioural Approach</b> Search for pure knowledge and theory Knowledge for the sake of knowledge and</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Post-Behavioral Approach</b> Search for applied knowledge and practice Relevance of knowledge to satisfy social needs and action for problem solving</p>
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### Focus of study

<p>Attitude toward values and attitude toward social change</p>	<p>* Micro level analysis focus on small units * Process of decision making</p>	<p>Macro-level Analysis; focus on the role of big units. Content of Decision</p>
	<p>Value neutral Interested in status-Quo; not interested in social change</p>	<p>Interested in the choice of values. Interested in social change for solving social problems</p>

## **Model of Political Analysis**

Political analysis involves several steps which may be started with the determination of the nature of politics. David Easton's concept of politics as 'authoritative allocation of values' is one of the reliable examples of political analysis. Politics has now been recognized widely as a process which involves a set of interactions among its components. If one is to proceed to the direction of political analysis, one has to identify these components; and these components will guide one as to the relevant data which should be chosen for a proper understanding of politics. The inter-relation of data's which are being collected will depend on our conception of the pattern of interaction of the components of the political process. The next step of political analysis would be, to arrange the data's according to their inter-relationship. The determination of relevant data's and evolving suitable arrangement for producing an explanation constitute a model of political analysis. Such models, being evolved at a conceptual level, enable us to build several models of political analysis, depending on our point of inquiry. Contemporary political science has evolved a large number of models of political analysis; of these several models of political analysis, the following are considered more important:-

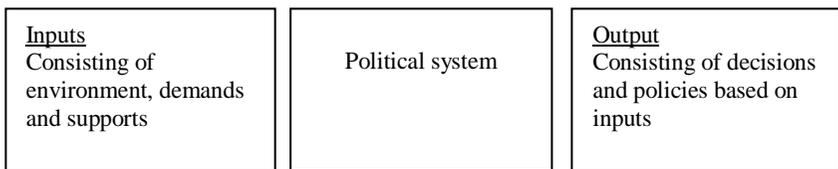
- System analysis; structural – functional analysis;
- Communication theory; and
- decision making analysis

### **(c) System Analysis**

This model of political analysis looks at politics in terms of a political system. According to Robert Dahl, "Any collection of elements that interact in some way with one another can be considered a system; a galaxy, a football team, a legislature, a political party." He maintains that, for the purpose of analysis element of the system, political systems should not be seen as a group of individuals constituting a government or its organs, but as an abstract elements interacting with one another in political sphere.

David Easton, the first scholar to introduce system analysis to the study of politics and political phenomena, define politics in terms of authoritative allocation of values which broadly constitutes the political process. Based on this system, political system has often been described as an open system. The system analysis maintains that allocation of values is made because there are corresponding demands from the society or environment; it becomes authoritative because it gets supports from the environment. David Easton asserted that political system receives inputs from the environment in the form of demands and supports; then, it produces outputs in the form of policies and decisions. Then the output goes back to environment through feedback mechanism resulting into new demands.

## Easton's Model of Political System



called decision is manufactured. He then described support as the energy in the form of actions or orientation enabling the political system to convert the demands into authoritative decisions and policies. Demands according to him, may come from the people, politicians, administrators, pressure groups etc. but it may varies according to the nature of the regime or form of government. Also, the nature and extend of support vary according to the expectation of the people from their political system. This variability of support is bound to affect the destinies of the political authorities and political community. The outputs, on the other hand, are produced by the political system in a manner by which they could be accepted by the people as binding on all members of the political system.

Let us, now look at the more elaborate classification of demands, supports and outputs; and also their relationship. To begin, Easton sub-classified demands into;

- a) Demands for allocation of goods and services, which may include increase in wages better working conditions, educational opportunities, etc.
- b) demands for regulation of behavior; such as, provision of public safety, control over markets and rules pertaining to marriage, health and sanitation;
- c) Demands for participation in the political system; such as the right to vote, the right to contest in the election, the right to hold public offices, the right to petition government bodies, etc;
- d) Demands for communication and information, such as the affirmation of policy intent, and display of the majesty and power of the political system in times of external threats.

In the same way as demands are sub-classified, supports are also sub-classified into four categories which are;

- a) material supports, such as payment of taxes and other levies and rendering service in public interest;
- b) obedience to law, rules and regulations;
- c) participatory supports; such as, voting and contesting in an election, involvement in creative political discussions and involvement in other activities related to politics;
- d) Paying of attention to government communication, displaying of difference or respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials.

The outputs, as per system analysis, may be clubbed together as policies and decisions and they can be further sub-divided into four categories;

- a) extraction, which may take the form of tribute, tax or personal service;
- b) regulation of behavior which may cover a wide range of human activities;
- c) allocation or distribution of goods and services, opportunities, honour, statuses, etc;
- d) Symbolic outputs, including affirmation of values, displays of political symbols and communication of policy intent.

Feedback, which is a process of giving information on decisions, being taken and policies being formulated is important in so far as it could produce new inputs to the system for new decisions and new policies. It is essentially a communication process which produces

actions in response to information about the state of the political system, or some parts, thereof, or its environment to structures within the system in such a way that the future actions of those structures are modified in consequence. The result of such modification, Easton insists, produces further modification, which goes on; the feedback, a channel of communication, helps the system in reaching its goals, the feedback also help the system, the political system to comprehend its position, status and goals, like how far it is from achieving its goal. The feedback apprises the political system the changes that had been brought about by its own performance in response to information coming from the feedback process.

Easton further maintains that demand would serve as a guide to the political system for determining its policies and goals, and supports will enable it to achieve its goals; and if the political system is capable of processing the demand-inputs effectively, support inputs are bound to come forth from its environment. Feedback mechanism is expected to adjust outputs to input. Maintaining a state of equilibrium, however, is a complex one as conversion of demands and supports into outputs in the shape of policies and decisions has to be regulated by a complex mechanism. Out of so many demands made on the political system, some may be lost in transit before reaching the output stage. Also, if there are too many demands or too much pressure on the political system, there may arise a stress and the channel of communication will be overloaded. In such a situation, various regulatory mechanisms or measures may have to be created so as to cope with the stress. In the first place, structural mechanisms, such as pressure groups, political parties, etc. will have to assume the role of gate-keepers, who will allow only legitimate demands to enter the political system. In the second place, cultural mechanism will have to ensure that only the right type of demands with social approval are allowed entry into the political system. In the third place, channel of communication may be increased to ensure smooth flow of excessive demands into the system. In the fourth place, demands may be controlled in the conversion process itself by the legislative, executive and administrative organs of the government which are responsible for processing all demands. In case, the stress reach a critical stage and remained at the stage for too long, then changes in authority or even in the regime might become inevitable

as the situation could lead to the eventual destruction of the system itself.

The system analysis, as a method or approach to the study of politics and political problems, has been found useful to a large extent for the comparative analysis of diverse political units, such as modernized as well as developing polities. It has also been extensively adopted for analysis of international political system. The model of political system has also served as a basis for Gabriel Almond's model of structural functional analysis as well as Karl Deutch's model of communication theory. However, it has been criticized for its inability in the analysis of political power as well as in the analysis of mass political behaviour. It should however, be noted that the system analysis represents a substantial advance in the direction of constructing a theoretical framework from within political science.

### **(13) Structural-Functional Analysis**

Structural-functional analysis, like the system analysis is based on the concept of political system. It has been used widely in the sphere of comparative politics because it provides for standard categories for different types of political systems. The structural-functional analysis of politics and political situation is associated with anthropologists and sociologists like Recliffe Brown, Malinowski, Talcot Parson, Robert Merton, Merion Levy and political scientist, Gabriel Almond.

Gabriel Almond and JS Coleman, in their book, 'The politics of the developing areas, 1960 mentioned four characteristics of the political system, which are;

- a) All political systems have political structure
- b) The same functions are performed in all political system with different frequencies and by different kinds of structure;
- c) All political structures are multi-functional; and
- d) All political systems are mixed system in the cultural sense, i.e. they are based in a culture which is always a mixture of the modern and the traditional.

Gabriel Almond and GB Powell, in their book, "Comparative Politics: A Development Approach," maintained that all political systems regardless of their type, must perform a specific set of task if

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they are to remain in existence as system in working order or in equilibrium i.e. as ongoing system. These are the functional requirement of the system. Gabriel Almond and his associate sought to modify David Easton's models of inputs and outputs, proposition by suggesting that inputs and outputs could best be understood as a function or functional requisite of the political system. Gabriel Almond and his associate sought to redefine these inputs and outputs with a deeper understanding of political process and proceeded to identify various structures, corresponding to these functions, in order to evolve a structural functional framework.

Gabriel Almond and his co-researchers identified four input and three output functions of a political system, which are;

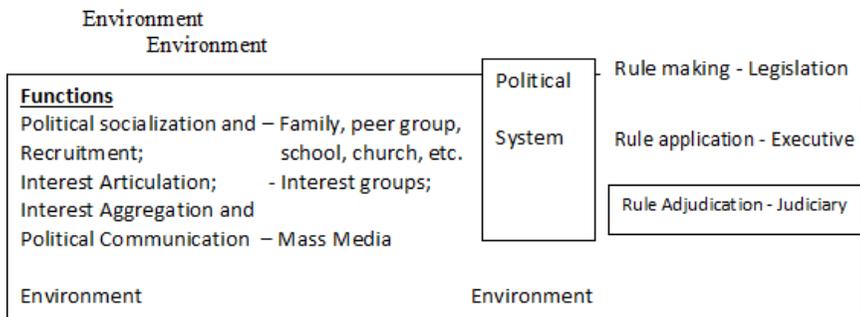
- Inputs – (a) Political socialization and recruitment;
- (b) Interest articulation;
- (c) Interest aggregation; and
- (d) Political communication;
- Outputs – (a) Rule making;
- (b) Rule application; and
- (c) Rule adjudication

Of these, output functions correspond to conventional governmental functions, which are performed by formal governmental organs, such as legislature, executive and judiciary (adjudication). Almond has paid a special attention to input functions which are performed by non-governmental structures or institutions.

Political socialization is a process by which, individuals acquire attitudes and orientations towards political phenomena. Political socialization is also a process by which society transmits political norms and belief from one generation to the next generation. Recruitment in the context of this system of political analysis stands for the process by which political groups obtain members for various political roles in the political process, either in addition to the existing members or as a replacement for other members. Political socialization, for other members; Political socialization while preparing the individuals to take up different important roles in the social structure, it would also at the same time recruit members for performing different important functions within the structure. Family, school and other primary groups are most

suited to perform this function. Interest articulation implies the process by which opinions, attitudes, beliefs, preferences, etc. are converted into coherent demands on the political system while this function could be performed by various groups; interest groups are the most suitable groups to perform this type of function. Interest aggregation is the process by which divergent interests are collated and translated into concrete demands of a very large section of society, policy proposals and programs of action, lies and political parties are most suited to perform this type of function. Finally, political communication is a process by which components of political system, such as individuals, groups and institutions, transmit and receive information's regarding the functioning of the political system. Mass media or organizations controlling the media of mass communication are most suited to perform this function.

## Model of Structural-Functional Analysis



The structural-functional analysis is an approach to the study of politics and political phenomena, which has been widely adopted by modern political scientists for studying comparative politics. A developed political system is characterized by differentiation of structure for the performance of specific functions. In a less developed political system, function of interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication might be performed by some structures which have not taken a definite shape, but in a developed political system, growth of interest groups, political parties and mass media would be clearly discernable. Gabriel Almond and Powell have

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identified two main characteristics of the development of political system, those are, political development which are (a) structural – differentiation and secularization of culture. They have elaborated further that a “principal aspect of the development or transformation of the political system is, role differentiation or structural differentiation. By differentiation, they referred to the process by which role change and become more specialized or more autonomous or whereby, new types of roles are established or new structures and sub-system emerged or is created.” (A Comparative Politics: A Development Approach; 1966) The underlying properties of a political system, representing its psychological dimension, have been described as political culture; and secularization of culture is concerned with this aspect of political system.

## **14. Communication Theory**

This model of political analysis is associated with Karl Deutsch, who in his work, “The Nerve of the Government: Models of Political Communication and Control” sought to apply the concepts and methods of modern information technology as physiology of nervous system to an analysis of the political systems. He, particularly, introduced the techniques of cybernetics, which is the study of the operation of control and communication systems. It deals with both biological system and manmade machinery. Karl Deutsch’s main focus in the study is not the bones and muscle of the body, but rather, it is the nerve which is the channel of communications and decisions.

Communication theory, according to Karl Deutsch, regards the function of communication as the centre of all political activities. An analysis of communication flowing from and flowing into political system, would, therefore, be helpful in the description, classification, analysis and explanation of the important aspects of political life. Karl Deutsch maintains that it might be helpful to look upon government, somewhat less as a problem of power, and somewhat more as a problem of steering, i.e. directing the course of its activity, which is the main function of communication channels. It is more or less a self regulating or self-controlling system which evolves its own processes and

mechanism for the acquisition, collection, transmission, selection and storage of information. Morton R. Davies and Vaughan A. Lewis explain aptly the communication theory as follow:-

The members of political system come to acquire mechanism for transmission of messages and for the coordination and control of the channel of communication. The cohesion of a political system can be analyzed in terms of the degree to which these coordination and control mechanism continue to function properly to adopt themselves in the context of the goals which they set, to the information, which they receive from various sources; and even to modify the goals which, they have set themselves (Model of Political system; 1971).

The problems of communication may be studied in the following three contexts:-

- a. Communication within the political system;
- b. Communication between political system and its environment;  
and
- c. Communication between two or more political systems.

The analysis of communication problems involves the study of several components, which includes:-

- a. The structures meant for sending and receiving messages;
- b. The channels used for the purpose of communication along with their capacities and rates of utilization, expressed in terms of their load and load capacity, rate of flow, amount of loss and gain i.e. delay and promptness in responding to the information that is received;
- c. Processes of storage of information;
- d. Feedback mechanism;
- e. The code and languages applied for the purpose of communication; and
- f. The contents of the messages transmitted, etc.

Since the process of communication hardly is a smooth a process one has to be very careful in detecting distortions. To quote James C. Charles, "The exponents of the communicational approach to political science emphasize the importance of distinguishing between what goes out from the source and what is exactly received at the other

end. What is to be examined – what governmental agency says, it says, or what the recipient says he hears. In case the distortions could be corrected appropriately, then lots of problems could be avoided or could be minimized. Commenting on this, Charles Worth said, “In order to correct distortion we must study the determinants of distortion. Hence, communication is a legitimate methodological segment of political science. This study is unfortunately not well developed, nor is it standardized or unified. If it were, we should have industrial strike, slum riots, university sit-ins, and crackpot picket line.”

The communication approach to the study of politics and political situation is particularly useful for an analysis of the process of bargaining, conflict-resolution, and decision-making, evaluation of policies, estimating the impact of publicity and propaganda as well as for understanding the dynamics of international relations. This approach, however, is not so significant in the analysis of power structure of a society, ideologies, allocation of resources or in explaining the phenomena of violence and revolution, etc. It is, therefore, to be concluded that communication theory, as an approach to the study of political science should be commended or encouraged for application only in a limited sphere of political science.

## **15. Decision-Making Analysis**

Decision-making analysis refers to the process by which, politics could be understood by arriving at certain conclusion by means of decision. It is a known fact that exercise of authority involves decision-making. In political science, exercise of political authority, which involves decision making, and which affects politics is what decision making analysis is. The scope of decision making, however, is very vast in political sphere. Describing the vast nature of decision making in the sphere of politics, Vernon Van Dyke says:

“Every actor is a decision maker. Those acting, acting for political parties decide which candidate to nominate. Voters decide whether to vote and for whom. Legislators decide which proposals to advance or support. Executives decide what legislation to seek, whether to sign or veto acts of legislative body, precisely which steps to take in executing

or administering the law, and what policies to pursue where action is left to their discretion.”

Decision-making analysis, therefore, is concerned with analysis of political system, processes and behavior in terms of their decision making mechanism and its functioning. Decision-making analysis, therefore, involves the following points;

- a. Identification of issues on which, decisions are being made;
- b. The structure involved in the decision making;
- c. The actors involved in decision making;
- d. The alternative courses of action or option that was considered before making a choice;
- e. The factors influencing the choice of decision makers;
- f. Any external factors, pressures or constraint which influence their decision; and
- g. The outcome of the decision including its political cost.

It is normally to be assumed that decision makers, or those who are involved in the process of decision making, are rational and that they are fully conscious of the goals they have chosen for taking decision. They, therefore, choose or select the most feasible means of attaining these goals. Therefore, the authority political authority who are the actors in the political system, being rational, normally take decisions under the influence of their rational calculation.

Decision making analysis as an approach to the study of politics and political phenomena, essentially adopts an interdisciplinary approach by drawing substantially on psychology, sociology, administrative theory and organization theory. It seeks to relate its analysis of decision to the work of other social scientists in the field of decision-making in non-political situations, with the view to evolving general theory of decision making.

Decision-making analysis, as an approach to the study of political science could be applied to a wide range of situations involving local, regional, national, and even international politics. It may also be

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used to study a large variety of factors, including voters, elites, functionaries of political parties, legislators, judges, government officials as well as officials of international organizations.

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## **Unit- II**

### **State**

#### **(1) Nature of State**

Man, by nature is a social being and man for being a social being, cannot live in isolation. Also, man, by nature is endowed with social instinct, and this social instinct of man is natural to every man. It is the social instinct of man which gives man the desire and the instinct to live together, to live in a company with other fellow beings. It is the same social instinct that which makes man to live in a family, the first and the lowest human institution. Then, a number of families living in the same area and jurisdiction together formed a village or society. Again, a number of villages or localities, together decided to form a civil society; then and there, was created 'state', which is the highest form of human institution, and which is endowed with sovereign power. It is this sovereign authority which distinguishes the state from other human institutions. Where human beings have lived together for any length of time, there we find organization and authority, and where we find organization and authority; there we find a nucleus of state.

Greek political thinker, Aristotle maintains that man is a political animal. As social instinct is natural to man, so is state natural. State is a natural and necessary institution. State is natural, because it is the product of the social instinct of man, which is natural. Aristotle said, "To live in the state and to be a man is identical, for whoever was not a member of the state or unfit to be one was either a god or a beast." This definition of state by Aristotle implies that state is an absolute necessity and that to live in the state is natural to man. Holland stated that state is a numerous assemblage of human beings, generally occupying a certain territory among whom, the will of the majority or of an ascertainable class of persons is by the strength of such a majority made to prevail

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against any of the member who opposes it. According to Philimore state is “a people permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politics, exercising through the medium of an organized government, independent and sovereign and control over all persons and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and peace and of entering into all international relations with the communities of the globe” Garner defines state as “a concept of political science and public law, is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent, or nearly so, of external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience” Mc Iver defines state as “an association which, acting through law as promulgated by a government, endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order” Most of the above definitions of the state seek to explain not only what state is, but also seek to comprehend the powers, functions and activities of the state.

## **Distinctions between State and other Institutions**

### **(a) State and Society**

While state is a politically organized society, society is not politically organized. While state is a society endowed with sovereign power over citizens and subjects, society on the other hand, is not endowed with such power. Therefore, one of the fundamental distinctions between state and society is that, while state enjoys sovereign political power, society is devoid of such power. In terms of jurisdiction, society is said to be having broader as well as narrower jurisdiction than the state. Society, in one sense, has an unlimited geographical jurisdiction. In many cases, the geographical jurisdiction of society transcends national boundaries of different nations. Its jurisdiction may be worldwide. For e.g. Red Cross is a society without territorial limit and there are a number of societies, the territorial jurisdictions of which transcend national, regional boundaries.

However, there are also numerous societies established to cover only certain areas or localities or even only a particular group of people within a particular locality. It is in this sense that society is said to be broader as well as narrower than state. On the other hand, state has a territorial limit within which it operates. Its powers and functions are confined only within its territorial boundaries. A state may be big or small; it may be powerful or less powerful. It, however, has to exercise its powers and functions within the limit of its territorial boundaries.

State is a part of society, but it is not a form of society. It is more than loosely connected individuals who happen to live together. But, state is a number of people politically associated and organized under, and through some forms of Government, occupying definite portion of the earth's surface. Society, as a human association, exercises its limited authority or power through social customs. On the other hand, state, as a human association, exercises its powers through laws made by the legislature. While state is the only authority which has the legitimate authority to exercise coercive power, society on the other hand, does not have such legitimate power to exercise coercive power. Society can only use moral persuasion or influence and social ostracism or, expulsion. to quote E. Baker, "the area of society is voluntary cooperation, its energy that of good will, its method that of elasticity; while the area of the state is rather than of mechanical action, its energy, force, its method, rigidity."

To McIver, "the state is a structure not coeval and co-extensive with society but built within it as a determinate order for the attainment of specific ends." Speaking about the importance of state to society, E Baker said 'Society is held together by the state; and if it were not thus held together, it could not exist.' Society may be compared to the many planks which comprise a wooden barrel, and the state to the iron band which goes around them, holding them together in their proper places.

E. Baker, in his book, Principles of Social and Political Theory, has given the distinctions between state and society. They are as follow:

- (1) Distinctions in purpose and function.
- (2) Distinction in organization and structure
- (3) Distinction in method

(1) As far as the purpose and function of state is concerned, a state for being a politically organized society is concerned with the protection of

life and property of individuals living in it. It is, being a legally established social institution, has the legal framework which justified its act of omissions and commissions., Being a legal institution, state acts for the single purpose of making and enforcing a permanent system of law and order. However, society, comprising as it does, a plurality of associations, acts for variety of purposes other than the legal purpose which include, intellectual, moral, religious, economics, ethic, cultural, linguistics, etc. In short, while the state exists for one lofty purpose and ideal, society exists for a number of purposes which may include lofty as well as small and negligible ideals.

In terms of organization, while state is again, a single organization within which a number of societies and human institutions exist and operate. Society, on the other hand, comprises or may be comprise of many organizations created within it. Therefore, according to E. Baker, there cannot be two states within one state for e.g. India, a state is divided into a number of states like, state of Assam, Manipur, but these are not states in the true sense of the term; and that these states are merely geographical sub-divisions, created for administrative convenience. On the other hand, in the case of society, there can be a number of societies created and instituted within one society.

In terms methods adopted by both state and society, state having been endowed with legal and sovereign power, could adopt the method of force while executing its policies and programs, on the other hand, society is devoid of such coercive authority; and, therefore, it employs the method of voluntary action or voluntary obedience from its members.

State, as has usually been described as a society politically organized, naturally possesses political power, a sovereign political power, to be précised. Society, as it is, an association of human beings which fulfill all their needs – from cradle to grave. The state, on the other hand, fulfilled the particular need of political organization – it subjects them to binding laws and decisions to provide for order and security and common services. Society binds men into multifarious relationships which are not to be seen in the state.

It should be noted, however, that society may coincide with states especially when society takes the form of state. Thus, Indian society and the Indian state denote the association of the set of

person. This is not always the case, but it is only exceptional. There can be a society within the state such as a village community. Social relationship can extend even beyond the state. You can have friends, well-wishers, admirers, clients, customers, colleagues, relatives, etc. across national boundaries. They belong to your society but not to your state.

Society is a primary human association; and state too is formed out of society. State may be created, altered or dissolved, but society goes on unending. Man cannot live without society as his social instinct inherent in him forced him to live in a society but man can live without state. State depends on society for its existence and its continued existence, but society does not depend on state for its existence.

### **(b) State and Government**

State and government are, sometimes identified as one and the same institution which, however, is not true; and that they are not one and the same. Government is regarded as an essential element and instrument of the state through which it performs its functions. It is the government which represents the state; and it is the government which exercises all authorities and functions on behalf of the state. For e.g. when the Union Parliament passed legislation on a particular act, we say, the Government made legislation on that particular act, but when it becomes an act, and then we say, India (the state) made law on that particular issue. In short, the government made the law, but not on its behalf, but on behalf of the state. The state itself is an ideal person, intangible, immutable. The government, on the other hand is, an agent and within the sphere of the agency, a perfect representative, but outside of that it is a lawless usurpation. Rousseau insists "government is a living tool," a living tool of state. The term state and government, therefore, are not identical and that they should not be identified to be one and the same while the state represents a wider and more stable entity, the government, on the other hand, is not stable and subjected to changes. When we speak of state, we mean to say the organization, of which the government is the administrative organ. Since the organization is greater than the organ, state is greater than the government.

Therefore, so long as the state maintains its identity and independence, government may come and go in accordance with the established norms, rules and procedures without actually affecting the character of state. However, in exceptional cases, state can also lose its character i.e. when it is suppressed and conquered by a more powerful state or when its constitution or the established procedure for forming a legitimate government is suspended. State, as the highest political human institution is, a symbol of unity of the people. The image of the state inspires unity among the people, and provides them with an identity as a nation. It arouses national pride and a spirit of sacrifice among the people. E.g. Israel, a tiny middle-east country surrounded by enemies, is increasingly becoming a powerful country, both in terms of technology and economy, mainly because the people (Jews) lend absolute loyalty to the state, and not to the government in power. The government only represents a working arrangement to carry out functions of state, government commands obedience while state commands loyalty. Government may be good or bad, efficient or inefficient, but state will continue to be the symbol of national unity on which lays the greatness of state.

It should, however, be maintained that duties and obligations of citizens toward the state is determined by the character, efficiency, etc. of the government in power. If the government losses its credibility, it should either be replaced according to the established procedure or the credibility of the state itself will be eroded. The government, therefore, should be subjected to constant watch so that it conforms to the image of the state as the protector of common interest.

Idealist theory does not make any distinction between state and government and it creates an image of perfect state. Hegel refers to state, particularly, nation state as “the march of God on earth” this theory demands complete subordination of man to the authority and command of state, without ensuring whether the actual government which makes such demands, conforms to the image of ideal of state. On the other hand, the liberal democratic theory gives a more rational approach in that it treats the state as a product of the will of society, an instrument of conflict resolution, and of securing the common interest; then it authorizes society to constitute a government by free choice, and demands that the government should be responsible to the people, and

should work with the continuous consent of the people. The Marxists, on their parts regarded government as the agency of the state. They attributed any imperfections and failures of the government to the failures and incompetence of the state.

### **(c) State and Nation**

It has been seen that terms, state and nation are being used interchangeably. Many a time, nation and state are identified as identical. The frontiers of a state is called and referred to as national frontiers, the interests of the state are referred to as national interests, and so on and so forth. However, for the sake of clarity of the meaning and precision in the use of the two words, it would be important to employ these terms to describe two distinct things. State, as already seen, is a society politically organized; and it may or may not be in coexistence with nationality. Where a state is exclusively composed of one nationality, we referred to as 'nation-state. On the other hand, when a nation is found comprising of more than one or a number of nationalities, we cannot or do not call nation-state. Professor Gilchrist explains thus, 'a nation means a self governing nationality; and that term, nation, today acquired a definite political meaning. It, he said, stands for unity of the people organized in one state and acting spontaneously as a unity. Nationality is, therefore, primarily cultural and ethnical terms having spiritual sentiment or principle. Normally, factors responsible for the making of nationality are, geographical unity, common racial stock, common history, common language, common religion, custom and tradition, common likes and dislikes, and the likes. It should, however, be noted that, for the formation of nation-state, it is not absolutely necessary that all these elements must be there. But at least, however, some of these elements need to be there if a nation-state is to be created.

Again, nation and nationality are not the same as one believe to be. Nationality denotes a group of people inspired by a feeling of unity based or common race, common language, common religion and religious practices, custom, culture, geographical compactness, common political aspiration and historical development. Most of these are based

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on birth and provide little scope for the expansion of the horizons of social relationship.

There are writers, who define nation on the same basis as nationality, and then advocate a separate state for each nationality. However, this view of nation is no more considered valid as a nation grows on a much wider base. It refers to people living in a defined territory inspired by a sense of unity, common political aspirations, common interests, common history and common destiny though they may belong to different nationalities. In short, groups of people of different races, of different ethnicities, religion, language, culture, etc. may live together and feel united as citizen of the same state, owing their undivided allegiance to that state. Therefore, it has been seen that nationhood transcends the condition of birth and extends to the permanent residents of a state. It could not, however, be denied that members of a nation distinguish themselves from other nations. They may, sometimes, be prejudiced against other people. Yet a logical conclusion of the idea of a nation postulates equality among nations, their co-existence and cooperation since the World War I, precisely, after 1920, the world started witnessing the emergence of the aspiration for self-determination almost universally, leading to the establishment of a large number of nation states; which necessitated the establishment of international organizations like the League of nations, the UNO and other regional organizations to regulate the relations between these new nation states. Countries of Asia and Africa who got political independence from their colonial powers after World War II are faced with problems related to nation building which was a herculean task as nation building involves inculcating a feeling of unity, a process of integration into a compact group. To develop a feeling of a sense of unity, however, is not easy without economic, social and political parties. Therefore, in the absence of equality and parity among the people of the new nation states, it is not, though not impossible, difficult to have a kind of nation state that could harmonize all groups of people to live in complete unity which is essential for nation building.

Regarding the distinction between nation and nationality, Gettell observes, "Considerable confusion arises from the fact that publicists do not agree in their usage of the term 'nation and nationality.'" Some use the term, 'nation' to mean a population of ethnic unity, regardless of its

political affiliation; others widen the term to mean a population having political unity and identity of “nation” and state. Some use the term, nationality to signify the principle or characteristic that creates a nation. Other distinguish nation and nationality by using the former to mean the population of the same race, language and tradition inhabiting the same territory and constituting the larger part of its population, and the latter to mean one of several distinct ethnic groups scattered over an area and forming, but comparatively small part of its population. For e.g. one may speak of British nation and Welsh nationality.

However, in spite all attempts to draw distinctions between state, nation and nationality, the three terms are closely connected terms, which could not be distinguished completely. It is, because of the close association of the three terms, many scholars, even till today, many a time interchangeably use them to mean one thing. Therefore, it could be safely concluded that state, nation and nationality are closely connected terms, associated with political institution, people living that political institution and different ethnic groups or racial group living and occupying within that political institution.

## **(2) State and its Essential Elements**

State, a politically organized society, is the highest and the most powerful human association. It is the natural outcome of the natural and inherent social instinct of man. Aristotle, a Greek Political Thinker once said, to live in the state is natural to man, and that man who lived outside the state is either a beast or god. Liberal political thinkers referred to state as necessary evil by why they mean, the state may be repressive, coercive, authoritative in dealing with its own people, yet it is necessary, necessary for the protection of the life and property of the people; and also in providing necessities of life to the people. State, as distinguished from other kinds of association, is a supreme human association or institution which is endowed with the sovereign power over citizens and subjects. It is the institution which has the power to make rules and regulations through which it exercises its sovereign power. It is the source of all laws which it itself implements, executes and enforce through its agency, called government. The state, being the

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supreme authority, has certain inevitable elements without which it cannot simply exist; which are –

- (a) Population
- (b) Territory
- (c) Government
- (d) Sovereignty

### **(a) Population**

State as said to be, an association of associations, cannot even be perceived without population as association without people cannot be a possibility. Therefore, in order to create or institute a state, population is a prior necessity. However, with regards to number or size of the population, there cannot be a fixed size of the population. The question relating to the number of persons necessary to constitute a state is only theoretical interest, although ancient Greek Scholars like Plato and Aristotle emphasized on the fixing of the size of the population of a state. Plato, in his book, ‘Laws fixed the number of citizens for an ideal state at 4000 to 5000. In a relatively recent time Rousseau insists that the population of an ideal state should be somewhere around 10,000 persons. Modern states vary in terms of size of population and territory. Russia, USA and China are huge in terms of territory as well as in terms of population. On the other hand, countries like Monaco and San Marino are extremely small, both in terms of population and territory. Population in order to constitute a state must be united by condition of inter-dependence, consciousness of common interest and mutual needs, and general regard for a set of common rules of behavior and institutions.

It should be noted that while population is the pre-requisite for the creation of state, it is no more a necessity that population of a state should necessarily belong to one racial, linguistic or one cultural group. Homogeneous population is no longer considered an essential feature of modern state as the modern states now claim to have learnt how to reconcile the interests and aspirations of diversified groups of people living within their geographical boundaries.

State, as a matter of fact, comes into existence only when its population is settled in a fixed territory. Fredrick Engels, in his book, “Origin of

Family, Private property and the State” writes that the formation of state is accompanied by division of population according to territory. In the pre-state society, when people live as nomadic life, moving from one place to another in search of food, the members of the tribes are held together by the ties of kinship. With the formation of state, citizens are allowed to exercise their rights and duties wherever they settle. The organization of citizens according to locality is common feature of all states.

The territory of a state consists of land, water and air-space within its territory. It also extends usually to a distance of three miles into the sea from its coast, and is known as territorial water which may be sought to be extended further in times of war.

Territory signifies the sphere of sovereignty of the state. Territory provides natural resources which is the source of national strength and power. It also provides for a sense of security and immense opportunities for a fuller life for the people, it is an object of sentimental attachment. People love and worship their motherland, and are prepared to make supreme sacrifices for the protection and maintenance of the territorial integrity of their state. The feeling of patriotism, the feeling of ownership of the state binds together the people of different races, with different religions, languages and cultures, by a thread of national unity and mutual cooperation which eventually became the greatest source of national strength.

## **(b) Territory**

Territory, like population is another pre-requisite for the establishment of state. Other associations and societies could exist within the territorial boundary of a state or they can extend their area of operation even beyond the territorial boundary of a state or a number of states. However, state cannot extend its area of operation beyond its territorial boundary. Once it extends its area of operation beyond the territorial limit of its own, it would be an aggressor which could be punished under international laws. Other associations neither need separate territory nor have territory which they could consider their own. This is one of the fundamental distinctions between state and other associations.

However, regarding the size of territory that the state should have there is no fixed size territory for the creation of the state. A state may be as small as Vatican City State, and at the same time, a state can be as big as Russia or USA or China or Canada. However, there is an ideal size for an ideal state which, however, is not an absolute necessity or inevitable. In order that a state becomes a powerful state, both in terms of military point of view and in terms of economic point of view, a state should have sufficiently large territory. Looking at the power position of nations of the world, we find that all powerful nations of the world are all territorially large countries; USA, Russia, China, they are the world leading powers, both militarily and economically.

Therefore, the importance of territory, as an element of state cannot be over-stressed and its importance has become more and more a reality when the supply of land is fixed and the demand for it has no limitation.

### **(c) Government**

Government, another essential element of the state, is the agency or mechanism through which state performs its diversified and numerous functions. The government, on its part performs these functions through its three main organs, which are – Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. It performs its law making function through its legislative organ; the legislature, it performs its executive functions, by executing and implementing law passed by the legislature; and it performs its function of interpreting laws passed by the legislature through its judiciary organs like, the supreme court and high courts. In short, these three main organs of the government are performing each of their functions on behalf of the government and ultimately on behalf of the state.

The government is the agency through which the sovereign will of the state finds concrete expression. A state without a government is inconceivable, for state wills and acts through the government. The authority of state is exercised by the government; the functions of the state are performed by the government, as stated above, through its three main organs; the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Laws of the state are made, declared and enforced by the government through

its three main organs. Justice is dispensed by the judicial organ of the government. It is responsible for maintaining law and order, and for the provision of common services; communication, water supply, electrification, and health services, imparting of education and it levy taxes for the provision of all such services. It is responsible for the safety and security of its citizens; it issues currency, regulates foreign relations, constructs and maintains roads, bridges, and provides transport communications, railways, etc. All these functions are, as a matter of fact, the functions of state, which the government, through its three main organs carried out.

In dealing with citizens of the state, it is the government which is in a direct touch with the citizens of the state. Peace treaties with other state were made and concluded by the government on behalf of the state; and declaration of war with other state was made by the government on behalf of the state.

However, it should not be misconstrued that government and state are the same entity. Governments may be suspended, or even terminated without disturbing the existence of the state so long as they are formed and terminated or suspended according to the established norm, procedure or according to the established constitution of the state. The state can lose its identity as a state only if it is invaded and absorbed by other more powerful state, which however, is not easy under the present international system, where collective security arrangement has been provided under the umbrella of UNO.

Describing the respective position and status of state and government, Mac Iver says “the state is the organization of which government is the administrative organs; and since the organization is greater than the government, the state is greater and more inclusive”. He further maintains, “A state has a constitution, a code of laws, a way of setting up its government, a body of citizen.”

#### **(d) Sovereignty**

Sovereignty is not only one of the essential element of state, but it is also a special element, a virtue with which it is endowed and which makes it the most powerful and the highest form of human association. Sovereignty denotes the supreme power or the ultimate power with

which it is endowed, and which gives highest power to make laws or to take political decisions, both in relation to citizens and subject. By virtue of its sovereign power, it is the supreme authority to formulate policies and programs to be carried; it is by virtue of the same that it has acquired the supreme power to fix priorities of programs. It is because of the sovereign power it has that it could enforce such laws and decisions by the use of legitimate force. Sovereignty, as a matter of fact, denotes the final authority of the state over its citizens and subjects. This authority though is exercised by the government, it is exercised on behalf of the state; and that the powers, the sovereign power, essentially belongs to the state.

It is by virtue of its sovereignty that a state declares – through its agency, the government – its laws and decisions and issues commands which are binding on all citizens, claims obedience thereto, and punishes the offenders. It is also by virtue of its sovereignty that a state similarly deals independently with other state. It is by virtue of its sovereignty that the orders and commands of state are considered superior to those of other associations or institutions, even to the dictate of social customs or conscience of individuals. The right to use physical force is permitted to other associations or institution only to the extent to which the state permits it. Max Weber, HH Gerth and C. Wright Mill said, “The state is considered the sole source of the right to use violence.” The right to use legitimate coercion in its own right is the exclusive prerogative of the state.

It is maintains that the state exists so long as it continues to possess its sovereignty. On the other hand, if a state loses its sovereignty either because of internal revolt or external invasion, the result will be complete anarchy and disappearance of the state. As such, some scholars, today, regard international recognition as an essential element of state. This implies a formal recognition of the sovereignty of the state over a given territory and population by other states. But international recognition comes only after a state was created; and only after a state acquired its sovereignty. International recognition, therefore, though important for the continued existence of the state, is not an essential element for the creation of state. For e.g. Israel, a Jewish State was created after World War II by the United Nations, however, till today many Arab Countries refused to give official

recognition to Israel; yet the state of Israel exists and continues to exist as a sovereign state.

Whatever it is, what is evident is that it is the sovereignty of state that distinguishes state from all other forms of human associations and institutions. It is the sovereignty of state which makes state as association of associations. No other human associations possess this virtue of the state. It is this virtue of state which makes state different from other association. Therefore, sovereignty is the special elements of the state which makes it the most powerful human association.

## **4 Organic Theory of State**

While, the organic theory of state could be traced back to the time of Plato and Aristotle, Fichte, a German idealist, was the first to bring out clearly the interdependence of individual and society. He holds the view that the individual had no meaning and significance in and by him apart from society, but was an essential part of the social whole. In his words, "In the organic body, each part constantly maintains the whole, and is in maintaining the whole, thereby, itself maintained; just so stands the citizens in relation to state."

In the nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer drew a parallel between an individual organism and social organism, but failed to point out the essential points of the comparison. He uses the organic analogy to prove his own preconceived notion of individuals. The analogy is used so very literally in an earlier essay that the up and down lines of a railway are compared the arteries and veins of an animal.

The organic theory of state represents one of the earliest thought about the state like, its structure, its origin, its nature and its purpose. It compares the state with a living organism, and individuals with its organs. The organic theory of state has two implications. In the first place, since the existence and worth of the organs depend on the existence of the organism, i.e. the living body, so also the existence and worth of individuals depend on the existence of state. In the second place, different organs are put to perform different functions within the organism while some organs are naturally superior; some others are naturally inferior to others. In the same way, therefore, different groups and classes of people in the society are naturally put to perform different

functions; and some are destined to enjoy a superior position than the others in the interest of the whole society. In an organism, parts of organism, though are performing each of their function for the continuous survival of the organism, perform their respective function for their own survival too.

In the same way, different parts of an organism do not have independent existence, independent of the organism. An eye retains its identity as an eye so long as it is joint with the organism, i.e. the body. The moment it is detached from the body, it would lose its visibility and consequently, lose its identity as an eye. In the same manner, state which is compared to a living organism, has a number of organs or parts, which are individuals composing the state. Individuals, being part and parcel of the state, cannot exist outside the state as the social needs of individuals are to be found in the state. Individual needs variety of things for his survival; food, clothes and shelter; and a part from that he also needs security of life and property, all of which could be provided by the state. In the same way, state also cannot exist without people living in it. Population, which is considered as one of the essential elements of state, is inevitable as well as a necessity for the state, for its existence as a state. The organic theory of state, therefore, compares state with a living organism or a living body, and individuals living in the state with different parts of an organism, which are performing each of their destined functions for the existence and survival of the whole or entire body or organism, including its parts.

The organic theory of state looks at the state as a natural institution. The theory maintains that one cannot imagine the existence of man as a man that is, a civilized being, without the existence of state. Aristotle maintains that the state comes into existence for the sake of life, and continues to exist for the sake of good life. In other words, the existence of state is a pre-requisite for the existence of man. He, speaking about the inevitability of state for man, says, "Man, by nature is a political animal. One who lives without the state is either a beast or a god."

## **Factual position of the organic theory of state**

- 1) State or society is not an organism, but it is like an organism in some respects and also unlike an organism in some other respects.
- 2) In the same way, as a living organism, state has in it the principle of life, growth and development.
- 3) In the social organism, in the same way as individual organism, there is an inter-relation and inter-dependence of parts. The parts depend upon one another and upon the whole; the whole in turn depends upon the parts. The welfare of each is involved in the welfare of all; and individual good and social good are closely related.
- 4) Both individual organism and the social organism embody the principle of differentiation of parts and the related principle of the distribution functions according to fitness. Tools to the man who can use them are the underlying idea.

Lipson brings out the limitations of the organic theory of state by saying, "A human group (like the state) resembles an organism in that its members perform various functions, and are interdependent. It differs from an organism in that it has no way of thinking, feeling, and acting as one" McIver argues that the conception of state as an organism is "a dangerous analogy." It has no proper place for the "autonomy, the initiative, the selfhood, the personality of individual."

- 1) The theory teaches the importance of the historical and evolutionary theory of the origin of state.
- 2) The theory emphasizes the existence of interdependence between citizens and state or political institution.
- 3) It insists upon the effects of natural and social environment.
- 4) The theory emphasizes the essential unity of social life and the intricate casual inter-relation of all its parts.
- 5) The theory teaches that society is something more than an aggregate of individuals loosely brought together without any unifying bond. The theory has clearly pointed out that the members, individually, are in a peculiar sense of dependent upon the whole and the whole in turn is, conditioned upon the part.

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- 6) The theory believes that men by nature, are political being; and that their universal tendency to a social organization (social instinct) creates the state.

## **Limitations of the Theory**

- 1) The will of the state is not always identical with the will of its component or units as suggested by the theory.
- 2) The laws of evolution are strictly adhered to in individual organism while the growth of the state is in a large measure capable of conscious direction and control.
- 3) Going too far in the theory can lead to the belief that state is an end in itself and ignore the fact that the purpose of the state is the well being of individuals.
- 4) Individual members of the state cannot always be expected to think that they exist solely to support and perpetuate the life of the state or the whole. Individuals have their needs and aspirations which they have to fulfill. Individuals have consciousness and the will of their own. These, as a matter of fact, are not true in the case of parts of an organism.
- 5) Parts of an organism perishes and ceases to be a living organism in isolation, if are cut off. This is not the case with the relation between state and individual.

## **5 Mechanistic Theories of State**

Mechanistic and organic theories of state are the two main conflicting theories regarding the origin of state as well as the relation of state with individuals. The two theories hold directly opposing views about how state came into existence. The supporters of organic theory hold the view that state was the natural outcome of human nature, and of the social instinct of man, etc. On the other hand, the mechanistic theories and supporter of the theories believe that state was a human construct, which existing as one social institution among many others, performing a specific function related to the safety and security of the life and property of individual composing the society.

Among the scholars advocating the two theories, Aristotle and Rousseau are the two worth mentioning supporters of the organic concept of state while Thomas Hobbes and Karl Marx are the two worth-mentioning scholars who uphold the mechanistic concept of state. Thomas Hobbes, one of the main architects of mechanistic concept of state, demonstrated that the state could be set up, like any other social institutions, for whatever purpose or purposes desirable. He also, as a mechanistic theorist, identified the sovereignty of the state as having legal basis, as against moral basis. Hobbes, while explaining his assumption of human nature, maintained that man is by nature selfish and self centered. He, in his theory of the state of nature and life therein, maintained that people in the state of nature have relative equality; and that even the weakest man was strong enough to kill the strongest; and even the stupidest was smart enough to outsmart the smartest. This is the state which he called, 'state of nature' when he said, was dominated by perpetual war, the war of all against all. Therefore, Hobbes mechanistic concept of the origin of state was rooted in his theory of human nature which ruled over life in the state of nature. According to him, since men cannot continue to live in the state of nature where there was no peace and security due to the absence of authority to provide them. In the absence of peace and security life was too difficult to live. It was under this situation, according to Hobbes, men decided to create a state or civil society which shall protect them; and to whom, men would render obedience. Therefore, Hobbes mechanistic conception of the origin of state was rooted in his theory of human nature as well as his theory of state of nature.

Again, Hobbes mechanistic conception of state is also rooted in his concept of revolution, the right of men to revolt against the state. If and when state could not provide security to the people, he said, the people have no more obligation to the state because the state on its part, fails to fulfill its contractual obligation of providing security to the people. In such case, he maintains, the people have the legitimate right to revolt against the state or the sovereign. Such revolution would be for change in the whole political set up or system. According to Hobbes, state must perform its contractual obligation to the satisfaction of the people by providing security of life and property, and the people must also at the same time, fulfill their contractual obligation to the state by

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rendering obedience to the state. Since, such is the contractual relation between state and the people, if the state fails to provide security to the people, it would mean, breach of contract by the state which could lead to the disintegration of its authority to command obedience, because such an eventuality would be followed by total anarchy. Hobbes, therefore, puts limitation to the power of the state in relation to individuals, and allows for more articulation of the interest of the people in the political arena.

Karl Marx, the main actor of Marxist political philosophy, is also a supporter of mechanistic concept of state. According to Marxists, the doctrine that state is something that is divine, having divine origin, and that it is not something that is related to human effort, but given to man by divine power, serves the purpose of justifying social privilege; the existence of exploitation and of capitalist system. The existence of capitalists and privileged class and classes, therefore, resulted into the emergence of conflict and class struggle, the struggle between the haves and the have notes. the Marxists believe that the state has not always exist or appear, whenever and wherever there is division of society into classes or wherever exploitation between classes appeared state also appear to serve the interest of one class. Marxists conception of the origin of state, therefore, is that, division of society into classes mechanically created the state, division of society mechanically produces class struggle; and the emergence of class struggle mechanically is resulted from the existence of exploitation of one class by the other class.

The state, the Marxists maintain was created to achieve a particular purpose and all other exploits are the indirect product of that function. As against the organic conception of state, man has no moral connection to the state and, therefore, has the right to revolt against it (the state). The contractual obligation of individual to the state arises from a legal basis (not moral basis). The power of the state in relation to individual is not absolute. The mechanistic theory of the state, therefore, is basically utilitarian in nature. The role of individual is vital and important for the very existence and survival of the state. Accordingly, on the relation between individuals and state, the mechanistic theory maintains that the dependence of state on individuals is greater than the dependence of individuals on the state. The underlying idea here is, the

relation between state and individuals has to be based on utility or on utilitarianism, where the state uses the individuals just as the individual uses the state. This concept is even more applicable in the emerging globalization of world today, where international law plays a vital role, and may even be seen as infringing on national sovereignty of nation states. It is, therefore, to be rightly concluded that the mechanistic theory of state, as propounded by Hobbes and Karl Marx, offers a more accurate account of the power of the state in relation to individuals.

Ivan Ilyin, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Russian traditionalist, explains the mechanistic society in the following ways:-There are two different understandings of the state and politics, which are, mechanistic and organic. The mechanistic, according to Ivan Ilyin, insists instinctive man and his private interests; it measures life quantitatively and formalistically. The organic, on the other hand, derived from the human spirit and ascends to national unity and its common interests; it is quantitative, searching out spiritual roots and solutions.” Further explaining the mechanistic society, he said, “It sees in man, first and foremost the instinctive individual with his desires and needs, every person wishes to work less, enjoy himself more and relax; procreate and accumulate; maintain his irresponsible opinion and express them without hindrance; to find the likeminded and associate with them wherever they may be, to depend upon no one and wield as much power and influence as possible. After all, men are born equal,” and hence each of them must be provided equal rights for the assertion of their desires and needs; these are the inalienable rights of liberty which cannot abide restriction. Therefore, every person should have an equal voice in the affairs of state. For so many people there will be so many equal voices. Whatever a man may fancy is to be affirmed, and let there be no interference in this. Allow likeminded men of all nations to unite freely; let the votes be counted, the majority will decide.”

The central idea of mechanistic conception of the origin of state, as seen in the preceding discussion is, state was instituted or created by men with a specific aim, i.e. for protecting and safeguarding individuals living in it. In other words, state was established for the service of the individuals. Therefore, individuals are more important than the state. However, if and when the state fails to perform its function or obligation for which it was created, to the satisfaction of the

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individuals, then, individuals may stop obeying the orders of the state. Therefore, the power of state over citizens and subjects is not absolute as obedience to the state by the individuals is subject to the fulfillment of obligations by the state.

## **6. Marxian Theory of State**

### **(a) Definition of State**

With the exception of liberal theory, Marxist theory of state is, perhaps, the most prominent theory as far as the theories of state is concerned. The Marxist theory, apart from challenging the basic concept of liberal state, emphasizes that state enslaves majority of people in the society for the realization of its aim; and, therefore, state must be abolished or smashed, as without which the emancipation of common men will never be possible. In the communist manifesto written by Marx and Engels, the two leading and prominent Marxists have given a simple definition to the term, state. They maintain that, “state is a political power, properly so called, merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another.” They further stated in the same book, “The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie” Dal Draper, in his ‘Karl Marx’s Theory of revolution’ also defines state in the following words, “The state is the institution or complex of institutions which bases itself the availability of forcible coercion by special agencies of society in order to maintain the dominance of a ruling class, preserve the existing property relations from basic change and keep all other classes in subjection. This definition of state by Draper is, more or less, similar to definition given by Karl Marx and Engels. The central idea of this definition is that the state is fundamentally or largely an instrument of domination and suppression of one class by another. In other words, state is an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisies to suppress and exploit the worker who are by far greater in number. State, therefore according to Marxists, is machinery for exploitation of laborers. States as an instrument of exploitation was created by the dominant class, the capitalist to safe-guard its interest, its economic

interest and also for furtherance of its domination and exploitation, so on and so forth.

### **(b) Origin of State**

The Marxists, neither believe nor support, the social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. They do not either believe in the organic theory of the origin of state, provided by Aristotle and Rousseau. On the other hand, they look at the origin of state from materialistic perspective, which emphasizes that though the state was created by man, behind this there is no emotion, idea or anything else, but the influence of material conditions which they termed as, 'economic conditions. The Marxists classified the development of human society into four stages; the old communist social system, slave society, feudal society and industrial society. In the first, i.e. the old communist social system, they maintain, there did not exist state, because there did not exist private property. That is to say that in the old communist social system state was not as yet created because there was no as yet an institution of private property which needs protection; and state was non-existence. These in other words mean the institution of private property necessitated the emergence of state. With the emergence of private property, protection of such property was felt necessary which could be provided by a powerful entity, called 'state.' As soon as there emerge private property, two classes of people appeared in the society; one was, those who have property, and the other was, those who do not have property. Consequent upon, conflict between the two classes of people, became inevitable as propertied class of people wanted to subjugate the other class of people without property. In the meantime, the propertied class of people felt the need to have a powerful mechanism or entity which could give protection to their property; and so was the state, a powerful mechanism or entity created.

Karl Marx and Engels maintain that state was not something emerging out of society, but it was rather the product of society. For all practical purposes, state was set up in a slave society, because in a slave society, there were two classes of people; the master or owners of

slaves, and the slaves themselves. the masters who required a mechanism through which they could control their slaves; and for this end they manufactured an institution called, "State." This, the Marxist said, was the origin of state or this is how and under what circumstances and condition state came into existence.

Engels, in his work, "The Origin of Family, Private Property and State", elaborately analyzed the origin and development of state. To quote him, "The state is, by no means, a power forced on society from without ..... rather it is a product of society at a certain stage of development." Those people living in the society laid the foundation of state for the fulfillment of their class interests. Here, the question of class interests arises. Engels, in the same work, stated that the interests of the property owning class and that of non-property owning class are diametrically opposite, and, which is why there were clashes of interests between these two classes, and that the two opposite interests could not be reconciled. Consequent upon, there developed an animosity and antagonism between the two classes which could not be settled amicably. All these situations and circumstances necessitated the creation of a super-structure in the form of state.

The propertied group of people in the state eventually came to be regarded as a separate class, whose interests and aims were to control and dominate those groups of people who were devoid of property; and to these end, to devise a mechanism whose main function would be to help the property owner group of people. The state was created to safeguard and further the economic interest of propertied class.

Thus, state, a purely man-made institution, virtually started functioning as an instrument in the hands of propertied class of people. It started functioning by providing security to the owners of wealth, or owners of means of production and to collect taxes from the members of society. Engels further stated that though the state is the product of society, it eventually became more and more powerful and finally stood above society which produced it. Though powerful it was, state became closer and friendlier to the propertied class. It is now, more or less clear that the state, how powerful it might be, had a soft corner with the rich, the wealthy and to be précised, the capitalists. This culminated into the control of state by the capitalists who eventually used state as its powerful instrument for the control of the whole economic system.

## **(c) Model of the Marxist Theory of State**

There are two main models of the Marxist theory of state, which are; the instrumentalist model and relative autonomy model.

### **(i) Instrumentalist Model**

Both Karl Marx and Engels stated that state was created, primarily to safeguard the economic or materialistic interest of the property owning class; and accordingly, state became an instrument used by property owning class. It was from this role the state played that Karl Marx and Engels introduced the so called, ‘instrumentalist model.’ The central idea of this model is that the state is used as an instrument for the fulfillment of the interest of a particular class of people in the society. The bourgeoisie used the state to articulate the interests of the capitalists Karl Marx stated that the bourgeoisie, without using the state could not have survived at all because its survival depended much upon its ability to accumulate and guard wealth.

### **Central Idea of Instrumentalist Model**

As seen in Engels work, origin of family, private property and state, the bourgeois, virtually controlled the state, because it is economically the dominant class. This economically powerful and dominant class uses the state, the politically power entity to serve its purposes. In other words, the two most powerful entities in the society combined together their power to serve the interest of one class i.e. capitalist class. This is the instrumentalist character of state; it is instrumentalist, because state is an instrument, a powerful instrument, indeed, in the hands of the capitalists, the propertied class of people, to perpetuate their control over those who do not own property.

In any class stratified society, a special role of the state i.e. to be instrument of one class, is inevitable which can be explain as follows –

- a) In any class stratified society there are two main classes. (There exists or there may exist other classes, but they are negligible as they could not play significant role)

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- b) The interests of these two main classes are in a direct opposition to one another; conflict between the two main classes is inevitable.
- c) Because of these conflicting interests, conflict was inevitable which was irreconcilable.
- d) Since the two main classes stick to their stand steadfastly, the conflict eventually became aggravated. In such a standoff between them, state took side with the capitalists as they have the economic power, but workers stood alone.
- e) The capitalist classes then employed the law enforcing agencies of state with the consent of state to counter the revolt launched by the working class.
- f) Had the capitalist class not employed the law enforcing agencies of the state, exploitation of working class would not have been possible.

Karl Marx and Engels, the two main architects of communist ideology, in their work, 'Manifesto of Communist Party', elaborated the instrumentalist idea of state. The capitalist class, according to them, gradually and steadily captured political power, and then by doing so, finally established its direct authority over all aspects of governmental affairs. The Manifesto (the Communist Manifesto), maintained that political power is precisely an organized power of one class for oppressing another.

Karl Marx and Engels elaborated that the capitalist, with the aim to establish full control over the industry in particular, and economy in general, constantly revolutionized the industrial sector of the economy, mode of production, etc. by introducing technology of production leading to quantum leap in production. In doing so, the capitalists were able to articulate their full hold over all sectors of economy of the state. Given that cosmopolitan character of production and consumption, the capitalists were even able to control international market. Karl Marx and Engels assertively maintained that the main aim of the capitalist class was to control all sectors of the economy with all its ramifications, and finally, the world market; and these aims, the capitalist could achieve through the state, which act as an instrument in hands.

The Communist Manifesto, which is the joint product of Karl Marx and Engels, contains the political ideology of Marxists. The book

stated that, “By the mere fact that it is a class and no longer an estate the bourgeoisie is forced to organize itself no longer locally, but nationally and to give a general form to its average interest.” The control of bourgeoisie class is no longer confined within the local political sphere, but its influence spreads throughout the national politics. In other words, the capitalist class is the controller of both local and national politics. Karl Marx and Engel, in their book, stated that the state is the form, in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interest, and even the civil society which consisted of numerous organizations and institutions, and also the social, political, economic, cultural aspects of society, as virtually controlled by the capitalists. The two main Marxian theorists further observed that if there were no classes, which means, no private property, there would not have raised the need for any state system at all.

It is, therefore, to be seen from the preceding discourses that the instrumentalist approach of Marxist political study is intimately related to the emergence of private property and state structure.

It has been seen that, Karl Marx and Engels, after elaborating the role of state in relation to the dominant class, precisely economically dominant class, the capitalist class, ultimately came to the conclusion that, state was the instrument of exploitation in the hands of the capitalist class. Engels penned his book, “Conditions of Working Class in England” in which he provides a clear and vivid picture of the pathetic conditions of workers in England. He presented as to how the capitalists employed the authority of state to exploit the workers. He further explains that, it was not only in Britain, but also in France, that the workers were exploited by the capitalists using state as the instrument of exploitation. In the second place, in a more mature capitalism, almost all the members of bourgeoisie came from the same socio-economic environment; and while running and managing production and business, their motive was, as how to exploit the workers with the help of state. Naturally, exploitation and the instrumentality of the state, both maintain their continuity. In the third place, the capitalists were well aware of the fact that in order to make the citadel of wealth, a well guarded one, is inevitable that the control over of the citadel must be as perfect as possible; and, therefore, the help of the state was absolutely indispensable. Finally, Miliband, in his work “Marxism and Politics”

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stated that certain structural constraints have forced the capitalists to use state as an instrument. To quote him, “The state is the instrument of ruling class, because given its insertion in the capitalist mode of production, it cannot be anything else.” What is meant here is that the environment around the capitalists was such that it was impossible for them to come out of it. Since, all capitalists were for exploitation of workers, and naturally not a single capitalist would go against that trend. As a matter of fact, the Marxists maintained that, all the three branches of government; the bureaucracy, the army and the police worked in close collaboration with one another to exploit the workers; and under such circumstances, no particular industrialist could do anything against the combined anti-labour policy of the government or state. For e.g. Robert Owen, a Utopian socialist who was also at the same time, a great industrialist, wanted to improve the conditions of the workers through reforms, but failed because of stiff resistance from other industrialists. The contention of industrialists and capitalists was that it was a question of life and death; and that they need to harvest maximum amount of profit which could be converted into capital formation. The only source of capital during that time was ‘savings.’ The capitalists were determined to have maximum savings at all costs. In order to have maximum savings for capital formation, the capitalists were required to exploit the workers which they could do with the help of state machineries. Karl Marx and Engels viewed the entire episode from the point of view of exploitation inflicting untold miseries upon workers and the capitalists overlooked it. This was, what Marx and Engels called, instrumentalist model.

## **(ii) Relative Autonomy Model**

The central idea of relative autonomy model is that though the state works as an instrument in the hands of the capitalist which was the dominant class, it does sometimes, exercised its power independently. In other words, the state is not always dictated by the capitalists or it does not discharge its functions at the behest of the capitalists. The independent functioning of state, away from the influence of the economically dominant class is interpreted by the renown- Marxists as Relative Autonomy of the state. In other words, relative autonomy

means, state does always act independent of dominant class. The word, relative denotes that sometimes, state acts without being influenced by the powerful class. It should, however, be kept in mind that the term, relative autonomy had never been used by Marx and Engels.

The underlying idea of the relative autonomy model is that, while the state does act on behalf of the dominant class, it does not always act at its behest or the state does act, on many occasions, independently or with neutrality. As per this model, the state has an independent character and image of its own. Therefore, it would be wrong to assume that the state is always dictated by the economically dominant class, i.e. the capitalists. Miliband maintains that state did generally adopted those policies and schemes, which it believed, would produce favorable results in the long run and will serve the purpose of the state as well as that of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the state, most of the time gave priority to long term interests over short term interests.

Further, it has been maintained that in pluralistic society, there existed a number elite groups who are involved in conflict. In such a situation, authority of state was referred to deal with cautiously. This implies that state acts and has to act independently when a situation arise in which different groups belonging to different factions of the ruling class are involved in intra-group conflict, the authority of state was required to have an absolutely neutral stand.

The supporters of relative autonomy model explained that different groups and factions of the ruling class are very powerful and active, and if the interests of some groups are neglected, then that group will raise hue and cry and disturb the smooth functioning of the state and the political system as a whole.

Schwarzmantel stated, "The state in a liberal democratic system must have some autonomy in order to preserve its legitimacy. If the state was seen to be too closely bound up with and dominated by one set of interests, it would not be able to maintain the belief that it represents the general interests."

## **Karl Marx and Relative Autonomy**

Like many other concepts, such as concept of class, theory of rights, historical materialism, etc. Marx did not directly refer to the

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relative autonomy model of state. But, the German Ideology, the Eughteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte contains sufficient hints about this. During Nepoleon's rule, the French state was represented by a powerful bureaucracy, and acted on behalf of the class rule of bourgeoisie. In such regimes, the state, as an instrument of exploitation did not lose its importance. But, "only under the second Bonaparte does the state seem to have made it completely independent", observed the two opposite roles of the state as an instrument of exploitation, and as an impartial and neutral organ of administration. The Second Bonaparte took this drastic step not for general interest of civil society, but for his own sake, to satisfy his own desire for more power. Miliband also stated that, state, sometimes, acts independently, apparently to prove that it is not controlled by any class or group.

In the Eughteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Karl Marx further makes the following comments:

"And yet, the state power is not suspended in mid-air. Bonaparte represents a class and the most numerous class of French society at those small holding peasants". The point Marx has stressed upon was that the state did not exist in mid-air or vacuum; it will always represent a class. It may be such that the class it represents is not well articulated or well organized, yet its existence cannot be rule out. Even when the state acts independently, the weakness or affiliation of the state, for a particular class or any dominant group cannot be denied. Karl Marx held that when a situation arises in which the two dominating classes are in a perfect balance, the state might act independently or could maintain its neutrality. Marx, however, stated that to have the two dominant classes in a perfect balance is, absolutely a rare case. Marx admitted that the autonomy or affiliation of state is not something that is fixed.

As seen in the preceding discourses, the Marxists look at the state as an instrument of exploitation. It has been seen as a powerful instrument in the hands of the dominant class to exploit the working class. So long as, according to Marxists, state continues to serve the interests of the capitalists, both as individuals and as a class, there will never ever be emancipation of the working class. In other words, unless the class character of the state is not changed the working conditions of workers will never be improved; and that the poor will become ever

poorer. In order to change the class character of state, what was needed, according to the Marxists, was workers, industrial laborers, wage earners, etc. who constituted much a larger segment of the population should organize themselves and launch or start a revolution for overthrowing the existing capitalist system. The existing state, the capitalist state should be uprooted by launching a violent revolution. What was needed, according to Marxists, was a radical change of society; and a radical change would not be a possibility, unless a large scale violent revolution is launched. The Marxists, therefore, insisted that workers, labourers, etc. should remain mentally, physically and materially prepared for such revolution which would require a lot of scarifies. The working class, in collaboration with the poor wage earners, industrial laborers, etc must form a well organized and cohesive class. Every worker should be fully informed of how they are being exploited by the capitalists. Once, according to Marxists, the workers are fully informed of all these, then they will, with all certainty, be ready to scarify everything, including their life. The Marxists, therefore, called on working class of not only one nation, but workers all over the world to unite and launch a violent revolution to overthrow the capitalists from power. Marx and Engels, believing that seizure of political power was important and inevitable for emancipation of working class from exploitation of capitalists, advocated for protracted class struggle which would, eventually lead to revolution. The Marxists, therefore, maintain that revolution was the only option available to the working class to bring an end to the ills of capitalist system.

Since revolution is the only option available to the working class, the aim of such revolution, therefore, has to be; first, to capture political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and to establish complete control of the state by the working class. Karl Marx and Engels referred such control of state by the working class as 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'. After the working class was able to have full control of the state and its authority, it would proceed on to radically change the structure, i.e. the capitalist structure of the society. The objective of the proletariat revolution, therefore, according to Marx and Engels, was seizure of state power from the hands of capitalists. The revolution, according to them, would continue till the establishment of the dictatorship of proletariat or the goal of communism is fully

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achieved. It is, therefore, to be seen that Marxist theory of state and its theory of revolution are closely connected or they are just inseparable. It should, however, be noted that the Marxists drawn distinctions between different types of revolution; and these differences may have full relevance in the field of detailed analysis of Marxist theory of revolution. The central idea of Marxist theory of revolution, as discussed earlier; was that emancipation of working class could be achieved only through and by means of revolution and class struggle.

## **Withering Away of State**

It would be desirable and appropriate to quote Engels before discussing and analyzing about the withering away of state. To quote him, “The state then, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies that did without it, that had no conception of the state and the state power.” Again, to quote him, “As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection.... As soon as class rule.... Are removed, nothing more remains to be suppressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary.... state interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous and then dies out of itself.... The state is not “abolished” it dies out.

The contention of Engels was that during the early phase of human history, there did not exist state because; during that period society was not divided into class. State was created only after society was divided into different social classes. State, according to Engels, was the creation of divided society to serve the purpose of one class. He further stated that the concept of state was unknown to the people of the early phase of human history. The state, he said was associated with the emergence of classes and class relation. According to Engels, when the proletarians seized political power from the state, and precisely from the capitalist class, they abolished the class structure; and then introduced a classless society which is also referred to as communism of a communist society. Consequent upon, the role of state as an instrument of exploitation in the hands of one class has, accordingly ended. However, Engels said, state was not abolished as such but it withered away by itself.

Lenin in his book, ‘The state and Revolution’ maintains that state was no more there, not because it was abolished, but rather because it

withers away on its own. While the bourgeois ideologists interpreted the two phrases abolished and withers away as having the same meaning. Lenin in his selected works II page 315, writes, "Such an interpretation is the crudest distortion of Marxism, advantageous only to the bourgeoisie" Lenin, on the other hands, maintains that there are considerable differences between the two phrases. According to him, to say, state is abolished is different from saying state withers away. The anarchist philosophers launched a movement for the abolition of state as they believed that the state was not only unnecessary, but it was also a harmful political organization as its main purpose was to restrict individual liberty and freedom. They argued that individual freedom and liberty could only be restored if state is abolished.

Marx and Engels had fundamentally different view about the state. They considered state not only as an agency through which individual freedom and liberty are restricted, but also they considered state as an instrument for enslavement of man by man. They stated that such an instrument of oppression and exploitation need not be abolished forcibly, but the power with the state should be seized and transferred to working class, thereby, making the proletarians the supreme authority i.e. Dictatorship of Proletarians would be established. In the meantime, class system as a whole would be abolished when all classes are abolished; there will be no more need for the state as it is only an instrument of exploitation of one class by another. In the absence of a class divided society, the question of exploitation of one class by another class will not arise.

Engels stated that, after seizing political power, the proletarians abolished the state as state. Here, state as state means the bourgeois state and the bourgeois state implies the police, military, bureaucracy, and other organs of bourgeois state. The proletarians, according to Engels, will smash the state, the bourgeois state. The proletarians, according to Engels, will not employ the police, military or other repressive machineries of the bourgeois state to do away with state. The task of smashing and doing away with the bourgeois state would be done through class struggle and revolution.

The word withering away refers to the withering away of the remnants of the proletarian state after the socialist revolution. Engels stated that the bourgeois class and state would not wither way, but would be

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abolished by the proletarians during the course of revolution. What withers away after the revolution is a semi-state or a proletarian state.

## **Conclusion**

After a detailed discourse on Marxian theory of state, we could come to the conclusion that, the Marxists regarded the state, the capitalist state as an instrument of exploitation and oppression. The capitalists, with the help of state and its machineries, exploited the working class to the maximum possible extend so that they could extract maximum benefit from the services rendered by the workers. Therefore, state was considered as a mere instrument through which and with the help of which the capitalists exploited the workers so that they could maintain and continue their position as a dominant class, both politically and economically.

## **7 Limits of Political Obligation**

Political obligation is concerned with, how far, when and why an individual has to obey the law and command of political authority or state which includes, among others, duties of citizens, like payment of taxes, political participation by voting, contesting and campaigning in the election, judicial service and military duty in protecting the territorial integrity of the state, etc. which are necessary for the maintenance of political institutions. These are considered as the essential political obligation of citizens of the state. It is the duty and work of political philosopher to have an indebt study of the logical and moral grounds of these political obligations of individuals so as to determine its proper scope and limits. However, it is not possible to find a universally acceptable limit and scope of political obligation.

There are, however, different theories put forward by different thinkers relating to limits and scope of political obligation.

**(a) The Doctrine of Force Mejeure**

Force Majeure stands for superior strength or an irresistible compulsion or coercion. This doctrine considers the state as a superior entity which could force individual to obey it. As per this theory, the state is so powerful that, the individual has no option, but to obey its laws and commands whether he likes them or not. This theory is based on the fact that, individual obeys the laws and commands of the state out of fear for punishment or other unwanted consequences which would follow from disobedience of law. This view of political obligation identifies the state or government as the embodiment of political authority; its invincible power, as the source of its authority. Since an individual is not sufficiently strong and powerful to challenge the authority of the state, his political obligation is said to be unlimited. This theory of political obligation, being based on the concept of ‘might is right’ is to be found in a totalitarian regime where individual is left at the mercy of the regime. The individuals, under this system are left with no option, but just to obey the authority. They were not given the right to enquire into the right and wrong of the laws created and enforced by the state. It creates a ground of obedience which is akin to surrender under the threat of an armed robber rather than following the advice of a doctor in the interest of individual’s health. Therefore, this theory has no relevance in the contemporary liberal democratic political set up found in the west; and it could not be regarded as a positive theory of political obligation.

**(b) The Divine Right Theory of Political Obligation**

This theory of political obligation is based on the belief that the state or the king derived its/his power from God; and, therefore, it is imperative to obey the state or the king. Since the will of God is binding on all men, this theory upholds an unlimited political obligation. It establishes political obligation on religious ground rather than moral ground. If the king happens to be a tyrant king, people have to obey him as a punishment for their sin. King James I of England sought to justify his tyrannical rule precisely on the ground that, he derived his power from God.

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This theory of political obligation denies any right to individual to judge the right and wrong of thing or any right to resist any wrong law or command; and therefore, this theory also could not be seen as a sound theory of political obligation.

### **(c) The Conservative Theory of Political Obligation**

The conservative political thinker like David Hume, Edmund Burke and Michael Bakeshott, who represent conservative conception of political obligation or why should state be obeyed, maintained that obedience to the state or political authority should be based on practical reasons. David Hume maintains that the advantages of obedience to any type of political authority outweigh the disadvantages of not having political authority or government at all. He, therefore, upheld unconditional political obligation because of practical utility of government. In the same way, Edmund Burke argued that politics was a matter of prudence and practicability. Burke, defending the case of social continuity, said, revolution is evil for it involves violence and destruction; for it involves the possible miss-use of power by those who capture power through revolution. Burke denounced extreme form of reform as he believes that such extreme reform has the potential to destroy the social fabric of the society without providing for a mechanism for its repair or reconstruction. He considers society a complex system to be linked with; and a people's constitution is the outcome and product of many minds during ages. It is no simple, no superficial thing, nor to be estimated by superficial understandings. A society, he said, is a delicate organism, developing and adapting itself to circumstances. Therefore, to interfere with any major institution would start a chain of repercussions throughout the whole system, with results no man could foresee.

Michael, a conservative of modern time, defined politics as "pursuit of intimations of the traditions of behavior." To him, the aim of political association lies within the community itself which must be discovered rather than imported from outside speculative philosophy. He maintains that political obligation is a diffuse obligation, like an obligation arising out of friendship which does not follow any fixed pattern, nor emanates from any condition of contract. Therefore,

political obligation is incidental to the political activity which arises from the normal social life, rather than from the pursuit of any transcendental objectives. In a nutshell, the conservative view political obligation as based on legitimacy, rather than consent or morality.

## **Theories of Limited Political Obligation**

The theories relating to limited political obligation are spearheaded by individualists who hold the view that the consent of individual is the source of political obligation. According to this view, man is born free, and that he can be expected to obey the ruler, a state only with his prior consent. In other words, the government can exercise its power over individual only with his explicit or implicit consent. Some writers argued that if an individual accepts the protection of state through abiding by its rules, his tacit consent could be taken for granted. Some other writers hold the view that, mere acceptance of legitimate authority is not sufficient to explain the source of political obligation; it must also be proved that, people themselves created that authority with their consent. The theory of social contract propounded by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, represents the theories of limited political obligation.

The nature of the formation of state, the nature and source of political power, the extend of power, the limit of state power in relation to individual, could be seen in Hobbes, Locke's and Rousseau's social contract theories.

Man, according to Hobbes, entered into a covenant to translate their urge for self preservation into a reality; to this end, men surrendered all their natural rights to the newly created political entity called, state which is sovereign. This surrender was final and irrevocable because, any going back from it would mean, going back to the state of nature where life was difficult to live because of the existence of perpetual war. Although Hobbes postulates an unlimited political obligation, yet it is solely based on consent; not imposed from above. It is for this that, "a conqueror acquires the status of dominion only if his vassals are understood to have tacitly promised obedience." Locke, on the other hand, maintains that, under the social contract, man surrenders the right to be judged in his own task of protection of his

natural rights like, right to life, liberty and property. Government is, therefore, created as a trust which can be dissolved if it fails to perform this function. It is, therefore, to be seen from his social contract theory that, Locke upholds a limited political obligation and concedes individual's right to resistance and revolution.

Rousseau, on his part and through his social contract theory postulates absolute sovereignty and unlimited political obligation. According to him, man was closed to nature; he enjoyed the beauty and bounty of nature without any restriction. But in due course with the increase of population, insecurity and scarcity emerged and natural liberty ceased to be the source of constant happiness. This resulted in conflicts and conflict situation between individuals actual will and real will (motivated by his immediate interest and his ultimate interest respectively, which co-incided with the interest of the community). Men, therefore, with the aim to overcome this problem, entered into a contract by placing themselves under the direction and control of the 'General Will' which represented the convergence of the real will of all members of the community. Thus, the natural liberty was replaced by 'Civil Liberty' which provided for an effective security of life and property. Rousseau, therefore, postulated absolute sovereign power to the civil authority. However, this absolute political obligation was not something that is imposed from above or outside, it is something from within the community in which individuals are the members. Being a part and parcel of the community, an individual is also a part and parcel of the General Will of the Community. In other words, it embodies consent of the individual to subordinate his lower self to his higher self. This subordination, therefore, is not inimical to his freedom even if he feels the pinch of suppression of his lower self. This could be said to be the case of that man can be forced to be free.

As seen in the brief preceding discussion on the social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, it could be observed that, of the three contractualists, Locke alone postulates a conditional consent; and therefore, postulates a limited political obligation. On the other hand, Hobbes and Rousseau postulated unconditional consent and absolute sovereignty. It is, therefore, to be established that, while Locke was for limited political obligation, and was for individual's right to obey or disobey the authority, Hobbes and Rousseau, on their part,

advocated for an unlimited political obligation with absolute power of the state.

## **9. Theories against Political Obligation**

### **(a) The Marxists View of Political Obligation**

The Marxists look at the state not as an organized power of the community, but they, rather look at as an organized power of the dominant class – the capitalist class. They maintain that the purpose of the state was not the general welfare of the people, but rather the welfare of the dominant class. They further stated that in a class – divided society, individual can have no political obligation towards the state. Until the emergence of a classless society; an individual can have no political obligation towards the state. The only obligation that can be seen was workers' obligation towards worker or working class. Under the capitalist society, where enemies of the working class are in power, the worker has an obligation against the state, the state of the capitalists. This is how the Marxists look at political obligation in the context of capitalist state.

### **(b) Anarchist View of Political Obligation**

The anarchists are against all forms of organized authority including state and its machineries. They wanted to abolish state and its authority to facilitate building of a kind of society wherein all human beings freely and spontaneously adjust with each other without requiring an external force to regulate their relations. The anarchists, therefore, advocated not political obligation of individuals toward the state, but rather, they advocated for negative political obligation. Anarchists like PJ Proudhon and Peter Kropotkin argued that all governmental authority are illegitimate because state is, indeed, a coercive institution, which is suited only to a corrupt and unjust society. The individual has an obligation to resist the state and devote himself to build a new system wherein, all members of society will spontaneously cooperate with each other without any external pressure.

### **(c) Gandhian Perspective of Political Obligation**

Mahatma Gandhi, India's father of the nation, puts a number of limits to political obligation of individuals towards the state. He launched a Civil disobedience Movement against the British rule by which he openly asked people not to obey the government. The very words, civil disobedience implies deliberately and intentionally disobeying an unjust authority and breaking an unjust law. The duty of civil disobedience to an unjust law is the counterpart of the duty of civil obedience to just law. Therefore, according to Gandhi, civil disobedience may be resorted to as a protest against an unjust law and wrong policy of government or in order to draw the attention of the government to a demand for political reform.

Mahatma Gandhi sought to combine the principle of civil disobedience with his principle of non-violent struggle and Satyagraha during Indian Freedom Movement. He, himself set a practical example of civil disobedience when he led the march to the seashore in 1930 to defy the ban on making salt by the Indians which was imposed by the British Colonial Rulers which, Gandhi considered to be unjust. Gandhi firmly believed that civil disobedience was based on the profound respect for law in general; and that only unjust and discriminatory law should be broken, which too, only after all options are exhausted. This act of civil disobedience should be committed without the involvement of violence and in full public view; and that penalties entailed by the act should be willingly accepted.

## **Conclusion**

Political obligation, being a complex issue, its grounds and limits has to be considered and examined carefully before conceding it. It is a known fact that individuals actually have certain political obligations to the political authority. However, different writers at different periods of time projected different degrees and different natures of political obligation. While Rousseau postulated political obligation to general will, Hegel projected a divine image of the state as the object of political obligation. T.S Green, on the other hand, suggested political

obligation towards organized power of the society as distinguished from the state. Philosophically, we may owe political obligation to any ideal object, but in actual life such obligation is always demanded by a band of government officials which must be considered with utmost care.

It is, however, to be concluded that citizens in modern states, do certainly have political obligation to fulfill. However, there are variations in the nature and extend of political obligation depending on the types of government. In a totalitarian state, citizens have a far more political obligation as compare to citizens of liberal democratic states.

## **10 Purpose of state**

### **(a) Aristotle on good life as the purpose of state**

Aristotle, an ancient Greek political thinker, referring to the purpose of state, said, “The state comes into existence for the sake of life, and continues to exist for the sake of good life”. The state implies that state which, Aristotle believes was a natural institution necessitated by the natural social instinct of man. He further maintains that to live in the state is natural to man. The statement that the state comes into existence for the sake of life, implies that man for his survival as man, required the state because it is through the membership of state that he could continue to survive as man. The purpose of the state, therefore, was primarily protection of life and property of individuals who together lived in the state of good life. The statement implies individuals living in the state could live a good life, a happy and honourable life in an through the membership of state, because the purpose of the state is no more confined to protection of the life and property of individuals, but also the state has now embarked on more and more responsibilities for the promotion of individuals in various fields, economic, political, social, cultural, linguistic, etc. It implies further that state being the only well organised human institution, has the responsibility to develop a sense of political accountability as a member of state. Man, therefore, continues to live in the state not only for the sake of good life which means for the sake of meaningful, happy and for the sake of an honourable life. The purpose of the state, therefore extends to providing citizens with opportunity to equal

participation in the various activities of state, so that citizens could live a meaningful, and happy life which could be included in what Aristotle said, continues to exist for the sake of good life, the purpose of the state, therefore, is to provide citizens with conditions necessary for good life.

Regarding the purpose of state, it differs from state to state, i.e., forms of government. Purpose of state in dictatorial regimes may be different from purpose of state in a democratic form of government. In the same way, purpose of state in a socialist state is fundamentally different from purpose of state in a democratic set up of government. It would, therefore, be appropriate to discuss purpose of state in different political systems and institutions as follow:

Referring to the purpose of state, Aristotle writes in his book 'Politics': "Every state is as we see, a sort of partnership, and every partnership is formed with a view to some good. It is, therefore, evident that, while all partnerships aim at some good. The partnership that is the most supreme of all and includes all the others does so most of all, and aims at the most supreme of all goods, and this is the partnership entitled the state, the political association". The central idea of the statement, as seen above is that the purpose of the state is to achieve the supreme good for its citizens that are their true well-being. However, this does not mean that the citizens have the subjective feeling that life pleases them, but that they have good reasons to consider and evaluate the state of their well-being. The state is one in which all actions which people considered to be good are done. He, therefore, argues: " for even though it be the case that the good is the same for the individuals and for the state, nevertheless, the good of the state is manifestly a greater and a more perfect good, both to attain and to preserve". The state, according to Aristotle, seeks this supreme good in accordance with the practice of virtue, in particular, the virtue of justice; and in a just law. Accordingly, the virtue of a citizen is to practice justice, that is, a citizen should obey the laws of the state and perform his civic duties that enables him to achieve his destination according to his nature.

Aristotle, again, referring to the virtue of the polis or state writes, "It is clear then that those constitutions that aim at the common advantage are in fact rightly framed in accordance with absolute justice while those that aim at the rulers own advantage only are faulty and all of them are deviation from the right constitutions; for they have an element of

despotism, whereas a city is a partnership of free men” Aristotle did not romanticize people’s lives in the polis or state ,”for appetite (for pleasure, wealth and honour)is in its nature unlimited, and the majority of mankind live for the satisfaction of appetite” He, therefore, maintains that most people are only interested in their own pleasure, wealth and honour, and that they do not care for the common good unless they benefit by it.

Aristotle, while considering the purpose of state, insists that state is a natural institution as it is the product of the natural instinct of man and since state is an association of associations. It is supreme. As it is supreme, it is also supreme of all good. As it exists for the sake of good life, its purpose, main purpose is to provide good life to the people.

### **(b) Different views of the purpose of the state**

State is the only organisation of men, politically organised for achieving certain ends and purposes; and that justification of state and its existence would be incomplete without a consideration of these ends and purposes. To Greek political thinkers, state was a self-sufficient political institution which provides to its citizens all that were necessary for their highest development and happiness. State, according to Plato, was a macrocosm in which individual could realise his proper place and perform his duties for which he was best suited. He further maintains that the rulers and the warrior should give their undivided loyalty to the well-being of the state. According to Plato, the state was a well-developed organism in which individual and each class of citizens had a particular place to fill and was happy in doing so.

Aristotle, speaking about the purpose of the state said, the purpose of the state was to provide opportunity to citizens for the fullest development of virtue, and like Plato, he said the state was a self-sufficient political institution, which could provide the greatest happiness of individuals. Referring to the purpose of state which was provision of the greatest happiness of individuals, Aristotle writes “The state exists not for the sake of wealth or security or Society, but for the sake of good life.

If life were the only object of state, slaves and brute animals might form a state, but they cannot, for they have no share in happiness or in a life of free choice. If alliance and security from injustice, exchange and mutual intercourse were the only objects, all who have formed commercial treaties would be citizens of the state". Therefore, to Aristotle, state or political society exists for the sake of noble actions and not for mere companionship and those who contribute most to such political society have the greatest claim to power maintain of law and order as the purpose of state.

### **(c) Maintenance of law and order as the purpose of state**

In the early part of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jeremy Bentham advocated the idea that the purpose of the state was the promotion of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, which was largely responsible for a large number of reforms in the social and political life of Nineteenth Century. Many other thinkers, at the same time, held the view that the purpose of the state was the maintenance of law and order; and the state should leave individuals to decide their destiny. The purpose of the state, according to them was to provide external and internal protection, so that men could live together in peace and security. There were other group of thinkers who held the view that the purpose of the state was to bring about progress and development However, this theory of progress and development does not clearly mention about the end of state without which progress and development would be meaningless.

### **(d) Social service as the purpose of the state**

There are also political thinkers with socialistic mind-set who claim that the state exists with the aim to promote certain social services, which are not related to protection of individual from external invasion or the maintenance of law and order within the state, but which have to do primarily with the social interest of the community. This conception of the purpose of state has increasingly been in the forefront in the functioning of modern state policies relating to promotion of public health, social welfare, etc. and are being formulated and

implemented by governments in modern states. The advocates of this conception of the purpose of the state wanted to extend the power of the state so as to include the ownership and management of means of production and distribution.

### **(e) Justice as the purpose of the state**

Lipson skilfully combines provision of security, protection, order and justice as the purposes of state. In his own words, “Protection grows into order and order seeks to blossom into justice”, “If order is to culminate in justice, power must be transmitted into authority”. Force, therefore, according to him, must take the form of protection; power, that of order and authority that of justice.

After having discussed diversified view relating to the purpose of state, it would be appropriate to discuss in brief the problem relating to whether the state is an end in itself or is a means to an end. Ancient Greek Thinkers, including Aristotle and Plato regarded the state as the highest fulfilment of the highest happiness of man and that it is also an end in itself. Hegel, a modern philosopher who developed the theory of dialectic in political philosophy, supporting the view that state is an end itself, maintains that the will of individual is identical or the same as the will of the state. He was also, from this point of view supporting the view that state is an end in itself. This view has also been, later on, adopted by the fascists as a logical conclusion of their political philosophy.

This view of the purpose and end of state, was, however, objected by the individualists who held that state was only a means for the realization and promotion of the welfare of the greatest number of individuals in the state. They maintained that the welfare of the greatest number of citizens, on the contrary, is on any occasions, concerned itself with the welfare of those who hold the power. The consensus among the thinkers, today, however is, the state is both an end as well as the means to an end.

Willoughby, therefore, in his book, 'The Nature of state' argues that, if we look at the state purely from individualistic point of view, it is only a means for achieving of certain noble end, instrumentality, or an expedient through which, the highest possible development of

humanity is obtained. However, if the state is considered an institution distinct and apart from the citizens who composed it, it is, of course an end in itself. According to Garner, the triple ends of state are: firstly, the advancement of the good of the individuals; Second, the promotion of the collective interests of individuals in their associated capacity and finally, the furthering of the civilization and progress of the world. Laski, in his reaction to idealism, emphasised the state as a means, rather than an end. According to him, "For its citizens, a state is what it does; it is not justified merely because it is a state".

Based on the preceding discussion on the purpose of the state, it would be prudent to conclude that state is more a means than an end. The state was created or was brought into existence not for the sake of existence or mere existence, but rather the state came into existence with a purpose, which was to provide something to citizens, it came into existence for the fulfilment of multifaced objectives: to provide security of life and property to citizens, to provide avenues for the development of materials development of the people, and to provide the general welfare of the people.

## **11 Classical or Laissez-Faire Theory of Individualism**

The term, 'laissez-faire' is a French word, which means 'leave alone' or leave individual alone. The Laissez-Faire theory of individualism sought for the least interference of state in the life of individual. The theory is also, sometimes, referred to as classical individualism propounded by the British political thinkers like Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. The classical liberalists put individuals at the centre of their philosophy, and considered state as a necessary evil, which means state is an evil in itself as its interference in the affairs of individuals adversely affects individuals' initiative for creativity and progress. But, at the same time, it is a necessity, necessitated by the inborn selfishness of individual. According to laissez-faire theory of individualism, the duty of state is, protection of individuals' life and property; and that, promotion of the welfare of individual was outside the purview of the state. According to the supporter of the theory, the main function of state is suppression of

violence and fraud the central idea of classical liberalism is, maximum individual freedom and liberty and minimum state intervention. JS Mill, referring to individual freedom, says, “Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual as sovereign”.

Herbert Spencer, who was considered as an extreme individualist, placed certain limits to the sphere and purpose of state as follow:

- (a) The protection of the individual against external enemies;
- (b) The protection of individual against internal enemies; and
- (c) The enforcement of contracts which are lawfully made.

There are also individualists who hold the moderate view of individualism. Gilchrist, who represents the moderate individualists, summed up the moderate individualist view of the functions and purposes of state as follow:-

- (a) Protection of individuals against each other, which is, from physical injury, slander and personal restraint.
- (b) Protection of the state and individuals from foreign aggression.
- (c) Protection of property of individuals from robbery or damage.
- (d) Protection of individuals from false contract or breach of contract.
- (e) Protection of the unfits.
- (f) Protection of individuals against preventable diseases like, plague and malaria.

The classical liberalists or individualists advocated individual freedom for the following reasons.

### **(a) The Ethical Argument**

It is an established truth that freedom of action is an essential ingredient of the development of human personality and character; without freedom to act according to one’s own will, an individual becomes a mere automation. What gives joy and happiness in the life of individual is the liberty to mould one’s life according to one’s ideals and the highest development of human personality is possible only when there is opportunity for self-reliance. The intrinsic personality of individual could be exposed for higher development when there is opportunity to do things according to one’s own choice. Therefore,

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freedom and liberty are natural to man, natural because they are the natural need of individuals for development. When an individual is thrown upon his own resources, a powerful incentive is provided for the exercise of his power of initiative, enterprise and originality. If an individual has any intrinsic-worth, it has opportunity to manifest itself. It is true that there are also certain degrees of legitimacy of government's action. However, if the actions of government cross certain limit it creates problems and becomes a hurdle to individuals' development of personality. Excesses on the part of government kills individual's sense of initiative and substitutes on government for reliance, it creates pauper mentality, for the individual is tempted to be lazy and indolent, and expects it to do for him, what he should do himself. He receives no stimulus for the development of his talents; the consequence is that, both individual and society are the losers.

### **(b) The Economic Argument**

Individualism assumes that everyman is self-seeking, and that, he knows his interest best. The individualists, therefore, claimed that, man can make the best use of opportunity when he is left alone which is directly beneficial to him and indirectly to the society. They further maintained that when the capitalists are undisturbed by the state, they can look for the market where they can invest their capital in the most profitable way. In the same way, if the workers are left free to decide where they should work, they can find the works from where they could earn the highest wage, when capitalists are left to have free competition and unrestricted operation, supply and demand are, thus, in the economic interest of society. Prices, wages, rents, and interests should all be, unfettered so that they can adjust themselves to the prevailing economic conditions. In the same way, foreign trade should be left free. Artificial aids, such as high tariffs and bounties to infant industries should be discouraged. Markets, as far as possible and practicable, should be kept free and open; and that fraud and treachery are not to be practiced on one another by the members of society. The state as far as possible and practicable should not interfere in the economic life of the people.

### **(c) The Scientific Argument**

Individualism is based on the biological law of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. Herbert Spencer, the chief exponent of individualism maintains that, the law by virtue of which, life has evolved in the case of the lower species is the law of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, and that, the same law should be allowed to operate in the case of man, too, if we are to evolve a race of strong, able and virile human beings. The natural course of progress means that the poor, the weak, and the inefficient must go to the wall. Although, such a course means injustice to some individuals, the interest of the society demands it.

## **12 Theory of Libertarianism**

The theory of Libertarianism is propounded by FA Hayek 1899-1992, Isaiah Berlin (1909-97), Milton Friedman (1902-2006) and Robert Nozick (1938-2002) they are the most recent theorists who developed the extreme liberal form of government and state. They advocated for the least possible interference of state in the affair of individual which, in other words, means absolute individual freedom and liberty.

It was from the later part of the nineteenth Century that Liberalism has developed a new dimension by accommodating some elements of socialist and idealist philosophy, which ultimately culminated into the emergence of the concept of welfare state. The negative liberalism, then, had paved the way for the emergence of positive liberalism. TH Green, LT Hobhouse and Laski conceded the positive role of the state in regulating the economic system in the interests of the poor and deprived section of the society. The principle of liberty had been modified so as to accommodate the principle of equality and justice within the liberal framework of thought. However, a new approach to liberalism, called Libertarianism had been developed during the second half of the Twentieth Century, which seeks to revive the traditional theory of liberalism with unrestrained individual freedom. Libertarianism, in a nutshell, upholds full autonomy and freedom of individual; and also seeks liberation of individual from all institutions which seek to restrict

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his visions, including his vision on religion, family and customs of social conformity apart from political institutions. The Libertarianism considers man as the maker of his final and ultimate destiny; and that the theory was against all forms of restrictions including legal restriction on individual's freedom and liberty to do what he wanted to do, and to behave the way he wanted to behave, which means, absolute individual liberty and freedom. Libertarianism, in political sphere, particularly insists that man's economic activity must be actively liberated from all restrictions so as to enable him to achieve true progress and prosperity.

Libertarianism, drawing inspiration from John Locke's Theory of natural rights holds that certain rights of individual, which precedes his political life, are inalienable; and that these cannot be surrendered in favour of the collective will of the society or state. The theory, in particular, defends the right of individual to acquire property and freedom of contract. It maintains that, these rights of individual are not that of the state, and, therefore, state should not interfere for any artificial balancing of rights. It also even condemns taxation of the rich for the benefit of the poor. It maintains that, imposing of taxes on the rich for the benefit of the poor involves a kind of forcible transfer of the fruit of one's labour to another, which it believes, would serve as disincentive to individual. The theory of Libertarianism believes that, if all individuals are left free by the state, people will be ready to voluntarily put their best into the system and that, the mind-set of the Laissez-Faire capitalism is the best for social progress.

There are two groups of Libertarianism; the extreme libertarians and the moderate Libertarians. The extreme Libertarians maintain that all governments are illegitimate, and, therefore, they come closer to anarchism. On the other hand, moderate libertarians, concede that state may legitimately engage in police protection and enforcement of contract for which civil as well as criminal courts might be established. It may also undertake national defence, but nothing beyond these functions. Therefore, while the extreme libertarians refused to give legitimacy to government undertaking even protective function, the moderate libertarians are ready to offer to government the functions related to protection of the people from criminals and foreign invaders. The Libertarians hold the view that, for protection of their life and

property, individual would hire protective agency, having defecto monopoly of force in a given territory, which would emerge state like entity. The Libertarians, therefore, maintain that, state has no legitimacy, justice and defence; and that it has no authority to control means of production and distribution. Nozick, one of the Libertarians holds the view that acquisition or transfer of property without the use of force could be justified. The right to property, according to libertarians, is natural to individual; and that it is naturally entitled to hold individuals property, he is entitled to property, either virtue of just acquisition of an unwanted property or by receiving property from someone who has just initiate little to it. The libertarians, therefore, view that legal rights are the product of voluntary exchanges. Nozick further maintains that, inequalities at the level of production and voluntary transfer should not be sought to be rectified at the level of distribution. However, if there is only one source of water in a desert, nobody should be allowed to monopolize it.

### **13 The Theory of Welfare State or Positive Liberalism**

Positive liberalism or the welfare state theory had been propounded by JS Mill, (1806-1873) Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882) and LT Hobhouse (1864-1929). Most of these thinkers were the supporter of Laissez-faire theory of individualism. But after realizing certain defects of liberalism, they started to modify the theory by introducing the idea of positive individualism or liberalism which is referred to as the theory of welfare state.

The Liberal Theory, which stood for negative liberalism in its early phase, was transformed into a positive liberalism in its later phase. It is the positive liberalism which promotes the idea of welfare state, as it pleaded for the positive role of the state for securing the welfare of its citizens, particularly, the most vulnerable sections.

While negative liberalism, based on free market sought to promote the interest of the rich capitalists, the positive liberalism sought to promote the welfare of the poor, the down-trodden, the workers, the labourers, etc. thereby, transforming the capitalist state into a welfare state. The success of capitalism in the nineteenth century manifested

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that the free-market society resulted inequality among human being and oppression of vulnerable sections, like workers, peasants, consumers, etc. with the growth of labour force in the industrial sector, freedom of contract in practice because freedom of factory owners to hire and fire their workers to maximise their profit which brought about insecurity and suffering to the workers, child labour, slum housing, etc. Freedom of trade was not restricted to community alone, even labour was treated as a commodity. Therefore, the classical liberalism was meant only for the wealthy capitalists who, by means of their monetary power maximise their incomes and profits.

### **(a) Public Welfare**

Indian and foreign philosopher, right from ancient times, had been emphasising that, the aim and purpose of the state was public welfare. The state, as a matter of fact, was created for promoting common good. In India, ancient Indian literatures like Manusmriti, Mahabharata, Kautilya's Arthshastra made mention of the fact that in ancient India, there was no entity called, state, but later on mutual disputes arose among the people, thereby, making life difficult and unbearable, there came into existence a better and a more peaceful living. The aim and purpose of the state, therefore, was to maintain law and order as well as to promote common welfare. People elected Manu as their leader on the condition that, he would do his best for promoting their welfare; and in return, he would get from the people the one-sixth of land revenue (1/6), a few commodities, and he would impose small amount of tax on the people. Plato and Aristotle, the two ancient Greek philosophers, maintained that the aim of the state was public good and moral welfare. Accordingly, Aristotle said, state exists for the sake of good life. In other words, state came into existence for the existence of man, and continues to exist so that man can live a better and a more meaningful life.

### **(b) Maintenance of law and order**

Every individual is the living witness of the fact that the aim of the state, among others, is protection of individual to ensure the security

of their life and property; and to maintain law and order among them. In the absence of state, there would not have been authority to give protection to the life and property of the individuals. Therefore, state, according to Hobbes, was created by the people through a contract, which shall give protection to the life and property of the people. People, according to him surrendered all their rights and liberty to the authority of state, Locke and Rousseau also, through their social contract theory maintain that state was created for protection of the life and property of the people who created it.

### **(c) Social Welfare**

The aim and purpose of the state is not confined to the maintenance of law and order alone, but it extends to the promotion of social and economic well being of the people. The state, today, seeks to eliminate almost all social evils of the society. State, with the aim at achieve all round development introduced an educational system which aims to providing free and compulsory education to children up to certain age group. State, in many cases, seeks to eliminate social evils, like child marriages, dowry system, untouchables, etc. to these ends, state laws were being framed and implemented by the government. Therefore, in modern times, state has become an agency through which the welfare of the people is achieved.

### **(d) Establishment of Justice**

Establishment of the principle of justice is inevitable for the smooth functioning of government. In the absence of the principle of justice, the concept of right and wrong would not exist; and that it would not be possible for the state to function. In such a situation, the doctrine of "Might is Right" will prevail and that, everybody's life and property will always be at risk. The state, therefore, frames the laws for the security of the life and property of the people. Law breakers are tried and punished by the judiciary, and therefore, due protection was given to citizens of the state.

**(e) Economic Welfare**

With the aim to eliminate poverty and bring about economic welfare of the people, modern states today launch a number of schemes. In India, Five Year Plan and Community Development Project were being launched with the aim to improve the economic condition of the people, particularly, people of the rural areas. There are numerous schemes which successive government in Delhi launched giving different names and nomenclatures like or what is popularly known as Job Card, Food Security, etc. all these schemes are being launched with the aim to achieve the economic welfare of the people of rural areas.

**(f) General Welfare**

State with democratic political system provided citizens to send their representative to government, who on their behalf, shall rule the state. In India, people elect their representative to union legislature (Parliament) and state legislature who shall make rules and regulation for the smooth working of the governments, both at the centre and the state. The people, being given the right to vote for a particular candidate or party of their choice, thus, enjoy their political freedom. However in dictatorial and communist regimes, right to vote had not been given to the people as was given in democratic form of government.

**14 Necessity of state**

It is needless to say that state came into existence because of the needs of the people. It is needed for social and public good, for maintaining law and order, for bringing about the welfare of the people in different areas of life, for the establishment of the system of justice, etc. In the absence of state, life would have been short and society would have been marked by perpetual conflict and war. Therefore, it is beyond question that state was created to serve the people, and to protect the life and property of citizens. This speaks volumes about the importance of the state.

Apart from these, individual could develop his personality to the fullest possible extent only by becoming member of the state. The

state provides justice; protect the weak against the strong. In the absence of state, life in the stateless society would have been unbearable; and that, people will degenerate into the life as in the state of nature which Hobbes describes “ugly, nasty, rudist, solitary and short.

## **15 Purposes and functions of states in modern times**

As in the past, states today perform a number of functions which could broadly be divided into two main headings, such as :( 1) essential or compulsory and (2) optional.

### **1. Essential functions**

#### **Functions relating to defence and foreign affair**

States today cannot exist in isolation from one another as no state is entirely independent of others in the true sense of the term. The inter-dependences of states necessitated states to maintain relation with one another. The economic, military, etc. inter-dependence of states required proper regulation of foreign policy in their own national interests. To this end, state sends ambassadors to other states; and also receives ambassadors and diplomats from other states. The heads of states and other dignitaries have to attend international conferences; and they entered into cultural and military agreements and alliances with other states. Wars are being declared when the situation demands, peace are being concluded as and when the situation created such congenial atmosphere for peace. In short, all relationships, be it peaceful and good diplomatic relationship or otherwise, are being conducted by the state authority. Therefore, policies and principles for the formulation of effective foreign policy are being done by the government’s ministry of foreign affairs along with foreign secretary.

## **Maintenance of law and order**

Maintenance of law and order has ever been the primary function of state right from the existence of state itself. The maintenance of law and order, though not the sole function of the state, today it is still one of the primary functions of state. The government and the legislature, today frame rules, regulation and law for the purpose of the maintenance of law and order; and those laws are being enforced by the law enforcing agency called, 'the police'. Law breakers are being punished according to the relevant provision of the law. While countries of Europe like England, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland abolished capital punishment for murder, India, USA and most of the communist states and dictatorial regimes still retained capital punishment for murder. Every year, thousands of people in communist countries and other dictatorial and totalitarian states are being awarded capital punishment for murder and other serious crimes.

## **Settlement of Dispute of civil nature**

The state, today through its judicial branch decides and settled cases relating to transfer, sale, division, etc. of property, particularly landed property. It also settles cases relating to breach of contract or contractual obligations which fall within the preview of civil case. It is the duty of state to see that contractual agreements reached and made between citizens are being faithfully carried out. In India, England and USA, many of the civil disputes are settled by arbitration. Every state frames law according to which civil disputes are to be settled.

## **Development of means of communication and transport**

Transport and other means of communication are vital for the all-around development of state .Therefore, states today take several steps to develop means of communications, including railways, sea and air transport communication. In communist countries, most of the means of communications are being controlled by the state. In India and

other democratic world, while some major means of communication are controlled by the state, other modes of communication like road transport communications are operated by private or individuals or private company. In India, railways and post and telegraph are being controlled by the state. However, in England and USA, most of the means of communication and transport are conducted and operated by private individuals.

## **Banking, Coinage and Currency**

It is the function of modern state to issue currency notes, and coins. It is the government which determines exchange rate in relation to foreign currencies. Money transactions in all the countries are made through business activity; and the operation of banks are regulated by the state. The rate of interest on deposit as well as on loan advanced is being decided by the states.

## **2. Optional functions of state**

### **Welfare function**

Most states, today strive to achieve the goal of welfare state which includes, fixation of working hours and fixation of minimum wage for workers, provision of free and compulsory primary education to children, establishment of dispensaries and hospital for provision of free medical treatment and protection of citizens from infectious diseases, opening of orphanages and homes for distress, provision of special allowances for families having large number of children etc; the welfare function of state also includes provision of public assistance in cases of old age, sickness and disablement etc. provision of employment to unemployed citizens, free housing scheme for homeless etc.

## **Promotion of Industrial, Agricultural and Economic Development**

Since agriculture plays a vital role in the promotion of overall economic development, particularly in developing countries, most of the developing countries give importance to the development of agriculture sector. To this end, states, particularly, developing state encourage production and distribution of certified seeds of various crops. The government can do a lot to create additional awareness among farmers regarding the use of fertilizers and chemical pesticides. Government in developing countries takes great initiative for the development of basic industries, such as steel, petroleum, coal and heavy industries. State today aims at achieving the goal of welfare state, wherein citizens enjoy maximum benefit from the state. This is what Aristotle called; state continues to exist for the sake of good life.

### **Cultural Functions**

States, in modern times, perform a number of functions which aim at the development and promotion of culture and education. They established state owned school, colleges and universities for the promotion of music and drama, and established Academy of Fine Arts, Museums and Libraries, etc. In communist countries, state exercise control over literary related activities. While the communist countries exercise control over individual's life and activities, the liberal and democratic government allowed freedom of expression, belief and worship.

### **16 Limitations of state and its function**

While, state today performs a number of functions for the overall development of the people, it also has a number of limitations due to a number of reasons, which could be discussed as under.

**(a) Practical limitations**

Though state is a sovereign political entity, it certainly has certain obvious limitations; for e.g., no parliament or the apex legislature has the power to make law to the effect that, all those whose height is above 6 ft will be sentenced to death. Such an act may not be totally illegal in view of the nature of the authority of the state, but even if it is enacted, there will be a practical problem at the implementation stage; and that it cannot be implemented or enforced. Therefore, it can be said that, no state can do what it pleases to do as there are practical limitations which could not be avoided.

**(b) Moral restraints**

State cannot ignore moral consideration while performing its functions. Though there may not be a definite list of moral acts, there are certainly moral considerations while state pursues these policies and programs. Discrimination on the ground of caste, creed, color etc, involvement in the religious activities and affair of citizens, interference in the private life of individuals, like his liking or disliking or what does a person eat, how does he dress himself, whom does he marry, etc are considerable morally unreasonable. Therefore, though the state has the power and the capability to interfere in the life of individuals, most of the modern states, as far as possible, tried to avoid such interference on moral consideration.

**(c) Freedom of Association**

Freedom to form association or organization has been given to citizens in most of the democratic set up of government. So long as the goal of the association is within the limit of the constitutional provision of the state, people are free to form association with the aim to achieve divergent goals which are within the laws of the state. However, one has to accept that, no association or organization can be given the right to form an association or organization which could endanger the security and territorial integrity of the state. However, so long as an association operates and functions within and in accordance with what the law

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permits, state does not interfere in the functioning of such an association.

#### **(d) Restraints of tradition**

Tradition, custom and usages also operate as a restraint on the state activity; in some states, customs, traditions and usages are considered as part of the constitution and law. They are there in all countries of the world; and, therefore, they are respected by state and its authority. The customs and usages pertaining to marriage, right of succession, trade and business, acquire in course of time, a legal sanctity.

#### **(e) International law and organization**

Since most of states, today are members of UNO, they are to act in accordance with the charter of UN. No member state of UN can act against the general will of international community. A state cannot invade another UN member state, how strong and militarily powerful it might be without risking the retaliatory action of UN. Iraq invaded small state of Kuwait in 1991, but the UN came to the rescue of Kuwait and forced Iraq to withdraw within a month. It is, therefore, to be concluded that international laws and organizations play a vital role in limiting the activity of state.

## **17 The Socialist Theory of the State**

The socialists view the state as a positive good and wanted the state to play a pro-active role in the life of the individual. However, they were against the capitalist state in which the capitalists controlled the state machineries to protect their class interest. The state they wanted was the state of proletariat dictatorship. Referring to such a state, they maintain that, state is the only mechanism through which social justice could be provided to the bulk of mankind. They wanted that, state should take over control of all means of production and distribution. As per the scheme of socialism, there should be common ownership of the

means of production and exchange; and wages should be determined on the basis of needs, and not want. While some socialists are in favour of equal distribution of wealth, some others, knowing that absolute equal distribution might not be possible, maintain that there should, at least be equitable distribution of wealth.

Protesting against the obvious evils of the existing social system, the socialists sought for a radical change maintaining that money and power are being concentrated in the hands of a few, and workers and wage earners are not given their due share, proportionate to their labour. The socialists wanted to radically change the system. Since the bargaining power of the labourer is not equal to that of the employer, a worker is often obliged to make force agreements or contract. This leads to a grave inequality of wealth and opportunity. The system is also responsible for enormous waste and duplication of services. Under the existing system, there is no planned economy on a nation-wide scale. Unrestricted competition leads to lower wages, over production, cheap goods and unemployment. The existing system, according to the socialist, leads to materialism, unfairness, dishonesty, and a general lowering of the standard of individual character.

The socialists maintain that, careful planning under socialism will avoid duplication, over production, unnecessary advertisement and production of harmful goods. The socialistic ideal places the much needed emphasis on the spirit of altruism, and on the cultivation of a desire for social good and usefulness.

While there are many truths in the socialistic view, there are also many shortcomings too. There are numerous problems to be overcome if we wanted to practice socialism in letter and spirit.

In the first place, the difficulties in administration will probably be stupendous under socialism. The post office, the telegraph, the telephone, and railway transport system are being run successfully when they are put in the hands of individual competitors. However, in the absence of competition, it is not possible to say in certainty that they are being run on the most economic lines. Critics of socialism maintain that a multiplication of state activities means that the governments machinery will breakdown under its own weight. It has also been maintained that the socialists are over-optimistic over governmental management.

In the second place, critics pointed out that, under the present situation, socialism would lead to a tremendous increase in the opportunities of corruption, intrigue, and personal spite

In the third place, the critics maintain that socialism is not conducive to progress. In the absence of right of ownership, workers will lose the incentive to work and in the absence of free competition in the market, there will not be development and progress in economic front. Therefore, the critics of socialism maintain that socialism would lead to lack of incentive, lack of interest in one's own work and duty which in turn, would lead the society to be in a standstill. In such a situation, life would become uniform and stagnant.

In the fourth place, socialism would lead to restriction of individual freedom and liberty which does more harm than good for the individual's development of his personality Herbert Spencer maintains that each member of the community as an individual would be a slave of the community as a whole.

## **18 Evaluation of Individualism and Socialism**

It is to be established that both socialism and individualism contained certain fundamental truth, but there are also gross exaggerations on both. Just as pure individualism is impossibility so also pure socialism is impossibility. What was needed, however, is a system which somehow, preserve our individualities and yet society also intact as an organic whole. Burns is right by saying; "if we could imagine an ideal at once individualistic and socialistic would be the effective ideal for most thinking man". Further, he said, "If on the one hand, we tend to isolation and selfishness, on the other we tend to lose our individualities in the flood and complexity of "the Great Society". The individualist is right in aiming at the variety of individuals, and so also, was the socialist in impressing on all their common interests; for the fullest development of each is to be found in the performance of his function in the life of the whole.

In spite of its defects in many areas, socialism, perhaps, its policy of gradual and judicious extension of the state activities in the direction of the socialistic ideals, aiming at the same time, moral development of mankind is a positive step. Free competition may be

allowed at lower levels of production, but when it comes to large scale production with the involvement of more people, state control of the means of production could be a better option

## **19 Classification of functions of Government**

The main functions of modern governments could broadly be classified into two categories;

- (a) Essential or Compulsory, and
- (b) Optional or ministrant

### **(a) Essential or Compulsory Functions**

The essential functions of the state include those functions of state which are essential for the continued existence of the state itself, for the guaranteeing of civil and political rights and liberty of the individuals, and for the protection of their lives, liberty and property against other individuals. These are determined by the three fold relations of state to state, to citizens and of citizens to citizens.

Wilson, the ex-President of USA, sums-up the essential functions of state as follow;

- (a) The keeping of order and providing for the protection of people and property from violence and robbery.
- (b) The fixing of relations between man and wife, and between parents and children.
- (c) The regulation of the holding, transmission and interchange of property, and the determination of its liabilities to debt or for crime.
- (d) The determination of contract rights between individuals.
- (e) The definition and punishment of crime.
- (f) The administration of justice in civil cases.
- (g) The determination of the political duties, privileges, and relations of citizens.
- (h) Dealing of state with foreign state, the preservation of the state from external threat or encroachment and the advancement of its international interests.

Getell, while approving the above classification of state through its agency, the government, maintains that there are two main branches of state, which are; financial and military, which, he said, call for special attention. Under the financial function, he includes collection of taxes, regulation of tariffs, liquor, coinage and currency and administration of public properties such as public lands and forests, public buildings, and munitions of war and of state monopolies of post offices and, in some states, railways and telegraphs. The management of public debt is the allied function of the state.

Military functions, on the other hand, include the maintenance of army, navy and air force. These three groups of armed forces are kept and maintained by state primarily for protection of the state from external attack and invasion. However, sometimes, armies could be called out to maintain internal peace and security, according to the need and urgency of the situation. I.e. when the civil police could not contain arm rebellious movement, armies could be called for to intervene. Under exceptional situation, air force is also called in to intervene to suppress internal arm rebellious movement. Accordingly, in India, Indian Air Force was called out to intervene to suppress the Mizo National Front Movement for independence in March, 1966. States in most cases spent a huge part of their national income for the procurement of arms, for the maintenance of army, air force and navy. When state is spending too much for defence, it is said, its economy becomes badly affected; thereby, causing economic under development.

### **(b) Optional Functions**

Optional functions of the state are those functions of state which are not considered necessary for the existence or survival of state as a state and for the maintenance of individual liberty and security. However, they are those functions which most states performed as being necessary for the promotion of general welfare of the people. It is however, to be noted that, it is sometimes, almost impossible to draw a line of distinction between the essential and optional functions of the state as the two emerge depending on time place, type of government etc.

Optional functions of state could be divided into socialistic and non-socialistic functions. The socialistic functions are those functions which could be left to private enterprise, but which are usually taken up by the state so as to avoid the evils of private control or on account of greater efficiency of the government. For instance, in some states, railways and telegraph are taken up and maintained by the state while in other states, these are being maintained and controlled by private enterprise.

Non-socialistic functions, on the other hands are, those functions, which unless state takes up, would not be taken up by private, and would be left unattached at all. These functions include care for the poor's and incapables, maintenance of public parks and libraries, sanitations, certain forms of education, and a large number of investigating and statistical works, etc. Wilson sums the optional functions of the state as follow:

- (1) The regulation of trade and industry
- (2) The regulation of labour
- (3) The maintenance of thorough fares, including management of railways, and the great group of undertakings which we embraced within the comprehensive term, "internal improvement".
- (4) The maintenance of postal and telegraph systems, which are similar in principle.
- (5) The manufacture and distribution of gas, the maintenance of water supply etc.
- (6) Sanitation, including the regulation of drainage for sanitary purposes.
- (7) Education.
- (8) Care of the poor's and incapables.
- (9) Care and conservation of forests and the like matters, including stocking of rivers with fish.
- (10) Sumptuary laws, such as prohibition laws.

## **20 The welfare State**

### **What it is all about**

Abraham defines welfare state as “a community where state power is deliberately used by modifying the normal play of economic forces so as to obtain a more equal distribution of income for every citizen, a basic minimum irrespective of the market value of his work and his property” Welfare state, has been looked at entirely from economic point of view. Another writer, W. Kent, has given a more inclusive definition of welfare state. According to him, “a welfare state is a state that provides for its citizens a wide range of social services”. He went on to say that, the primary purpose of the state is to give the citizens security but the welfare state undertakes to help them (citizens), if he loses his ordinary source of income. Hobman describes the welfare state as a compromise between communism on the one side, and the unbridled individualism on the other. Therefore, Hobman maintains that in spite of all its shortcomings which is common to all, the welfare state sets a pattern for humane and progressive society. Therefore, in short, according to Hobman, the welfare state guarantees a minimum standard of substance without removing incentives to private enterprise, and it brings about a limited redistribution of income by means of graduated high taxation. Yet it does not pretend to establish economic equality among its citizens. All are assured of adequate help in case of need, whether the need is due to illness, old age, unemployment or any other cause.

In India, as of now, the term welfare state has been broadly used so as to include every activity of the state. Strictly speaking, the term, welfare state, has reference to such items as social insurance of various kinds, old age and other kinds of pensions, free primary education; free housing, particularly for those coming within the lower income group, medical assistance, poor relief etc. Regarding the nature of welfare state, it is important to remember that welfare is not related to charity, but it is rather a thing of right, welfare, here, does not carry with it any stigma of pauperism. Again, if welfare is to be a genuine welfare, the ground for it should have been prepared earlier by the various agencies

at work in the state. Unless, the minds and attitudes of people are attuned to the idea of a welfare state, they are apt to look upon welfare as manna from heaven falling into the mouth of an expectant people.

Finally, if the welfare state is to be a blessing, and not a curse, it should not produce a pauper mentality on the part of its recipients.

Till the end of the nineteenth century, most state were contented themselves with being police states, that is, the role of the state was limited to the provision of security of life and property of the people. The primary duty assigned to the state was, to maintain law and order, and protection of the territorial integrity of the state; and that, promotion of welfare was left to individuals themselves. However, Laski, for the first time, turned the attention of the world from the police state to the idea of welfare state.

In England, the ideal of welfare state started with the initiative of Trade Union, which was strongly supported by the Fabian Society. The National Health Service, the foundation of which was laid by earlier governments, received its final shape during the Prime Ministership of Mr Atlee, who was later on called Lord Atlee. Besides, a good number of legislations were made with the aim to achieve the goal of welfare state which included; nationalization of railways, coalmines and steel; nationalization of the Bank of England, and nationalization of transport communication system. As of now, a vast social insurance scheme has been in operation in England. All persons of working age, except housewives, are contributing to this social insurance scheme Provision is also being made for old age pension benefits, widow's benefits, unemployment benefits, family allowances for families with two or more children, milk for school children, milk and special diet for expectants and nursing mothers, free medical service, free secondary education, and liberal scholarships for higher education. This vast programme has been made possible by steep graduated taxes and conscientiousness in the payment of taxes. Surprisingly, however, in spite of high taxation for the scheme, production had been on the rise; and there has been an overall satisfaction among the people.

In USA, we find that, in spite of the existence of strong individualistic tendencies; there are several welfare schemes which are in operation. There are elaborate social security schemes, public works

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and excellent roads, price support for agricultural products, free education up to college level, and state and federal aid to education. USA, indeed, has a very comprehensive social security scheme which include, even white color workers, University teachers and self-employed persons.

In Continental Europe, Sweden, Norway and Denmark have a very extensive welfare scheme which was made possible by the willing payment of high taxes by the people. It has been learnt that, in some of the welfare states of Europe, the inequality between the highest and the lowest incomes is less than ten times. This has been made possible by the introduction of a comprehensive welfare scheme in those states.

In India, the framers of the constitution inserted a chapter on Directive Principle of State Policy, which includes a number of welfare schemes, Article 38 of the Indian Constitution reads “The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall form all the institutions of the national life” Article 39 further provides, (a) adequate means of livelihood, (b) distribution of natural resources so as to best serve the common good; (c) opposition to the concentration of wealth; (d) equal pay for equal work for both men and women; (e) conservation of health and strength of workers – specially, women and children; and (f) the non-exploitation of children. Article 41, further speaks of the state securing the right to work, to education, and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age sickness, and disablement. It also provides for provision of just and humane condition of work and for maternity relief: a living wage for workers; provision for free and compulsory education to children up to the age of 14 years old; promotion of the educational and economic interest of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes; and the duty to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and the duty to improve public health. However, the above cherished goals of the framers of the constitution are non-justifiable.

In spite of the non-justifiable states of Directive Principles of state policy, many ideals enshrined in the principles are being carried out in India. The ideal relating to compulsory education to children up to the age of 14 years have been made justifiable by making relevant constitutional amendment, welfare schemes like old age pension,

employment scheme under NREGS or Job Card to jobless, health scheme under different health scheme immunization (free) and many other developmental schemes are being touched by successive governments. As a matter of fact, all these schemes, including free housing scheme for homeless are being launched with the aim to achieve the goal of welfare state.

With the aim to achieve the goal of welfare state, state in India has been striving to provide full employment to all citizens without exception; schemes are being introduced for helping the sick and disabled persons. India strives to provide to its citizens a decent standard of living, full enjoyment of leisure, and social and cultural opportunities, adequate housing and health care facilities. However, in spite of its best efforts, the Government is still unable to give full employment to the people as the problem has been ever compounded by uncontrolled rise in the population. It is, therefore, to be concluded, that India, in spite of its best efforts to achieve the goal of welfare state, is yet still far from achieving the goal.

## **21 Sovereignty**

The term, Sovereignty has been a borrowed term from Latin, Supremacies, which means, supreme .Therefore, when the term is use in relation to state, it is used to mean, the supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects. As sovereignty or sovereign power is indispensable for the state, it has been regarded by most of the political thinkers, as one of the essential element of the state unanimously. A state with full independence is in possession of an ultimate power, the authority from which there is no appeal, whatsoever. This authority called, sovereignty, is supreme both internally as well as externally.

The term, sovereignty has been defined by different political thinkers of different times. JW, Crarner, in his book, “ Introduction to political science defines sovereignty as ‘that characteristic of the state by virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will or limited by any other power than itself. Bodin, the most prominent advocate of the theory of sovereignty, defines it as “The supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law”. Duguit, a French Professor of Political Science defines sovereignty as “the commanding power of the

state; it is the right to give unconditional orders to all individuals in the territory of the state". Burgess, an American writer described sovereignty as "Original, absolute, unlimited power over citizens and over all associations of subjects. Another American thinker, Giddings, in his work, *The Responsible State*, writes, "In all the dictionaries there is no other word that has more disastrously been conjured with by the metaphysical juggler... Jurists and theorists, losing sight of concrete fact, gave their minds to abstractions and sovereignty became for political science a thing that never was on sea or land.

Sovereignty, whether the sovereign, is a monarch, a dictator or an assembly, is related to the exercise of power to make law, issuing of commands and taking of political decisions which are binding on all individuals and associations within a definite territory. The sovereign issues laws, commands at his own will, and not with the approval or consent of any other individual or association. Sovereignty, in its purest form, is more befitting a monarch than an assembly or constitutional set-up, but it has to be applied to various systems so long as it is accepted as a universal characteristic of state. Jean Bodin defines the concept of sovereignty as, "the absolute and perpetual power of commanding in a state," as the supreme power over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law' Bodin, it is clear that, has put the sovereign above law, because he himself is the source of law.

John Austin, another prominent advocate of the theory of sovereignty developed the monistic theory of sovereignty. Referring to sovereignty, Austin observed, "If a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to alike superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society that determinate human superior is a sovereign in that society and that society is a society political and independent".

Austin was influenced by the then prevailing situation in England. The Utilitarians, particularly, the early Utilitarian sought to remove the anomalies of common laws by subordinating them to superior laws which consisted in the universal and permanent dictate of natural reasons; the state could neither ignore nor abrogate those superior laws. Austin, rejecting these arguments developed his theory of positive law, which expressed the will of the legal sovereign of the state; and hence not bound by the dictate of natural laws or any other

superior law. Austin maintained that law is the command of the sovereign, obliging the subjects to do or refrain from doing certain acts, failure to obey the law being visited by penalty. He, therefore, identifies the following characteristics of law.

- (a) Laws must come from a determinate source, that is, the sovereign;
- (b) Law must be the expression of the command of the sovereign; and
- (c) Law must be backed by sanctions, in the other words, disobedience of law must be punishable.

These characteristics of law, according to Austin, are peculiar to the positive law of the state, and are not to be found in natural law, custom or religion or religious commandments. He, therefore, said that natural law is not law in the real sense of the term. He, further, maintains that if positive law of the state comes into conflict with natural law, then the positive law of the state will prevail. It is, therefore, evident that Austin established the supremacy of the power, authority and commands of the sovereign beyond doubt.

Austin, establishing the single source of law, put forward a monistic theory of law, state and sovereignty. Austin, while developing his theory of sovereignty emphasizes mainly the legal aspect of sovereignty which does not repudiate moral or social limitations on the power of the state. Austin was the exponent of absolute and unlimited sovereignty purely from legal point of view. Austin admits that sovereign authority, though not bound by any external authority, habitually observes some fundamental moral principles. He, therefore, maintains that the sovereign cannot formally be made responsible to any authority similar to himself; and that his authority is legal and superior to all individuals and groups within the state.

### **(a) Characteristics of sovereignty**

Looking purely from legalistic concept, sovereignty can be said to have the following commonly accepted characteristics.

## **Absoluteness**

Absoluteness of the sovereignty is the logical outcome of its legal character. Jean Bodin said, sovereignty is the absolute and perpetual power of commanding in a state. Sovereignty is said to be absolute for it cannot be limited or restricted by any superior power or authority. The will of the sovereign is supreme in the state, and that no power or authority within the state is above it. The sovereign may pay due regard to moral principle, custom and tradition, not because it is compelled to do so, but rather because of his own volition. In the same manner, he pays due regards to international law, not because he is forced to pay such regards, but rather because of his own volition. It is also maintained that there is no power on earth which can bind the sovereign. Internally, the sovereign has absolute power over citizens and subjects, and groups and associations. Whatever limitation, there may be, it is a self-imposed limitation, and not from outside. Externally also, the sovereign is supreme, and it is absolutely independent of any compulsion or interference on the part of their states.

## **Universality**

Universality is the characteristics of the sovereign which referred to the all-pervasiveness or all comprehensiveness of the power of the sovereign which extends to all individuals, groups and area and things within the jurisdiction of the state. Even when a state grants immunity or extra territoriality to any category of persons, specially, foreign heads of states, UN Officials, envoys, ambassadors, their staff, residents and vehicles, etc., does so out of its free consent, and not because of any external compulsion or restriction. It is a matter of international courtesy, rather than compulsion. Even international associations and multi-national corporations operating within the territories of different states are also operating within the sovereign will of their respective state.

## **Permanence**

Referring to the permanent nature of sovereignty, Bodin says, “If power be held only for certain time, it is not sovereign power, and he who holds it for that time is not a sovereign”. Therefore, by saying this, Bodin means, in order that the power holder is a sovereign, he must perpetually hold that power. He, therefore, defines sovereignty as ‘absolute and perpetual power of commanding in a state’.

In order to understand the permanent nature of the sovereign, it would be appropriate to distinguish between the state and government. Theoretically, the sovereign belongs to the state. Governments may be formed and dissolved according to the established norm and procedure, but continuity of the will shall not be effected, as so also the continuity of the sovereign. In short, sovereignty of state exists as long as the state continues to exist as an independent political entity. Sovereignty, however, could be lost as and when the state is invaded by foreign power in which case the location of such sovereign power is transferred to external power.

## **Inalienability**

Referring to the inalienability of the e sovereign, Lieber says,” Sovereign can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life and personality without self-destruction”. When a state cedes a portion of its territory to other state or to form a new state, the ceding state is not destroyed, anyway. But the ceded territory acquired a new state with its own sovereignty without disturbing the sovereignty of the ceding state. It is, therefore, to establish that sovereignty is inalienable, and that creation of a new sovereign does not disturb the existence of the former sovereign. Rousseau, who upheld the inalienability of the sovereign, claimed that, power could be transferred, but not will. Sovereignty, according to Bodin, is the essence of the personality of the state, and, therefore, to alienate is to suicide or destroy.

## **Indivisibility**

Sovereignty is strictly indivisible or cannot be shared by different sets of individuals. In every state, sovereignty resides in a single body which is legally competent to issue the final command and order. Sharing of sovereignty by groups or individuals is likely to lead to inconsistent, conflicting and ambiguous commands. Getter, referring to the indivisibility nature of sovereignty, writes, “If sovereignty is not absolute, no state exists; if sovereignty is divided, more than one state exists. Calhoun, defining the indivisibility character of sovereignty says, “sovereignty is an entire thing; to divide it is to destroy it. It is the supreme power of a state, and we might just as well speak of half square or half triangle as of half sovereignty”. Again, “there is no difficulty in understanding how powers appertaining to sovereignty may be divided, and the exercise of one portion be delegated to set of agents and other portion to other or how sovereignty may be vested in one man, in a few, or in many. But, how sovereignty itself, the supreme power can be divided..It is impossible to conceive.

### **(b) Kinds and aspects of sovereignty**

Depending on the location of sovereignty, there are five kinds of sovereignty which can also be referred to as aspect of sovereignty:

#### **1 Titular sovereignty**

The term, titular sovereignty, is used with reference to a king or a monarchical ruler who at one time was a real sovereign, but for long time, ceased to be such sovereign ruler. The King of England and Emperor of Japan are good example of Titular Sovereignty.

#### **2. Legal sovereignty**

The Legal sovereign is the supreme law making body in the state. Only its commands are laws and can override the preoccupation of

divine law, the principles of morality, and dictates' of public opinion. Such a sovereign is found in England, the King in Parliament. It is the lawyer's conception of sovereignty. It is the determinate person referred to by Austin Courts recognize only these laws which emanate from such a sovereign authority.

### **3. Political Sovereignty**

In a democratic country, while the legal sovereigns is the supreme law making and law enforcing body, there is behind it the will of the people which is the ultimate and final source of all authority. It is the authority from whose verdict there can be no appeal. Decey says, "Behind the sovereign whom the lawyer recognizes there is another sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow". In any case, it is not possible to give exact definition to political sovereignty. In a direct democracy, legal and political sovereignty are almost coincidental but in a representative democracy, the two are not entirely identical. Some writers identify political sovereignty with the collective community, some with mass of the people, some with the general will, some with public opinion, some with physical power of the people who can bring about successful revolution.

### **4. Popular sovereignty**

Popular sovereignty referred to the type of sovereignty where the sovereign authority of the state rests with the people. There can be two possible meanings attached to popular sovereignty. (1) the total unorganized mass of people and (2) the total electorates. People in the first sense, cannot obviously be sovereign. As regard to the second, people can act only through legal channels if they are to be regarded as sovereign in any sense at all. To Garner, "Unorganized public opinion, how powerful, is not sovereignty unless it is clothed in legal form, no more so than the informal or the unofficial resolution of the members of legislative body in law". However, popular sovereignty seems to refer to nothing more than public opinion in time of peace and the might of revolution in the case of a conflict.

## **Popular sovereignty contains several valuable ideas, which are**

- (i) Government doesn't exist for its own good, it exist for the good of the people.
- (ii) If People's wishes are deliberately violated, revolution is likely to ensue.
- (iii) Easy means should be provided for a legal way of expressing public opinion.
- (iv) Government should be directly responsible to the people through such means; frequent elections, local self-government, referendum, initiative and recall
- (v) Government should exercise its authority directly in accordance with the law of the land.

### **5. De-Jure and De-Facto sovereignty**

While the De-Jure sovereign is the legal sovereign the De-Facto sovereign is the actual sovereign. De-Facto sovereign is obeyed by the people whether or not it has a legal status. De-Facto sovereign may rest purely on physical force or religious influence. The two can be distinguished more sharply in times of revolution. The de-jure sovereignty has the legal right to command, and therefore, force is not necessary. While some revolutions are for mere change of the persons holding the sovereign authority, some other revolutions are for destruction of the entire structure of the sovereignty and establish a new one. With the overthrow of Chiangkaihek's regime in China, a Communist China became the defecto sovereign. But now, it has been in power for decades, and there is none to challenge its authority; and many states, including India have recognized it. It is now assuming the status of both defecto and dejure sovereignty.

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## **Unit- III**

### **1 Democracy**

#### **Concept and Kind**

The term, Democracy, has been derived from Greek words, ‘demos’ the people and ‘cracy’ rule, which stands for rule of the people. Abraham Lincoln has defined ‘democracy’ as the government of the people, for the people, and by the people; and this definition of democracy, perhaps, is in most proximity with the literal meaning of democracy. In any case, democracy is a form of government in which the ultimate political power rests with the people either directly or through the representatives of the people.

Numerous political theorists on democracy have given different, but closely related definitions to democracy. Dicey, a prominent democratic thinker, defined democracy in his work, *Law and Opinion in England* (1835-1922) “as a form of government under which majority opinion determines legislation” James Bryce, in his works, ‘*The American Commonwealth* (1893)’ and “*Modern Democracies* (1921)” treated democracy as a form of government, and defines it as the rule of the people expressing their sovereign will through the votes”.

Democracy, as a form of government has a long tradition, particularly, in the Western World. However, the notion regarding its essence and ground of justification has been under revision from time to time. Both Plato and Aristotle mentioned about the existence of democracy in ancient Greek City states, particularly, Athen. As a matter of fact, it was the Greek City-state from where the very word, democracy came up. The existence of democracy in ancient Greek city-state has three features, which are: (a) equal participation by all free-men in the common affair of the polis.(city-state) which was regarded as an essential instrument of good life; (b) arriving at public decision in an

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atmosphere of free discussion; and (c) general respect for law and for the established procedures of the community. However, both Plato and Aristotle did not consider democracy as an ideal form of government. Plato on his part decries democracy as the form of government in which ignorant masses rule or rule of the ignorant while Aristotle referred to it as the rule of the many, which particularly constituted majority poor.

Democracy, as a form of government implies that the ultimate power of government is vested with common people so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people and to serve the interest of the largest number of people. However, democracy, as a form of government can be divided into two: Direct Democracy and In-Direct Democracy or representative Democracy.

## **Kinds of democracy**

### **Direct Democracy**

Direct democracy is the form of government in which citizens directly participate in the deliberative function of the state. Direct democracy requires a small size of population; and, therefore, it is neither practicable nor viable in modern large state where population runs not in thousands, but in millions. The system of direct democracy was prevalent in ancient Greek city-state where populations were small, normally 4000 to 5500 persons. Most of the ancient Greek city-states adopted direct democracy as the form of government.

### **In-Direct Democracy**

In-Direct democracy is a form of government in which citizens elect their representatives to the government, who on their behalf, participate in the deliberative function of the state and government. It is also referred to as representative democracy; and, in such a system, periodic elections are held in which citizens participate by casting their votes to elect their representatives to the government. This system of democracy has been the most popular and the most common system of democracy in modern large states where population runs millions and

crores. India adopted representatives' democracy with multi-party system as its form of government; and it is referred to as the largest democracy in the world.

## **Participatory Democracy**

Modern democracies are referred to as participatory democratic governments, which were formed and run by the representatives of the people. N. Bobbio has enumerated the following five specific characteristics of participatory democracy, which are: Firstly, there is the provision for universal adult suffrage without any discrimination on caste, sex, religion or states. Secondly, each vote has equal value on the principle of one man, one vote. Thirdly, the election will be free, and people can exercise their vote according to their choice, which requires the existence of more than one party. Fourthly, the principle of majority should be the basis for the formation of government. Fifthly, the protection of minorities should be ensured for the successful working of the democracy.

## **2. Concept of Liberal Democracy**

Democracy, as a form of government, is as old as ancient Greek city-state while the concept of liberalism is a recent phenomenon. However, liberalism is generally thought to be inseparable from democracy so much so that the term 'democracy' is applied to denote 'liberal democracy' unless, otherwise, specified. However, CB Macpherson, in his 'Democratic Theory' writes, "Until the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, theory, like the liberal state, was not at all democratic, much of it was specifically anti-democratic" As far as classical liberal theory was concerned, it was for unlimited individual right to acquire property and to the capitalist market economy, which implies inequality, not only in the economic sphere, but also in the political sphere. It was, therefore, a fact that classical liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries insisted on property qualification for the right to vote which runs counter to modern conception of democracy.

It was, however, to be maintained that the combination of liberalism and democracy became inevitable in the later phase, mainly because of historical reasons. Classical liberalism advocated capitalism and free market economy which were responsible for large-scale industrialization and urbanization. This gave rise to a large working class centred in large industrial cities and forced to live under sub-human conditions created by cruel competitive economy. In due course, this class became conscious of its numerical strength, and insisted on a voice at the hierarchy of decision making. The liberal state, therefore, was then forced to accommodate democratic principles in order to save its existence. The combination of 'liberal' and 'democracy', therefore, created a new form, which is now called 'Liberal Democracy'. It is the outcome of the attempt to resolve the conflicting claims of capitalists and the masses including workers by making gradual concessions under the scheme of welfare state.

It is further to be maintained that liberal democracy; today is differentiated from other forms of political system by certain principles and characteristics i.e. its procedures and institutional arrangement are different from that of other political system. As far as liberal democratic political system is concerned, principles, i.e. democratic principles and institutions are inseparable as the two need each other for their realization their valued goal. Therefore, the two must go along.

### **(a) Principles of Liberal Democracy**

There are certain mechanisms and principles on which liberal democracy has to function. The principles on which liberal democratic form of government has to work, which includes

- (1) Government by consent of the people
- (2) Accountability of government to the people
- (3) Rule of majority of populace
- (4) Recognition and acceptance of the rights of minority
- (5) Constitutional government
- (6) Independence of judiciaries.
- (7) Periodic election based on universal adult franchise.
- (8) Protection of civil liberty.
- (9) Political office should be opened to all.

## **1. Government by consent of the people**

Modern democratic governments are the governments run by the democratically elected representatives of the people. The people, by sending their representatives to the government give their consent to the government to formulate policies, take decisions and implement decisions. The people, through their representatives, have the opportunities to express their divergent opinions, which are taken into considerations while making decisions. A political system which restricts freedom of expression to the representatives of the people is not a democratic government, how much it may claim to be so. North Korea, which called itself “DPRK” Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, though claims to be democratic government, is not, in the real sense of the term, democratic government, for there is no freedom of expression, the core principle of democracy. Normally, in a true democracy, freedom of expression is permitted at all levels; at the governmental level and public level. At the governmental level, people are allowed to express their views and opinions through their representatives; and at public level, people could directly express their views and opinion through newspapers, magazines, and by organising public discussion, etc. Therefore, liberal democracy, as a form of government has to go along with the principle of freedom of expression.

## **2. Accountability of government to the people**

Liberal democracy, as a form of government based on public accountability must constantly be accountable and answerable to the people who have created it. John Locke, a contractualist, however, was doubtful of the constant accountability of the government; and that he wanted the people to be constantly on guard against such eventuality. He thought of the people as a householder who appoints a watchman for protecting his house, and then, he himself keeps awake to keep a watch on the watchman. Jeremy Bentham talks of Liberal democracy as a political system that would ensure the accountability of the government to the people. He maintains that both the governors and the governed, being human, may tend to maximise their personal interests and pleasure, which may eventually lead to abuse of power. Therefore, so as

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to prevent the abuse of power by the power holders, they should be seen constantly accountable and answerable to the people or the governed.

JS Mill, in his essay, 'On Liberty', declared the aim of his work as to elaborate and defend a principle which will establish the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual. He, then observed that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will, is to prevent harm to others. He identified the appropriate region of human liberty as including liberty of thought, feeling, discussion and publication, liberty of tastes and pursuits, and liberty of association or combination.

### **3. Rule of the majority**

Since rule of the people, people in totality is not possible, rule of majority is the only option for modern democracy. However, rule of majority too is, near impossibility in a multi-party representative democracy. In modern representative democracies, decisions are taken in several bodies-legislatures cabinets, committees and executive or legislative bodies. Majority rule in liberal democracy means that in all these decision making bodies, from electorates to the last committee, the issues are to be resolved by voting on the principle of one man one vote; and there will be no privileged section or sections claiming for special weightage, nor any under-privileged section or sections whose voices are ignored. There should be no discrimination of people on any ground, including sex, caste, creed etc. any restriction of suffrage should be based on valid and rational ground like unsoundness of mind, criminal background, and legally fixed age. Modern liberal democracy, as a form of government, has to go along with the principle of majority rule.

### **4. Recognition and acceptance of rights of minority**

The principle of majority rule by no means could be interpreted as suppression of minorities. Modern large states are mostly multi-ethnic and multi-culture societies where there are the dominant as well as minority groups. In such society, there must be legal provisions

which ensure the protection of minorities from the social, economic and political onslaught and suppression of the dominant and numerically larger group of people. Therefore, the liberal democratic government today has to recognise and accept the need for providing special rights to minorities co-existing with the majority in the society.

## **5. Constitutional Government**

Constitutional government referred to a kind of government which is established or formed according to the established law of the land. There may be a government which is formed or established not based on the law of the land, but by strength of military power or forceful use of violent method. These governments though may exist and continue to exist, have no constitutional validity. Therefore, they are not constitutional government. There are, at the same times, governments which are formed after election conducted under the provision of law or constitution; and that these types of governments could be referred to as constitutional government, liberal democratic government, etc. Therefore, a constitutional government is that type of government which is formed under the provision of law.

## **6. Independence of Judiciary**

Individual freedom, which is the basic principle of democracy, could not be secured without separation of powers between executive, legislature and judiciary. In order that justice could be given to citizens, the judicial system of the government should be free from influence of executive and legislature. While executive and legislature could be interdependent in a Parliamentary form of democracy, judiciary should be kept entirely independent of the two. While the legislature and executive are dominated by the politicians, judges are appointed on merit and they cannot be removed at will by the politicians as a result of whom they can pronounce their verdict without fear and favour. This strengthens the faith of the people in the regime and ensures smooth functioning of the government resulting in stability of judicial system of the country.

## **7. Periodic Election Based on Universal Adult Franchise**

Periodic elections were being held in representative democracy in which, people elect their representative to the legislature who, on their behalf, participate in the deliberative function of the state. Normally, as practiced today, in most of the democratic world, those citizens who attained the age of 18 years are given the right to cast their votes in elections; and that, no citizen who attained the required age be barred from voting right. It is, therefore, a pre-requisite of liberal democracy that elections are being held in a regular interval so as to facilitate the indirect participation citizens in the functioning of the state and government.

## **8. Protection of Civil Liberty**

Protection and preservation of civil liberties which include freedom of thought and expression, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and association, and personal freedom, i.e. freedom from arbitrary arrest, are the core and essence of liberal democracy; and without these, no democracy is democracy in the true sense of the term. These freedoms enable citizens to form associations through which they articulated their interests which ultimately leads to the formation of public opinions. Without these, the interests and opinion of the people cannot be translated into public policy and decision. Therefore, the people get opportunity to consider various alternative policies and programmes, and even personality to exercise their freedom of choice. In North-Korea, China and Former Soviet Union, since there was only one political party which monopolised political power, people have no choice, but to support the Communist Party which controlled and monopolised political power; and, therefore, their system of governance could not be considered as democratic system, no matter, how much they claim themselves to be having democratic system. Liberal democracy requires open competition for power between different political parties on the basis of established and accepted form of procedures. Therefore, in a liberal democratic system of governance,

there must exist more than one political party. It may be multi-party system, as in India or it may be, bi-party system, as I USA.

## **9. Political Offices should be opened to all**

In a liberal democracy, public offices or political offices could be occupied only through the support of the people; and not on the basis of birth, tradition or anybody's favour. It is this features of liberal democracy which distinguished it from feudalism, monarchy and despotism etc. no citizen is to be restricted from occupying political office so long as he follows the prescribed norms for the same. However, in a multi-ethnic and multi-culture society, where there exists minority communities, some seats, in political office could be kept reserved for them; and this policy of reservation is expected to revitalise the democratic institution of the country. In India, certain seats in Union Parliament and state legislatures are reserved for these groups of people living in the country.

## **3 Functioning Mechanism of Liberal Democracy**

There are certain mechanisms through which liberal democratic government operates. These functional mechanism of liberal democracy distinguished system from other political system; such as totalitarian and autocratic system. The champions of liberal democracy recognised certain institutions as the essential characteristics of democracy without which, no democracy could claim to be a true and pure form of democracy. According to the liberal democratic theorists, the existence or non-existence of these institutions determines as to whether a particular government is a democratic government or not; and that a democratic government could be run only through and by means of these institutions and procedures. The main characteristics and institutions through a democratic government perform it functions are:-

### **1. Existence of more than one political party**

In a liberal democratic form of government, the existence of more than one political party is the pre-requisite as monopoly of power

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by one party is bound to lead to dictatorship. In a democratic form of government, different political parties compete for securing political power; and in the process, political parties, with the aim to win over the hearts and minds of the people, make promises which they would fulfil, once elected.

## **LIBERTY OR FREEDOM**

### **4 Meaning of Liberty**

The word, Liberty is derived from Latin word, *liberte* or *libertas* which means ‘freedom’ or absence of restraint. Liberty and freedom are, therefore, the two sides of the same coin that could be interchangeably used to mean one and the same thing. However, there appears to be a slight variation in the usage of the term liberty and freedom. While, liberty is more popularly used in the case of individual, like individual liberty etc, freedom, on the other hand, is more commonly used in the case of collective entity; such as ‘freedom of the nation’, and not liberty of the nation. However, this variation in the usage of the two terms does not always stand the test of truth. For example: we called freedom movement or national freedom movement as also national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, etc. In spite of this slight distinction in the use of the two terms to mean one and the same thing, the two terms could, however be use to mean one and the same thing, ‘absence of restraint’.

Further, the term, liberty is closely associated with two other terms; toleration and liberation. Toleration means, to allow other people to do their duties, and even if that creates disadvantage to some that should be tolerated. This is because, the liberty of one is restriction to others, and vice-versa. Naturally if one does not tolerate others actions, people cannot have liberty. This implies that in order that, there could be equal enjoyment of freedom and liberty, there should be mutual and reciprocal toleration among people living together in a given society. This also implies that liberty cannot be separated from toleration.

Different liberal thinkers at different times offered different meaning to the term, Liberty. Montesquieu maintains, “There, is no

word that admits of more various significations and has made more different impression on the human minds than liberty”. Thomas Hobbes says “Liberty means the absence of restraints “which according to other thinkers is neither viable nor practicable in civil society. As a matter of fact, unrestricted freedom for one would be a negation of freedom or liberty of the others; and that it would not be freedom, but a license. Absence of restraint is absolute liberty which is not to be found anywhere and, in any civil society. Dewy said, “Freedom, unrestrained by responsibility or obligation becomes mere license, responsibility unchecked by freedom becomes mere arbitrary power”. The very fact of living together necessitates common rule of behavior and imposition of certain restraints. Harold Laski says, “Historical experience has evolved for us rules of convenience which promote right living and to compel obedience to them is a justifiable limitation of freedoms”. It is, therefore, to be maintained that absolute liberty which permits or gives license to individual to do what he wanted to do, to behave in a manner he wanted to behave and to think the way he wanted to think, irrespective of the negative impact on the others, does not and cannot exist in any given society. As a matter of fact, liberty and restraint are not contradictory, but are rather complementary to each other; and a true liberty means, absence of unreasonable restraint, and not absence of restraint. Referring to his fact, MC Kechnie says “Freedom is not the absence of all restraints, but rather the substitution of the rational ones for irrational”.

Liberty is also viewed as the power or right of individual to do anything that does not harm others. According to Ramsay Muir, “Liberty means, to secure enjoyment by the individual and by the associations of the power to think their own way under the shelter of law, provided they do not impair the corresponding right of others”.

Harold Laski has defined liberty in the following words, “By liberty I mean the eager maintenance of the atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves”. This definition of liberty suggests that liberty is an essential quality of human life. It is through and by means of the enjoyment of liberty and freedom with reasonable restraints that an individual could develop his different faculties to the fullest extent.

## **5 Concept and Nature of Liberty**

### **(a) Concept**

The concept of liberty implies a very important principle of political philosophy; and it is, sometime regarded as the distinctive principle of liberalism. Almost all political thinkers agree with the view that freedom or liberty is an end, but they differed on the means through which freedom or liberty could be achieved. Even the advocates of absolutism, authoritarianism, etc. play lip service to freedom, claiming that for ordinary men, submission to authority-regarded as the symbol of some sort of excellence-as the best way to achieve freedom. However, the advocates of liberty always challenged the claims of the privileged classes that liberty could be maintained by maintaining status-quo. It is to be noted that the struggle for liberty has always been motivated by the philosophy and principle of equality. In other words, when some oppressed sections of the society revolts against their oppressors, i.e. peasants revolt against their master or national struggle for independence-they challenged the claimed superiority of their oppressors, demanding equality and justice on the universal principle of human equality.

### **(b) Nature**

Liberty, which is the inherent aspiration of man which distinguishes man from other animal. It is for the realization of this inherent desire of man that institutions are being formed and evolved. Animals are governed by the laws of nature, i.e. survival of the fittest, i.e. one who is physically the strongest survived; that is the law of nature rules over them. Again, animals have no aim in life beyond mere existence. But man is distinguished from other animals as he has an aim in his life; and in order to realize his aim, he has created the whole complex institutions. While animals are the mere slaves of nature living under the dictate of nature, man, however, seeks to tame, control and harness nature to serve his purpose of his life. Freedom or liberty,

therefore, is the aim in life of man which he is striving to realize; and it is freedom that which distinguish man from other animal.

However, in spite of the long history of effort to make nature to serve his purpose, man still is under the rule of nature. It is to be maintained, however, that, so long as the elder, the more experienced, the more learned, the more competent, the more prudent and the more energetic men in the society manage and controls the affairs of the society in the common interest of the people, men do not lose their freedom in obeying the commands of these people. However, in reality, it was those selfish, strong and cunning people, who have managed to assume dominant position in the society. It was these people who acquired privileged class and the oppressed or the under-privileged or the exploiters and the exploited. The oppressor or the exploiters, in the meantime, develop their class interest so that they can remain as the oppressor for all times to come. With the aim to further their class interest as the oppressor, they sought to justify the existing system by emphasizing its virtues and sought to claim legitimacy of their dominant position. The domain classes have always been in defence of status-quo. It was only when the oppressed classes of people rise in revolt against injustice and oppression and challenge the special privileged position of the oppressors; and raises the slogan of liberty and freedom to demand their claim of equality. Liberty, therefore, is a force behind social justice; it is the voice of the oppressed; it is the voice against injustice; it is a voice to re-establish human values and dignity as against the rule of the animal kingdom.

## **6 Scope of liberty**

The problem relating to liberty or freedom involves the adjustment of claims between individual and the society; and state serves as the agency through which these relations between the two are regulated. When an individual insists that he has unlimited liberty or freedom in relation to society and in total disregard to the interest of the society, liberty would then be a license. However, if the liberty of individual is increasingly restricted in the interest of the society, it would then be the case of limitation of individual liberty. It is, therefore, necessary to have

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a clear distinction between liberties and license on the one hand, and to have a clearly demarcated boundary between liberty and authority on the other.

## **7 Liberty and license**

Liberty, when interpreted as absence of restraints in the exercise of liberty, without any consideration and recognition of the interest of other individuals in the society, liberty degenerates into license. Such understanding and interpretation of liberty is not in conformity with the maintenance of social orders, nor with the maintenance of liberty itself. In such a situation, the liberty of one individual would become another's constraints of liberty; and that, in such case, liberty of the strong would amount to suppression of the liberty of the weak. To have a logical explanation the case; a large fish will be freed to eat up the smaller fish, and there will be still a large fish to eat up the former larger fish. A thief's liberty to steal the property of anyone would become a threat to everybody's security of property. A driver's freedom to drive at any speed in any direction at his own whim would endanger the life and liberty of all users of the road. Such a situation is certainly self-contradictory; and, therefore, cannot be permitted in a civilized society. It is, therefore, to be maintained that since freedom or liberty is not the prerogative of an individual or group of individuals, it must be regulated in such a way that no individual exercised his freedom or liberty in a manner and to the extent that it disturbs the freedom and liberty of other individuals living in the society and state. LT Hobhouse, in his 'Elements of Social Justice', pointed out, "Unchartered freedom of one would be the conditional servitude of all, but one, and conversely a freedom to be enjoyed by all must impose some restraints upon all". Liberty is the essential democracy, yet in order that every individual could enjoy each of their own liberty, there must be some restraint in it, that is, the exercise of liberty by an individual should not be a hindrance to the enjoyment of liberty of others.

## **8 Features of liberty**

### **Features of liberty could be discussed under the following heads**

#### **(a) Freedom of conscience**

The freedom or liberty to do things could mean freedom to choose among the alternatives which again means the freedom of conscience. Whenever an individual intends to do something, he is guided by his conscience. The conscience of an individual, therefore, is the force that guides him, as how to do, to do or not to do etc. However, Raphael, contradicting this view, maintains that, though individual is guided by his conscience, in most cases, yet there are also other factors which guide and motivate an individual to do things.

#### **(b) Condition of atmosphere**

Laski maintains that liberty is condition of atmosphere in that the individual could perform such activities that will facilitate the fullest development of the best qualities he possessed. It is said that freedom is a material condition of life. It is, therefore, to be maintained that, in order that a man could attain his best self, there must be a congenial atmosphere which allowed enjoyment of his personal liberty.

#### **(c) Freedom as voluntary and un-coerced action**

Behind any action there exists spontaneity when a man is forced to do something against his will that coercion will lead to loss of liberty. It is, therefore, to be maintained that liberty and coercion are antithetical against each other. However, there are certain exceptions to this when a man is forced to do something which would create conditions for the enjoyment of liberty by other fellow human beings, then liberty, in this case is not antithetical to coercion.

**(d) Feeling free and being free**

Norman Barry pointed out another feature. If liberty, according to which, a distinction is drawn between 'feeling free' and being free'. According to him, feeling free is a state of mind related to state of contentment, and being 'free' on the other hand is, a state in which, major impediments to making choices have been removed. Barry, using liberty and freedom interchangeably, maintains that the obvious distinction between 'feeling free' and 'being free' could be best explained in the following way. A convict may commit a crime deliberately in order to go to prison for security reasons. Here, the condition of feeling free and being able are the two terms different from each other. When there are no physical impediments, a man may undertake any work but his ability does not allow him to shoulder the burden of doing the work. Here, we find that a person is free to do the work if he wishes so, but he is not 'able' to do it, and mainly for the reason; his ability to do the work and his freedom to do the work are not complementing to each other. Another example: a person has the freedom to travel by air as there is no restriction imposed but travelling by air is a costly affair which, he could not afford with his meager fund. It is here, where lies the distinction between 'being free' and 'being able'.

**(e) Distinctions between political liberty and other types of liberty**

Political liberty is more important in a democratic political system and that participation in election by casting vote has also been made as the political obligation of individuals; however, it should be noted that individuals are confronted with different situation in social and cultural fields. In less advanced countries, numerous superstitions inhibits the free lives of the individuals; and they are not always free to select their religious ways or to practice any belief or faith; on the contrary, in many autocratic states, political liberty is limited while religious and other liberties do exist. The point that we wanted to make here is that, the concept of liberty and freedom of all forms of liberty are not to be

mixed or confused. In the other words, various types of liberty shall carry their own identity.

#### **(f) Liberty is comprehensive in nature**

Liberty is a very comprehensive idea which changes with the change of time and with the change of other things such as outlook, physical condition, attitude, environment etc. The aim of liberty or the reason why liberty is felt necessary is that it makes it possible the development of good qualities of man, and for that end in view, all types of liberty may be required; and in this sense, it is comprehensive in nature. Again, liberties are a dynamic concept in the sense that if the attitude and outlook of individuals are changed, then liberty is capable of changing its sphere and extend to cope with the changed environment.

### **9 Liberty is conditional and not absolute**

Baker, in his work, “Principles of Social and Political Theory”, deals with legal liberty which he said was never absolute, but conditional. He says, “Legal liberty, just because it is legal is not an absolute or unconditional liberty. The need of liberty for each is necessarily qualified and conditioned by the need of liberty for all”. What Baker really wanted to say is that, liberty need not be restricted to limited number of people; and insists that, when liberty is legal, everyone must have access to it. But, according to him, in many societies, only a few people have the opportunity to enjoy liberty? Therefore, Baker further maintains, this system should be removed. Giving answer to the question that, how this system could be removed, he said that the state should impose restrictions upon the individuals for having access to liberty. The state, he said, should enact laws as to the enjoyment of liberty. Everyone in the society has an identity, and in that background of identity, we can claim liberty. He beautifully observed ‘Liberty is not the indefinite liberty of an unidentified or a defined personally’. This is because of the fact that absolute liberty is the liberty

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of only few individual, but the relative or regulated liberty is meant for all men. Even men whose liberty is controlled can enjoy liberty.

## **10 Conflicts between different types of liberty**

Baker again maintains that there are three kinds of liberty in modern society which could come into conflict with one another. These liberties, he said are, Civil liberty, political liberty and economic liberty. He has given his own explanation as to how and why these liberties come into conflict with one another. By virtue of civil liberty, an individual has the freedom to express his opinion through books, journals, mass Medias, etc, but the parliamentarians by virtue of their political liberty can impose restriction on the freedom of expression or speech. In this case, civil liberty and political liberty of two separate individual entities clash with each other; and that this kind of incident has been seen in different societies. In the same way, conflict between civil and economic liberty has been seen in different societies. The worker can claim higher wage and less working hours, and this falls within economic freedom. On the other hand, the employer has the civil liberty to enter into contract with the worker dictating, terms of contract regarding wage, working hours etc. in this way, different forms of liberty create conflict among citizens which Baker believes is inevitable. Everyone is eager to enjoy liberty to which he is entitled. There is no way of getting out of this problem. Baker, being aware of this, said, liberty is really complex notion, it has the capacity to unite men and, at the same time, it could bring conflict and class of interest between men.

## **11 Law and Liberty**

Law has been misconceived as anti-thetical to liberty or liberty has necessarily been anti-thetical to law. This view looks at liberty as to mean, absence of restraints. However, this is the negative conception of liberty, and liberty without restraint is dangerous as it could lead to clash of interest in the society. As a matter of fact, liberty, as a concept is essentially positive; and if liberty is to be meaningful, regulations and restrictions on it is necessary. In any case, liberty without restraint may be an enhancement of liberty for a few privileged people, but it will, in

most cases, result in the reduction and curtailment of the liberty of much a larger group of people which is not desirable. Therefore, liberty, to be proper, must come under the purview of law. However, it is again maintained that, law should not be allowed to interfere with the freedom of individuals; the meaning here is that, the purpose of law should be for the protection of liberty of all, and not a few privileged people. What is important here is that, in order that law is to be obeyed, the nature of law, its purpose and objective, and its source must be rational. Obedience to law must be based on the rationality of the law; the purpose must be protection of liberty for all, and the law must originate from the people. Law and liberty are not, against each other, but they are complementary and supplementary to each other. For the enjoyment of liberty, obedience to law is important and for protection of individual liberty law is an important and indispensable mechanism.

## **12 Negative Liberty and Positive Liberty**

Isaiah Berlin, in his, 'Four Essays on Liberty' deals with the concept of liberal pluralism in which he mentioned his view on the two aspects of liberty; positive liberty and negative liberty. A careful reading of his view on the two types of liberty makes one to believe that he was the supporter of negative liberty. Berlin believes in the existence of innumerable values and ideas which are in conflict with one another. In such a situation he said, positive liberty is likely to do more harm which eventually may lead to a totalitarian situation. In the opening para of his "Two Concepts of Liberty", he said that there is disagreement in every sphere of human society and that political problems arise from this disagreement. He further observes that people may reach agreement but they may still be in disagreement on the means to achieve the ends.

## **13 Negative Aspect of Liberty**

According to Berlin, man is said to be at liberty to the extent that his actions, movements, opinions, expressions are not controlled by other man or a body of men. This in other words means that, man is left free to do whatever he wants to do, to think and view he wants to think

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and view and act accordingly. Berlin, defines this liberty of man as follows, “Political Liberty is simply the area within which a man can act unobstructed by others”. The key word here is ‘unobstructed’ and this is the key word for liberty or negative liberty. As he said liberty will be called negative liberty when an individual’s various activities remain uncontrolled. As and when such activities of man are controlled and dictated by others, he will reasonably be called unfree or unfree man. Therefore, inability caused or created by coercion is another name for ‘unfreedom; Coercion, therefore, is a deliberate intervention by others in the activities of man; and it is because of this that coercion and freedom cannot co-exist.

However, on the other hand, if the inability is caused or created by any factor, other than coercion, it cannot be called ‘absence of liberty’ for example; a person who has been suffering from illness could not afford to consult a specialist as he has no sufficient fund for the same. His inability, here, is not caused by coercion, but it is caused by lack of fund; and that his inability cannot be described as lack of freedom, and least of all political freedom. This kind of inability, Berlin puts it, a special case of inability.

## **15 Negative Liberty and Non-Interference**

According to Berlin, liberty, in its negative sense is non-interference. He maintains that a man is free in the sense that he is not interfered with by others, as he may have the ability to do the work without any interference. In this context, Hobbes also, maintains, “A free man is not hindered to do what he hath the will to do” No obstruction will stand on the way of doing anything which a man intends to do. Hobbes further observes that law is the most powerful letter; and, therefore, it is the killer of human freedom. A pertinent question, here, arises; that is what would exactly be the area of non-interference, that is to say, should interference be limited or unlimited; the answer given by Berlin is; the area of such interference should be limited and not unlimited, because his contention was; if unlimited right of intervention was given to one, everyman will seek intervention in the activities of everyman. This, he said would possibly lead to social chaos and disharmony.

## 16 Negative Liberty and Interference

It has been seen that negative liberty is not in any way, non-interference as non-interference in its totality will mean, anarchy as anarchy is not freedom. Berlin maintains that since the interests, purposes and aims of men are incompatible, a process to harmonize among them shall have to be found; and that work is to be done by law. Law will perform the work of harmonizing the different objectives of men. In the absence of law or any mechanism for harmonizing different and divergent aims of men by imposing certain restriction, the creation of a political organization will be of meaningless. Here, there crops up a problem; that is, what would be the extend of the interference that would be lawfully permitted. It is unquestionably understood that a compromise has to be reached in any case as an answered to this Berlin said, "But equally it is assumed, specially by such libertarians as Locke and Mill in England, and Constant and de Tocqueville in France that there ought to exist a certain minimum area of personal freedom which must on no account be violated. As a matter of fact, absolute non-interference is neither possible nor practicable. Keeping aside all other considerations, one can assertively say that man are by nature and due to circumstances interdependent and if that be so, there cannot be anything like absolute privacy. Interference, therefore, must occur and it will be taken as faith accompli.

## 17 Minimum Freedom

It has been admitted that everyone must have the opportunity to have and enjoy minimum liberty and freedom; to that end necessary steps have to be taken. But problem arises here, that is, when in a society, a large number of people are underfed, naked, suffer from various diseases, a large number are deprived of even basic education, is it not a political claptrap to allow them enjoy freedom? Freedom is essential for all residents of a society. But, there is confusion here, that is; which is to be given priority medicine for the sick, education for the

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poverty stricken people, or clothing for the unclothed or freedom. The poor and poverty stricken people obviously have to be given their necessity of life, the minimum freedom to have food, clothes, medicine; and when this minimum freedom is made available to them, they can claim a higher degree of liberty which would include political liberty. For these people, food, clothes, medicine, education, etc. are more important than the freedom to participate in the election or to cast their votes. Let us, therefore, allow them to have the minimum freedom to have their basic needs, and proceed on giving them other liberties; political liberty, personal liberty etc. Neglecting minimum freedom while giving importance to other higher liberty would be nothing, but a mockery.

It is true that liberty is a goal, a very coveted goal indeed, but it cannot be treated in isolation. The fact is that, society must do all what it could, to reach the goal of minimum freedom that is, freedom to have minimum necessities be made to ensure giving to higher and greater liberty. Professor Laski once said that, everyone had the right or liberty to take minimum food, and when this liberty is attained, some make their claim for cake. Therefore, what is important is satisfaction of minimum needs as primary condition for granting better and higher privileges.

## **17 Negative Liberty and Privacy**

Negative liberty when interpreted as absence of external interference, is closely linked with privacy. External interference encroaches upon the exclusively private affair of individual. Private affair, particularly, in Western countries, is considered sacrosanct; and privacy conscious individuals never intend to violate the sanctity of private life of people. It has also been asserted that all the private affair of the individuals shall be within the management and control of individuals and that the state has nothing to do with these affairs. Individual is to be left alone as far as his private life is concerned.

In the western societies, intrusion to the privacy of individual is considered as an infringement in the liberty of individuals. Education, health, to pursue art, etc. are all considered as the subject of private realm and the state has nothing to do with. All these should be left

entirely at the hands of individuals. Even state interference in the economic activities of individual is uncalled for and many modern thinkers have the opinion that the state should refrain from interfering in the economic activities of individuals because, these are considered as private affairs, and the individuals understand better what they should do, and what they should not do.

## **18 Negative liberty and rationality**

It is taken for granted that individual is normally rational, and that he is expected to do thing with the backing of his rationality. It is also believed that the individual, with the support of his rationality knows and understand his interests best and also knows how to protect his interests if he is not interfered by other forces. It is also believed that an individual is capable of protecting his interest most effectively when his is left free. However, when there is frequent interference of government in the name of general interests that disturbs and frustrates the individual leading to loss of his liberty. Therefore, for the sake of proper development of rationality and spontaneity of the individual, there should be minimum state interference in the affairs of individual. Modern thinkers have called the state interference as a type of paternalism and all forms of paternalism, however, well intentioned, is enough to dwarf the responsibility and spontaneity of individual. Naturally, any type of paternalism must be nipped in the bud. The argument given against leaving individual free, free from coercion and interference is that if the individual is left free, he will commit mistakes which may be detrimental to the general interest, though temporary it might be. But taking the brighter side of the mistake, the individual could learn from the mistakes he has committed. State interferences, sometime, may help and guides the individual in taking the right decision and in doing the right thing, which, however, is believed to be occasional rather than always. Rationality, which is in every sound individual, therefore, should be the guiding factor of individual in his various activities and, which shall with least interference by outside or external forces, including state. Therefore, unlimited faith in rationality and individuality of a person is considered as a potential cause of the popularity of negative liberty.

## **20 Positive Liberty**

### **Meaning**

The meaning of positive liberty could be defined in the following way; it means that the individual is his own master that is, the life and decision of individual rest with the individual himself. An individual, according to positive liberty is, the maker of his own destiny; and, therefore, no external force should decide what he has to do and what he should not do. It is concerned with the question; by which an individual is governed, and not, as to how much he is governed. It is concerned with the wish of an individual to be a subject, rather than the object; it is concerned with the wish of individual to be moved by reason, conscious purposes, which are his own. It is also related to individual's wish to be somebody, and not anybody. It is also related to a situation in which the doer decides and not somebody decided for; it is something that is self-directed and not acted upon by external nature or by other individuals. In short, positive liberty stands for complete autonomy of individual to decide his own destiny without being interfered by any external force, be it individual or state.

Berlin defines positive sense of liberty in the following words, "The freedom that consists in being one's own master and the freedom which consists in not being prevented from choosing as I do by other men" Heywood has beautifully explained the paradox of positive freedom, thus, "Indeed a demos that imposes many restrictive laws on itself may be positively free but negatively quite unfair. On its other sense, positive freedom relates to the ideas of self-realization and personal development" Berlin again says, "I feel free to the degree that I believe this is true, and enslaved to the degree that I am made to realize that it is not".

### **20 Positive freedom and self-realization**

Berlin, in his Four Essays on Freedom' established a close relationship between self-realization and positive liberty. According to him, the best means for attaining self-realization or realization of the

best self which everyman possesses is positive freedom or positive form of liberty. Every individual has his own interest, aspiration, goal, motive, mission and vision which he wants to fulfil. In order to accomplish all these, he decides his own method, technique and make plan. All these he could do as a free man, unhindered by any external power that means an individual needs to have freedom which he will utilize in his own way and according to his own will.

However, self-realization will not be possible unless a congenial atmosphere for the same is created. An atmosphere in which an individual is not faced with any obstruction has to be created so that he can achieve the goal of self-realization, the realization of his best. Berlin maintains: “The notion of liberty is not the negative conception of a field without obstacles, a vacuum in which nothing obstructs me but the notion of self-direction or self-control”. It means what a man wants to do; he must have the opportunity and freedom to do. Berlin again said that there is necessity of obstruction for the realization of self. The aim of the restriction imposed by the state or society will be to help for the furtherance of self-realization. It is, therefore, maintained that obstruction are not always harmful. Obstructions may have positive impact for realization of self and therefore, here lies the fundamental difference between negative freedom and positive freedom.

## **21 Curtailment of freedom or liberty**

Curtailment of liberty is a complex issue which, up to a large extend, depends much on the social, economic and political structure of the society, and simultaneously of the people themselves. Enhancement of liberty may be desirable in some cases, but such enhancement of liberty, in the case of other, may be detrimental to the interest of both the individuals and the structure (society). The citizen may cherish in mind to enjoy liberty to the fullest possible extend, yet there may be hindrances on their way to enjoy such vast liberty, which one may call curtailment of liberty.

Looking into the past, one may find that people are experiencing the curtailment of their liberty in one way or the other. During the middle Ages, people had little religious freedom; even the term secularism was not much known to them. During the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, the all powerful monarchs in Europe drastically curbed liberty of individual; even personal liberty was largely restricted. Agitations were being launched against such curtailment of individual liberty but there could not be any marked improvement. However, the industrial revolutions during the second-half of the eighteenth century re-shape the situation to a different direction. Due to industrial revolution in Europe, production increased and the people who owned and controlled industries also started controlling and dominating the whole economy. The wealth generated from the industrial revolution was practically captured by a handful of capitalists leading to gross inequalities of wealth and income resulting to the increase in the number of poor or the have nots. The poor were deprived of even their basic needs of life, whereas the rich capitalists became ever richer. In such a situation the poor workers, peasants, industrial labourers etc. were deprived of economic liberty, while the capitalists were enjoying full scale economic liberty. Therefore, there was no perceptible improvement in the condition of liberty. Two opposing tendencies, therefore, developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One tendency is that there was more and more claim for liberty; and the other is different technique are being devised and introduced to corner the prospect of liberty, especially in the positive sense of liberty. The dominant capitalist class started not only controlling the economic sector of the society, but also started controlling and dominating the political structure and authority. Therefore, there arises a situation in which liberty, particularly political liberty and economic liberty are made available to the capitalists and the opposing class of people i.e. workers; peasants are increasingly deprived of their liberties. That is to say that economic and political liberty has no meaning when people are not in a position to enjoy them because of poor economic condition. It, therefore, emerged a situation and condition in which liberty is meant for the rich capitalists, who by virtue of this liberty could control the economic system and the political authority of the state and society. To quote a Berlin “Nor do I wish to deny that the new ways in which liberty, both in its positive and negative sense, can be and has been curtailed haven arisen since the nineteenth century. In an age of expanding economic productivity there exist ways of curtailing both types of liberty. For example, by permitting or promoting a situation in

which the entire groups and nations are progressively shut off from benefits exclusively in the hands of other groups and nations, the rich and strong – a situation which in turn, has produced ..... social arrangements that have caused walls to arise around men and doors to be shut to the development of individuals and classes”.

## **22 Liberty and Authority**

Liberty or freedom without restraint is not liberty in the true sense of the term; and, therefore, liberty of individuals has to be restricted by a measure of equal liberty to be enjoyed by others. This, in other words, means that the enjoyment of liberty by an individual should not hinder the enjoyment of liberty by others. As liberty is demanded for man, as a ‘rational being’, it follows that, liberty is meant to enable men to pursue ‘rational objects’ or ‘ideal objects’. If they do so, each individual shall pursue his interest in consonance with the interest of the society; an individual’s good will become an integral part of social good or good of the society. In such a state, no regulation would be necessary, because the interest of individuals living in the society and state are the same as that of the society and state. However, in the real world of individuals, the individuals are in no way perfect, they are only capable of perfection. Therefore, regulation of liberty becomes necessary to safeguard liberty itself. Speaking about the necessity for regulation of liberty, Baker says “Liberty within the state is, thus a relative and regulated liberty; it is the greatest common measure of liberty which is possible for all, as determined and defined by (1) the need of each to enjoy similar and equal liberty with others, and (2) by the need of all to enjoy the specific liberty of realising specific capacities. This view of regulated liberty is not, in any way, a dilution or perversion of liberty, but rather it provides a more meaningful and a more substantive foundation of liberty.

Regulation of liberty implies the recognition and acceptance of authority over individual. The question, therefore, is, if liberty of individual is restricted to certain limit, should the power of the state also be restricted to certain limit or should it remain unrestricted? In other words, if certain restrictions are imposed on the liberty of individual

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because an individual is not perfect, certain degree of limitation should be imposed on the power of the state, because no state on earth is a perfect state. This conflicting relation between the individual liberty and the authority of the state persists without any solution insight. DD Raphael, therefore, referring to the conflict between state authority and individual liberty says, “Most political theories recognize that individual liberty and state authority conflict with each other, and that balance has to be struck between them and the value they represent”. Thomas Hobbes, a contractualist constructed his social contract theory in support of limited liberty of individual, and in support of absolute power of the authority of the state while, on the other hand, John Locke, in his social contract theory postulates for limited power of the state so as to leave as much room as possible for individual liberty. In any case, however, limitations on the authority of the state have to be imposed so as to make authority more meaningful with reference to its social purpose

## **23 Dimensional Aspect of Liberty**

Liberty, according to Classical Liberal Theorists, stands for absence of restraint which means, the state should not impose any kind of restriction on the activities of individual in the various spheres of life. However, the modern liberal theorists maintain that, absence of restraint, in no way means unregulated liberty; on the other hand, it implies that the activities of individual should not be subjected to unreasonable restraint or restrictions by the authority of the state. But, there is a pertinent question that could be raised; what types of activities of individual should come within the purview of unreasonable restraint; and , at the same time, what are the types of activities that should come under the purview of reasonable restraint. Therefore, in order to identify the reasonable and the unreasonable restraint, it would be proper to make distinctions between Civil Liberty, Political Liberty and Economic Liberty.

## 24 What is Civil Liberty all about?

Baker, in his work, 'Principles of Social and Political Theory,' maintains that, civil liberty is that liberty of individual in his capacity as individual person or his personal liberty which may include; physical freedom from injury or threat to life, health and movement of the body; intellectual freedom for the expression of thought and belief; and practical freedom of the play of will and the exercise of choice in the general field of contractual action and relations with other individuals.

Of the above three categories of liberty included within the ambit of Civil Liberty, the first, relating to personal liberty like physical freedom from injury or threat to life etc should not be restricted, except in the interest of public safety, maintenance of law and order etc. Which are essential conditions of Liberty of individual? Physical injury, threat to life, etc should not be done, except as a punishment for a crime committed by individual, which should also be strictly in accordance with the law of the land. Regarding the second category of Liberty i.e. freedom of thought and belief, and freedom of expression, there are various reasons advanced by different liberal thinkers in its defence. JS Mill, one of the most ardent supporters of liberalism has advanced the importance of freedom of thought expression and belief from the point of view society as a whole. In his work, "On Liberty" JS Mill maintains that the permanent interests of man as a progressive being depend upon or at least can be furthered by the advancement of knowledge, which flourishes best in an atmosphere of free discussion. In order to direct policy wisely, it is necessary that there should be freedom to criticize the existing institutions wherever and whenever necessary, no matter how offensive the criticism they may be to the existing system. In the words of Mill; the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is that it is robbing the human race- posterity as well as the existing generation – those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by the collision with error.

Regarding the third category of liberty as Baker puts it, it is conceded that individuals have the freedom to enter into contract with

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one another so long as such contract made is not having damaging effect on the third party. However, problem crops up with freedom of contract when it is exploited by the stronger party of the contract by imposing the terms and conditions of the contract which are most likely to be disadvantageous to the weaker party. LT. Hobhouse, therefore, in his work elements of social Justice insists on the quality of contracting parties. He, referring to this, writes, "Freedom of contract is insufficiently defined when it is regarded as consisting solely in the absence of control. Freedom of contract implies such as substantial equality between the parties as on the whole leaves to each a real choice between including and rejecting the bargains. When no such quality exists, one party acts under a degree of compulsion".

Freedom of contract therefore according to LT. Hobhouse, should operate within certain limit and regulation. Absolute freedom of contract could become an instrument for enslavement of the weaker in the hands of the stronger parties. To be précised, freedom of contract, therefore, should come under the category of restraint liberty.

## **Political Liberty; what it is all about?**

Political Liberty essentially refers to that kind of liberty which man enjoys in his capacity as citizen of a state. William Blackstone maintains that political liberty is that liberty of individual for curbing the government, from which it follows that he conceived of government as something external. However, in modern liberal democracies, where governments are formed and constituted by the people themselves, political liberty is not meant for curbing and limiting the authority or government, but it is meant for constituting and controlling; constituting it by participating in the elections for forming the government, and controlling it by participating in free discussion, sharing of opinion and ideas freely by each individual in his or her capacity. Political liberty in this context postulates the positive right of the people to be a part decision process by freely articulating their views and opinions on issues of public policy for better governance.

Leacock maintains that political liberty means the right of the people to choose their government which should be responsible to the people. He also refers to as constitutional liberty. Gilchrist, on his part,

maintains that political liberty is synonymous with democracy itself. Political liberty, according to him is not limited to enjoyment of freedom, but also extends to sharing of political authority by the people. Political Liberty also stands for placing and combining sovereignty and liberty in the same hand, that is, the people. Political liberty, according to liberal democratic theorists, is essentially positive in nature; and consists of the political rights that are conferred on citizens. Political rights consist of the right to vote, the right to contest in the election, the right to hold public office etc.

Since political liberty is essentially positive in nature, people should be given the right to enjoy without unreasonable restraint. So long as a citizen fulfilled the criterias set by the legitimate authority like, lower age limit, soundness of mind, devoid of criminal record, etc. all should be allowed to enjoy political liberties like, to participate in the election by casting vote, to participate in the election by contesting etc.

## **25 Economic Liberty What it is all about**

It is maintained that economic liberty should precede political liberty, basically because liberty itself becomes meaningless when hunger, starvation and destitution scare man at every door step. Liberty becomes meaningless when there is a constant fear of unemployment. It has also been maintained rightly that economic liberty must bring with it political liberty, because liberty itself is meaningless when people remain half-fed and ill clad

Laski, referring to economic liberty says, it is all about “security and opportunity to find reasonable significance in the in the earning of one’s daily bread”. Economic Liberty is all about freedom from want and the freedom from fear, fear of starvation etc. Economic liberty aims at the creation of that structure of society where there is sufficiency for all before there is sufficiency for a few.

However, economic liberty carries with it conflicting interpretation by the naturally conflicting parties involved in the process of economic activities; that is, the employers and the employees; traders and consumers, landlords and tenants etc. In such conflicting situation, the stronger party would gain at the cost of the weaker. It is, therefore, necessary that the stronger party needs to be curbed and controlled in

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the interests of the weaker party, less the principle of liberty would be a mockery. This is the sphere where the adjustment between the claims of liberty and equality becomes necessary. R.H. Tawney, in his work, 'Equality', therefore, observes, "when liberty is construed realistically, as implying not merely a minimum of civil and political rights, but securities that the mercy of economically strong, and that the control of those aspects of economic life by which all are affected will be amendable, in the last resort, to the will of all, a large measure of equality, so far from being, inimical to liberty, is essential to it".

It is, therefore, to be maintained that it is in the economic liberty that comes into direct conflict; and that it is economic liberty that there is a need for certain restrictions, and restraints on the activities of economically advantageous sections of the society in the interest of economically disadvantageous people.

## **Concept of equality**

### **26 Meaning of quality**

There are divergent views on the concept of equality. The two prominent Ancient Greek political thinkers, Plato and Aristotle hold the view that, men are born unequal, unequal in endowments; while some men are born with more and superior intellectual and reasoning capacities, some others are born inferior in terms of intellectual and reasoning capacities; and while, some are born physically superior to others, some others are born physically inferior to others. Here lies, he said, the in-equality of men which necessitated division of labour, according to one's own capacity which becomes the basis of his theory of justice. In the same manner, Aristotle maintains that, men are born-unequal, both in terms of physical power and mental capacity. For some, he said, it is in their own interest to be governed by the others who have inherent superior mental capacity to govern, whereas, for the others, it is in the interest of the society and themselves that they are governed by the others who have inborn superior reasoning capacity. Aristotle, therefore, advanced his theory of slavery based on the inborn in-equality of men. He believes that, slaves are slaves not only in the

interest of their masters, but also, they are so in their own interests, because they are believed to be better-off when they are under the commands of their masters, who he said are, endowed with superior mental and reasoning capacities. The above mentioned concept and meaning of equality, as advocated by Plato and Aristotle, has now been almost altogether rejected by modern democratic thinkers. However, they could not disagree with the fact that, men are born unequal and unequal in endowments, because one could see that, some men are by birth stronger and healthier than the others; and some others are born superior in terms of intellectual mental capacity and are endowed with superior reasoning capacity. The modern writers, therefore, while accepting the contention of Aristotle and Plato, maintain that, equality implies that, men must be given equal opportunities for their physical, moral, intellectual etc. development, and that all must have equal opportunities for pursuing their various objectives in life for the fullest development of their personalities etc. In a common understanding of the term, equality, it refers to identity of treatment and reward. This, however, is an erroneous view of equality as equality does not mean mechanically identical treatment, because men are different in want, aspiration, capacity and need. Equality on the other hand, refers to certain leveling of treatment process, and in no way, refers to absolute equal treatment which is, neither possible nor feasible. Equality, therefore, means, no men shall be placed in the society so that he can over-reach his rainbow to the extent which constitutes a denial of the latter's citizenship. To Barker "The principle of equality, accordingly, means that, whatever conditions are guaranteed to me, in the form of rights, shall also, and in the same measure be guaranteed to others and that, whatever rights given to others, shall also, be given to me. This definition of equality, as given by Barker, implies, therefore, that there should be equal treatment to all irrespective of one's social, political, etc. status in the society.

## **27 Equality is a contested concept**

According to Dworkin, "people who praise it or dispraise it disagree about what they are praising or dispraising". The term, equality therefore, signifies correspondence between a group of different objects,

person, processes or circumstances that have the same equalities i.e., regarding one specific feature, with difference in other features. Equality therefore, needs to be distinguished from identity or identical. This concept signifies that one and the same object corresponds to itself in all its features; an object that can be referred to through various individual terms, proper names or descriptions. For the same reasons, it needs to be distinguished from similarity which is the concept referring to approximate correspondence. This implies that, when a man said, men are all equals; he does not mean to say that all men are identical. It should be observed here that to say men are equal, is not to say, men are identical in all respects. But, equality is nearer to similar than sameness. In distinction numerical identity judgment equality presumes a difference between the things being complete. According to this definition, the notion of complete or absolute itself is self-contradictory. Two non-identical objects and never absolutely equal. If things do not differ, they should not be called, equal but they should rather be called identical i.e., the morning and evening star. Here usages may vary, while some authors do consider absolutely qualitative equality admissible as a borderline concept.(Tugendhat wolf)

“ Equality” can be used in the very same sense both to describe and prescribe as with “thin” you are thin” the approach taken to defining the standard of comparison for both prescriptive and descriptive assertions of the concept of equality is very important and significant. (Oppenheim, 1970) In the case of descriptive use of equality, the common standard is itself descriptive. For example; two people weigh the same at prescriptive use of equality is present when a prescriptive standard is applied, that is a norm or rule. For example; people ought to be equal before law. The standard grounding prescriptive assertions of equality contain at least two components. One; there is a descriptive criteria, in order to identify those people to whom the rule or norm applies. The question of this identification is; who belongs to which category? May it be normative; for example, to who do the US laws apply. On the other hand, the comparative standards contain something normative; that is, a moral or legal rule, in the example, the US laws, specifying how those falling under the norms are to be treated. Such a rule constitutes the prescriptive component. Sociological and economic analysis of inequality mainly pose the question of how inequalities can

be determined and measured and what their causes and effects are in contrast, social and political philosophy is in general concerned mainly with the following questions: what kind of quality, if any should be offered, and to whom and when?

“Equality” and “equal” are incomplete predicates that necessarily generates a question; that is equal in what respect? Equality essentially consists of tripartite relation between two (or several) objects or persons, and one (one several) qualities. Two objects ‘a’ and ‘b’ are equal in certain respects, and if in that respect, they fall under the same general terminus. Equality, here, denotes the relation between the objects that are compared. Every comparison presumes a tertium comparationis, a concrete attribute defining the respect in which the equality applies---equality thus referring to a common sharing of this comparison, determining attribute. This relevant comparative standard represents a variable of concept of equality that needs to be specified in each particular case; differencing conceptions of equality here emerged from one or normative moral standard.

## **28 Dimensions of equality**

The principle of equality may be applied in different spheres of life; and that based on the sphere in which it is applied, equality may be of different dimensions which are: legal, political and socio-economic dimensions.

### **(b) Legal equality**

Legal equality refers to that kind of liberty which grants equal legal rights to all, irrespective of their birth, physical and mental capacities. It also means that, all are equal in the eyes of law, and that there should be no discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, language, religion etc. Rousseau, in his social contract theory maintains that, extension of legal equality to all citizens was the primary characteristic of civil society. According to him, “It is that, instead of destroying natural equality, the fundamental fact subsumes a moral and lawful quality for physical inequality which nature imposed upon men, so that,

although unequal in strength and intellect, they all become equal by convention and legal right “Therefore, the idea of legal equality emanates from moral consideration and serves as the basis of equal rights of men.

Legal equality, which basically means equality before laws, is the principle that each independent human being must be treated equality by the law and, that all people are subject to the same laws of justice; that is, due process of law. Therefore, the law must guarantee that no individual or group of individuals should be given privilege or discriminated against by the law of the state. Equality before law is one of the basic principles of modern liberalism; and that, this principle, arises from various important and complex questions concerning equality, fairness and justice. In 1894, Author, Anatole France said “in its majestic equality, the law forbids rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges, beg in the streets, and steal loaves of bread “the belief in equality before law is also called legal egalitarianism’. The principle of legal equality or equality before law is incompatible, and that, it ceases to exist with legal systems, such as slavery, servitude, colonialism, monarchy, etc.

Article 7 of the universal declaration of human rights states that ” All are equal before the law, and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law”. It is, therefore, to be maintained that, everyone must be treated equally under the law, regardless of race, gender, national origin, color, ethnicity, religion, disability or other characteristics, without privilege, discrimination or bias. Equality before law is provided by most of the constitutions of democratic governments, including India. In the context of India, the constitution, under Article 14 provides that “The state shall not deny to any person equality before law and equal protection of laws within the territory of India”. This provision of the constitution of India implies that, this right of equality before law is extended over to any person, not necessarily Indian citizen, who lives within the territory of India. In other words, apart from Indian citizens, foreigners legally residing in India are also given this equality or equality before the law of the land. Equality before law and equal protection of law have different meaning. In the field of law, each and every word carries a very specific meaning and is chosen for a particular purpose. It, can be compared with the

word depression which can simply mean, sad or lower a bit unhappy or moody or down for a layman, but for Psychiatrist, depression has a different meaning

## Equality under Article 14 of the Constitution of India

Equality before law	Equal protection of law
It means that no man is above law. Everyman, whatever be his/her status or rank is equal in the eyes of law	It means that, like should be treated alike; The state cannot treat unequal people as equal. Apples and Oranges are not the same. Thus, it gives freedom mandate to the state to make special provision for disadvantage section of the society

Therefore, equality before law is a negative demand from the state; that is, not to discriminate while equal protection of law to bring all citizens on equal footing. It means, the Government should make special provisions for the protection and advancements of disadvantaged, discriminated and vulnerable sections of the society.

Barker, in his ‘Principles of Social and Political Theory’, writes, “The state which vests us with legal personalities,.....or masks, vests us all with equal masks, partly because it simply cannot distinguished our differences even if it would,.....but ultimately for the far deeper reason that we all matter equally before the law, whatever, our differences may be”. “The principle of equality, accordingly, means that, whatever conditions are guaranteed to me in the form of rights shall also, and in the same measure be guaranteed to others, and that, whatever rights are given to others; shall also be given to me.”

It is further to be noted that, equality before law does not mean equal treatment by the law, but it rather mean, equal access to the law, and consideration only of those factors laid down by the law, as relevant. The fact is that, no one is too small not to have recourse or access to the court of law, and no one is too big that he could not be tried in the court. Therefore, equality before law implies equal protection of all citizens and equal subjection of all citizens to the law of the land.

It should also be admitted that legal equality by itself does not provide or guarantee justice in a society, which is characterized by extremes of wealth and poverty, as in India. Equality before the law will have meaning only if all citizens can equally afford to approach the court of law for restoration of their rights. Since going to the court of law is a costly affair, the poor citizens could hardly avail legal protection. The irony of the situation in India is that, whereas an innocent poor is hardly able to defend him in a court of law, wealthy smugglers, black marketers, profiteers etc, could avail the services of the best brain lawyers to defend them in the law court.

### **(c) Political dimension of equality**

Political equality is said to be entirely related to the rights of citizens in democratic set up of a society to have equal opportunity for participation in the political processes of a state. It means that all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed, ethnicity, language, religion, cultural back ground, etc, have the same political rights, and equal voice in the government. It also implies an equal access to all offices political or administration offices, provided that the necessary qualifications set for the same are fulfilled. Political equality also implies, equal rights and opportunities to participate in the electoral processes of the state by voting, contesting as a candidate for political post, campaigning for a particular candidate or political party of one's own choice. Political equality also refers to the kind of equality which guaranteed, in modern democratic society, to participate and have a share in decision making process on equal footing. It postulates that nobody should be barred from holding political office on the ground of birth, religion, sex, language, etc.

The doctrine of political equality is derived from the belief that man, as such, is a rational being, capable of political judgment irrespective of his physical and mental capacities, education and wealth.etc. It also proceeds from the understanding that, when equal political rights are extended to all men, they will be able to give the best expression to the common good and to prevail upon policy makers to adjust public policy to the requirement of common good.

Political equality without economic equality, though might not be totally meaningless, has little meaning. For people living in poverty with no sufficient clothes and, other necessities of life, political equality has no much significance. They have no time, no interest, no will, and no resources to participate in the election, because participation in the election is unlikely to provide their necessities for daily sustenance. Moreover, participation in the election by contesting as a candidate requires resources which the poor are incapable of affording. Therefore, political equality, in the real sense of the term, has no significance in a class-divided society. In a capitalist society, it is the capitalists and wealthy merchants who monopolized and control the whole political system; and that, the poor laborer workers, etc have no opportunities and resources for enjoying political equality. Therefore, political equality, in order that it works effectively, should be backed and supplemented by economic and social equality.

Political equality started as a progressive idea leading to the establishment at democracy in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was, however, found to be inadequate by the people whose hopes and aspirations were belied by the then prevailing socio-economic inequalities. Therefore, it was felt that, political equality has to be back up by socio-economic equality so that political equality could produce the desired result, which is equal participation in the political processes at the state.

Alexisde Tocqueville, a French author of Democracy in America, postulated that the discrepancy between political equality and socio-economic equality would not be indefinitely accepted by the people. He, therefore, held that the first phase of democratic world revolution, political in nature, would inevitably lead to the second phase, which would be primarily social and economic. He predicted that there will surface a political struggle for supremacy between the poor's and the rich and, that the poor's, being numerically larger than the rich, will capture political power, and the inequalities in the society would, then finally be removed from the society.

### **(C) Socio-Economic Equality**

Social equality stands for the state of affairs in which all people in a given society or isolated group have the same status in certain respects, which may include civil rights, freedom of speech, property rights, and equal access to certain social goods and services. It also, at the same time, includes things like, concept of health equality and economic equality. It is so closely related with the concept of economic equality; and, therefore, cannot be treated independent of one another. Social equality also is said to be embracing equal opportunity and obligation; and, therefore, involves in the society. It is taken for granted that social equality requires the absence of legally enforced social class boundaries, and absence of discrimination motivated by an inalienable part of a person's identity. For example; sex, gender, race, age, sexual orientation, origin, caste, clan, income or property, language, religion, convictions in the court, opinion, health etc. should not, in any case, result in un-equal treatment under any law, and should not reduce opportunities unjustifiably.

Equal opportunities are, interpreted, as being judged by ability, which is compatible with a free market economy. The conception of social equality differs from people to people and other equalitarianism and it does not inevitably require all social inequalities to be eliminated by artificial means.

Equal opportunity is another standard of equality, which means, everyone must have equal opportunity or chance to achieve the goal of riches, social prestige, and power because the rules of the game are the same for everyone. This means that, for any social equality issues relating to wealth, social prestige, power or any of those sorts, the issue of opportunity standard can defend the idea that everyone has the same start. This idea, views the society as almost as a game and any of the differences in equality are due to luck and playing the game to one's best ability.

Conley has provided an example to this standard of equality by using a game Monopoly to describe society. According to him, Monopoly follows the rules of equality of opportunity, and that everyone has an equal opportunity or chance when starting the game and all differences

were the results of the luck of the dice roll and skill of the player to make choices to benefit their wealth.

SI Benn and RS Peters, in their social Principles and Democratic states, observed,

“The term, ‘social equality has been adopted by socialist largely to distinguish their objective from the earlier equalitarian ideals of the French Revolution. The men of 1789 sought ‘equality before the law’ which for them meant eliminating aristocratic legal privilege and feudal obligations. The Jacobins, and the nineteenth century Republicans on whom their mantle descended, sought political equality or universal suffrage. To socialists these ends seem inadequate; they are, at best ways of achieving real equality-social equality. Without that, political equality is an illusion”.

## **Explanation**

### **(a) Jacobins**

Members of political Club of the French Revolution, founded in 1789, taking its name from the former monastery in Paris where it met. The Club became increasingly radical and instituted the Terror. It was closed in 1794.

## **Republicans**

Those who supported the Republican form of government, that is, the form of government, where head of state is an elected president rather than the monarch, and the sovereign power is vested in the people either directly or through their representatives. Marxian oriented equality which seeks to replace capitalist system of society with a socialist system. The advocates of social-economic equality argued that the capitalist system won formal liberty for the people in the legal and political spheres, while a few propertied class continued to control the lives of majority, because they are dependent on them for their survival. Socio-economic equality could also be distinguished from legal and political equality in its scale of measurement. The legal equality implies

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the equal legal personality in each individual, and political equality asserts the ‘one man’ ‘one vote’ principle. Socio – economic equality, however, does not insist on equal share for all. Therefore, while legal and political equality demand, absolute or near absolute equality, socio-economic equality, on the other hand, insists on reduction of in-equality to the minimum. In the absence of an absolute standard, such as perfect equality, in the socio-economic sphere, what is insisted was a progressive extension of social benefits to the weaker and under-privileged sections. This leads us to the transition from formal to substantive equality, from negative to positive equality, from static to dynamic equality. Example, as per the legal formal equality, equal opportunities are being given to all to pursue education, to have equal opportunities to employment, etc. but it is not possible to see that all are employed and all could pursue their education.

Louis Blanc once wrote, “From each according to his ability, to each according to his need”. This socialist adopted this principle as a projected communist society which is characterized by the highest technological development, universal labor and a classless society so that there is abundant production to meet everybody’s needs, the condition for perfect happiness. The socialist modified this principle to suit their goal, that is, from each according to his ability, to each according to his work”. Socio-economic equality, as seen above, is equal satisfaction of basic needs, which may include provision of education, employment, as also essential social services, such as cheap transports, fair price shops, hospitals, community centers, public parks, health services, etc. and; state regulation of the working condition of industrial laborers’, minimum wages, pension, etc are all intended to serve the cause of socio-economic equality.

## **29 Liberty and Equality**

There are people who are having different interpretations regarding the relationship between liberty and equality, yet most of them agreed on the point that the principle of liberty and that of equality are fundamentally complementary to each other.

The very word, Liberty stipulates equality or equal liberty or freedom for one and for all. If freedom of one becomes restraint or

restriction of freedom for the other, it would be against the principle of freedom itself. If the freedom of the strong destroys freedom of the weak if freedom of the clever undermines the freedom of the unclever, and if freedom of the rich turns out to be a constraint on the poor, it would amount to negation of freedom as a universal principle. It is in this way that liberty and equality are said to be complementary to each other. This view concedes the imposition of reasonable restraints of liberty of individual so that, the enjoyment of liberty by individual do not stand on the way to the enjoyment of liberty by the other.

De Tocqueville and Lord Acton, together hold the opposite view by saying that liberty and equality are opposed to each other. The two are not the champion of equality, but they are the champion of liberty. They maintain that the desire to have equality disturbs the possibility of having full liberty. This is true if by liberty we mean some rained freedom for every individual to satisfy his appellate for wealth and power. As and when such freedom exists, it results in the degeneration of the social order as wealth and power concentrated in the hands of a few. Great in equalities in the society, in terms of wealth and possession makes it impossible to have freedom for the less advantaged section of the society. Therefore, the socialists sought and state to put an end to the great inequalities in the society, without which, the goal of equality could not be achieved. That is to say that equality or proximate equality, at least could not be achieved unless there is certain degree of reasonable restriction to freedom or liberty, which Lord Acton considers the basis of liberty. In any case, liberty does not mean unrestrained liberty to act as one pleases. It is in the interest of the society and in the interest of individual who exercises his liberty and also in the interests of all others living in the society, that there must be some degree of restraint on liberty or freedom.

Prof. Pollard said, "There is one solution to the problem of liberty, it lies in equality. The liberty of the weak depends upon the restraint of the strong; that, of the poor upon the restraint of the rich". Further, Laski holds the view that political equality is never, and can never be real unless it is supplemented by economic equality. Liberty is meaningless without equality; and, therefore, equality which aims at doing away with all socio-economic inequalities is the basis of liberty.

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Therefore, it can be concluded that there can be no liberty, without equality. Civic, economic, social and political liberty, all would be a mere mockery without equality. Again, equality is not attainable without conditions of liberty. Civil liberty is real only when all are equal in the eyes of law; and political liberty recognizes equal political status for all; and that political liberty can never be real unless there is equality. Equality and liberty, are, therefore, said to be complementary to each other.

## **THEORIES OF RIGHT**

### **30 Meaning and Definitions**

Almost all the political issues of the present day are one way or the other, associated with right, which speaks volumes about the importance of rights in day today life of individual, and that of society. In modern times, particularly, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, a number of revolutionary movements were being witnessed in Europe for the realization of rights against the absolute monarchical rule. In Asia and Africa, revolutionary movements were being launched against the dictatorial regimes for realization of rights, particularly political rights. This trend has been seen continuing till today in Syria, Egypt, Libya, etc. Right emerged out of the demands or claims made by the individual on the society, and such demands and claims could become rights only when they are recognised by the society, protected and enforced by the state and law. Rights are legal, social or ethical principles of freedom or entitlement that is, rights are the fundamental normative rules about what is allowed of people or owned by the people, according to some legal system, social convention or ethical theory.

Rights are, therefore, considered fundamental to civilize society for they are regarded as the established pillar of the society and culture and the history of social class can be found in the history of the rights and development. According to Encyclopaedia of philosophy, rights structure the form of government, the context of laws and the shape of morality as are currently received. Rights, it is maintained, are social in

nature in the sense that they are found originating and existing in the society, and that they cannot be anti-social. Rights are not the selfish claims of individual. No right which goes against the social interest can be granted to individual nor can it be recognized as right of individual by the society or state. For example, smoking in public places cannot be recognized as right, though it may satisfy the desire of the smoker, because it affects the other non-smokers staying in the same public place. It is, therefore, an established truth that right cannot be anti-social or cannot be against the interest at society. Again, rights are enjoyed by only those people who live in the society in a company with others. People who live in an isolated island do not need rights. Every right requires social recognition without which they remain as claims and demands. Therefore, right have two aspects; social and personal. The merits and importance of right can be judged only by their capacity for serving both the individual and the society.

Regarding the scope and nature of rights, it has been seen that, they keep on changing from time to time, from place to place and from situation to situation. They also keep on changing with the development of social values and conditions. Rights also said to be contextual in nature as they are conferred to a particular group of people by a particular authority and in a particular situation. Therefore, rights are said to be dynamic and not static. The contents and components of rights change with the changing circumstances of the society and the changing desires of the people. A particular right given to a particular group of people may not necessarily be given to another group of people in a composite society. A particular right is a product of a particular society or community and its customs, traditions and standard of morality. For example, in India, the right enjoyed by scheduled tribes are quite different from that of the people listed in general category by the constitution of India.

Again, it would be wrong to assume that, rights are created by the state. In fact, sources of rights are social customs, traditions and morality. The role of the state in this case is, to recognize and protect the rights of the people which are derived from social customs, traditions, etc. The role of the state is to punish those who violate those rights it granted to the people. The sole purpose of modern state, therefore, is recognition of rights as rights of the people. Again, the sole

purpose of right is to protect the citizen from being subjected to any kind of arbitrary rule of the state and its government. Neither the state can create rights nor take them away from the citizens. The only thing the state could do in modern democratic system of the government is to put certain reasonable limitations to protect social interest.

It is an undisputed fact that individuals in the society are all capable of enjoying rights irrespective of their social, economic, religious and political background and status. This is particularly true with modern democratic government. However, the Marxists do not agree with this understanding of rights. They, on the other hand, maintained that rights are available and employed by the propertied class only, and that the majority poor labourers, wage earners, etc. do not have the capacity or capability to enjoy rights, though in paper they are free to enjoy the same rights as the capitalists.

It is also to be understood in modern democratic societies that, one enjoys his rights only when other members of the society also enjoy the same rights, because rights of one individual becomes the duties of others.

As a matter of fact, rights of individual are the return for his services to others in the society. The enjoyment of rights by and individual is proportioned as well as conditional to the duties he performs. Therefore, Laski says, "possession of rights....does not mean the possession of claims that are empty of all duties". If an individual claim that he has the right to life, he has to also accept that he has the duty not to take the life of others. Therefore, the relation between right and duties is the same as that of the two sides of the coin.

Harold Laski, one of the most prominent figures and a profile writer of political science, who authored more than 20 books, has elaborated the theory of rights, and it is in many respects, a classical representation. According to him, rights are "those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be himself at his best". This definition of right could be said to have the following implications; a stranger or a danizen of a solitary island cannot claim right; right is a social concept, deeply connected with social life; rights are those conditions of social life, necessary for the development of individual's personality. The definition given by Laski also puts rights, individuals and state on the same plank in the sense that they cannot be

separated from one another; and also that the three are not antagonistic to each other.

Laski maintains that, it is the primary duty of the state to help individuals in their effort to achieve or realise their best selves, and that being the case, the state has a herculean task in the field of realization of rights by the individuals.

### **31 Theory of natural right**

The first part of the theory of natural rights consists of basic rights which are derived from the law of nature and encompasses such thing as right to life, liberty and property. The theory holds the view that highest priority should be given to individual self-preservation, and whatever is necessary to achieve the preservation of individual as an individual entity. The 17<sup>th</sup> Century English philosopher, John Locke discussed natural rights in his work, identifying them as “being life, liberty and estate (property)”, and argued that such “fundamental rights could not be surrendered in the social contract”. Locke further says, “in the state of nature, everyone has the executive power of law of nature, no doubt, but it will be objected that it is un-reasonable for me to be judges in their own cases that self love will make man partial to themselves and their friends; and on the other side, that ill nature, passion and revenge will carry them too far in punishing others, easily grant that civil government is the proper remedy for the inconveniences of the state of nature” (Second Treatise)

It should, however, be maintained that Locke does not simply advocate an egoistic self-preservation, but he also calls for the need to consider others as our equal. For example the right to live is applicable to every human being, but one has also to take into consideration the preservation of others in so far as not harming or killing others.

### **32 Special rights**

The second part of the theory of natural right consists of special rights. There are non-consensual and consensual rights, according to Paul Kelly, as the name itself suggests the non-consensual rights do not

require the consent between the two individuals. The main difference between the two, therefore, is consent. The relation between parents and child is of such nature because parents do not require the consent of a child. However Locke maintains that not everyone can exercise non-consensual rights. A person who is not the parent of a child cannot obviously exercise those special rights. The relationship is not chosen, and therefore, consent is not necessary. The right to acquire property and the right to punish are additional example of non-consensual rights. Consensual rights on the other hands are those rights which are based on consent. In a sense, it is an arrangement with other individuals in which power is transferred to another person or authority. For example, consensual rights exist as a part of an agreement between two individuals to whom those rights belong.

Another important aspect of Locke's theory of natural rights is that, it bears the name, natural. According to him, those rights are natural because they are pre-political; that is, everyone in the state of nature is entitled to them (natural rights). Pre-political society or state is the state of nature which arises before the creation of any form of political authority or state. Therefore, in one sense, Locke's natural rights are similar to contemporary human rights. However, there is an important distinction that could be drawn. Natural rights are prior to moral and cultural conventions. Locke's whole line of arguments on natural rights rests upon the assumption that even without moral and cultural conventions, and rights occurring in the state of political authority, human beings would still have some natural rights that are binding.

“For man being all the workmanship of one omnipotent, and infinitely wise maker; all the servants of one sovereign master, sent into the world by his order, and about his business; they are his property whose workmanship they are, made to last during his, not one an others pleasure” – John Locke:- According to Locke, we all are the workmanship of God, who is a omnipotent and infinitely a wise maker.

So what further makes those rights natural is that we are all entitled to them since we do not own ourselves, but the property of God. Locke appeals to what human beings have in common, rather than what makes them different. “Locke's natural rights can be compared to contemporary human rights, but his natural rights are wider in scope in

so far as they have less restriction. Locke's natural rights are not the product of political, legal and social convention and practices, but held in virtue of our common nature". Paul Kelley: - Locke's maintains that natural rights are not simply a claim to a right, but suggests that by simply being human, one has certain inalienable right that are, therefore, pre-political. "Men being by nature all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent" – (Second Treatise).

### **33 Critical appraisal of Locke's theory of natural rights**

Locke's theory of natural rights has come under scrutiny in many ways which may be seen as under:

It is maintained that Locke's theory of natural rights is only one of duties. Though the theory encompasses duties, it also incorporates liberties. For example, the right to life is a duty. The distinction is being a violation in so far as the right to life comes with the duty to preserve another's life, while the right to property does not oblige one to own property.

The concept of duty is an important component of Locke's account of natural rights, but the concept of liberty is still equally important. A liberal thinker Nozick, maintains that an individual has the right to commit suicide, while Locke holds the view that one does not have that liberty, that is, one is not entitled to right of suicide. His contention is that since preservation of life is one's own duty, the right to commit suicide runs counter to the duty of one to preserve one's own life. Nozick claims that human beings own themselves, and that one should not consider oneself to be the property of God.

### **34 John Locke on limited government:**

John Locke a liberal thinker is an advocate of limited government who said, a restraint government is the best government in protecting individual's right. In other words, protection of the right of individual is one of the noblest aims of state and being restrained is the

best way of protecting rights, the government that restrained itself is the best government. For example, right to property is one of the natural rights, and therefore, should not violate right to property of individual. It is maintained that there are certain rights which the government cannot violate. Though Locke remains neutral on the question of the best form of government, he put emphasize on limited government which is the government by consent and restricted by subordinations of powers. Right to revolution is another element and justification for limited government. When government becomes repressive and abuse its power over natural right of the people, people have the natural right to turn against the government and start revolution for change of government. Locke again considers constitutional restraints and rule by law is the best means by which the rights of the people could be best protected. He rejected Hobber view that an individual leaves the state of nature to submit and surrender to the political authority, Locke, on his part maintains that, there must be check and balance between people and government. Locke's justification for imposing limitation on the functioning of government stems from showing that an absolute sovereign cannot be an adequate way to protect rights of the people. Locke, therefore, maintains that a limited government is more suitable to fulfil its obligation of respecting and enforcing rights than an absolute government. To quote him; "There can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative to which all be rested; and must subordinate, yet the legislative being only a judiciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative when they find the legislative acts in contrary to the trust reposed in them."

John Locke has made a framework for responsible and accountable by and it is right to replace a government that is using its power arbitrarily and, is not upholding its duties of protecting natural rights of the people.

Locke's theory of natural rights consists of basic and special rights, and duties and liberties, of which some are inalienable and pre-political. Locke holds the view that an absolute government is not capable of protecting the natural rights of the people. He, for the sake of argument for supporting his view on limited government with the rule of law and division of power, also, at the same time, has given to the

people the right to revolution as and when the government does not honour their natural rights. A limited government with rule by law, according to Locke, is more likely to protect and enforce natural rights of the people than an absolute government with arbitrary rule.

## **35 Theory of legal rights**

“Legal rights are, clearly rights which exist under the rules of legal systems or by virtue of decisions of suitable authoritative bodies within them”. – Sanford Encyclopaedia of philosophy. There are three main theories of legal rights which are discussed under the following heads.

### **a. Protection theory of rights**

It is an undisputed fact that the source of all legal rights is ‘law’; and that is the only kind of law which creates, protects and recognises the rights that are so created. Therefore, recognition of rights is one of the characteristics of legal rights. Legal rights are the rights which the legal system of the state recognises as rights of the citizens. Legal rights are recognised by the legal system as rights and, are enforced by the legal process. It is, therefore, to establish that the essential condition of a legal right is its recognition and enforcement by law only. On the other hand, those laws which are recognised by rules of morality or moral laws cannot be enforced as they lack legal sanction. However, this theory is subject to certain qualifications, which are:

- i. Law will not always enforce right, but grant the injured party damages by way of remedy. For example, where it is not possible for me court grant a specific performance of a contract, it will award damages to the injured party.
- ii. It, sometimes, could happen that law itself creates a disability in so far as the enforcement of legal right is concerned. For example : a time barred debt cannot be enforced in any court of law. Paton calls such right as imperfect rights which law recognise but not enforce directly.

- iii. It also happens, sometimes, that a legal system may lack an instrument for enforcement of its decision. For example, in the international law there is no power in court to enforce its decrees. It could, therefore, be more appropriate to define a legal right in terms of recognition and protection by the legal order.

## **b. Will theory of right**

The Will theory of rights is supported by many on the ground that the very purpose of the law is to grant the widest possible means of self-expression, the maximum of individual self-assertion. It is, therefore, maintained that, rights are inherent attribute of human will. Right to self expression and self-assertion is a part of individual's freedom which is inseparable of man and his individuality.

Will theory of rights maintains that in the absence of natural rights, man would be reduced to a commodity. All rights are, therefore, believed to be derived from the intrinsic and inviolable human will which is essential for the development of man and his liberty against the arbitrary act of other individuals. The states will, therefore, was extended by the doctrine of natural rights, which declared that there were certain sphere of human activities and, which are personal, with which the state could not legally interfere. The supporter of this theory, which includes, Hegel, Kant and Hume, hold the view that individual's right expresses his self-assertion or will. They are all convinced that right is an attribute of human will. There can be no right without will; and where there is a will, there is right and where there is no will, and there is no right.

It is further to be maintained that 'will' is the main spring of human personality; and, therefore, any attempt to create any system by ignoring will, would be meaningless. The aim of any kind of law is not primarily to create a new life for society and new desires for man; but rather to regulate such life and such desires as already exist". Therefore, 'will', according to the supporters of 'will theory' of rights, will constitute an essential element in the conception of legal right.

### **c. Interest Theory of Rights**

Some jurists maintain that fundamental basis of right is an interest. They argued that a baby of one day old and irrational idiot, a corporation or a foundation cannot be said to have a will, but in law they have rights. Therefore, what a right protect is not a will or choice, but some interest for the benefit of the person who holds the right. Thering said, "The jurisprudence of realities should be based on practical needs and not merely on logical deduction as in the case of analytical positivism. He insisted upon interest which, legal system secures rather than upon the right". Therefore, according to Thering, "rights are means for securing interest".

KC Allen, referring to legal right, says, "The essence of legal right seems to me to be not legally guaranteed power by itself or legally protected interest by itself, but the legally guaranteed power to realize an interest". A "right is the will-power of man applied to a utility or interest recognised and protected by a legal system." A human will do not operate in a vacuum, but it desires certain ends and interest are but object of human desire". There could emerge here a pertinent question, that is, what is interest? The answer to the question could be 'an interest is the claim or want of an individual or group of individuals, which that individual or group wishes to satisfy in society through a continuous process of adjustment and change with changing objects, goals and values of each society.

## **36 Rights in the modern democratic society**

Rights enjoyed by people in modern democratic states could be divided into two broad categories; civil, political and personal rights and, social and economic rights. The civil, political and personal rights include protection of individual against all kinds of arbitrary rule of the state and society; and that they are concerned with the dignity and personality of the person. The second category which includes the social and economic rights of the people (citizens) are mainly concerned with the economic and basic needs of a person; and the main emphasize put by Marxist is the enhancement of these rights. Since rights enjoyed by citizens in a given society, today, has become so elaborate and

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extensive, it would not be possible to have all of them. However, the main rights enjoyed by citizens are; civil rights, which include the right to life and liberty; political rights, which include the right to vote, the right to participate in the government ; the right to hold public office, etc; social rights which include the right to be treated equally in the society, right to personal dignity, right to education, right to social security and economic rights, which include the right to work, the right to have equal pay for equal work, right to have economic security and the right to property.

## **36 Democratic Rights**

### **Meaning**

Democratic right in a nutshell means those rights which an individual is entitled to enjoy in a democratic society. A democratic right is a combination of different types of rights which includes civil, political and economic; and it is a multi-faced concept that covers every aspect of life. Democracy, as a system of government in which people are the sovereign, requires popular participation in the day today functioning of the government. This system of governance would be meaningful only when the people are given adequate and necessary rights to rule themselves. The right to vote, to participate in the election as a candidate or participate in campaigning for a particular candidate to participate in the government or to resist the government, etc which make man free and able to control the decision making, constitute the backbone of democratic rights. Democracy is not merely a form of government, but it is also a type of society and economic condition based on justice and equality; and that political democracy has no meaning without socio-economic democracy. The contemporary political thinkers, therefore, seek to extend democracy to all spheres of life by recognising and protecting various socio-economic rights of the people. Right to work, right to get equal pay for equal work, worker's right to participate in the management of the work in which he is working, right to equality, right to education, right against any kind of

social and economic exploitation etc. also constitute a major part of democratic rights.

### **37 Emergence of democratic rights**

A democratic right is a recent phenomena which has received recognition only in modern times with the development of liberal democratic institutions, particularly, parliamentary and representative democratic political institutions. Ancient and medieval history witnessed some democratic institutions in the form of direct democracy and republics, but the idea of democratic rights, in those days were being enjoyed by few privileged people of the society, which is in contradiction to the basic principles of modern democratic rights. Under monarchical form of government, people have no right to choose their own government. However, with the beginning of modern period, the development of reasoning and movement for reformation and renaissance in Europe restored the dignity of man as an individual. Individual has become the end of all social thinking and all social and political institutions were designed for the betterment of individual's life. This movement in Europe culminated into the democratization of all political and social institutions, which in turn, laid the foundation of democratic rights. As a consequence, most of the modern democratic governments guarantee democratic rights to citizens. In India, the constitution made a provision for giving democratic rights to its citizens under Fundamental Rights of Citizens.”

During the later part of 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Locke developed his theory of natural rights which eventually became the basis of democratic rights. According to Locke, the right to life, liberty and property are the inalienable rights of the individuals which cannot be taken away by the state. Democratic rights like right to form the government, right to elect and be elected and right to participate, though not mentioned by Locke, are to be seen in his theories of representative, constitutional and limited governments.

The utilitarian thinkers like JS Mill, Bentham, etc during the 19<sup>th</sup> century advocated for protection of individual from arbitrary rule of the state by suggesting the creation of representative government. They suggested for giving the right to vote to the people, and laid the

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foundation of the right to universal franchise, right to freedom of press and expression, majority rules, etc. The principle of one man one vote was also advocated by Bentham. Democratic rights were further consolidated by JS Mill who emphasised development of mankind as a whole. He extended the right to vote to women. The basic assumption of JS Mill's theory of democracy clearly proves that he was for expanding the right of active participation of the people in the political process.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the scope of democratic rights has been largely expanded mainly because of two reasons, extension of democratic rights to all state (citizens); women, working class and under-privileged sections of the society, have started enjoying equal political and civil rights; the democratization of other fields of life, such as economy and society.

The socialist thinkers criticised the liberal democracy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century saying that it is responsible for the social-economic inequality and exploitation of working class. According to the socialists, the only right available to the people in the capitalist system was political right, which, they maintained is meaningless for the poor workers. Therefore, they advocated for socio-economic democracy by making political and personal rights of individual subordinated to the socio-economic rights. The most important rights granted to the individual in a socialist society are: right to work, education, leisure, health, old age security and right to be treated equally.

Today, both liberal democratic and socialist theories have been revived and new theories of democracy have been developed in response to a number of criticisms put forward; and in response to the changes in social political and economic practices. Phenalist approaches of Schumpeter and Robert Dahl, the contractarianism of Rawls, and the Libertarianism of Nozick. All revised the classical liberal ideas. John Rawls, apart from civil and political rights, puts emphasise on the right to equal opportunities with a view to abolish socio-economic inequality and to bring "justice to the society." Nozick's theory proposes a concept of justice as entitlement in which one has acquired justify or has received justly from another.

## 38 Nature of democratic rights

In any case, rights cannot be called democratic rights so long as they are made available to few privileged sections of the society. In monarchical, oligarchical and dictatorial system of government, the question of democratic system of government, the question of democratic rights does not simply exist because of the existence of gross inequality. For example, in Greek city states, the slaves who constituted majority in the society had no right to participate in the political process. Rights, as they are, democratic in nature, ought to be made available to all sections of society without any discrimination, whatsoever. Equality and democratic rights are complementary to each other; and that they are the very essence of democracy.

In the second place, democratic rights sought to protect the citizens from dictatorial power of the state; and from arbitrary use of power over citizens and subjects. The main reason as to why democracy has been universally accepted as the best form of government is that it saves, and is expected to save citizens from all kinds of exploitations and authoritarianism. A state which failed to protect the people from all these, even if it claims to be having democratic political system, is not at all having the system. In every democratic state, people enjoy certain basic rights under the protection of the constitution and independent judicial system, which the state cannot take away. It restricts the state from doing thing detrimental to the interest of the people. On the other hand, the people have the right to oppose the government whenever it takes decision which runs counter to the interest of the people. Bill of Rights in USA, Fundamental Rights in India and the system of Rule of Law in UK are the constitutionally guaranteed rights in these countries. The Indian constitution, under Article 15, restricts the state from discriminating on the ground of religion, sex, race, caste and place of birth.

In the third place, democratic rights have, as its aim the establishment of popular sovereign authority of the state; and in which, people are the source of all authority. In other words, the purpose of democratic rights is the empowerment of the people. Empowerment of people is possible only when people are economically and socially self-sufficient. Modern democratic thinkers, therefore, lay much emphasis

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on such positive rights which increase the direct participation of people in all areas of activities. Mac Pherson and Carole Patemen, therefore, advocated for the direct participation of people in different fields of activities, such as industry, politics, administration and other social organisations and associations. McPherson proposes ‘development of power’ on the ability to use and develop the individual’s capacities. He highlighted the equal and effective right of individual to live as fully as humanly as he may wish. Pateman, on the other hand, suggested direct participation of people, which she referred to as participatory form of democracy in economic life and, gives rights to workers to participate in the management.

Lastly, and most importantly, the aim of democratic rights is the establishment of justice and equality in the society by empowering the weaker, the underprivileged and minority sections of the society. These sections of the society have special problem which requires special attention and opportunities. Therefore, the principles of democratic rights justified – discrimination made for the upliftment of weaker sections of the society. The Indian constitutions, for example, provides some special privileges to ST/SC and other backward classes with the aim to push them forward so that they are in parity with other advanced sections of the society.

## **39 Rights and Duties**

### **(a) Definitions of rights and duties**

Rights and duties in modern democracies are inseparable and that they are said to be the two sides of the same coin. Where there is right, there is also a duty to be fulfilled. Right and duty are the two relative concepts which cannot be treated in isolation from one another. Right to life, right to liberty means, when a person is entitled to right to life, he has the obligation not to take the life of other and, in the same way, when one is entitled to liberty or right to liberty he has the duty not to disturb the right to liberty of others. Therefore, rights entail activities which individual has to fulfil. In the field of law, most jurisprudential discussion of the relationship between rights and duties begins with the

work of Wesley Hohfeld, who argued that rights confer a legal advantage and carry with them relative duties. According to him, “because the exercise of a right necessarily entails requiring someone to act (or refrain from acting) in a particular way”. It follows that right must also impose some forms of duties. Wesley Hohfeld, applying this to human rights context, said, we see that the correlative duty of a legal right is placed on the state. For example, right to life imposes a correlative negative duty upon states to refrain (except in strictly limited circumstances) from taking the lives of individuals. In a strict sense of the terms, correlativity, such as between a claimed right and a corresponding duty is the test of whether a legal stipulation is a right in the strict sense of the terms. Contemporary legal theory has now produced a richer account of rights than one based on purely legal relationship between rights and duties. As a matter of fact, most legal theorist now agree that it is more useful to view rights, particularly, human rights, as giving to a cluster of duties and obligations. This might require the state or private parties, from interfering in the individual freedom or they might require actions or resource allocation in order that the rights must be fulfilled,” said Fredman. These contemporary accounts of rights are, therefore; viewed as the moral and political reasons for the imposition of rights based duties; and as such, rights have a logical priority over duties. Duties exist, in other words, because rights create the moral and political ground for their existence. According to this view, the logical priority of rights over duties is accepted. At the philosophical levels, the notion that, duties precede rights or that rights stem from duties is accepted.

**(b) Relation between rights and duties**

**(i) Rights and duties always go together**

Rights and duties go side by side and, are closely related to one another. Rights and duty are the two relative concepts which cannot be separated or treated in isolation from one another. If the state gives right to life to its citizens, it also imposes an obligation on them not to expose their lives to dangers; as well as to respect the life of one another. If one

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has the right to work and earn, it is also his duty to recognise the same right of others.

### **(iii) Right of one is the duty of the other**

Rights can be enjoyed only in the world of duties. For every right, there is a corresponding duty. When the people do not discharge their duties properly, their rights all become meaningless. “One can enjoy his rights only, if the others allow him to do the same,” and “one has the right to life and it is the duty of others to respect his life and, not to cause any harm to him.”

### **(iv) Rights of citizens also imply duties for him**

Rights are not, and cannot be the monopoly of a single individual. Everyone, in modern democracies, has the rights, provided that he is ready to discharge his duties entailed from the rights. No one can claim to have exclusive rights, because the rights that one claims to have also belong to others. Laski has rightly pointed out that, one man’s right is also his duty. It is the duty of one, and for that matter everyone, to respect the right of others, as well as, it is the duty of everyone to use their rights in the interest of the society to which, he is also a member; and in doing so he is said to be doing his own duty.

### **(v) Rights are to be used for social good**

As rights originate from society, while enjoying rights, one must always seek to promote social good and interest. It is the duty of everyone to use his or her rights for promoting the welfare of the society to which, he is a member; and in doing so, he is said to be promoting his own welfare, because his welfare is the welfare of the society and the welfare of the society is also his welfare.

## **(vi) Duty of one towards the state or society**

Since the state is that which recognises, protects and enforces rights, it is the duty of individuals who are the beneficiaries to be loyal to the state and its authority. It is the duty of citizens to obey the laws of the state; and accordingly, pay regular taxes honestly and sincerely. It is also the duty of the individual citizens to be in state of ever-readiness to defend the territorial integrity of the state.

## **(b) Distinctions between rights and duties**

Rights and duties are relative concepts, closely and intimately related to one another, have certain differences, which can be discussed as follows:

Rights are essentially entitlement while duties are the obligations. The key difference between rights and obligations is that, while rights refer to what one gains, obligations refer to what one should do. Rights are based on privilege granted to individuals, whereas, duties are based on accountability of performing those duties by citizens. Rights are given to citizens to protect their basic freedoms, whereas duties are given to those in charge to uphold those rights. People take on the responsibilities in exchange for their rights.

While the term duty is derived from the term, *deus*, which means, to 'owe' someone which conveys moral commitment to someone or something. The term, right refers to an entitlement of something that one could claim to be his or her own. 'Duties' are also defined as things that are to be accomplished or be followed. Therefore, it is absolutely important for individuals to perform their duties, so as to protect their rights for the benefit of the society. Rights of citizens are social, legal and ethical principles of freedom that citizens are entitled to in a democratic society, whereas, duties are obligations and responsibility of citizens towards the society and state. Rights of citizens could be defended in the court of law for its violation by others or by the society or state; and, for its violation by others or by the society or state; and, at the same time, right can be challenged in the court of law for its arbitrary use or exercise which jeopardises or hinders the enjoyment of right by others. On the other hand, duty or obligation cannot be

challenged in the court of law for non-fulfilment by individual. Rights are based on privileges granted to citizens in a democratic society, whereas duties are based on accountability of performing those duties by citizen in a democratic society. Rights are legal in nature and have legal action for their enforcement. In other words, rights are enforceable in the court of law for their violation. However, duties are mostly non-enforceable in the court of law for having no legal sanction for their enforcement. A person cannot be forced to join the army or police against his will, just because he has the duty to defend the state from external aggression or internal disturbances.

The concept of right, as discussed in the preceding discourse, constitutes one of the most important components of a democratic political system. Citizens in such a society are broadly categorised under legal, political, civil and personal rights. However, every right entails its corresponding duty which a legal citizen is duty bound to fulfil. A loyal citizen who is entitled to a host of rights does have a host of duties to fulfil; and also, a citizen who is entitled to enjoy rights cannot enjoy his right in isolation and independent of duties. Right to life which a person is entitled to enjoy in a democratic society, has on his part, to fulfil his obligation to recognise and respect the life of his fellow citizens. Being given to enjoy economic, political and legal rights by the society, an individual has the duty to obey the laws, regulation etc of the society; and also, he has the obligation not to be involved in any act that is detrimental to the interest of the society. It is, therefore, to be established that rights and duties go along and cannot be separated from one another. They are not opposed to each other, but are complementary to each other. Right without duty is dictatorial in nature, and duty without right is enslavement.

## **41 Fundamental Rights as provided in the Constitution of India**

As in most of the democratic political systems, the Indian Constitution, under Part III embodied the Fundamental Rights guaranteed to the citizens of India. It guaranteed civil rights to all Indians and, at the same time, prevent the authority from interfering and encroach on individual's liberty, while simultaneously placing upon it

obligations to protect the citizens' rights from encroachment by the society. Originally, there were seven fundamental rights given to the citizens:

- (a) Right to equality.
- (b) Right to freedom;
- (c) Right against exploitation;
- (d) Right to freedom of religion;
- (e) Cultural and Educational Right;
- (f) Right to property and
- (g) Right to constitutional remedies.

Of these seven fundamental rights originally entitled to citizens, right to property was removed from fundamental rights by the 44<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the Constitution in 1978. The purpose of giving Fundamental Rights to citizens is to preserve individual's liberty and democratic principle based on equality of all members of the Indian society. Dr. Ambedkar, the architect of the Indian constitution maintains that, the responsibility of the legislative is not to simply provide fundamental rights, but also, and more importantly, to safeguard them. According to him, fundamental rights act as deterrence against the excessive power of the legislative and the executive under Article 13, and in case of any violation of these rights, the Supreme Court of India and the High Court of states have the power to declare such legislative or executive action as unconstitutional, and, therefore, null and void. These rights, called "Fundamental Rights" of citizens are having legal sanction, and, therefore, they can be enforced in the court of law against their violation by the state authority.

It should, however, be observed that the fundamental rights, as embodied in part III of the constitution are not absolute, and are subject to some reasonable restrictions as necessary for the protection of public interest. In the *Kesavananda Bharati* case of Kerala as in 1973, the Supreme Court, overruling previous decisions of 1967 held that, the Fundamental Rights could be amended, subject to judicial review in case such an amendment violated the basic structure of the Constitution of India. The Fundamental Rights, therefore, could be enhanced, removed or otherwise altered through a constitutional amendment, passed by a two-thirds majority of both the Houses of Parliament. Moreover, the imposition of a state of emergency could also mean, a

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temporary suspension of any provision under Part III of the constitution (Fundamental Rights), except Article 20 and 21, during the period of emergency. The Union Parliament may also restrict the application of the Fundamental Rights to members of Armed Forces and the law enforcing agency, the police with the aim to ensure proper and effective discharge of their duties, and the maintenance of discipline, by a law made under Article 33.

### **(a) Right to Equality**

Right to equality is found in Article 14-16 of the constitution which collectively encompasses the general principles of equality before law and non-discrimination and, Article 17-18, which collectively encompass further the principle of social equality. Article 14 provides for equality before law and equal protection of the law to all citizens within the territorial boundary of India. This provision includes the equal subjection of all citizens to the authority of law, as well as equal treatment of people in similar circumstances.

Article 15 of the constitution deals with prohibition of discrimination of citizens on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, this right can be enforced against both the state and individuals, with regard to free access to places of public entertainment, a place of public resort maintained partly or wholly out of state fund. Article 16 provides for guaranteeing equal opportunity in matter of public employment and prevent the state from discriminating against anyone in matter of public employment on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth and place of residence or any of them. Some exceptions are being made in this provision for giving relaxation for any backward class including scheduled tribes and scheduled castes so as to ensure adequate representation of these classes in public service.s

Under Article 17, the practice of untouchability has been declared as an offence by law, and the protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, has been enacted by the Parliament to further this objective.

**(c) Right to freedom**

Right to free, the second Fundamental Right has been inserted in Article 19-22 of Part III of the constitution, which provides right to freedom.

The framers of the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly inserted certain rights which relate to the freedom of individuals, while putting certain restrictions on state from interfering in the employment of those freedoms under specific conditions ; and these freedom include;

- a. Freedom of speech and expression;
- b. Freedom of assembly without arms;
- c. Freedom of association;
- d. Freedom of movement throughout the territory of India;
- e. Freedom to reside and settle in any part of the country and,
- f. Freedom to practice any profession.

It should, however, be observed that those freedoms granted under these Articles are subject to certain reasonable restrictions that may be imposed by the state. For example, the Inner Line Permit system, which is being enforced in the state of Mizoram, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh, restricted people from mainland India from visiting and settling in these states, unless otherwise, they obtain necessary permit from the state or authority. The grounds and reasons for imposing these restrictions vary according to the freedom sought to be restricted; and include national security, public order, decency and morality, contempt of court, incitement to commit offences, and defamation.

The constitution, under Article 20 provides for protection from conviction for offences in certain respect, which includes right against ex post facto laws, double jeopardy and freedom from self-incrimination. Article 22 of the constitution provides specific right to arrested and detained persons, in particular, the right to be informed of the ground for arrest, consult a lawyer of one's choice, be produced before magistrate within 24 hours of the arrest, and freedom not to be detained beyond that period without an order of the magistrate.

### **(d) Right against exploitation**

Right against exploitation, as provided in Article 23 and 24 of the constitution, is particularly meant for protection of the weaker sections of the society from exploitation by the state or individuals. This provision include among others, prohibition of human trafficking, making it as an offence punishable by law, and force labour or any act of compelling a person to work without wages where he was not legally entitled not to work or to receive remuneration for it. However, it should be noted that the state could impose compulsory service for public purposes, including conscription in military service, and also community service. The Parliament, in 1976, passed and enacted “The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 and as a consequence, Article 24 of the constitution was invoked to prohibit the employment of children below 14 years of age in factories, mines and other hazardous jobs. The Union Parliament passed and enacted Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 providing regulations for abolition of, and penalties for employing children below the fixed age and also a provision was made for rehabilitation of former child labourers.

### **(d) Right to freedom of religion**

The Constitution of India, under Article 25 to 28 provides religious freedom to the citizens, and ensures the establishment of a secular state. In India, there is no such thing as official state religion. Though the Hindus constitute some 80% of the total population, they cannot claim Hinduism as the state religion of India. The state, therefore, is required to treat all religions without any bias or partiality, whatsoever. Moreover, people are allowed freedom of worship, belief and practice. Citizens of India are, therefore, guaranteed the right to practice propagate and preach any religion or religious belief, according to their conscience. However, like any other rights, the right to freedom of religion is, subject to certain restrictions in the interest of public order morality and health, and in the interest of promoting social welfare. Moreover, some constitutional experts maintain that right and freedom

to propagate do not include 'right to conversion' which means, a person cannot convert another person into another religion. However, the interpretation of this provision of the constitution is contested by other group of constitutional experts, and observed that, what is not allowed is not conversion made on the basis of one's own decision based on his conscious decision, but what is prohibited is conversion due to pressure or threat or forcible conversion. Article 27 provides for prohibition relating to compulsion of person to pay tax for promotion of any particular religion or religious institution. Also, Article 28 provides for prohibition of giving religious instructions in a wholly state-funded educational institutions and, educational institutions receiving grant and aid from the state. Such educational institutions funded wholly or partly cannot compel any member to receive religious instruction or attend religious worship service without the approval of his or her parents or guardian.

#### **(e) Cultural and Educational Rights**

The Constitution, under Articles 29 and 30 provide for protection of right to culture, language and religious heritage and protecting them against discrimination. Article 29 grants any section of citizens having a distinct language, script, culture of its own, and the right to conserve and develop the same and, thus safeguard the rights of minorities by preventing the state from imposing any external culture on them. This Article also prohibits any discrimination against any citizen for admission into any educational institution maintain or aided by the state, on the ground of religion, caste, race, language or any of them. However, this provision too is, subject to reservation of a reasonable number of seats by the state for socially and educationally backward classes, as well as reservation of up to 50% of seats in any educational institution run by a minority community for citizens belonging to that community.

Again, Article 30 of the constitutions confers upon all religious and linguistic minorities the right to set up and maintain educational institutions of their choice in order to preserve and develop their own culture, and prohibits the state, while granting aids, from discriminating against any institution on the basis of the fact that it is administered by a

religious or cultural minority. Since there is no specific definition of the term, minority in the constitution, the Supreme Court has given its own definition, and interpreted the term, minority as to mean any community whose population constitutes less than 50% of the total population of the state in which, it seeks to avail the right under the said Article (30). There is also a specific provision that such educational institution seeking to avail the right under the said article, must be established and maintained by a religious or linguistic minority community. This right, like any other rights is, however, subject to the power of the state to impose reasonable regulations regarding educational standard; conditions of service of employees ; fee structure and the utilization of any aided grant provided by the state.

It has to be noted that, the 86<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the constitution of India has made Free and Compulsory Education to children as right of children to free and compulsory education. This amendment is significant in the sense that, giving of free and compulsory education was originally included in the list of Directive Principle of State Policy

### **(g) Right to Constitutional Remedies**

As provided in Article 32 of the constitution, citizens are given the right to approach the Supreme Court to seek enforcement or protection against infringement, of their right as provided to them under Fundamental Rights. The said Article provides and guaranteed remedy in the form of a Fundamental Rights itself for the enforcement of all other Fundamental Rights; for the enforcement of all other Fundamental Rights, the Supreme Court is designated as the protector of these rights by the constitutions. The same court is empowered by the constitution to issue writs; such as habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, certiorari and quo warranto, for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights of citizens, while the High courts have been empowered under Article 226 to issue these prerogatives writs even in the case not involving the violation of Fundamental Rights. The Supreme Court has been categorically given the jurisdiction to enforce the Fundamental Rights, even against private bodies, and in case of any violation, award compensation as well to the effected people. This right cannot be suspended, except under the provision of Article 359 when a state of

emergency was declared and was in operation. The Supreme Court recently held that right to privacy is also one of the fundamental rights of citizens.

## **42 Fundamental Duties of Citizens in India**

In the original Constitution of India, there was no provision relating to fundamental duties of citizens, which however, does not mean that citizens do not have duty or obligation towards the state or towards each other. However, realizing the need for inclusion of some fundamental duties of citizens, a Committee, called, 'the Swaran Committee' was constituted to work out the details of the proposed fundamental duties to be included in the constitution. Following the submission of its report by the Swaran Committee, the 42<sup>nd</sup> Amendment Act of 1976 was affected so as to insert a provision for fundamental duties of citizens in the constitution. Consequently, 10 Fundamental Duties of Citizens are listed in the Constitution of India under Article 51A, Part IV-A in 1976 by the said 42<sup>nd</sup> Amendment Act.

Originally, ten duties are enumerated and enlisted in the Constitution. However, the number had been raised to eleven in 2002 by the 86<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of the Constitution, which added a provision that parents or guardians have the duty to ensure that their children ward was given the opportunities for education between the ages of six and fourteen years. The other fundamental duties which citizens have the obligation to fulfil are; to respect the national symbols of India, including the constitution, to cherish its heritage, preserve its composite culture and assist in its defence. Citizens are also given the obligation to promote the spirit of common brotherhood, to protect the environment and public property, develop scientific temper, abjure violence and strive towards excellence in all sphere of life. It should, however, be noted that most of these duties are non-justifiable or without legal sanction in case of their violation or non-compliance.

The Fundamental Duties enumerated and enlisted in the Constitution are as follows:

It shall be the duty of every citizen of India:

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- 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.
- f) To value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture.
- g) To protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, wild life and to have passion for living creatures.
- h) To develop scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reformed.
- i) To safeguard public property and to abjure violence.
- j) To strive for excellence in all spheres of life and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher level of endeavour and achievement.
- k) Who are a parent and guardian, to provide opportunities for education to his child or as the case may be ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

It is to be observed that the issue relating to rights and duties in the context of social relations could be based on persistent exchange process. The two concepts which are of functional in nature are characterised in a tentative formal ways. The possible connection between functional rights and that of duties and that issue of morality as a regulation mechanism therefore, is that “every right carries with its corresponding duty”. Based on this, conception of the relation ,between rights and duties, it is assumed that ‘there can be no right without duties’ and that there can be no duty without right in the same way as there can be no parents without child, and also there can be no child without parents. Every duty is a duty towards some persons or person in whom a corresponding duty is vested.

## **Rights and duties are correlative terms**

It is a frequently debated issue that rights and duties are essentially correlative concepts. To some, every right has a corresponding duty; and therefore, there can be no duty unless there is someone to whom it is due. There can be no right without a corresponding duty or a duty without a corresponding right, just as there can be no parent without a child. Every duty is a duty towards some person or persons in whom corresponding right is vested. In the same manner, every right is a right against some person or persons upon whom a correlative duty is imposed. Therefore, it could be maintained that, right or duty involves a *vinculum jurist* or of legal obligation by which two or more persons are involved and bound together. There can be no duty unless there is someone to whom it is due. In the same way, there can be no right unless there is someone from whom it is claimed. Harold maintains that, every right implies the active or passive forbearance by others of the wishes of a party having the right. The forbearance on the part of others is what is called, a duty. A moral duty is that which is demanded by the public opinion of society and a legal duty is that which is enforced by the power of the state. Salmond also advanced his opinion on the relation between rights and duties saying, if there are duties towards the public, there are rights as well. There can be no duty unless there is some persons to whom that duty is due. This in other words means there is a bond of obligation between rights and duties.

The Supreme Court of India, however, has given its observation on rights and duties of citizens; and maintains that, there may be a rule which imposes an obligation on an individual or authority, yet it may not be enforceable in the court of law; and, therefore not give rise to a corresponding enforceable right in another person. It would, however, be a legal rule because it prescribes a norm of conduct to be followed by such individual or authority. The law may provide a mechanism for enforcement of this obligation, but the existence of the obligation does not depend upon creation of such mechanism. The obligation exists prior to and, is independent of the mechanism of enforcement. Rights and duties are two faces of the same thing; and that rights are essential for the expansion of human personality as they offered to

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individual a sufficient scope for free action, and therefore, provide ground for self-development. However, it should be noted that individuals are entitled to certain rights because they are expected to make some contributions to the social good. It should be worth-mentioning that an individual has no right to do things of anti-social nature as his rights imply his claims on society and at the same time, duties imply the claim of the society on individual. In other words, an individual, while claiming rights, has also owes to the society certain duties.

(f) There are fourfold connection between rights and duties, according to Prof. Laski, which are:

**i) One's right implies one's duty**

Firstly, every right of individual involves a corresponding duty of others. For example, my right to life implies that other should not do harm to your life endangering your existence. That is to say, when a person claims for his right to life, it is the duty of others not to kill him. The right to move freely, when it is claimed by an individual, the duty of others towards that individual is, not to interfere with his free movement.

**ii One's right implies one's duty is to admit that others have also the same right**

The conditions of life which I need for myself are also needed by others too; and this implies that every right is also a duty in itself. If an individual exercises his right, he must also bear in mind that the same right belongs to others as well. If one has the right to freedom of speech, it is also his duty to see that he may not be a hindrance in the free exercise of this right by others.

**iii) One should exercise his right to promote social good**

No person should ever exercise his right against the right of majority in the society as his rights are originated from the society and,

are recognised by the state. For example, if a person uses his rights to freedom of speech for spreading communal hatred and disharmony, society cannot deprive him of these rights as these rights are inherent; it, however, becomes an act counter to social alienable rights. The state would then be justified in depriving the person of his right, if he has abuse it.

iv) Since it is the state which guarantees one's right, one has the duty to support the state and the state, being the agency for social good, it is the duty of individual to perform his duties honestly.

## **42 General discussion on fundamental duties in India**

Fundamental Duties of citizens were drafted in the lines of moral, ethical and culture code of conduct followed by the people. The duties are educative in nature and direct the citizens to behave in a virtuous manner. It should, however, be noted that, while most of the fundamental Rights are having legal sanctions, and, are, therefore, enforceable in the court of law. But, most of the Fundamental Duties of citizens are lacking legal sanction, and, therefore, cannot be enforced in the court of law, in case of their violation. For example, parents who do not send their children to school to receive primary education, though it is their fundamental duty to do so, could not be punished or prosecuted for not doing the same. However, this does not, in any way, mean that Fundamental Duties are less important than Fundamental Rights. Though Fundamental Duties are non-enforceable in the court of law, they are important as they acknowledge and provide information about fundamental duties which loyal citizens voluntarily should perform.

The following points would sufficiently highlight the importance of Fundamental Duties of citizens in the context of Indian Constitution:

a) The duties of Indian constitution is a constant reminder to the citizens that they have the duty to build a free, healthy and responsible society and; that they are expected not to act as recklessly and they do not indulge in anti-social activities.

b) For the development of Indian democracy it is imperative that the fundamental duties under the constitution are followed by the citizens

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for respecting the integrity and promotion of cultural harmony in the composite Indian society.

c) Environment pollution, being a great cause of concern, not only in India, but for the entire world, it is the fundamental duties of citizens to constantly be aware of this fact, and restrain themselves from environment polluting activities.

The fundamental duties as listed under Article 51A, Part IV – A of the Constitution put responsibility on the citizens to build a free and healthy Indian society, one where all citizens are treated equally. With an increasing concern over environment pollution, social in-equality and religious intolerant, it is important to have certain fundamental duties in place that ensure cultural and social solidarity. However, the fundamental duties are not enforceable and non-justifiable in nature. Citizens are only expected to behave and conduct themselves in accordance with the ideal code of conduct parallel to fundamental duties, and no legal action can be initiated for non-performance of fundamental duties. However, they are not merely the expression of morals or religions, the court can take cognizance in the matter to enforce and give effect to the fundamental duties.

## **Rights and Duties in Ethics**

Ethics determines the difference between the rights and wrong of thing. Laws are rules that must be obeyed by people for whom they are made, both voluntarily and involuntarily; whereas, ethics are voluntary. Behaving ethically is more than obeying the law.... It is expecting your rights to be through ethical duties.

## **Rights in ethical sense**

Right, ethically, is an expectation of something you deserve or way to act that is justified through a legal or moral foundation. Man has all types of rights, including legal, moral, political, spiritual, natural, economic, etc. For example, rights may include right to education provided by the state or society, or right to bear arms. Ethical behaviour

must recognise and respect a series of rights that belongs to each person, animal or society

## **Duties in ethical sense**

Duties are said to be the direct result or consequences of the acceptance of rights. Each person has the duty to uphold or respect another person's rights, just as he has the duty to uphold others rights. Once a person accepts his rights, he must uphold that right for himself and others. For example; you have the right to free speech, but so does the other or everyone around you. Even if someone is saying something you do not agree with, you have the duty to respect, and, sometimes, to defend the rights of others.

## **Conflicting rights of individual**

Sometimes, there are un-intended consequences when a duty to uphold someone else's rights conflict with your own rights. Ethical conflict must be viewed by looking at the end result of any action and, how they affect the freedom or rights of others. One instance of conflicting rights is the admission into private club. Although we have the freedom of association, our law prevent discrimination. Either the club's right are violated by for not being allowed to join the club. Social or personal cost must be identified and weighted; right cannot be the only consideration when making ethical choice.

## **Corporate Responsibility**

Corporations are established to seek profit; and, therefore, have the rights to seek profits. It is the duty of the employees to do whatever they were hired to do to promote profitability of the corporation. The corporation cannot violate the rights of its employees or society just to seek profit. For instance, the company cannot pay employees less than minimum wage or make them work dangerous hours with the aim to get maximum profit. The company cannot resort to immoral behaviours, such as bribery, sub-standard quality or false advertising, which may

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violate the rights of other company, company stake-holders, individual  
or society

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## **Unit-IV**

# **Socialism**

### **1. Definition**

Oxford Dictionary defines socialism as, “a political and economic theory of the system of social organization, based on collective or state ownership of the means of production, distribution or exchange” CEM Joad refers to socialism, as “both a doctrine and as a political movement”. Bernard, in his book “Socialism’ (World view 1998), describes socialism as, “an invented system of society that stressed the social as against the selfish, the cooperative as against the competitive, sociability, as against the individual self-sufficiency and self-interest, strict social controls on the accumulation and use of private property; and either economic equality or at least rewards according to merits or rewards according to need. Socialism can also be defined as, a range of economic and social system characterized by social ownership and democratic control of the means of production as well as the political theories and movements associated with them. There are numerous definitions given by different writers at different period of time, but most of the definitions given by different writers are all in agreement with the fact that, socialism refers to a system of society in which means of production are controlled by the society or community as a whole.

#### **(A) Origin**

The term, socialism is said to be originated from Latin word, ‘sociare’ which stands for ‘to combine or share’ the word, socialism was for the first time used in 1827. The cooperative Magazine in 1827 first circulated the word, socialism, and, thereafter, Robert Owen, a

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Utopian socialist and St. Simon used the word in their writings. The word has also been used in another Journal, LaGlobe which was also responsible for popularization of the use of the term, socialism.

St. Simon, who was a Frenchman, was so much perturbed by the growing misery and poverty of the working class that he was seriously thinking about their emancipation. He held that the establishment of socialist society would be the only means for the solution of the problem. Robert Owen, at the same time, was having similar view with St. Simon. It is, therefore, to be observed that, socialism, arose as a reaction against the evils and the deteriorating conditions of worker as fallout of Industrial revolution. The two writers held that, the Industrial Revolution, though was responsible for the overall development of capitalist society, it has not brought anything good for the working class, and rather the working class is being more exploited after the revolution. Therefore, they felt that, there must be a change in the system, that is, the capitalist system, its economic system, etc should be replaced with a socialist system in which means of production are controlled by the community.

### **(b) Development of Socialism:**

The concept of socialism first appeared in the famous work of Thomas More (1478-1535). His work, Utopian was published in 1516, a few years before his death. Though Utopian is regarded as the first comprehensive book on socialism, there was no one who could popularize the concept. Thomas More provided a sketch of Imaginary Island, with ideal economic, social and political conditions which modern scholars treat as the basis of socialism. He did not, however mentioned the word socialism in this book. Then, Robert Owen, (1772-1837), St. Simon (1760-1815) and Charles Fourier (1771-1837) who were collectively called, Utopian Socialists, used the term, Socialism, but their idea was said to be irrelevant with the real world, and, therefore, they were referred to as Utopian socialists by Engels.

After the Utopian socialists, the most prominent name linked with the theory of socialism were Engels and Karl Marx. We, thus came across a very interesting fact which is the chief tenets of socialism as a political and economic doctrine prepared before the end of the nineteenth

century, nevertheless, what we called socialism today was primarily a product of Karl Marx's and Engel's political philosophy, based on materialistic conception of history or what is popularly called the historical materialism. After Karl Marx and Engels, scores of writers contribution to the development of socialism and socialist thought, which include Henry Mayers (1842-1921) and V.I. Lenin (1870-1924). Apart from these people, numerous socialist movements were being launched by socialist reformers in Europe for the emancipation of workers from atrocities in the hands of capitalists.

### **(c) Nature of Socialism**

It has been seen that socialism is an ever-changing concept with the change in social, political and economic condition, the concept of socialism also undergoes changes. Referring to the ever-changing concept of socialism, Joad says, "Socialism is like a hat that has lost its shape because everybody wears it". Everyone claims that he is a socialist; and, whatever an individual adopts is named socialism. Therefore, socialism is sometimes, linked with democracy because even an autocrat or a dictator claims himself to be a democrat.

Again, it is maintained that, socialism is a doctrine as well as a movement; and that; these features are parts of the concept. It is a doctrine closely linked with the practical objectives, which people ardently desire to realize in practice. It is for this reason that attempts were being made to achieve the goal of socialism; and also to that end, socialist movements were being launched worldwide. Socialism contains in it three things such as; it is a theory, it is a movement and it is an objective.

It is also maintained that socialism is a product of modern world. It has no precedent in ancient or medieval periods. This observation of socialism is given by Bernard Crick, has some truth in it. As a unified clear doctrine, socialism, no doubt is a modern doctrine. However, the idea of socialism existed even during medieval period. The only thing is that, it appeared as a systematic social, political and economic ideology only in modern time. Even Plato has adopted the idea of socialism or communism in his theory on property and family.

#### **(d) Ideological Foundation of Socialism**

Andrew Heywood divides the ideological manifestation or foundation of socialism into five main categories, which are: Community, Cooperation, Social Class, Equality and Common Ownership.

### **Community**

The exponents of socialism hold the view that individuals living in the society are one and the same entity, interdependent of one another. They do not have independent existence of their own. They may pursue their own interests and objectives in their own way, they are also aware of the fact that, their actions have impact and repercussion on others. They, therefore, act with a sense of collective responsibility, which makes a socialist society a responsible society. The socialists, therefore, treat all individuals as brothers, and called each others as comrades. This approach of the socialist calls for new approach to society and its various functions. This sense of collective awareness implies that, all social actions should be done in a collective way. It is for this reason that socialism is also called collectivism or state socialism. Joad, therefore, said, “Both political and economic actions are to be done in a collective way and in such a situation there is practically no scope for individual action in both economic and political areas”. Therefore, collectivism, socialism and state socialism are many a time used interchangeably.

### **Cooperation**

Another way of looking at socialism is cooperation. Aristotle said, man is by nature a social animal, and that the sociability of men induces men to cooperate among themselves. The socialists believe that individuals are always aware that they are dependent on each other; and keeping in mind this fact, they are always ready to cooperate with one another. Here lies the fundamental difference between socialism and liberalism or conservatism. Liberalism believes that competition among

men is the most important aspect of society; and it is a powerful factor of social progress. Socialism, on the other hand, believes that cooperation among individuals is the most important factor of social progress. Socialism and liberalism are poles apart in terms of objective and method for realization of their respective goal.

It has also been pointed out that, cooperation among men and mutual aids towards each other are both spontaneous; and behind this spontaneity, there are also moral grounds. Individuals think that if they do not cooperate with each other, and if they select the method of competition, the whole society will ultimately become a battle ground which would lead to disastrous consequences. The socialists do not completely rule out the possibility of competition, but such competition will take place in a healthy atmosphere; it is, they maintain, a competition for moral and academic development. Therefore, the basic concept of socialism is different from that of liberalism. It is also maintained that cooperation provides inspiration for collective thought and philosophy.

## **Equality**

Equality is said to be another principle of socialism. Socialism declares that equality is its vowed principle; and that it will continue to strive for the attainment of equality. The socialists believe that only through and by means of equality that justice could be achieved. If there are gross inequalities among different sections of people in the society, and if this is economic inequality, in such a society justice cannot exist. The socialists particularly stress on equality of status and of opportunity, but maintain silence on differences in talents and capacities.

It has already been noted that socialism believes in cooperation and brotherhood among all men. Since this is the vowed principle of socialism, this can be realized in an atmosphere where equality inhabits. When all citizens have the feeling that they are all equal, a feeling of cooperation will automatically become the practice principle of socialism. Without cooperation and brotherhood, socialism will remain as an academic doctrine, and its real existence will be a matter of distant dream. The liberals and the conservatives, however, do not agree with

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the socialists on the matter. They hold the view that, if inequality in the talents and capacities are admitted there cannot be equality, whatever its manifestation may be. The inequality in talents will lead to inequality in income, wealth and status. Therefore, the liberals maintain that the concept of equality as put forward by the socialists is not acceptable.

## **Social Class**

The other important principle of socialism is the formation of social class. The socialists maintain that, even after the overthrow of capitalists from power, there would be remnants of capitalists who would seek to re-establish capitalists system as and when the opportune time comes. Therefore, the socialists advocated for the formation of a social class based on the principle of socialism to protect the society from the re-emergence of capitalist society.

In order to stop this possibility that is, the re-emergence of capitalist system, the socialists plan to form a cohesive and integrated class comprising of social groups, who share common socio-economic and political agendas; the formation of such social class will facilitate a smooth and transparent administration. Even after the formation of socialist society, there remain numerous works to be performed; and in such a situation, the social class or classes would help the socialist authority in transacting the business of a socialist society. Therefore, the social class in a socialist society performs a number of useful functions for the successful functioning of the society. A social class in a socialist society, therefore, becomes an integral part and parcel of the society as a whole. The socialist society, we are discussing is neither a communist society nor a classless society. Even after the dislodged of capitalist system, there remained a number of elements which could help in rebuilding of capitalist system. Therefore, the social class or classes, together with the socialist society will have to work for eliminating all those unwanted elements from the society.

It is, however, to be observed that, the concept of social class in the socialist pattern of society is in contradiction to the Marxian concept of classless society. However, social class in this context has got a special meaning and, therefore, has got its own relevance in the society for which it is meant.

## **Common ownership**

The socialists believe that what has gone wrong with the capitalist system was private ownership of property along with the means of production. They maintain that, the system of private ownership of property particularly, the means of production, should be abolished and should be replaced by common ownership of property and its means of production. Exploitation in the society which was rampant in capitalist society was caused by private ownership of means of production. Therefore, to get rid of exploitation, it is important that means of production and distribution should be put in the hands of the community or socialist society. The system of private property means, gross injustice because any type of property can never be the product of any single person; and if so, a particular individual cannot claim a property. In other words, the property is the joint product and it must be placed under the joint ownership of individuals. Again, there is another reason; private property means, to create a source of conflict. When there is private property, many will be without any property, and in such a situation, conflict is inevitable between individuals who owned property, and those who do not owned the same. The best possible solution to this problem, therefore, would be abolition of the institution of private property. Therefore, the socialists believe in the transfer of means of production from private individuals to the community as a whole.

## **2 Philosophy of Socialism**

### **(I) Socialism for all round development of individuals**

There is controversy between socialism and individualism; and the main-point of this controversy is that, the former, tries to subjugate or suggests subjugation of individual to the authority or common order. Individual alone can do nothing; and that, the development and welfare can be done only through the cooperation and common order or ownership of property. However, the individual is against common ownership of property, but when an individual is forced to carry out the

direction of authority, it becomes coercion and loss of freedom for individual. Therefore, the individualists contended that, this scheme of socialists stands on the way of all round development of individuals. However, the socialists believe that, only through and by means of social and collective ownership of means of production, an all round progress of individuals could be achieved. They contended that, only socialism would be capable of giving freedom to individual from various pressures and necessities of day today life; and this abundantly promises all round development. According to CEM Joad, "Socialism in fact seeks to free the individual from the pressure of material cares, in order that, he may live his life in his own way and freely develop his personality". The individualism Joad said, throws the individuals into the vortex of keen competition among themselves, and thus, creates a lot of tension, confusion and anxiety which stands on the way to free development of individual personality. Therefore, while liberalism believes that competition free progress, socialism on the other hand, believes that free competition among individuals only creates an atmosphere of tension, confusion and animosity. Borrowing from Darwin's famous phrase, the individualist argued that, only the fittest person can survive, many individualists, therefore, maintain that, in any given society, there is a continuous competition or struggle among the individuals and only the person who has been able to establish his superiority in all or many respects will ultimately survive. For this competition, the individual will be left alone and any type of outside interference shall be stopped. This contention was rejected by the socialists who said that life is not simply for struggle and competition. On the other hand, the socialists believe that life has greater and nobler objectives, and these can be achieved if the individuals are completely freed from their day today's petty necessities. It is the noble function of individuals to advance civilization and progress of society, to realize more liberty and exercise large number of rights. Rights and liberties can help individuals to develop their personality. The socialists, therefore, contended that all these are possible only in a true socialist society. Therefore, they maintain that life should not be thrown to the unlimited and cut-throat competition. While, the life as conceived by individualists is a life of competition and hard struggle, the life

conceived by the socialists, on the other hand, is for greater and nobler objectives.

### **(I) Socialist State is based on Cooperation**

In any given society, cooperation among individuals and between individuals and society is of utmost important for the progress of society as well as for the progress of individuals; and it is because of this that cooperation has been made as the fundamental principle of socialism. Without cooperation among citizens, and also without cooperation between the rulers and the ruled, no state can discharge its functions effectively. It is for this reason that every state looks forward to have cooperation of citizens; and it is also for this reason that a socialist state gives emphasis on the need for having full cooperation. It is the duty of state to make citizens aware of the importance and need for cooperation with the authority of the state. It is also the duty of the state to make citizens to establish a sense of duty and cooperation towards the state. Therefore, a socialist state seeks to have full cooperation of the people so that progress of individuals and society could be achieved. It is observed,” No socialist can be logically and thoroughly a socialist unless he gives the right answer, which is that they (citizens) shall cooperate so that they may escape from the struggle of life to the doing of those things which are worth doing for their own sake. Joad further says, “ Hence the social creed which underlies the socialist view of the state is that society is an association of human beings, formed with the object of giving all its members the opportunity to satisfy their desires for spiritual freedom and good life”. The socialist, therefore, contended that cooperation between members of society and the authority is vital for all round development of individuals as well as of society (Socialist society).

### **(II) Socialist principles include elements of democratic principles**

It is said that socialism and democracy are not oppose to each other, but they are said to be complementary to each other. It is maintained that

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socialism is a special form of democracy. The socialists conceive that, free development of each is the condition of the free development of all. Democracy, at the same times, has the free development of individual as its aim; and, therefore, the two are not oppose to each other for having the same and similar objective. Socialism, through the machinery of cooperation and collective ownership of means of production, can ensure development of all; and that, individuals in such a socialist society could have opportunity to exercise their rights and liberty. Same is the case with democracy; and that the successful working of democracy much depends upon the extend of rights and liberty that an individual is entitled to enjoy. However, today, democracy has undergone considerable changes, and citizens do not have the chance to directly participate in the administration of the state. They, now participate indirectly through their representatives. In such a situation, it is the duty of democratic government to see that the most important objectives of socialism are translated into reality. Both democracy and socialism need each other for their effective functioning. Democracy stresses the need for rights and liberties while socialism creates an atmosphere for the realization of the two. It is because of this intimate relationship between democracy and socialism, people talk of democratic socialism or socialist democracy.

### **(III) Socialism for Social Benefit**

Socialism stands for social benefits and social welfare. The idea of social good or general will is first advocated by Rousseau, who in his general will gives importance to common good. He, in no uncertain term announced that, individuals must adjust themselves with the general will which aims at common good; and through this adjustment they will be in a position to reach the goal of moral perfection. Joad observes, "Socialism aims at substituting the motive of social service for the motive of private profit. It hold that, men will do better work to make the good life with the leisure and financial competence it requires possible for a society, which in the long run is themselves, than the will of the present consent to do for a society, which compels them to enrich the exploiters of their labor in order to avoid starvation". Private profit

and satisfaction of the needs of few persons at the cost of the interest of others can never be the goal of any social philosopher.

### **3 Fabian Socialism**

Fabian socialism or evolutionary socialism was advocated by the Fabian Society which was formed in 1883-84. The Fabian Society was primarily established with the aim to achieve the goal of socialism by evolutionary means or parliamentary process; and to achieve the goal of socialism without launching of revolution or armed struggle. A large number of British intellectuals of Nineteenth Century were associated with the Fabian Society; and these include, GDH Cole (1889-1959), Sidney Web (1859-1959) and Beatrice Webb (1858-1943). The Fabian socialists were against the adoption violent revolution for the achievement of the goal of socialism. They believe that parliamentary methods would produce far better result; and would be far more effective for the realization of socialist goal than revolutionary method, as suggested by Karl Marx and Engels. GDH Cole maintains, "I am not a communist but a good Fabian socialist, precisely because I fear that a communist revolution by sweeping too much away, would enthrone in the minds of the new generation the iron spirit of the mass producing machine, whereas a milder socialist revolution could bring to the control of machine the liberal spirit that values different and reckons suffering at a high rate in the scale of things to be put down". As seen in the statement given by Cole, he was not against the revolutionary socialists in terms of objective and goal, but he was only against the adoption of revolutionary method for the attainment of the goal of socialism. Cole and most of the Fabian socialists are having strong reservation for the use of violent revolutionary means for achievement of the desired socialist goal.

#### **(a) Program of Fabian Socialism**

The Fabian socialism stands for complete restructuring of society which includes the restructuring and reshaping of the economic, political and social system.

1. While the socialist, particularly, the Marxian socialists advocated for capturing of state power as they believe it as an instrument of exploitation, the Fabian socialists, on the other hand, felt the necessity of state as they believe it would be the ultimate arbiter of all disputes. Though, powers shall be vested in the hands of state, it would have no opportunity to exercise its power arbitrarily.
2. The Fabian socialists stand for reduction of economic inequalities among people to the minimum possible extend, and at the tolerable level. They advocated for nationalization of key industries, but they are against the state control of the entire economy of the state.
3. The third program of Fabian socialists is the propagation of the socialist ideas and principles; and propagation of the defects of capitalist system among the masses.
4. The Fabian socialists maintain that it shall be the duty of state to improve the condition of workers, and guarantees freedom of individuals.
5. The Fabian socialists advocated for the transfer of the rents and wealth from the hands of minority to the hands of general public.
6. The Fabian socialists though are aware of the evils of capitalism, do not want the abolition of the system, but rather, they preferred chained capitalism.
7. The control of the state or parliament as in England, over the economy shall be ensured to stop the development of aberration.

## **(b) Methods of Fabian Socialism**

The main difference between Fabian socialism and revolutionary socialism rests in the methods for achieving the goal of socialism; that is, establishment of socialist society. The Fabian socialist believes that the goal of socialism could be best achieved by means of parliamentary process. On the other hand, the revolutionary socialists advocated for the adoption of revolutionary method for achieving the goal of socialism. The Fabian socialists, by means of parliamentary process, meant to say that, parliamentary process like universal adult franchise, periodic elections, and votes, to send representatives through elections, to enact law by parliament should be the method to be adopted for achieving socialist goal. The Fabian socialists also wanted

the parliament to make law specifically mentioning the hour of work, wages of laborers, amount of profit and other details which the owner of industries and factories should strictly follow. Any deviation from regulations made by the parliament should follow appropriate punishment under the law. There is also other democratic method which could be followed which include, launching of peaceful agitations, peaceful protests and strikes. People can also oppose the illegal measures of the capitalists; and through agitation they can force the capitalists to either change the method or to amend so that the interest of the workers is protected. Introduction of reforms is another democratic method for achievement of the goal of socialism. This can be done by the government with the promises of far reaching result; and these reforms can change the economic system of the society. In a democratic political system, people have ample opportunities to participate in the decision making processes of the state; and through this participation, the people can put such checks on the industrialists and capitalists as is necessary. The state may also insist the capitalists to reconsider their policies towards the workers which is believed to be instrumental for improving the conditions of workers.

## **4 Democratic Socialism**

### **Definition**

Democratic socialism refers to a kind of society, which would be established by combining certain good elements of democracy with that of socialism. In other words, democratic socialism stands for achievement of socialist goal through and by means of democratic struggle. It is a universally accepted fact that, socialism as a form of society, and as government is the best and the most preferable, but the means adopted by many socialists include violent revolutionary movement to overthrow the existing capitalist system, was not favorable to many moderate socialists. Therefore, democratic socialists, including the Fabian Socialists advocated for the adoption of peaceful and non-revolutionary methods for achieving the desired goal of socialism. The mainstream socialists believe in armed revolutionary movement for the

realization socialist goal, while the democratic socialist rejected the idea of armed revolutionary movement, and advocated for the adoption of a more democratic form of movement, which may includes, peaceful protest movement, resorting to legal means, resorting to parliamentary process, which are all considered democratic in nature. Therefore, the democratic socialists believe in the use of democratic and constitutional methods for the realization and establishment of society based on socialist principle.

**(a) Nature of Democratic Socialism**

As a matter of fact, democratic socialism should not be construed as a departure from Marxian socialism. It is an attempt on the part of moderate socialist to bring a compromise between Marxian socialism and the long cherished ideas and principles of democracy. This compromise between the two should not be misconstrued as a departure from the basic ideas and principles of socialism or Marxian socialism, because democratic socialism strictly adheres to the fundamental principles of Marxian socialism. Bernard Crick maintains, “It is atleast an equally authentic popular tradition of Marxism”. Democratic socialism, therefore, was created in the tradition and intellectual environment of Marxian socialism. As a matter of fact, as far as ideology and principle are concerned, democratic socialism and Marxian socialism is so close that, most of the principles of democratic socialism are derived from Marxian socialism. The two socialists believe that the development of capitalism is responsible for the suffering of common people; and, therefore, they argue for nationalization of means of production.

**(b)** Democratic socialism is a child of modern society. The democratic socialists struggle against the evils which flow from private property. However, they hold the view that, all forms of private property are not necessarily evil. This observation, as given by Crick clearly reminded us of the fact that democratic socialism is the product of contemporary events. The contemporary events demanded the restriction of capitalist system by the authority of the state.

- (c) Democratic socialism demands reformation of economic and political liberty. During the different phases of the development of capitalist society, the main exponents of capitalist system stridently argued for the expansion of rights and liberties of economic and political classes because such rights and liberties could free the individual from the bondage of state authority. The arguments of this nature have weightage during the period of absolute monarchy. But subsequently, people's voice against excessive emphasis on rights and liberty gathered storm. It was felt that, certain amount of state control over the rights and liberties in economic sphere was necessary. But there was hardly any scope for curtailment of economic rights and liberties that would lead to loss of capitalist's freedom to pursue economic activities. Democratic socialism demanded reformation of economic liberties on pragmatic ground. The uncontrolled activities of capitalists were believed to be creating heaps of evils and problems which required solution. It was believed that solution to the problems, arising out of uncontrolled activities of capitalists would be possible only if the activities of capitalists are subject to certain regulation and control.
- (d) Ebenstein maintains that, though some writers on many occasions interchangeably used the terms, democratic socialism and revolutionary socialism to mean the same thing, the two cannot be totally identified as having the same meaning and the same connotation. According to him, the two have at least two differences, while revolutionary socialism stands for the principle of public ownership of means of production, and abolition of all kinds of private ownership of the same; the democratic socialism, on the other hand, stands for nationalization of key industries; and that it does not seek complete nationalization of properties as such. According to democratic socialists, freedom of individual is of paramount importance; and, therefore, they put freedom of individuals above everything else. To the revolutionary socialists, though individual freedom is important, it does not constitute the most important part of socialist philosophy. The fact is that, in a

capitalist society, individual freedom has always been miss-use by the capitalists to suppress the freedom workers.

- (e) Democratic socialism is said to be based on a relative concept. It is not a pure form of capitalism nor is it a pure form of socialism. In fact, it is a combination of the two concepts, that is, capitalism and socialism. Democratic socialism opposes capitalism as a whole but it does not, at the same time, favor complete abolition. The democratic socialist society, in fact, is established within the framework of capitalism. Democratic socialism is said to be a combination of all the positive elements of capitalism and that of socialism. Democratic socialism is not totally against revolution, but what it was against was a revolution in the form Marxian Theory of revolution, which gives room for violent method. Democratic socialism advocated revolution in attitude, behavior, outlook, and social structure. According to them, if men's minds are not revolutionized, if there is no revolutionary change in their thoughts, if people are not ready to welcome changes, no reconstruction of society would be possible. Though democratic socialists are mainly concerned with economic restructuring of the society, they are also, at the same time, interested in other matters, related to politics and social reconstruction of society as well.

### **(f) Methods of Democratic Socialism**

- (1) Democratic socialism, being a branch of evolutionary socialism, is oppose to armed revolutionary movement for the realization of socialist goal. It believes that force or coercion is the method associated with revolution; and, therefore, should not be adopted. It believes that there are a number of means; particularly, peaceful and democratic means, which could be adopted for the achievement of socialist goal. Moreover, force or coercion means to deprive individual from freedom; and such means should not be adopted, whatsoever.
- (2) Democratic socialists advocated for the adoption of peaceful means, which may include introduction of reforms. As a matter of

fact, the democratic socialists are not for the total abolition capitalist system, but they are for introduction of certain necessary reforms in the capitalist system, according to which major means of production should be nationalized. They are confident that if reforms are successfully introduced and implemented, what the revolutionary socialists could achieve can also be achieved by reforms.

- (3) The democratic socialists also believe in step by step method, which is also called, 'gradualism'. Gradualism or step by step method could not be separated from reformism as both rules out sudden change. The implication of gradualism is to help people to gradually realize the importance of socialism. The democratic socialists hold the view that socialism is not something that can be imposed on the people. People must be made prepared to accept the truth behind socialism, so that they could accept socialism whole-heartedly. They (the people) must be ready to accept socialism both physically and mentally. The former (physically) means there shall exist a physical environment, which is favorable to welcome socialism. The later means, people must be mentally prepared to welcome socialism.
- (4) Introduction of economic planning to streamline production and distribution in a planned way is an important method suggested by democratic socialists for attainment of socialist goal. The management of production and distribution of what is produced is to be done through proper planning. Planning, in a democratic socialist state plays a crucial role, because planning of the management of economy proceeds in a definite and scientific way; and this assures the attainment of promised goals, specially the proper distribution of wealth; and consequent upon, the reduction of inequalities in the society which is an important ingredient of socialism. The democratic socialists believe that an inequality in wealth and income is the evil of a capitalist society; and that this evil could be done away with by introducing planned economy. By planning we mean to say that decisions are taken scientifically, which should be implemented decisively. There is hardly any scope for intervention of imagination and orthodoxy in the field of economy. There is another aspect of planning in democratic

socialism. Participation of people in planning activities at various stages should be ascertained, so that people of all walks of life can have first-hand knowledge about the performance of economy. Democratic socialism, therefore, has as its method, the introduction of planning in the economy of the society.

- (5) Democratic socialists believe that planning should be adopted in every step, which is, preparation of schemes and projects, and to adopt a right way and right time for implementation of the schemes and projects. Planning and preparation of schemes and projects for implementation are closely related with each other. Planning envisages taking of action in a calculated manner, so that unforeseen incidents cannot disrupt the functioning of the economy. For the purpose of proper preparation of planning and its implementation, schemes and projects are prepared in a calculated way so that the planners can reach the goals uninterruptedly. Future is reflected in the schemes and projects and this makes the functioning of economy smooth. It has to be noted that democratic socialism is largely based on compromise. It regards nothing as final and absolute. There is no room for dogmatism in democratic socialism. It tries to proceed in a balance and calculated manner. Democratic socialism retains capitalism minus coercive nature and exploitative function. At the same time, democratic socialism accepts socialism minus revolutionary method of violent nature. Ebenstein says, “All successful democratic governments are a compromise between public control, efficiency and private initiative. It will take effort and thought to work it out”. It attempts to avoid hasty judgment and undigested suggestions.

## **6 Socialism and Communism: Distinctions**

Communism and socialism are the two terms which are closely related to one another; and that, they belong to one and the same political philosophy, developed and advanced by the socialist and Marxist philosophers with the aim to overthrow the capitalist system; and replace it with a new political, social and economic system in which, all kinds of exploitations come to an end. The main focus to the two interchangeably used terms was to do away with all kinds of class-

divided society in which, there was no exploitation of one class by another class who controlled the political and economic structure of the society.

Communism and socialism are both the economic and political structure that seek to promote equality and also seek to eliminate class system from the society; and establish a classless society and ultimately a stateless society.

Communism and socialism though are closely related with one another having the same goals and objectives, have some basic distinctions.

Socialism, as a social, political and economic system was in existence long before the existence of communism. In other words, socialism is prior to communism.

Socialism is commonly understood as an economic system that seeks to achieve equality among members of the society, whereas, communism on the other hand, is both an economic system that seeks equality among members of the society; and a political ideology that advocates a classless and stateless society, and reject religion. It is regarded as a more extreme form of socialism.

Socialism and Communism, both adhere to the principle that the resources of the state should be collectively owned by the public and controlled by a central authority. However, they differ in the management and control of the economy. In socialism, the people themselves decide through communes or popularly elected councils, on how the economy should work. Communism, on the other hand, controls its economy through a single authoritarian party. It is characterized as conservative because the economy functions based on the decision of a few.

Socialism and communism also differ in the distribution of wealth, produced by the economy. While socialism advocated for distribution of goods and services based on the productivity of individual, communism, on the other hand, advocated for distribution of the same based on the needs of individual.

In a socialist society, there are personal properties, that individual can possess and enjoy; and there are industrial property that is dedicated for the use of producing goods by the society. For e.g.: an individual can possess digital camera as his personal property, but cannot possess

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or retain factory that produces digital camera. The socialists maintain that while personal properties can be kept by individual, but it should be ensure that such personal properties should never be used as the instruments of oppression and exploitation. The communists on the other hand, hold the view that, all goods and services are public properties which are to be used and enjoyed by the entire populace.

Lastly, socialism and communism differ in their view on capitalism. The socialists, while considering capitalism as a threat to equality and public interest, they however, are not interested in eliminating capitalism, because they believe that it can be used as a good instrument in transition to socialism as long as it is properly controlled. Moreover, the socialists believe that capitalism can exist in a socialist state and vice versa. On the other hand, the communists advocated for the total elimination of capitalism along with its remnants in order to facilitate the establishment of a classless society.

## **COMMUNISM**

### **6 Meaning of Communism**

Communism could be defines as a political and economic philosophy which aims at replacing the institution of private property and a profit base economy with public ownership and communal ownership of major means of production like, mines, mills, factories, etc, and the natural resources of a society. As a matter of fact, communism is a higher form of socialism. The distinction between communism and socialism therefore, has been a matter of argument and debate among the scholars on the subject. However, the distinction between socialism and communism rests largely on communists' adherence to the revolutionary socialism of Karl Marx.

Karl Marx and Engels, the founder of communist used to term communism and socialism interchangeably. Karl Marx in his work, Critique of the Gotha Program (1875) identified two phases of communism that predicted overthrow of capitalism. The first phase he identified as transitional system in which the working class would control the government and the economy; yet he still find it necessary to

pay the workers according to hours of work, how they work or how efficiently they work, etc. The second phase, according to him, would be a full realized communism or communist society without class divisions or government in which the production and distribution of goods would be based upon the principle of “each according to his ability and each according to his needs”.

## **7 Historical background of Communism:**

The term, communism is a borrowed term, borrowed from Latin word, “communis”, which means, “share” or “common”. The term, communism had been used as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Plato used the term communism in relation to philosophic guardians in his republic. He advocated communism in women and property for philosophic guardians of the ruling intellectuals. Since, according to Plato, private property is the root cause of all evils, the ruling intellectual class, called philosopher king should not possess private property including women.

The other visions of communism drew the inspiration from religion. The Christians practiced a simple kind of communism-as described in Acts 4:32-37, for example, both as a form of solidarity and as a way of renouncing worldly possession. The same kind of motives later on inspired the formation of monastic orders in which monks took vows of poverty and promised to share their few worldly goods with each other and with the poor. An English humanist, Thomas More extended this monastic communism in Utopia, which described an imaginary society in which money is abolished and people share meals, houses and other goods in common.

It is, therefore, to be seen that, the ideas and principles of communism, have been around for a longtime in one form or the other. However, communism in modern time and in modern sense of the form, did not emerge until the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century communism was one of a very much broader ideological tendency, called socialism, which was a very vague term used by those intellectuals who wanted a kind of reformation in the capitalist system of economy. The Utopian socialists the Fabian Socialist, the Christian Democratic Socialist etc represented these lines of thinking about the capitalist system. Most of

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these socialist thinkers wanted to introduce reforms for improvement of the working condition of workers like increase in wage, reduction of hours of work provision of free education to children of the working class etc.

It was, however, to be seen that the early socialist including the Fabian socialist and Utopian Socialists were not well equip nor could they offer realistic idea for the solution of the problem facing the capitalist system of society; political, social and economy. It was at this critical juncture that Karl Marx and Engels emerged to the scence to offer a viable solution to the problems facing the society due to the evils of capitalist system.

Born in 1818 in Russia to a middle-class family, Karl Marx entered the university at the age of 17 and went on to pursue for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. After securing the Degree, he moved to Paris in 1743, which was then the centre of Socialist movement. He became acquainted with leaders of socialist movement in Paris including Engels. He then had an intellectual collaboration with Engels which lasted until his death in 1883. Karl Marx was then compelled to leave Paris because of his radical view on the then existing capitalist system. He moved to Brussel in 1845 where he continued his glorification of socialist ideas together with Engels. Karl Marx, along with Engels, then published a book, “Communist Manifesto”.

Karl Marx, then moved to London along with his family, and remained there until his death. During his stay in London he contributed the theoretical perspective of socialism. He published his work entitled, “Capital” or “Das Capital” Volume-I in 1867. His most important and, most justifiable, most famous work, Volume-II and III of Capital were published subsequently by Engels, after his death.

With the publication of the final volume of Das Capital by Engels in 1894, Marx’s ideas had become the dominant ideology of revolutionary socialist movement. Karl Marx claimed his theory scientific socialism distinct from Utopian variants of socialism. The distinction, however, lies in the methods adopted by the two socialists. While Utopian socialists believed in democratic socialist movement without violence, the Marxists believed in violent revolutionary socialist movement to overthrow capitalism. The distinction therefore, is not in

the goal of socialism, but in the method advocated by the two for the realization of the same goal.

Karl Marx made several attempts to substantiate the validity of his doctrine which required elaborate, a much larger intellectual framework than the earlier socialists. Karl Marx's socialist ideas, therefore, continued to have a far larger intellectual impact than socialist ideas of the pre-Marxian theories, mainly because of the unquestioned brilliance with which his socialist idea was articulated.

Karl Marx's socialism or communist philosophy is based on materialistic interpretation of history. He developed his materialism by way of criticizing Hegelian conception of history which is an idealistic interpretation of history. Karl Marx's criticism and the basic outline of his materialism or materialistic conception was published in 1846 with Engels as the Co-author. The materialistic conception, as found in his book is that "the first premises of all human existence, and, therefore, all of history". Before people can make history, much less philosophize about it, they must first exist, not abstractly as philosophical categories, but concretely as actual existing material entities. It does therefore; follows for Marx that any valid historical analysis must begin with the ways in which human being produce themselves, both as individuals and as species. This involves the study of those basic productive or historical acts as Marx calls them, by which people provide for necessities of life or survival; their mode of production, the technologies they used in exercising the productive activities and the social form of reproduction by which species as a whole is perpetuated.

It is, therefore, an indisputable fact that Karl Marx insists on these historical act of reproduction have "existed simultaneously since the dawn of history and the first men, and still asserts themselves in history today". What does change, Marx argues, is not the fact that these acts must always be performed, but the ways in which they are performed with passage of time men improve their technology. As a result of which, mode of production has been improved leading to increase in production. These historical acts of production conceive of their social reform, which Marx calls, relation of production and it follows, given this analysis, that changes in technology must alter the production and together with it the entire society.

Further Marx maintains these relations of productions are constituted by division of labor. In every society, according to Marx, there is a particular type of co-operation, corresponding to the particular level of technological development, in which different productive works are entrusted to different people. Here, according to Marx, the basic, the most basic form of division of labor is that which is manifested in the sexual act. It takes two people, each performing a unique role to produce the third. Almost, as basic is what Marx calls the “Spontaneous” division of labor found in very technologically primitive societies. Here, Marx says, different tasks are given on the basis of natural or biological attributes; and then, the stronger will become the hunters, the weaker, the food producers and gatherers, and soon and so forth.

There comes a point, that is, the precise historical period is not, what is important, but what is important is, at which the division of labor becomes. For Marx, not only a stable factor in social life, but the very basis of all subsequent social orders. This point, he maintains, occurs when these first appears a division between material and mental labor. When a small intellectual class separate out from the mass of manual workers and devote itself solely to intellectual pursuits, the basic structure of society up to the present day is set.

Karl Marx, therefore, maintains that structure of society is the structure of class exploitation, and the division of labor is at one level simply a division of activities, at another, it is a division of property, that is, of social class. Those who perform certain productive functions are rewarded more than others, both in terms of quality and quantity of the goods produced by society. It is for this reason that Marx maintains, “division of labor and private property are identical expression”.

Karl Marx maintains, liberal tradition, different rewards of property, in themselves, do not constitute exploitation. However, Marx says “the power of disposing of labor-power of others” is what inherently is exploitative. Once, according to him the division between material and mental labor has emerged, the intellectual class is in a position to compel others to provide it with the leisure to engage in the “higher activities” of the mind. This division of labor, according to Marx based on mental and manual is, of course, a very primitive form of class structure, which, however, is responsible for all consequent

forms of class exploitation; one class against another for class system has already been created in the primitive society.

Karl Marx maintains, therefore, that this class divided society originated from primitive society is the basic structure of class-exploitation for which division of labor is one level, simply division of activities, at another; it is a division of property, that is, of social class.

Karl Marx maintains that, when there exist social class-conflict is bound to follow suit. It is natural that while the class exploitation, shall seek to further their exploitation to the maximum possible extent; it is also, equally natural that the exploited class would resist and strike back to their utmost capacity the exploitation; virtually leading to full-scale class conflict.

Karl Marx, therefore, maintains that class-conflict arising out of class exploitation is that which is inevitable.

## **8 Karl Marx Theory of Class-Struggle**

When talking of Class-Struggle or class conflict, the question that comes to one's mind is; which class is in conflict against which class, and how and why? The answer to this pertinent question is, the struggle or conflict would inevitably be between the capitalists and the proletariat class. The proletariats, according to Marx are those classes of people who are engaged in manual labor; and also, there are workers who have none of the premises, equipment, materials or the money to acquire these things, that are needed for production or exchange; to make a living on market, and can trade only their ability to work, that is their labor power. The Capitalists, on the other hand, are that class of people who possess the above mentioned necessity of production, and as such they put them to use sufficiently enough to make a profit they needed and they employed the services of the other class, the proletariat. They employed the other class of people by paying wages that will (a) allow them to subsist, and (b) allow the capitalist to make profit from everything made after this substance is paid for. The lower the wages and the more the hours they worked for that wages, the more the capitalist is exploiting the worker. It is true that this arrangement between the two parties was made without physical coercion or force, and, therefore, appears to be a fair deal; and that there is an impression

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that this is a fair deal for both parties. From one point of view, with a narrow focus on individuals, this can, somehow, be acceptable and reasonable as both get paid from work at the end of the day.

The problem, according to Marx is that they both get paid from the work that only one of them was engaged. That is, two people are sharing the return from the work of one; that too, the one who actually engaged himself in the process of production. This is unfair, unreasonable and unacceptable to Karl Marx. This is a worst form of exploitation of man by man, according to Karl Marx. When this situation be-setting the society is generalized, across the whole economy of the society, we find two main classes (a) a majority labor class who do virtually all the works and create wealth, but own very little, and (b) a minority class who do very little work and create no wealth at all, but owned virtually all of it.

Karl Marx further stated that, capitalist, through competition in the market and to satiate their thirst for more and more profits, compels them to embark on expanding their enterprise by further intensifying their exploitation and a massing greater number of employees; who are compelled to organize themselves against the capitalists. This natural instinctive desire of both parties to push the rate of exploitation in opposite directions creates a constant tension in the capitalist society; the class struggle, the very existence of which is denied by Right-Wing ideologies; but the class struggle, with its ups and downs, swings and round about overtime, in the last analysis, decisively in flees all social and historical change.

Karl Marx, recognized the ingrained friction and their central role in production, identified the working class a key to challenge the rule of the exploiters; and then in establishing a society, a communist society where the wealth that is produced collectively is shared collectively.

## **9 Theory of Surplus Value:**

### **(i) Meaning of Surplus Value**

Karl Marx believes that production of commodity is the outcome of a specific division of labor. To him, “only such products can become commodities with regard to each other, as a result from

different kinds of labor, each kind being carried on independently and for private individuals”. Further he said, the value of commodities expresses what private labors have in common. The theory of Surplus value is a part of political economy, written by Karl Marx. His theory of class-conflict, theory of alienation and theory of surplus value are all interrelated as all these theories are developed to attack against the capitalist system of economy. As maintained by Karl Marx, the price of a commodity is determined by the labor involved for the production of that commodity. In an extremely exploitative/capitalist system, laborer provides his service to his employer or master capitalist in order to produce a commodity. However, though he was the main producer of the commodity, he gets a little amount of profit, disproportionate to his labor. The much larger profit of his labor goes to his employer-capitalist who controls and manage the conduct of the business. Therefore, Karl Marx, argues that this laborer, was instrumental and meaningful to the owner of that business enterprise, as the surplus amount goes to the boss, instead of that laborer who actually is responsible for carrying out the whole business enterprise. Therefore, Karl Marx observes that a laborer and the person who is carrying out the business should be treated equally and rewarded equally. But, he said the capitalist system of economy cares not for this inequality of share between the producing worker and the controlling manager.

## **The theory of surplus value**

Labor is a domain between a man and the nature. The content of nature may remain the same at different stages of human history, but the character of labor, however, undergoes revolutionary changes, whenever, one mode of production is superseded by another. Therefore, objectively to man’s vital activity, labor is his eternal companion; and it is labor which is the most important component in the evolution of world civilization. Explaining the source of surplus value, Engels says “Whence comes the surplus? It cannot come either from the buyer buying the commodities under their values, or the seller selling above their value. For in both cases, the gains and the losses of each individual cancels each other, as each individual is the turn buyer and seller. Nor can it come from cheating, for though cheating can enrich one person at the expense of another, it cannot increase the total sum possessed by both; and, therefore, cannot augment the sum of the value in circulation.

This problem must be solved, and must be solved in a purely economic way, excluding all cheating and the intervention of any force-the problem being; how it is possible constantly to sell dearer than any one has bought, even on the hypothesis that equal values are always exchanged for equal value". The solution proposed by Marx was to distinguish labor-time worked and labor power. A worker who sufficiently can produce an output greater than what are costs to hire him. Although his wage seems to be based on hours worked, in an economic sense, however, this wage does not reflect the full value of what the worker produced. Effectively, it is not labor which the worker sells, but his capacity to work.

Further, Marx said, imagine a worker who is hired for an hour and paid Rs. 10/- per hour. Once the capitalist employed, he can employ him to operate boot-making machine with which worker produces Rs.10 worth of work every 15 minutes. Every hour, the capitalist receives Rs.40/- worth of work and pays the worker Rs.10; and the remaining Rs.30 is owned by the capitalist. The capitalist after deducting fixed and variable operating cost, say Rs.20, that is, leather, depreciation of the machine, he is left with Rs.10. Therefore, for an outlay of capital of Rs.30, the capitalist obtains a surplus value of Rs.10; his capital has not only been replaced by the operation, but also has increased by Rs.10. The worker, in no way, could claim this benefit directly as he has no claim to the means of production; that is, boot-making machine, or to its product; and its capacity to bargain over wage is restricted by laws and the supply-demand for wage labor. Hence, the rise of trade unions which aims to create a more favorable bargaining position through collective action by workers.

Marx's conception of surplus value could be interpreted in the following five ways:-

(a). As a component of new value product, which Marx himself defines as equal to the sum of labor costs in respect of capitalistically productive and surplus value. In production, he argues the workers produce values equal to their wages, plus an additional value, the surplus-value. They also transfer part of the value of fixed assets and materials to the new product, equal to economic depreciation and intermediate used up. Labor costs and surplus-value are the monetary valuation of what Marx calls, the necessary product and the surplus-product or paid labor and unpaid labor.

(b). Surplus-value can also be viewed as a flow of net income appropriated by the owners of the capital in virtue of asset ownership, comprising both distributed personal income and undistributed business

income. In the whole economy, this would include both income directly from production and property income.

(c). Surplus-value can be viewed as the source of society's accumulation fund or investment fund; a part of it is re-invested, but another part is appropriated by the owner of the capital as his personal income, and used for consumptive purposes; in some exceptional cases, part of it may also be hoarded in some other way. In this context, it can also be measured as the increase in the value of the stock of capital assets through an accounting period, prior to distribution.

(d). Surplus-value can also be viewed as a social relation of production, or as the monetary valuation of surplus-labor, which is a sort of index of the balance between social classes.

(e). Surplus-value in a developed capitalist economy, could also be viewed as an indicator of the level of social productivity that has been reached by the working population, that is, the net amount of value it can produce with its labor in excess of its own consumption.

## 10 Impact of Surplus-Value

Surplus-value, according to Karl Marx, generates a handsome amount of income for the owner, but it gives the diminishing returns to the labor. Therefore, this situation gives birth to petit bourgeois and lumped proletariat. The former are those who are rich, wealthy and influential in the society and the latter are those who are weak, poor and remain at the mercy of the formers. Surplus-value, therefore, according to Marx, generates a class conflict between the different strata of people in the society.

Again, Surplus-value resulted into alienation. This, according to Marx, means that person who is capable and talented, but cannot impart his full ability to his work, led him to alienation. This is so because the boss is only concerned with his product, but never cares about his talent in the labor; and on the other hand, the laborer, being at the mercy of poor environmental condition, he is supposed to do the work under the wage system. The laborer, left with no option, has to live in such a pathetic condition.

Again, the theory of alienation, class-conflict and surplus-value give birth to polarization in the society. The poor are ever poorer, while the rich are ever getting richer; and that this kind of polarization paralyzes the society. The society, being virtually divided into two hostile camps, will one day explode into virtual conflict.

Lastly, according to Marx, surplus-value has the potential to cause wars and armed conflict. The reason, Marx cites is the additional amount or profit earned by the big cartels is utilized on the wars. Therefore, Surplus-value, he said, would lead society to chaos and anarchy. The Marxists, therefore, believed in a closed economy rather than open market economy

## **11 Karl Marx Theory of Dialectic Materialism:**

### **Meaning:**

Karl Marx, as a thinker and, as a revolutionary, maintains that the word, dialectic refers to a method of intellectual discussion by dialogue; it is a term of logic which means, "Conflict between two mutually opposite forces or tendencies". To Aristotle, the term dialectic referred to the art of deputation by question and answer. Dialectical materialism, according to Marx, is a way of understanding reality; be it thoughts, emotions, or material world. The word is a combination of the two words dialectic and materialism, which is the theoretical foundation of Marxism or Communism. The term, dialectic has been deriving from Greek word, "Dialego" which stands for the ability to conduct dispute and the attempts to resolve contradiction. Karl Marx extensively used the term, dialectic to understand contradiction between opposite forces in a society. According to Karl Marx, there is contradiction in every society; and that this contradiction forms the very essence of society, contradictions, which form the very basis of social change. Social change, according to Marx, is possible in the society because of the existence of opposite forces in the society. This led to the emergence of a new system. Dialectic, Marx said, could help to understand the very nature and direction of social change. It is a method used by Marx to advance his arguments by which, change in the society could be expected; and this method is called, Marx's methodology with the help of which, conclusions are made. Karl Marx's ultimate intention was to bring about a change in the basic order of the society.

### **Laws of dialectics**

Dialectic's according to Marx and Engels is found operating under the following laws:-

- a). The existence of opposites
- b). Polarization of opposites

- c). The basis of change lies with the system
- d). Every succeeding stage is more advanced than the preceding one

In every society precisely capitalist society there exists inherently opposing forces which have nothing in common. There is a constant attempt by both to oppose each other; and there exists a bipolar interest between the two opposites. Since this is the situation of society, change in the system is from within, and not from outside. It is to be seen, according to Marx, such change is of an advanced type that is, and the succeeding stage of change is more advanced than the preceding one. One stage goes, and another stage comes to replace with a more advanced system, but each succeeding stage is more disruptive than the preceding one.

There are actually two schools of thought, which are:

- a). Idealistic School, represented by Hegel
- b). Materialistic School, represented by Forbic

Karl Marx was influenced by both Hegelian dialectics, which is largely idealistic, and Forbic's materialistic, which is a purely materialistic in nature Karl Marx, while in Germany largely adopted Hegelian dialectic, but then become a materialist under the influence of Forbic in France.

## **11 Dialectical Materialism of Karl Marx:**

Dialectical Materialism maintains that, the world by itself is material; and everything is caused, moved and oriented, of course by nature Matter is that which determines and decides everything in the society. Matter has the objective existence or it exists for the sake of something, and not for the sake of existence. From matter, we get material that can be observed, and its free value can be ascertained. It is reflected by humans' mind which is translated into human thought. He, therefore, believes that which is ideal, is also material.

Example – I

The Cause of Thunderstorm:

To idealists, thunderstorm is due to God's will, but materialists believe that it is caused by dashing particles in the clouds.

## **Example – II**

### **The Cause of Poverty**

According idealists, poverty is there, because God made it to be there. However, materialists maintain that one is poor because there is something wrong with him. Hegel believes that ideas determines matter or reality; and reason is the essence of reality; and idea is what it is against what it is not. Idea runs the world while matter runs the one that has subjective existence. In fact, it is a egg-hen relationship as to whether idea is first or matter is the first. Karl Marx said “My ideas of dialectics are not only different from Hegel, but also are its opposite”. Therefore, Marx believes that the idealists are superficial about their opposition Marx’s idea is nothing less and nothing more than matter and material world. The world, according to him moves according to matter’s direction with the system or environment. Therefore, dialectical materialism of Karl Marx is diametrically opposed to Hegelian dialectic. Karl Marx’s dialectical materialism seeks to explain everything in terms of contradictions of matter. This provides abstract laws for natural and social change.

Dialectical materialism of Karl Marx maintains that the law of reality is the law of change. There is a constant change and transformation in inorganic nature of human world. It maintains that there is nothing that is fixed or static. The transformations are not gradual, but it is swift and is violent.

Karl Marx believes that there emerged three inevitable laws of dialectical materialism, which are:

- 1). Law of unity and straggle of the opposites
- 2). Law of transformation from quantity to quality
- 3). Law of negation of negation

Here, the first, the law of unity and struggle of the opposites, relates to the very nature or cause of social change. The law of transformation from quantity refers to the very manner of social change. The law of negation talks about the very direction of social change which means the combination. The thesis is ‘being’, anti-thesis is ‘no being’ and the synthesis is the ‘change’. It is being, which determines one’s

consciousness, but the consciousness does not determine the one 'being'. These three relate to the whole coverage of social change.

## **14 Explanation of the three laws of dialectics:**

### **1. Law of unity and struggle of opposite:**

Changes that are taking place, according to Karl Marx is, due to the law of unity and struggle of the opposites. Unity here refers to the co-existence or simultaneous presence of the opposites. Unity, however, does not mean cooperation or coordination.

Changes, in any case refers to any break in continuity that which existed, but which no longer exist; and that thing that which is not in existence is found existing in the place of the former. When there is, a change, in the existing situation becomes altered, there is a thesis, there is also anti-thesis, then change must occur which is called synthesis.

## **Thesis-Anti-Thesis-Synthesis**

Thesis, according to Marxists suggest the very system, forms the very basis of social change. Contradictions are inherent between Thesis and Anti-thesis. Here; the thesis means, the position, the anti-thesis means the opposition, and synthesis there is bound to be a struggle between them, because the two opposites are having inherent contradictions. Karl Marx has given series of examples for understanding of unity and struggle of opposites, that is, the law of change. This is found in natural world. Example; A management is found with its south and north pole; and in the same way capitalist and labor co-exist in one place; and since they are having opposite interest leading to struggle for supremacy.

### **1. Law of transformation from quantity to quality:**

This law refers to the manner of social change which involves two things, quantity and quality. Quantity here means quality of property whereas quantity refers to the measures or the number through which the intensity or the volume of an object could be ascertained. Karl Marx

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maintains that quantitative transformation beyond a certain point shall bring about qualitative transformation. Therefore, any change in the measure, value, intensity of things shall produce in its property. In other words, it means that which existed does not exist and that which did not exist now exists because of the quantitative transformation.

For example;  $H_2 + O = H_2O$ .

## **2. The Law of negation of negation:**

This law of dialectics refers to the direction of social change by proceeds. Here, it is to be noted that Marx's idea of social change are related to the theory of evolution. Negation, here does not mean, no to anything, rather negation is a condition for positive and advancement. Negation, in other words means, keeping aside the old and welcoming the new. Negation, therefore, is a product of a qualitative change and, therefore, is a progressive change.

For example;  $(-) \times (-) = +$  in mathematics. This is a continued, and then the continuity reaches the point, for e.g. Egg  $\rightarrow$  Larva  $\rightarrow$  Pupa  $\rightarrow$  Insect (final)

In short, Karl Marx adopted dialectical materialism to explain 'how social change is taking place', in what manner and to which direction. The transformation of society from primitive to feudal system, feudal system to capitalist system, and then finally to a socialist or communist system, are also determined by the material condition. In a primitive society, there was some kind of communal ownership of property and means of production; in a feudal society, property or materials are in the hands of feudal lords who controlled the economy of the society. Feudal system of society transforms itself into capitalist system because of its inherent contradiction between feudal lords and serf. Again, the capitalist system would be transformed into a socialist or communist system of society because of its inherent contradiction, that is, a contradiction between a capitalists and proletariat. In the process, class-struggle or conflict would be inevitable; and in such conflict the working class, by virtue of its sheer majority would prevail upon the capitalists. With the fall of capitalist form of society, a new

system called, Dictatorship of Proletariat, would be established, which would be replaced by a communist system in which all are equal. There will no more be stratification of society into classes; and society would be a classless society, and finally a stateless society.

## **14 Historical Materialism of Karl Marx**

Karl Marx focuses on human societies and their development over time, claiming that they follow a number of observable tendencies, which Karl Marx himself, articulated as a materialistic conception of history. It is, according to him, primarily a theory of history, according to which, the material conditions of society; mode of producing and reproducing the means of human existence or in Karl Marx own term, the union of its productive capacity and the social relations of production, fundamentally determined its organization and development.

Historical materialism looks for the causes of development and changes in human society and the means by which, humans collectively produced the necessities of life. It supposes that social classes and the relationship between them, along with the political structures, and ways of thinking in the society, are founded on the reflected contemporary economic activity.

The theory of historical materialism has been modified and expanded by Marxist writers after Marx. It now has both Marxist and non-Marxist variants. However, they are not all in agreement with Karl Marx in totality. In the Marxian view, human history is like a river. From any given point of vintage, a river looks much the same, day after day. But actually it is constantly flowing and changing, crumbling its banks, widening and deepening its channel. The water seen one day is never the same the next day. In the process, some are being evaporated and dried up till the next rain comes. From year to year these changes may be scarcely perceptible. But one day, when the banks are thoroughly weakened, and it rains heavily for a long time, the river floods, bursts its bank, and may change its course. This represents the dialectical or historical materialism.

Karl Marx maintains that historical materialism is the outcome of a fundamental underlying reality of human existence; that is, in order that

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human beings are to survive and continue to exist from generation to generation, it is necessary for them to produce and reproduce the material requirements of life. Marx then extended this premise by asserting the importance of the fact that, in order to carry out production and exchange, people have to enter into very definite social relations, most fundamentally, “production relation.”

However, production is not carried out in the abstract, or by entering into arbitrary or random relations chosen at will. Human beings, collectively work on nature but do not do the same work; there is division of labor in which, people not only do different jobs, but, according to Marxist, some people live on the fruit of others’ labor by owning the means of production. The possibility of this depends on the type of society. Production is carried out through very definite relations between people. And, in turn, this relation, these production relations are determined by the level and character of the productive forces that are present at any given time in history. Productive forces, according to Karl Marx, refers to the means of production; such as, the tools, instruments, technologies, land, raw materials and human knowledge and abilities in terms of using this means of production.

Writers on historical materialism usually postulate that society has moved through a number of types or mode of production; that is, the character of the production relations is determined by the character of productive forces. These could be the simple tools and instruments of early human existence or the more developed machinery and technology of today. However, the main mode of production, Karl Marx was referring to, was generally primitive communism or tribal society, ancient society, feudal society and capitalist society. People, in each of these stage, interact with nature and produce their necessity for living in different ways. Ancient society was based on a ruling and a class of slaves; feudal society was based on land owners and serfs; and capitalist society was based on capitalist-class, privately owned means of production, distribution and exchange.

Karl Marx identified the production relations of society as the economic based of the society. He also explains that on the foundation of the economic based, there arise certain political institutions, laws, customs, culture, ideas, way of thinking, morality, etc. These constituted

the ideological or political super structure which not only has its origin in the economic base, but its features also ultimately correspond to the character and development of that economic base and the relations that arise from its mode of production.

Historical materialism works on the following principles:-

1. The basis of human society is how human work on nature to produce the means of subsistence.
2. There exists a division of labor into social classes (relations of production) based on property ownership, where some people live from the labor of others.
3. The system of class division is dependent on the mode of production.
4. The mode of production is based on the level of productive forces.
5. Society moves from stage to stage when dominant class is displaced and new classes emerged by overthrowing the 'political shell' that enforces the old relations of production. This takes place in the super structure of society; the political arena in the form of revolution, whereby, the new class liberates the productive forces with new relations of production, and social relations, corresponding to it.

Karl Marx has put the clearest picture of his materialistic interpretation of history in his book, "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" 1859. Karl Marx, in his book maintains that in the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, that is, relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which arises, a legal and political structure; and to which, corresponds definite form of consciousness. The mode of production of material life, conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their

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existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. Then, there begins the era of social revolution. The change in the economic foundation sooner or later, leads to the transformation of the whole structure or super-structure into a socialist or communist mode of relations of production; which is bound to be there because of the inherent contradiction in the relations of production in the capitalist structure of society. What really has gone wrong with society was, in the process of relations of production, a section of people in the society, precisely the capitalist, are living on the labor of the worker, whereas the real producers of property, the workers, are left to live on subsist level. Karl Marx and Marxist insist that history, as a matter of fact, is nothing but it is the history of 'who owned and controlled the means of production, distribution and the property itself during different periods of history. It is not the history of great men and the history of invasions or aggression of a state by other state, but rather, the Marxist maintains that, history is history of how, in different periods of time, materials, the product of labor are owned and controlled by the people who are not actually involved in the process of production. That is, in capitalist system of society, history means the history of how and why the capitalist appropriated the bulk of property produced by the proletariat.

## **Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

**(Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin)**

### **15 Meaning of Dictatorship**

The word, 'dictatorship' began as a reference to dictatura of the ancient Roman republic, an important constitutional institution that lasted for three centuries and left its mark on all political thoughts. This institution provided for an emergency exercise of power by a trusted citizen for temporary and limited purposes, and for a limited period, for six months at the most. Its aim was to preserve the Republican status

quo; it was conceived to be a bulwark in defense of the republic against a foreign invasion or internal subversion; indeed it was directed against elements that we might today accuse of wanting “dictatorship”. It worked at least, until Julius Caesar destroyed the republican *dictatura* by declaring himself, “unlimited dictator” in permanence, that is, a dictator in our present day.

The modern analogue of the Roman *dictatura* is the institution of martial law or what we called, “state of siege”. This device has the three distinguishing features of the Roman one; that is based on constitutional legality, not tyranny; it is temporary; it is limited, especially in its ability to impose laws or constitutions. Again and again, institution of martial law type have provided for some forms of crisis government or emergency regime. Some claim that these institutions are *ipso facto* antidemocratic, though of course they can be perverted to antidemocratic uses like everything else.

However, the term, dictatorship is used to refer to a kind of absolutism, the rule of a single individual over citizens and subject with iron fist. We call military dictatorship to refer to the absolute rule of military regime, as seen in North Korea and in Myanmar in the past, etc. However, Karl Marx, when he first wrote down the term dictatorship of proletariat, it was a very specific metaphorical usage.

In Marxist socio-political thought, the dictatorship of proletariat refers to a state in which, the proletariat or the working class, has the control of political power. As per this theory, it is the intermediate system between the capitalism and communism at the time when the government is in the process of changing the ownership of means of production from private to collective ownership; and the existence of any government implies the dictatorship of one social class over another. The term, dictatorship of proletariat was actually coined by Joseph Weidemeyer, which was adopted by Karl Marx in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The term is used because it refrains the state authority as such, with its implements of force and oppression, but differs from popular notion of dictatorship which, Marxist despised as the selfish, immoral, irresponsible and unconstitutional political ruler of one man. It instead, it implies a stage in which there is complete “socialization of the major means of production”. In other words, planning of material production so as to serve social needs, provide for an effective right to work, to

education, to health and housing for masses and fuller development of science and technology, so as to multiply material production to achieve social satisfaction. However, social divisions into classes exist, but the proletariat becomes the dominant class, and also oppression is still used to suppress the bourgeois-counter revolution.

Karl Marx, as early as 1844, came to the conclusion that, to achieve the goal of communism, the proletariat had to first conquer political power. Recognizing the importance of capturing political power by the political rule of the proletariat, he wanted that all workers to start a working class movement to set as their goal the establishment of the rule of proletariat. This is strongly stated in the 'Communist Manifesto'.

"The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletariat parties; constitution of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois rule, conquest of political power by proletariat". As a matter of fact, Marx used the term 'dictatorship of proletariat' exactly the same way he used the rule of proletariat and the other label for a workers' state.

In a critique of the Gotha Program; Marx and Engels have made the following observations: - "Between the capitalist societies lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Their corresponds to this also a political transition period in which, the state can be nothing, but the revolutionary dictatorship of proletariat". The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the goal of working class; and this ambitious goal could be achieved through the protracted revolution or a series of revolution. However, there is no proper dealing with the concept by any socialists including Marx and Engels.

Lenin came to the picture to solve the concept from being out dated and irrelevant. Lenin, on his part, offered several explanations to the concept of dictatorship of proletariat. His explanation covered all the aspects of the concept of dictatorship of proletariat. It, according to Lenin, means the working class would capture power, and then build up a socialist society. Lenin, in his State and Revolution, says, "The dictatorship of proletariat is the rule of proletariat, unrestricted and unrestraint by law, and is based on force of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a ruled enjoying the sympathy and support of the laboring masses. When the proletariats are organizing themselves into a class and

establish their supremacy over the bourgeoisie, they would embark on the emancipation of workers from the bondage of capitalists. This would be possible when the rule of proletariat is established.

Lenin, in his own words also defines dictatorship of proletariat as follows: "If we translate this Latin scientific term, dictatorship of proletariat, into a more simple language, it means only a definite class, namely, that of the urban and industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole masses of society and exploited, in the struggle for overthrow from the yoke of the capitalists.

Dictatorship of proletariat, according to Lenin, is a specific form of class alliances between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working class and numerous non-proletariats strata of the working people, on the majority of these strata and alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism. Therefore, it could be maintained that dictatorship of proletariat is a specific form of rule and the dictatorship is an instrument for the attainment and consolidation of communism or socialism. The proletarians would use their dictatorial power for suppression of the bourgeoisie as well as to destroy the citadel of power built-up by the capitalist in collaboration with state authority. The suppression of bourgeoisie and the destruction of the state power are both essential pre-condition of establishment of the dictatorship of proletariat.

The dictatorship of proletariat has a special meaning in Marxism. With the establishment of the dictatorship of proletariat, it was conceive that the emergence of communism is in the offing. The proletarians may be allowed to exercise dictatorial power, but it is a temporary phenomena. Once, counter revolutionary forces are destroyed and state comes under the full control of the proletariat, the meaning and significance of dictatorship will tend to evaporate. Dictatorship of proletariat is, therefore, a definite form of government which is installed for interim period.

Some critics of the dictatorship of proletariat hold the view that whether the proletariat will set-up rule of dictatorship or not, shall be decided by vote. However, Lenin was against the adoption of parliamentary style of universal suffrage, because he held that all these tactics are the instruments of bourgeoisie and their system for exploitation. He further maintains that these policies adopted by

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bourgeois society, if re-introduced, will miss-lead the working class. He strongly argued that proletarians will have set up their supremacy only through revolution.

## **16 Need for establishment of dictatorship proletariat**

Marx, Engels and Lenin, all advocated for the inevitability of Dictatorship of proletariat because of the fact that bourgeois state, which is an instrument of exploitation could not be trusted; and, therefore, it has to be destroyed at any cost. The emancipation of proletarians, they said, would be impossible so long as the bourgeois state exists. Therefore they suggest that the bourgeoisie state should be broken and smashed from top to the bottom. So as to achieve this most difficult goal, a powerful institution, with temporary dictatorial power should be created. This institution shall be dictatorship of proletariat.

There are different forms and structure of bourgeois states. However, all bourgeois state has one in common, that is, they are all instrument of exploitation in the hands of capitalists. The logical conclusion that could follow therefore is proletarians require dictatorship of the proletariat because without dictatorial power the proletarians cannot destroy the bourgeois state and the remnants of bourgeois state after the establishment of the first phase of communism.

The freedom that exists in the bourgeois state is the freedom of minority, that is, freedom of the elites. The great majority of the masses are deprived of their freedom to harvest the fruit of their labor, and the benefits of the so called, democracy. This has to be reversed and, for that, the proletarians must have sweeping power in every sphere of society. Only the destruction of capitalism with its system of production and, its base and super-structure shall provide real freedom to majority of masses. The fact is that, socialism and private property cannot go along. The socialist suggest that the structure of production and the methods of distribution of these products shall be placed at the disposal of the whole society.

## **17 Aspects of dictatorship of proletariat:**

Stalin believes that dictatorship of proletariat would serve as an effective instrument for the realization of the goal of establishing a classless society. Since the purpose of revolution is to do away with class system; and that, without proletarians, revolution would not be possible. Proletarian revolution is the supreme political act; and there is no alternative to it. It is the most important and most effective instrument for the overthrow of capitalism; and therefore, dictatorship of proletariat will provide a congenial situation for launching revolution to overthrow capitalism. Proletarian revolution would be capable of defeating bourgeoisie, but the revolution would be unable to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie to maintain its victory, and to push forward to the final victory of socialism, unless it creates a special organ in the form of dictatorship of proletariat as its principal mainstay.

## **18 Karl Marx Theory of Alienation:**

Karl Marx, an influential and a prolific writer of nineteenth century, advocated for the creation of a classless society which, would be guided through proper democracy and equality. Karl Marx argued that workers are treated as commodity under the capitalist system of economy. The theory of alienation maintains that workers are disenchanted with their work as it is controlled by hierarchies of managers and supervisors. The individual's creativity and freedom has been stifled in the name of efficiency and effectiveness. Moreover, Marx argues that the abject poverty of workers means that they cannot live in prosperous condition. Under capitalist system, the capitalist reap huge profit, but give little to workers as wage. Marx also believes that alienation was there because, workers being suspicious of each other due to the competitive nature of capitalism. Finally, the workers are instructed to perform specific task which are against the intrinsic nature of humanity. This intrinsic nature helps them to attain creativity and design robust challenge to new problems. According to the theory of alienation, workers are said to be alienated from their own labor and fruit of labor. The workers put their labor for producing commodity, but

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the commodity that they produce does not belong to them. It belongs to someone, who did not put his labor. Therefore, according to the theory of alienation, workers are alienated from the product of their labor in the capitalist mode of production.

## **Types of alienation**

Karl Marx, in his “Economic and Philosophic Manuscript” of 1844, identified four types of alienation that occur to worker laboring under a capitalist system of industrial production.

### **1. Alienation of worker from their product:**

Production of goods and commodities, Karl Marx said, is not determined and controlled by those who are involved in the process of production (producers), nor by those who buy those products, but it was controlled and determined by the capitalist who has nothing to do with the production. The capitalists, besides accommodating the manual labor of the worker, also accommodate the intellectual labor of the engineer and the industrial designer who create the product in order to shape the taste of the consumer to buy the goods and services at a price that yields a maximal profit. Apart from the workers having no control of the design-and-production protocol, alienation (Enfremdung) broadly described the conversion of labor, which-like products-can be assigned an exchange value. That is to say that the capitalists gain control of the manual and intellectual workers and the fruit of their labor, with a system of industrial production that converts the said labor into concrete concept of work, for which the worker is paid wages at the lowest possible rate, which enables the capitalist to get maximum return on their investment of capital. This certainly is an aspect of exploitation of workers by the capitalists. Still, with such reified system of industrial production, the profit generated from the sale of goods and services that could be paid to the workers, is instead paid to the capitalists; the functional capitalist, who manage the means of production; and the entire capitalists who own the means of production.

## **2. Alienation of worker from the act of production:**

In the capitalist mode of production, generation of products, that is, goods and services is accomplished with an endless sequence of discrete, repetitive motions that offer the workers little psychological or mental satisfaction for “a job well done”. By means of commodification, the labor power of the worker is reduced to wages; the mental enstrangement of the worker resulting from the unmediated relation between his productive labor and the wages paid to him for his labor. The worker is alienated from the means of production via two forms; wage compulsion and the imposed production content. The worker is bound to unwanted labor as a means of survival; labor is not voluntary, but coerced or forced labor. The worker is only able to reject wage compulsion at the expense of his life and that of his family. The distribution of private property in the hands of wealth-owners, combined with government enforced taxes compel worker to work. In a capitalist society, means of survival is based on monetary exchange. Therefore, there is no other choice or option for the worker except, to sell his labor power, and consequently be bound to the demand of capitalist. The worker “does not feel content, but unhappy; he does not fully develop his mental and physical energy, but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker, therefore, only “feels himself outside his work and, in his work feels outside himself”. Labor is, therefore, external to the workers; and it is not a part of his essential being. During his work, he is miserable, unhappy, and drained off his energy; work mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker is being controlled, and is told what to do and what not to do since he does not own the means of production. Labor, his labor is external to the worker or it does not constitute his essential being. The external character of labor for the worker is seen in the fact that it is not his own, but someone else’s, that is, it does not belong to him, but in it he belongs, not to himself, but to other. Since the labor of the worker does not belong to the work, the worker does not control his labor. In other words, the labor of the worker is alienated from the worker.

### **3. Alienation of the worker from their Gattungswesen (Species-essence)**

Species-essence, human nature of individual is not discrete or separate from their activity as workers; and, as such species-essence does contain innate human potential as a person and individual. The term “species-essence”, conceptually, could be described as the intrinsic mental essence of man, which is characterized by a plurality of interest and mental dynamism whereby every individual has the desire and the tendency to engage in many activities, which promote mutual survival of men, and the psychological well being, by means of emotional connection with other men in the society. The mental value of a man consists in being able to conceive of the end of his idea. In other words, men are able to objectify and substantiate their intention by means of idea coming out from them as the subject, and idea of thing that they produce the object. Conversely, unlike human beings, animal do not objectify itself as the subject nor its products as ideas, the object, because animal engages directly in self-sustaining actions that have neither a future intention, nor a conscious intention. Whereas a person’s species-essence does not exist independently of specific historically conditioned activities, the essential nature of a human being is actualized when the individuals, within a given historical circumstance, are free to subordinate will to the internal demands they have imposed upon themselves by their imagination, and not the external demands imposed upon individuals by other people.

### **18 The human relations in production:**

The character of an individual’s consciousness and societal existence is conditioned by his relationship with other people, and things that facilitate survival, which is fundamentally dependent upon cooperation with others. Therefore, a person’s consciousness is determined inter subjectively and collectively, not subjectively individually, because men are a social animal. So as to guarantee the survival of individual in the society, individual organized themselves into groups who have different basic relationships to the means of

production. One of such societal groups owned and controlled all the means of production while the other social class worked using the means of production; and in the relations of production of the status quo, the goal of the owning class was to economically appropriate as much as possible from the labor of the working class. Again, in the course of economic development, a new type of economy replace the old one, that is, agrarian feudalism superseded by mercantilism, which is in turn superseded by Industrial Revolution. The entire economic order is re-arranged which gives more advantage to the social class which controlled the technologies over the other social class. In the same way, there was a corresponding re-arrangement of human nature; and the system of values of the owning class of working class, which allowed the two social classes to accept and to function in the re-arranged status quo of production.

The induction of machineries in the process of production by industrial revolution, instead of resulting to improved condition of work, better living condition, etc, rather renders the workers to be a part of machineries, and automation of production system, rather would allow the dominant bourgeois capitalist social class to intensify its exploitation to the degree that the value obtained from the labor of worker would diminish the ability of worker to mere survival. Therefore, as and when the proletarians become sufficiently strong, they would start revolution and re-orient the relation of production of the means of production, that is, from capitalist mode of production to a communist mode of production. When there emerged communist society as a result of revolution, the fundamental relation of the workers to the means of production, would be equal and non-conflicting, because there would be no artificial distinctions between the value of worker's labor; the worker's humanity (spies-essence) thus respected, men and women would not become alienated.

Under the collective ownership of means of production, the relation of each worker to the mode of production would be identical, and will assume the character that corresponds to the interest of the communist society. The direct distribution of the fruits of the labor of each worker would fulfill the interest of the working class, as a whole. In such a system, an individual's personal interest would constitute an

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un-alienated state of labor conditions, which restores to the workers the fullest exercise and determination of his human nature (spies-essence).

### **Alienation of the worker from other workers:**

It is the commonly accepted idea of socialist that labor of the worker is reduced to a commodity that could be sold and purchased in the open market of capitalist society, rather than a constructive activity that is a part of the collective common effort performed for personal survival and the betterment of a society, the economic establishment, which owned the means of production established a competitive labor market, which is meant for extracting from workers as much labor as possible in the form of capital. This arrangement of capitalist economy provokes social-conflict by pitting workers against workers in a competition for higher wages, thereby alienating from their mutual economic interest, which effects to false consciousness, a form of ideological control exercised by the capitalist through its cultural hegemony. In the process of workers, competing with other workers in open labor market, each worker is against another worker, thereby, making them alienated from one another. Workers, therefore, are being alienated from one another because of the existence of competition and contest among themselves in the open labor market of the capitalist market economy.

### **20 Karl Marx Theory of Revolution:**

The fundamental cause of any revolution, Marx said, was the desire and endeavors of a subject class to capture political power by force from the ruling class; and then, to recognize and re-orient the apparatus of state to suit its own specific needs as a social class. The final struggle takes place in a political realm, but the social and economic objectives, which divide the warring social class, are really the true causes of revolution. The revolution, if successful, would remove, those social, economic and political institutions, which stands on the way to the development of the class for whose benefit the revolution has been launched; French was a classical example of the

model of bourgeois democratic revolution in the economic sphere. Marx developed his theory of revolution in his Communist Manifesto and a 'Critique of Political Economy'.

Karl Marx, while discussing specific revolution, enriched his general philosophy and; produced a master-piece of contemporary French revolutionary history, taking account of the complexity of the revolutionary events, wherein multitude of classes interacted changing continuously their alignment.

## **21 Proletarian Revolution**

As for proletarian revolution, Karl Marx emphasizes the human causes of revolution. He did not conceive of revolution as a mechanical outcome of conflict of economic forces, but was something that had also to be accomplished by human efforts. He maintains, "Of all the instruments of production, the greatest productive force is the revolutionary class itself. The organization of revolutionary elements as a class pre-supposes the existence of all the productive forces that could be endangered in the womb of old society. He however believes that the proletarians had to undergo a massive transformation through its own education in the school of class struggle before it could become an important agent of revolution. He believes that, the proletarians, as a class, would be well-equipped with the necessary education in starting the revolution to overthrow and establish socialist society with necessary reconstructions.

Marx believes that there must be mass consciousness among proletarians about the necessity to launch a large scale revolution. The capitalist and their system should be removed at any cost; but it should be made known to all proletarians that, capitalist could not be overthrown or removed, except through and by means of violent revolution. They should be made aware of the fact that they were left with no option, except violent revolution. Marx also wanted to make the workers aware of the fact that since they are numerically larger social group than the capitalists they would be successful in overthrowing the capitalists from power.

Karl Marx has made it known that he, along with the workers, would launch the revolution which embodies through a dialectical unit

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of theory and practice, the subjective and objective causes of revolution. Marx sums up this in the following words: "In revolutionary activity, the changing of oneself coincides with the changing of circumstance". This according to Marx implies that the proletariat must become a class for itself by developing class consciousness which is necessary cause and pre-condition of a successful social revolution, strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution.

Karl Marx did not provide detail strategy and tactics for revolutionary movement directed against any social class. He, however, did mention about when to start the revolution and where, and should it involve violent or it should be a peaceful revolution. Regarding the possibility of a successful revolution, he expressed his view according to historical precedence. He was optimistic during European revolution of 1848, but his hope faded gradually, thereafter, except for a brief revival during the Paris Commune of 1871. He said in 1846, "there can be no talk at the present moment about the inauguration of communism; the bourgeois must first take over the rudder". On the eve of the 1848 revolution, he declared in his communist manifesto, "The bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution".

Karl Marx said, after the attainment of the aim of the petty bourgeois, it was the task of the working class to make the revolution permanent until all the property owning classes were deprived of their state power, so that the proletariat could eventually use the apparatus of state for socialist transformation. It is difficult to reconcile this approach with the idea of the gradual development of political system in accordance with the economic basis of society.

Karl Marx believes that the effective cause of revolution has to be located in the economic situation and nowhere else. A new revolution, he said, is possible only as a consequence of a worsening trade cycle leading to increasing misery of the workers. Marx was much convinced of economic determinism of the revolutionary process and that he was, even prepared to dissolve the Communist League when it appeared to be falling under the control of leaders who believed in attempting a revolution irrespective of the economic situation.

Karl Marx was expecting the crisis of capitalist society to break out which would ultimately provoke a socialist revolution; Marx was

expecting that the revolution resulting from the crisis in the capitalist system would start in most advanced countries like Britain, France and United states. However, this has not happened; and it appeared that European revolutions were more dependent on the general world situation.

Marx also believes that in some underdeveloped countries, such as Germany, a bourgeoisie revolution could spark off a subsequent socialist revolution. However, this has not happened, anyway. Again, Marx was expecting that backward Russia might prove the starting point of a new European revolution, which initially be bourgeois revolution, but would ultimately turn into a proletariat revolution in character. Lenin implemented the two-stage revolution of Marx in his own way in Russian Revolution of 1917and, Mao did the same in Chinese in his own characteristic, and brought about Chinese Revolution. Referring to Russian Revolution, a year before his death, Karl Marx said, "If the Russian revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the west, so that both compete each other, then the present Russian system of community ownership of land could serve as the starting point for a communist development".

Karl Marx conceded that socialism could come about as a culmination of a peaceful mass movement in some of the capitalist democracies. He spoke of the possibility of peaceful revolution in USA, England and Holland in 1872. He said, "A historical development can only remain peaceful" so long as it is not opposed by the violence of those who wield power in society at that time. If in England or the United States, for example; the working class was to gain a majority in parliament in Congress or parliament, and then it could be legal means set aside the laws and structures that stood in its way"

Marx was not in favor of revolutionary terror because such terror was believed to be a factor for weakening the cause of revolution. However, use of physical force was acceptable to Marx, provided that the economic, social and political conditions were such as to make its use successful.

## **22 The collapse of Communism**

Karl Marx's theory of surplus-value in the contemporary world revolutionized the world. His concepts on the equality for all gave birth to a new system of governance, that is, communism. However, the communist could not refrain themselves from aggressive design as Marxists believe that surplus money in the capitalism is utilized for fighting wars. But history is a witness that the Russia also had an aggressive ideology. "Only such products can become commodities with regards to each other, as a result from different kinds of labor, each kind, being carried on independently and for the account of private individuals".

Another point for which Karl Marx could be criticized is that he totally ignores the liberalization of the economy. The Marxists talk about closed economy; however, the capitalist economy is based upon the opening up of market for all. Globalization is the essence of the capitalist economy. In doing so, it is not worthy that China is the second largest economy of the world and this is made possible by its open market system. Now Chinese market is open to the length and breadth of the world.

Communism, which gained a strong foothold in the world during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and, which commands some one-third of the total population of mankind, started crumbling since the early part of 1990s. Most of the communist governments in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, are overthrown from power by the people. There are a number of possible reasons for the collapse of communism, both as a form of government; and as a socio-economic and political ideology. It has now almost virtually become a defunct ideology. Even in Russia, where communism took deep root during the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, led by Lenin. Communism started crumbling in the face of opposition from supporters of open market system of economy. Immediately after the end of World War II the world was sharply divided into two hostile ideological camps; democratic political ideological bloc led by USA and, communist political, economic and ideological bloc led by Soviet Union. This arrangement of international system ultimately culminated into the emergence of cold war or bi-polar world. The emergence of cold war between USA and USSR, both

representing the two ideologies, led to the division of international system into two hostile camps under the two opposing military alliance; NATO and Warsaw Pact. Proxy wars were being fought in different parts of the world, including Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, etc. There had been an uncontrolled armament race between the two blocs led by the two super-powers, USA and Soviet Union. As the contest for power went on, economies of the two super-powers started to suffer as billions of dollars had to be spent for armament procurement which costs the bulk of their GDP. From the early 1980s, Soviet Union suffered a serious economic crisis resulting from armament race with USA and NATO. It was no more economically in a position to compete USA in armament race. Soviet Union was not able to even maintain what it already has had. USA, however, was comparatively in a better position both economically and politically. Communist government in Eastern Europe began to fall because of popular opposition. The Berlin Wall then collapsed and Germany was unified under Democratic government. In the meantime, Soviet Union was disintegrated resulting to the formation of CIS (Common Wealth of Independent States) out of the former Soviet Union. Therefore, with the disintegration of Soviet Union, most of the communist governments in other parts of the world started transforming their closed economy into open market economy. The world today, witnessed the growing globalization of economy, transcending national and international boundaries. As a matter of fact, communist ideology has become more and more irrelevant, both as a form of government and as a political and economy ideology.

## **Liberalism**

### **23 Meaning and Development**

The term, Liberalism has been derived from Latin word, liber which stands for free or free man. The word, liberalism, therefore, has as its central idea freedom or liberty. The word has also been used for generosity or open mindedness. In other words, the term liberal or liberalism has always been associated with freedom.

Large numbers of definitions have been offered to liberalism by a number of scholars. However, most of the scholars dealing with the

term, liberalism agreed that, the main objective of the term in question, is provision of individuals the right to freedom of choice. The advocates of the liberalism as a political ideology, therefore, used the term to carry with it the following meanings; (1) Freedom and choice; it is a systematic political creed; it is the manifestation of reason and toleration in the face of traditional absolutism and; it means, freedom, equality, liberty etc.(embodied in liberalism). Liberalism, when used as an adjective, liberal, it implies an attitude of mind, rather than a political creed. Robert Ecclesial describes liberalism as “a political ideology intimately associated with the birth and evolution of capitalist world”. Therefore, it could be noted that, liberalism as a political ideology means, to pursue policies of freedom in political and economic spheres and clear restrictions on the activities of state authority. It is also to be noted that the term, liberalism has a cluster of meanings in different periods of time. For example, it is an intellectual movement whose purpose is to restrict the power and authority of state so that individuals could enjoy freedom. In recent analysis of the term, it has been observed that ‘liberalism is an ideology based on a commitment to individualism, freedom, toleration and consent. It could, therefore, be established that, in modern sense, liberalism is both an ideology and a movement whose purpose is to strengthen the cause, progress etc. of individuals through the vindication of right to select the choice out of alternatives, and for that purpose, to endorse the restriction upon the authority of the state. Liberalism, strictly speaking can be said to be an offshoot of capitalism since it was believed that the rapid growth of capitalism was possible only through an adoption of liberal policies which contain maximum freedom to investors and producers. It is; therefore, appropriate to say that liberalism is both economic and political doctrine necessary for capitalist society.

## **24 Elements or principles Liberalism**

Liberalism has been referred to as meta- ideology which means that it encompasses many principles, value and elements within its scope. The following are the main elements or principles of liberalism; Individualism, freedom, reason, toleration, consent, constitutionalism, equality and justice.

### **(a) Individualism**

The very concept individualism is vital part of liberalism; and liberalism without individualism is a none-issue, having no significance. Liberalism, therefore, believes in the primacy of individual's liberty and freedom over all other values and principles. Individuals constitute the very concept of political theory; and that, arrangements have to be made in the political society to safeguard and protect the interest of individuals. Liberalism maintains that since political system exists and continues to exist because there are individuals living in it. The main objective of political system is always to see that their interests are fully protected. The advocates of liberalism believe that, since individuals are fully capable of developing their own best-selves, they should be given the freedom, liberty and opportunity to develop themselves without undue interference by the state. It is, therefore, to be noted that, individualism and liberalism could not be separated, but they should go side by side and supplement and complement each other. The liberals, therefore, suggested that, market economy that is open-market system should be established with the least state interference.

### **(b) Freedom of individuals**

Freedom, to be précised, individual freedom constitutes the core of liberalism. According to the advocates of liberalism, freedom is of supreme importance because without freedom, individuals will simply be a unit without any dignity. Moreover, liberty or freedom is said to be the best means for developing the best qualities of man. However, true liberals do not believe in absolute or unrestrained liberty or freedom because freedom or liberty if not restricted, would do more harm than good. They are, therefore, in favour of chained or restricted liberty. JS Mill, the prominent advocate of liberalism, favours the association of law with freedom, because according to him, restriction is for the general welfare of the community. According to classical liberal thinkers, man should be allowed to enjoy an atmosphere free from all sorts of restrictions. However, the modern liberal thinkers do not think of liberty where there shall be no restrictions. Liberty, therefore, they

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said should be positive liberty which is subject to restriction and restraints.

**(c) Reason (reason, as an element of liberalism)**

Reason and liberalism are also said to be inseparable from each other. The relationship between reason and liberalism could be viewed from more than one angle, which are: liberalism is partially the product of reason i.e. enlightenment which strongly emphasised that man is a rational being and is guided by reason and rationality. The advent of Enlightenment emancipated man from age-old superstition, ignorance and bondage; and also, it established the age of reason. The liberals believe that, since man is rational and reasonable, he is quite capable of taking any decision and; to judge what is bad for him. Therefore, man, being capable of independent judgement of what is good and what is bad, there is no need for any outside power to control him in what he does. The liberalists believe that real progress and development would be possible only through the initiatives of individuals; and that interference by outside forces or powers, would only dampen the spirit of initiative of individuals. The primacy of reason ultimately led Adam Smith (1723-1790) to enunciate a doctrine of laissez-faire. A large number of philosophers and thinkers enriched the various aspects of Enlightenment in all possible ways and; gave priority to reason and rationality. Rationality is the belief that the world has a rational structure; and that, this can be disclosed through the exercise of human reason and critical inquiry.

**(d) Toleration, as an element of liberalism**

Toleration is also said to be another important element of liberalism. In any given society, there exist different opinions, different views, different interest and aspirations, etc depending on religious belief, tradition, custom, language etc. All must live in peace and harmony; and for this, mutual toleration is inevitable. Differences in ideology and belief make a society diverse and composite in character; and it is the basic feature of any given society Liberalism believes that, all these diversities must co-exist in any given society; and that no

group or section of people has the right to impose its belief and faith on any other section of people of the same society. A liberal society seeks to naturally accommodate all the beliefs, faiths, ideologies, opinions existing in the society. A French philosopher, Voltaire, once said, “I detest what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it”. This statement of Voltaire forcefully advocated the need for practicing toleration. Toleration also referred to recognition of the rights of others. If a person claim that he has the right to criticise others for supporting the ruling party, he must also be ready to accept that others also have the right to support the same ruling party.

**(e) Constant, as an element of liberalism**

Constant, as an element of liberalism has been brought to appear by the contractualists, particularly, nature got together to take a decision for creating a civil society or body politics, and behind this decision, there was consent of all. Locke particularly puts much importance to consent as the basis for the creation of such civil society. The American freedom fighters raised their arms against America basing on the principle of consent. They hold the view that, consent is important, as far as democratic form of government is concerned; and that, they have never given any consent to the British rule over America. Moreover, representative form of democracy is the most important embodiment of consent. JS Mills, who was the principal advocate of liberalism, was also the strong supporter of the principle of consent. Liberal thinkers further maintained that, every law, regulation and policy of the government must be backed by the consent of the people. It is, therefore, an established fact that consent forms an integral part of democracy and liberalism. The liberals believe that, consent of all or consent of majority must constitute the basic structure of a political society.

**(f) Constitutionalism, as an Element of Liberalism:**

Constitutionalism is an inevitable element of liberalism and; it has been used to mean two things; narrow and broad. In a narrow sense, constitutionalism means limitations upon the government as specified

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by the constitution of the land. In its broader sense, constitutionalism implies values, principles and ideas which act as guide to the government in the formulation of policies and programmer for subsequent implementation. The reason for this is that, even if certain principles and policies which are believed to be appropriate and proper for implementation, even if there is no constitutional provision for the same, they could be formulated as public policies with support and consent of majority segment of people in the society.

Constitutionalism is also said to be the basic principle of liberalism. It states that, government's business never specify that it has the unlimited freedom to do whatever it wants to do without considering the advantages and disadvantages for the common people. It must follow certain basic rules and procedures laid down in the basic or ordinary laws of the land. Needless to say that this idea was first formulated by Locke; and in the later periods, it was adhered to by many. This in fact is called Constitutionalism in a nut-shell. It is further, to be noted that constitutionalism has to be observed both by the ruler and the ruled, and has not to act arbitrarily. Constitutionalism has also been many a time referred to as limited government.

### **(g) Equality, as an Element of Liberalism:**

Equality is also another important component of liberalism. It is not only a political principle; it is also a religious and moral principle. Inequality is said to be the artificial creation of man and, therefore, it is against the will of God who created men to be all equal. Liberalism, as a political ideology has a close connection with religious beliefs and practices of many religious groups.

Liberalism is also said to be an ideology of practical world. In any given society, all individuals cannot claim the same level of merit, intelligent and capacity of hard work, and in that case, there is bound to be differences in remunerations and wages which must be admitted and accepted by one and all. A person who works less hours cannot claim the same wage as person who works more hours. This sort of inequality in wages and remunerations is not and cannot be regarded as inequality in the real sense of the term. It does not, in any way infringe upon the concept of equality. Equality in political science, therefore, asserts that,

none will be allowed to enjoy special privileges ignoring the common minimum privileges to which everyone has the legitimate claim.

### **(h) Justice, as a Component of Liberalism**

It is to be noted that, justice is the principle of both liberalism and socialism. However, liberalism has given more importance to justice than as given by socialism. As a matter of fact, justice is said to be the basis of liberalism. Liberalism openly declares that each individual in the society must receive his due share; and since all men are born equal, none can deprive other of his due share. It (liberalism) believes that all individuals living in the society have the same and equal status and; that there must be an atmosphere in which people can enjoy the same status. The liberalists maintained that no special privilege or advantage be given to any individual or group of individuals, and denied the same to any other individual or group of individuals on the basis of factors like gender, race, colour, creed, religion or social and economic background. In other words, liberalism disapproves all kinds of discrimination or favouritism in the society. Of all equalities, legal and political equality are said to be of paramount importance. The concept of equality is also interpreted in terms of equal opportunities. The liberal theorists believe that, equal opportunities should be given to all individuals based on their ability, capacity, eligibility etc. liberal-theorists also advocated for enforcement of social equality. Justice, according to liberalists, is giving of the same and equal treatments to all individuals in the society, irrespective of who they are, what they are, to which religious group or social group they belong to etc.

## **25 Classical Liberalism**

Liberalism, as a political principle and doctrine has been undergoing changes from time to time and period to period under the influence of material environment and socio-political situation. These changes are, in fact, a necessity as it has to accommodate the changing values and ideas which any given society is facing and experiencing. It has been seen that liberalism has originated from the downfall of feudal

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society in Europe. With the collapse of feudal society, capitalism came to fill the socio-economic and vacuum created; and with it, liberalism also emerged as the leading political ideology. The liberalism which emerged with the fall of feudalism has been referred to as classical liberalism.

## **26 Elements of Classical Liberalism**

In the first place, the classical liberalism believes in extreme individualism. The classical liberalists believed that individuals are essentially rational, and through their rationality, they are conscious of their best interest; and that, they are capable of taking decision to further their best interest without outside interference. They, therefore, maintained that they (individuals) they are capable of independent judgement of what is good and what is bad, what is fair and what is unfair, both for him and for others. The classical liberal thinkers accepted the fact that individuals are all selfish and are mostly guided by their selfish interest, but at the same time, they maintained that individuals are rational, and their rationality makes them to avoid doing things which harm others.

In the second place, the classical liberal thinkers are, particularly touched by the need for economic liberalism which is called, *laissez-faire*. The *laissez-faire* theory of liberalism strongly advocated that the state authority should not impose any kind of restriction on the economic activities and pursuit of individuals. Individuals, according to them, should be left untouched by the state in the formulation of their economic policies and programmes. If the state happens to obstruct the economic activities of individuals on the pretext of better management and on the pretext of furthering the interest of the society, it is bound to lead to economic instability and degeneration. Adam Smith is said to be the first and one of the most prominent classical liberal theorists. However, as time went by, the working class in the capitalist societies of Europe suffered untold hardships and miseries in the hand of capitalists, as a result of which, there emerged a group of thinkers who developed socialism as a substitute for capitalism.

In the third place, negative freedom is said to be another important component of classical liberalism. The classical liberalism hold the view that, the all round development of individuals composing the society is the pre-requisite for the development of society; and, therefore, the individuals should be allowed to develop their personalities and capacities to the fullest possible extend; and that, this is possible only when individuals are left free. In other words, state should not impose unnecessary restriction on the activities of individuals.

Classical liberalism believes in the negative form of liberalism which advocated for extreme form of liberalism. According to it, there shall be no interference of the state in the economic life of individuals, whatsoever and under any pretext.

In the fourth place, the classical liberal theorists view the state as a necessary evil. They accepted the need and importance of state, but they maintain that this, in no way, mean that state is good or not an evil. Thomas Paine (1737-1809) argued that the state would be allowed to perform minimum function of protecting the life and property of the people, but should go beyond this function. In other words, most of the classical liberal thinkers assigned to the state the maintenance of law and order; and it should not cross this limit. They maintain that the best state is the state that governs the least.

In the fifth place, in a classical liberalism civil society plays vital role in providing freedom to individuals for pursuing their varied interests; and in such a society, voluntary organisations are formed with the initiative of individuals. Both individuals and organisations pursue their policies and discharge responsibilities, keeping themselves free from the interference of the state. In fact, classical liberalism cannot be imagined without any reference to civil society. The point here is, classical liberalism believes that civil society will be allowed to act without outside interference.

In conclusion, it could be established from our discussion on the various elements of classical liberalism, economic liberalism or economic freedom constitutes the central position of the classical liberalism. Economic liberalism is that kind of liberalism which gives maximum freedom to individuals to pursue their economic objective for their survival, substance and progress.

## **27 Modern Liberalism**

Classical liberalism has been under criticism since the mid-fifties of the nineteenth century in Europe. The Industrial Revolution, which started in the second half of the eighteenth century, created fabulous amount of wealth in the form of both consumer's goods and capital goods and, at the same time, cash circulations increased considerably. Prior to this, there was general expectation that poverty and misery, of which common people were the victims, would go into the background and all sections of people of the society will come to enjoy comfort and higher standard of living. However, contrary to this expectation, common people were deprived of even basic needs and; they remained in poverty as before. Many people started thinking that uncontrolled liberalism and absolute non interference of the state in economic sphere were primarily responsible for the situation.

The classical liberalism, therefore, was strongly criticized by many scholars for too much leaning towards the classical liberalism, which stood for absolute individual freedom. Though many scholars are yet to out rightly reject classical liberalism; many of them felt the need for certain level of state inference in the affair of individuals. Therefore, many scholars started establishing that liberalism would stay, but it would be liberalism in chained and this was thought to be the best solution.

## **28 Recent Trends in Liberalism:**

The recent trends in liberalism, particularly, since the eighties of the twentieth century, can be seen as under:

In the first place, with the fall and disintegration of Soviet Union, and the collapse of Communism in 1991 – 92, certain new ideological trends have emerged. In the first place socialism has been losing ground as people around the world also started losing faith in the principle and practice of communist and socialist ideologies. In the second place, a number of third world countries in Asia and Africa are in favour of free and open market system of economy which is the economic principle and ideology of liberalism. In the third place, people and states around

the world are showing more interest in capitalist system of economy and; for this reason many states started adopting capitalism or liberal democracy as their favoured form of government. People started believing that in capitalist or liberal democracies, the spirit of competition in the economic pursuit of individuals created a sense of initiative to work more, to produce more etc. which in turn leads to the overall development of the people and society. Therefore, owing to this, it has been seen that, most of the liberal democracies in the world are far more prosperous and far more advanced, economically, scientifically and industrially, as compared to communist and socialist countries. Democratic South Korea is far more advanced than Communist North Korea; Communist Myanmar remained backward in almost all areas in spite of its enormous resources. Though China and, even Russia, still embraced communism as their form of government; they, realizing the drawback of true communism, started embracing market oriented economy. As a result, the two communist giants have been catching up with the leading capitalist countries of the world, like USA, UK and other Western powers.

In the second place, Andrew Heywood, in his *Political Ideologies* (P66) stated, “Liberal triumphalism needs to be tempered by the recognition of new challenges that have forced liberals, to rethink and, at the same time, to revive their views”. Indeed, in some respects, liberal ideology is suffering from crisis of confidence which is evident in the growing reluctance of liberals to present their ideas as universal or fundamental principles”

In the third place, the emergence of feminism, as an ideology has posed a formidable challenge to liberalism. Beginning from the seventies of the last Century, the world had been witnessing a meteoric rise of feminist movement. The main argument of the feminist movement is that women are deliberately neglected by various sections of the society and; even liberal movement or liberalism has not paid serious attention to the cause of feminism. This mentality of the advocates of feminism has posed a serious threat to liberalism. Many feminists believe that, liberalism is an unsuitable way of advancing the cause of feminism. This negative view and attitude of feminists about liberalism has inflicted irreparable loss to liberalism.

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In the fourth place, liberalism has been faced with another threat or challenge. After the collapse of communism in Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, the liberal thinkers were expecting the replacement of communism by liberalism. However, though there are avenues for inroad of liberalism in Eastern Europe and Russia, it was not happening as expected. Instead, there emerged two forces in Russia and Eastern Europe. One that emerged is nationalism enveloped by ethnicity and; the other that emerged is liberalism. Russia is still in the grip of ethnic struggle although free market economy as its system of economy and as the basis for social policy has been accepted. In many Agro-Asian countries, people's sympathy for nationalism based on security, certainty and strength is prominent, whereas, sympathy for liberalism is minimal. In these states, authoritarian rule has been established; and that, liberalism could not make inroad into the political system of these countries. This is truer with those states in West Asia, like Libya, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, etc. In these countries, dictatorial regimes with absolute powers rule the states. Civil War in Syria, which started in 2011; and which has been going on till date and; which caused death to half a million people is an attempt of democratic opposition forces to overthrow Dictatorial Regime of Assad Bath Party.

Lastly, there is another trend emerging out in recent time. It is a known fact that liberalism embraces all opposite views and thoughts and strongly advocates for toleration. But the rise and growth of fundamentalism including religious fundamentalism has been threatening liberalism in different part of the world.

Fanaticisms have eclipsed the noble thoughts and outlook of liberalism. Along with fundamentalism, there has arisen terrorism, which threatens the life and security of many peace-loving innocent people. Religious fundamentalism, which is associated with terrorism has put liberalism to litmus test. On the one hand, there is liberalism, strong urge for rapid development, free and peaceful cooperation among all nations of the world and; on the other hand, fundamentalism, particularly religious fundamentalism and terrorism are creating chaos and insurmountable problems. The adherents of religious fundamentalism and terrorism are arguing for their right to self-determination and progress for particular social and religious groups.

It could, therefore, be appropriately concluded with the quotation from Andrew Heywood that, "Far from moving towards a unified liberal world, political development in the twenty first century may be characterised by growing ideological diversity. Political Islam, Confucianism and even authoritarian nationalism may yet prove to be enduring rivals to Western liberalism.

## **Fascism:**

### **29 Meaning and Development of Fascism**

The term fascism has been derived from the word 'facia' which stands for a bundle of rods symbolizing discipline, unity and strength. During the Great War it means all those who bound themselves to live or die for the cause of Italy. Fascism is a form of radical authoritarian nationalism, characterised by dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition and control of industry and commerce, which came to prominence in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe. The word is used for referring to totalitarianism. Mussolini once said, if the nineteenth century was an age of socialism, liberalism and democracy, the twentieth century is a century of authority, collectivism and totalitarian state. The Fascists believed that democracy is obsolete and they regard the complete mobilization of society under a totalitarian one-party state as necessary to prepare a nation for armed conflict and, to respond effectively to economic difficulties. Such a totalitarian state needs a strong leader, a dictator with a martial government composed of the members of the governing fascist party to forge for national unity and maintain a stable and orderly society. Fascism rejects the assertions that violence is automatically negative in nature and view political violence, war and imperialism as means that can achieve national rejuvenation. Fascism has as its economic policy, a mixed economy, with the main goal of achieving autarky through protectionist and interventionist economic policy.

Historians, political theorists and other scholars have given different definitions and interpretation of fascism. However, one of the most common and most accepted definitions of the term, fascism is that

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it is anti-liberalism, anti-communism and anti-conservatism; it is nationalist authoritarian goal of creating a regulated economic structure to transform social relations within a modern self-determined culture and; a political aesthetic of romantic symbolism, mass mobilization, a positive view of violence and promotion of masculinity, youth and charismatic leadership. Many scholars are inclined to believe that fascism, especially once in power, has historically attacked communism, conservatism and parliamentary liberalism, attracting support primarily from the far right. Roger, describing fascism said, fascism is “a genus of political ideology, whose mythic core in its various permutations is a Polygenetic form of populist ultra nationalism”. Again, Griffin, describing fascism, maintains that fascism, as political ideology has three core components, which are: the birth of myth, populist ultra-nationalism and the myth of decadence. As a matter of fact, fascism is said to be a “genuinely revolutionary, trans-class form of anti-liberal, and in the last analysis, anti-conservative nationalism” built on a complex range of theoretical and cultural influences. Robert Paxton describes fascism as “a form of political behaviour marked by obsessive preoccupation with community, decline humiliation, or victimhood and by compensatory cults of unity, energy and purity, in which, a mass based party of committed nationalist militants, working in un-easy but effective collaboration with traditional elites, abandons democratic liberties and pursues with redemptive violence and without ethical or legal restraints goals of internal cleansing and external expansions.

### **30 Position of Fascism in the Political Spectrum**

Majority of scholars on fascism placed fascism on the far-right of political spectrum. They focused on its social conservatism and its authoritarian means of opposing egalitarianism. Roderick Stackelberg places fascism, including Nazism, which he said is a radical variant of fascism, on the spectrum of political right by saying, “The more a person deems absolute equality among all people to be a desirable condition, the further left he or she will be on the ideological spectrum.

The more a person considers inequality to be unavailable or even desirable, the further to the right he or she will be”.

Fascism, with regards to its origin, there seems to be contradictory views, which ultimately centered on a myth of national rebirth from decadence. It was founded during World War 1 by Italian national syndicalists who drew upon both left-wing organizational tactic and right wing political view. The major element of fascist ideology has been deemed to be far right as its stated goals include promotion of the right of supposedly superior people and race to dominate, while purging society of supposedly inferior elements. In the 1920s, the Italian fascists described their ideology as right-wing in the political spectrum. The Doctrine of Fascism stated, “We are free to believe that this is the century of authority, a century tending to the right a fascist century. Mussolini stated that fascism’s position on the political spectrum was not a serious issue for fascists. “Fascism sitting on the right could also have sat on the mountain of the centre.” These words, in any case do not have a fixed and unchanged meaning; they do have a variable, subject to location, time and spirit we don’t give a damn about these empty terminologies and we despise those who are terrorized by these words”

### **31 Fascism as it is in Italy**

The dominant group of Italian society, which includes, the wealthy merchants, businessmen, rich landowners, industrialist, who are on right of political spectrum, feared an uprising by groups on the left, such as share croppers and labour union. The farming class of people lends support to fascism with the hope that fascism with its policy of violent suppression of opponents on the left would protect their position as a dominant class and will ensure the continuance of their interest in Italian society. The accommodation of the political right into the Italian fascist movement in the early 1920s created internal frictions within the movement. The fascist left includes, Michelle Bianchi, Giuseppe Bottai, Angelo Oliviero Olivetti, Sergio Panunzio and EdmondoRossoni, who were committed to advancing national syndicalism as a replacement for parliamentary liberalism in order to modernise the economy and

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advance the interest of workers and common people. The fascist right, on the other hand, included members of paramilitary Squadristi and former members of the Italian Nationalist Association. They wanted to establish fascism as a complete dictatorship, while the farming members of ANI including Alfredo Rocco, sought to establish an authoritarian corporatist state to replace the liberal state in Italy, while retaining the existing elites. Upon accommodating the political right, there emerged a group of monarchist fascists who sought to use fascism to create absolute monarchy under King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy.

King Emmanuel III then forced Mussolini to resign as head of government and placed him under arrest in 1943, which was then rescued by German forces. While continuing to rely on Germany for support, Mussolini and the remaining loyal Fascists found the Italian Social Republic with Mussolini as head of the state. Mussolini then sought to radicalize Italian fascism, declaring that the Fascist state had been overthrown because Italian Fascism had been subverted by the Italian conservatives and the bourgeois. Then, the new Fascist government proposed the creation of Workers' Councils and profit sharing in industry, although the German authorities, who effectively controlled the northern part of Italy at this point of time, ignored these measures and did not seek to enforce them.

## **32 Fascist, as a Pejorative**

With the defeat of the Axis powers in the world War II, the term, 'fascist' has been used as a pejorative, often referring to widely varying movements across the political spectrum. George Orwell in 1944 wrote that, "the word, fascism is almost entirely meaningless..... Almost any English person would accept bully as synonym for fascist". It is to be observed that, fascism had ruled Italy for some 21 years; however in spite of this, fascism did not have a well-worked out theory or ideology behind it. It has to be seen that, fascism in Italy was the practical outcome of Italian condition after World War I. Fascism, a political ideology preaches the gospel of National Action and; vitalism is its key word. Fascism stood opposed to Individualism, Capitalism, International Socialism and Parliamentary Democracy. Fascism is particularly against Communism, because Communism was based on

class war and dictatorship of proletariat. Unlike Communism, Fascism has been largely adhoc and has been patched together from the existing fund of ideas either to justify what had already been done, or to meet situations that would likely happen in near future. It is fundamentally irrationalised offering a myth created by instinct and made true by very act of willing or believing it.

### **33 Fascism, as a Political Ideology:**

Fascism, as a political ideology advocated for vigorous action of state. Mussolini, once said, “Fascism is a religious conception in which, man is seen in imminent relation to a higher law, an objective wills that transcends the particular individual and raise him to conscious membership of a spiritual society.”

Based as it is on the national idea in a country, where parties and the party system of government have been a source of weakness. Fascism is openly and avowedly government by one party and; that there is no opposition party, which could criticise its policies and programme. No individual or group of individuals is allowed to utter any word against the policy of the party and; that anyone oppose to the fascist party is considered as the enemy of the country. Even trade unions were dissolved in favour of Fascist labour organisation. However, unlike Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy allowed certain degree of freedom to the workers’ syndicates and to the peasants’ cooperatives so long as they are not opposed to the Fascist party.

It would be wrong to conceive that there was nothing, but terrorism in Italy. For over 20 years the Fascist ruled Italy successfully under the leadership of Mussolini. When Mussolini came to power in Italy, the country was considered a weak and inferior nation by western democracies. However, Mussolini, after a few years of his rule could make Italy as the main Mediterranean power, the power to reckon in the region. Neither the socialist nor the communists were able to give Italy, the leadership which she acquired during the early period, after the end of the war. The failure of socialism and communism makes rooms for the Fascist party to claim that the party was truly the party that represents the entire people of Italy.

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It should be observed and established that, the Fascist were nationalists first and last, but their nationalism was a narrow and chauvinistic kind, openly advocating aggressive warfare and imperialistic expansion. Going in line with Machiavelli's philosophy, the Fascist believed that any action of the state, whether moral or immoral, cruel or kind is justified so long as the purpose of the action is for the good and furtherance of the interest of Italy. The concept that the means justified the end is rejected by the Fascist. According to them, it is rather the end that justified the means. As long as the end is sound and for the good of the state, all means are justified. Again, Fascism is said to be opposed to internationalism. International peace, which is advocated by internationalists, had been denounced by Fascists as the dream of cowards. On the other hand, Mussolini said, imperialism is the eternal and immutable law of life. Speaking about Italy, Mussolini said, Italian expansion is a matter of life and death, and Italy must expand or perish. He further said, "War alone brings up to the highest tension of all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it".

In Italy, under Fascist rulership, war was used to divert the attention of the people from the internal problems and difficulties of the government. The Fascists, deliberately chosen an internal policy, whose external consequence was war. The Fascists believed that international peace would neither be possible nor desirable. Hallowell, dealing on Fascism, maintains that "fascism repudiates the very concept of individual liberty and, of equality. Individuals, according to Fascism, exist for that sake of the state. Fascism acts instinctively and not rationally and; considers all values as relative. Truth, according to fascists is, what the dictator declares as truth; and right is what he calls, right. Ebenstein maintains that, fascism is a post-democratic political system which cannot be understood except as a reaction to democracy. Fascism is also said to be identified with racism and imperialism. It believes in the idea of the elite nation. It does not believe in the equality of men, but rather it believes in the inequality of men. Fascism advocates violence and falsehood, and rejects the accepted standards of moral conduct. Regarding the end of the state, the fascists believe that state is an end in itself and the individuals as the means to that end. It

stands for authoritarianism, and advocates totalitarian uniformity in all spheres of social activity.

Fascism is said to be an ideology which combines in it elements corporatism, nationalism, militarism, anti-liberalism and anti-communism. Fascism is also described as a system in which: "The state not only is the authority which governs and moulds individual's will with law and values of spiritual life, but it is also power which makes its will prevail abroad. For the Fascist, everything is within the state and, neither the individuals nor groups are outside the state. For Fascism, the state is an absolute before which, individuals or groups are only relative. Liberalism denied the state in the name of individual; Fascism reasserts the right of the state as expressing the real essence of the individual. Fascism is absolutely opposed to liberalism, both in the political and economic spheres. The Fascist state lays claim to rule in the economic field no less than in other; it makes its action felt throughout the length and breadth of the country by means of its corporate, social, and educational institutions and, all the political, economic and spiritual forces of the nation, organised in their respective associations, circulate within the state.

## **34 Conclusion**

Fascism, in a nutshell, could be described as a form of government in which absolute and unlimited power is given to the state. It is also said to be a totalitarian form of government, which regards any act of the state as sound and good so long as the aim is for the furtherance of the interest of the state. The state is authorised to adopt any means or measure, whether moral or immoral for the achievement of the goal of the state. The Fascists maintained that state is supreme and its authority is absolute; and that it is infailable.

## **Unit- V**

# **Modern Political Theory'**

### **1. Theory of Behaviouralism**

Behaviouralism, as a modern political theory, has been defined as “a movement in political science which insists on analysing only observable behaviour of political actors”. This definition of behaviouralism implies that, behaviouralism, as a method of investigation analyses the observable behaviour of political actors; and it is a movement in political analysis based on the observable behaviour of those people who are directly engaged in political activities of a given society or state. Behaviouralism, therefore, is engaged in the in-depth study and analysis by scrutinising the political behaviour of individuals in the political arena.

There is another definition of behaviouralism which slightly differed from the above definition in terms of view point, but not in terms of concept as such. According to this view of behaviouralism social theory could be, and should only be constructed on the basis of what could be observed or seen in the behavioural pattern of political actors, because such behaviour of political actors provides measureable and quantifiable data for research activity.

It should, however, be noted that, these two views have a common plank or ground; and; therefore, a social and political theory could be formed with the help and support of these measureable datas provided and supplied by the behaviour of individuals. The exponents of behaviouralism held that, a plausible political or social theory could not be formed unless one takes into consideration the behavioural pattern of individual political actor. The belief that for the formation of an acceptable scientific theory of social science, including political science, it is important that the political behaviour of individuals has to

be studied and analysed, and not the unit and organisations which deal with political questions and problems. This is necessitated by the fact that the political behaviour of political actors in any given political society constitutes the central aspect of the body politics.

Behavioural approach to the study of political phenomena is an attempt to improve our understanding of politics by seeking to explain the empirical aspects of political life by means of methods, theories and criteria's of proof that are acceptable according to the canons, conventions and assumptions of modern empirical science. In his *Essay on behaviouralism*, 1951, David Truman defines behaviouralism in the following words; generally the term political behaviour comprehends those actions and interactions of men and groups which are involved in the process of governing. He further said that, it is not a special field of social science; it is not even a field of political science. It refers to all phenomena of government in terms of observed and what could be the observed behaviour of men.

### **(a) Origin and Development of Behaviouralism**

It has been maintained that, with the end of First World War, a number of political scientists, mainly from USA, started analysing political phenomena empirically; and for that purpose, they started adopting scientific methods which ultimately led to the emergence of what is called, behaviouralism. Therefore, behaviouralism, as a political theory, essentially is of American origin. Frank Kent, a journalist from USA had for the first time, provided the methodological approach to the study of politics. He wrote a long titled book, called; 'Political Behaviour, The Heretofore the Unwritten laws, Customs, and Principles of Politics as Practical in United States', in which he dealt with behaviouralism in politics. The book was published in 1928; following which, Herbert Tungsten published another book on behaviouralism entitled; 'Political Behaviour, Studied in Election statistics'. The book offered more direct and deals with advanced analysis of political behaviour.

Charles Merriam, another worth-mentioning exponent of behaviouralism, during the thirties, provided the bold step for

comprehensive investigation of political science in the perspective of empirical analysis. Apart from Charles Merriam, there are also a large number of political scientists who are associated with the research on political science. Harold Lasswell, Vokey, Gabriel Almond, etc were under the direct influence of Charles Merriam, thereby, making the role played by Merriam more significant in the process of the growth of behaviouralism. During the nineteenth century, many German political scientists and socialists migrated to USA due to the autocratic rule and administration of the government; and these scholars from Germany carried with them the intellectual wealth, and renewed the search in a free and liberal atmosphere of the American academic circles. All of them put emphasis on the relevance of sociological, psychological, empirical and scientific methods for the study of political science. These German migrant scholars largely popularise the adoption of empirical methods to the study of political science. Therefore, the development of behaviouralism, as a political theory, has largely been influenced by these German born scholars' in USA.

Above all, the impact of Second World War is said to be the most important factor for the growth and development of behaviouralism. Social Science Research Council was set up in USA in which researchers from both USA and Europe were enrolled to do extensive research on political studies. Researchers, both from USA and Europe started to analyse the political behaviour of individuals; and in order to arrive at acceptable conclusions, they applied new and mathematical techniques. With the end of the Second World War, a committee called, 'Political Behaviour', was formed whose main purpose was, to study the political behaviour of voters; how and why the individual voters casted their votes for or against a particular candidate or party. The researchers, while conducting their research works, admitted that there were defects and inconsistencies in the behaviour of voters, but in spite of this their behaviour could, somehow, provided important and useful guidelines for the researchers.

David Easton, Gabriel Almond, Harold Lasswell and many others, in the fifties and sixties of the last century, devised a new and improved scheme for the analysis of political phenomena. These schemes were based on theoretical analysis, innovations and empiricism. All these, together radically transformed the very fabric of

political theory in particular, and political science in general. Their approach divided the subjects into sub-fields. The attention was diverted from the traditional approach, such as, to view politics in the light of institutions and organisations to in-depth analysis supported by new methods. As a result of the rapid growth of research and interest, behaviouralism assumed new dimensions. This group of scholars actively engaged in the research work referred to themselves as theoretical behaviouralists, while some others preferred to be called positive behaviouralists.

Again, during the seventies of the last century, scholars from Europe took keen interest in the concept of behaviouralism. They persuasively asserted that social science ought to be analysed in the light of what is or what it is, rather than what it ought to be. This approach was based on data and facts derived from the field study. Behaviouralism, as a method of investigation based on data and fact constitutes a very important component of political theory.

However, by the seventies, behaviouralism was faced with new challenges and situations which the researchers could not imagine. Today many scholars in Europe and America argue that the data and facts collected from the political behaviour of voters cannot be fully relied upon. There are, of course certain elements of truth in the argument, but it should also be accepted that political science cannot be analysed and investigated without the support of facts and data. It could be admitted that there may certainly be imperfection or inconsistency in any data or facts collected, but such shortcomings could also be seen in any event or behaviour anywhere. It is, therefore, the duty of behaviouralists to select appropriate or relevant data, and then start to analyse them. Notwithstanding the imperfections, it is believed that behaviouralism highlight a new tendency to the study of political science in the proper perspective.

### **(b) Main Features of Behaviouralism:**

Behaviouralism is said to be having certain features which can be seen as under:

1. To begin with, Robert Dahl, in his 'Methodologies in Political Thought' says, "Historically speaking, the behavioural approach was a

protest movement within political science”. The question that arises from this statement is; why it is a protest movement and a protest against what? It has already been discussed that the dissatisfaction against the traditional political science was the root cause for the emergence of behaviouralism; and that it was strongly and also legitimately felt that conventional way of analysing political science was quite inadequate to meet the requirement of the new age. It is to be maintained that a fruitful analysis of political phenomena shall be based on advanced scientific methods, else it would not be possible for the discipline to draw the attention of policy makers and students. Mariculous innovations were taking place and social scientists, specially, sociologists were applying them. Economists were also doing the same. This advancement in the application of the technique draws the attention of many people, and the importance of these subjects increased. The political scientists also felt the need to have the new and advanced technique; and, therefore, expressed their dissatisfaction against the traditional approach, and consequently resorted empiricism.

2. The purpose of behaviouralism is to arrive at what is or what it is, rather than what it ought to be; that is, in order to find out what is, it is necessary to be pragmatic and empirical and not to be normative. From the thorough analysis of behaviouralism, we come to know that, behaviouralists have done hard labour in order to collect datas and facts; and then analyse the political behaviour of individuals in the light of those facts and datas. They applied advanced scientific methods and sophisticated techniques to find out the reality. It could, therefore, be said that behaviouralism is predominantly scientific; and it is a new method to the study of political science which replaced the out dated traditional approach.

3. In the third place, it has been established that, students of political science, are faced with confusion in the study of political science, particularly, on behaviouralism. However, it has to be observed that, there exists a clear distinction in behaviouralism in that behaviouralism implies a” school of psychology that takes the observative observation of behaviour as measured by responses to stimuli”, which constitutes the basis of the study of behaviouralism. Moreover, behaviouralism also constitutes a component of the subject of psychology. On the otherhand, behaviouralism is a sub-component of political science as it

relates to the studies of political behaviour of individuals. The political behaviour of individuals under investigation should be observable whereas stimuli or response to it may not necessarily be observable.

4. In the fourth place, behaviouralism as a political theory accepts the need and importance of history. It is maintained that any new approach to the study of current politics must be based on the study and understanding of the past, which is supplied by history. Any attempt to develop and adopt a new technique of political studies, unless it is backed by history is bound to be inaccurate, ineffective and could not be depended upon. Though the political behaviouralists are not satisfied with traditional approach, they should accept the importance of the past historical events, past literature of political science at the same time. As a matter of facts, the traditional method was analytical; and, at the same time, full of facts and datas; and that, these could be useful inputs for behaviouralists while undertaking political analysis of the present days.

5. In the fifth place, it has been observed that behaviouralism has brought other disciplines like economics, sociology, history, psychology and anthropology closer and more intimate with political science. In the traditional approach there was no place for scientific methods in political science, as a result of which, giving the name political science had become almost irrelevant. The close relationship between political science and other social sciences has been referred to by behaviouralists as behavioural revolution.

6. In the sixth place, it is argued that it is behaviouralism that which makes the subject a comprehensive subject. The behavioural researchers, after having collected datas and facts, moved forward; and examined, analyse and interpret them to make the right conclusion. It has been claimed by behaviouralists that, the behavioural approach provides a clear and scientific guideline to the study of politics and political problems. The behavioural approach to the study of political science has largely broadens the relation of the subject with other branches of social sciences.

7. Again, in the seventh place, it is observed that behaviouralism is not merely based on speculation, but it is said to be based on facts and datas collected from the society under investigations. In any case, the

conclusions of behaviouralists are always based on datas and facts; and not on speculation of any kind.

8. Lastly, in the eighth place, the three 'ism's, behaviouralism, positivism and empiricism are intimately related with one another. As a matter of fact, behaviouralism is handicapped without applying positivism and empiricism. Empiricism means, verification of a statement and making of conclusion after making a verification of that statement based on facts and datas. Behaviouralism, as mentioned above, is also closely related with positivism, the word, coined by Comte. By positivism, Comte means, the rejection of value based judgement in social science. In other word, both empiricism and positivism tell us that what would be the conclusion or statement that will depend on what facts and data exactly say. Behaviouralism, as maintained by behavioural researchers, has nothing to do with philosophical analysis of political theory. Experience is another aspect of empiricism. What men learn from the past activity is called, experience; and this experience guides men in their future course of action. It is, therefore, wise to conclude that, the two pillars of behaviouralism, which guide and provide important inputs to undertake political analysis are, Empiricism and Positivism.

### **(c) Assumptions or Credo of Behaviouralism:**

Behaviouralism, as a protest movement against the traditional approach, has been revolutionised in the 1940s and 1950s as an intellectual foundation stone referred to as Credo of Behaviouralism: David Easton, in his famous book, 'A Framework of Political Analysis (1965) stated that the assumptions and objectives of behaviouralism lay the intellectual foundation stones for political analysis. He, in his book, discussed this credo which has been described as assumptions of behaviouralism.

There are, altogether seven assumptions which are discussed in David Easton's book which are as under:-

## **1 Regularities**

Easton maintains that there are certain observable uniformities in the behaviour of individuals. Individuals, he said, behave differently under different circumstances; uniformities can be discovered in their political behaviour. People uniformly react to circumstances. The consequences, therefore, are that certain general conclusions can be framed on the basis of uniform observable behaviour.

## **2. Verification**

The second assumption is that generalization can be verified in reference to the behaviour. Political behaviouralists collect data and facts about individual's political behaviour; and then test the conclusion drawn by them or other behaviouralists.

## **3. Techniques**

Easton maintains that behaviouralists collect data and facts, interpret the data collected carefully in a methodological and scientific way; that is, by adopting improved techniques, which they borrowed from other sciences. While doing so, the behaviouralists took utmost care so that any possible mistake could be avoided. Dependence on pure science has added to the acceptability and prestige of their conclusion.

The other worth-mentioning assumption of behaviouralists is that the methods adopted by behaviouralists, has automatically integrated political science with other branches of social science. It is claimed by behaviouralists that, political science cannot be separated from economics, sociology, anthropology and so on. This happens to be because of the fact that man is a social being, and his behaviour is largely under the influence of events and incidents which take place in other segments of the society. It is to be noted that the political behaviour of voters is the result of social, economic, cultural environments. The behaviouralists believe that if one wants to study the political phenomena or the political behaviour of individuals, one must have clear and thorough knowledge of all aspects of the society. Here

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comes the importance of integration of all social sciences. Therefore, one of the most important assumptions of behaviouralism is integration, that is, integration of all social sciences, particularly because man is essentially a social being.

#### **4. Quantification**

Datas and facts collected are processed in the most scientific way; and that conclusions are made based on the outcome of the analysis made on those datas and facts.

#### **5. Values**

Analysis of political behaviour of individuals is made, and proceed in the most cautious manner. Efforts are being made by the behaviouralists so that empirical judgement and values are not mixed-up to confuse students and the people. Earlier, political behaviour was associated with normative judgement, that is to say, everything was judged in the perspective of values and norms. However, Easton maintains that these approaches are quite distinct and the distinction must be maintained, else political analysis of the behaviour of individuals will not be able to face the proper test.

#### **6. Systematization**

Political behaviouralists, in order to arrive at the ultimate truth or to build up general principle, have to proceed in the most systematic manner. This, will in the long run, supply material for building structure of theory. Researchers, while conducting research works shall have to see that their works must be theory oriented and theory directed. Therefore, systematization of the process of research analysis is of paramount importance for the success of research related works.

## 7. Pure Science

The behaviouralists claim that their behavioural approach to the study of politics and political phenomena is based on the principles of pure science. They also claim that their methods and techniques of investigation are overall scientific.

### (c) Critical Evaluation of Behaviouralism

Christian Bay, one of the most vocal critics of behaviouralism, in his Essay, 'A Critical Evaluation of Behavioural Literature' has given the following criticisms to behavioural approach to the study of political science as under:

In the first place, he maintains that behaviouralism is a Pseudo-politics. To quote him, "I would define as Political all activities aimed at improving or protecting conditions for satisfaction of human needs, and demands in a given society or community. According to some universal scheme of priorities, implicit or explicit, Pseudo political refers to activity that resembles political activity but is exclusively concerned with promoting private interest....Pseudo politics is counterfeit of politics" He maintains that behaviouralism is not politics in the real sense of the term, 'politics'. It is pseudo politics because it aims at the general welfare of the society. Behaviouralism is the study of politics based on the behaviour of individual, which is concerned with his personal interest, and not the interest of the society and people as a whole. In other words, personal behaviour or attitude constitutes the general assumption of behaviouralism.

In the second place, the behavioural approach towards democratic political institution is not clear, and not up to satisfaction. The behaviouralists talk of democracy, but the very common sense idea about democracy reveals that the idea of democracy is not separated from the value judgement and ethical explanation. The critics of behaviouralism observed, "It is paradoxical that some of the leading behavioural writers on democracy continue to write as if they want to have it both ways: to be vigorously value neutral and at the sametime, be impeccable champions of conventional pluralist democracy" In behaviouralism, the basic concept of democracy like, what democracy

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is, what for it is and why should democracy be the form of government, are not available.

In the third place, Leo Strauss, another critic of behavioural approach to the study of political science, maintains that the behaviouralists who appeared to be the supporters of liberal democracy give maximum support to the opinion of individuals as against public opinion; and that they are said to be conservative as they are against the radical change in their political system. The change in the political system would mean radical revision or abolition of the existing capitalist structure of society. “ Politics or at any rate, American politics, is and must always remain primarily a system of rules for peaceful battle between competing private interests and not an arena for struggle towards a more human and more rationally organised society”

In the fourth place, the criticism put forward by Leo Strauss, happens to be sound and correct. The behaviouralists, after the worldWar II strenuously fought to establish that the American political system, which is a capitalist system, is correct, and quite capable of satisfying the needs and aspirations of people. It is, therefore, felt that there is no need for altering or changing the American system of capitalism. The behaviouralists are, therefore, strongly supporting the continuance of the system, and advocated strongly for the same.

In the fifth place, it is maintained that the behaviouralists deliberation overlook a very important aspect of capitalist society. The voting behaviour of individual does not grow and exit in a vacuum, it is circumscribed by social, political and economic phenomena. In a capitalist society, there are numerous social and economic classes; and of which two formed the main classes. These two classes are; the bourgeois and proletariat. These two main classes are at logger head because of economic reason. Voting behaviour of individual is believed to be largely determined by his position, that is, economic condition. The voting behaviour of a worker is necessarily different from the voting behaviour of the capitalist. For example, the workers will not cast his vote in support of the capitalists, who he believes to be responsible for his exploitation. That is natural to man. Therefore, if this happens to be the case, the political researcher would find it difficult to form any opinion about political behaviour of individual voters.

In the sixth place, the behaviouralists have taken for granted that American democracy performs quite satisfactorily; and therefore, they have failed to articulate the criteria on which the judgement is based. They have terribly failed to see that there are numerous flaws in American system of democracy. There are many people who are under-privileged, particularly the Negroes. In a word, excessive love for behaviouralism and application of empirical methods to make it a pure science have blinded their vision.

In the seventh place, it is maintained that the political scientists including behaviouralists have to start with the existing set up or structure. The purpose of political analysis is to suggest a new model or structure which will serve the need of the society; and if a model or recommendation fails to meet the requirement of the society it will only prove its futility and irrelevant. "A major conceptual and theoretical task is to develop a satisfactory theory of human needs, and of the relationships between needs and wants" In order to achieve this end the political scientists must make recommendations which are related with political development.

In the eight places, Christian Bay maintains that behaviouralism fails to touch the basic objective of political science. According to him, the human goal of politics should be conceived in terms of maximising individual freedom; and that laws and constitutional provision are to be made with the aim to fulfil this end. He, therefore, said that normative research is the only way out to achieve this objective of politics; and that empirical research based on facts and data is, he said, incapable of meeting this demand of politics. In such empirical research, there is no scope for making distinction between what is promised and what has been achieved. Bay want to assert that a revival of normative approach to the study of political science is the only viable solution. Bay was, therefore, seeking a revival of normative approach to the study of politics. He was for the expansion and a more systematic articulation of the psychological and normative perspective of political behavioural research.

In the ninth place, Wasby, in his, 'Discipline and Dimension' maintains that behaviouralism practically has nothing new. Most of the arguments put up by behaviouralists are, in fact, already stated in the twenties and thirties of the preceding century. The adoption of empirical

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methods though might be useful, but they are not actually new methods introduced recently by behaviouralists. They are being adopted by even traditionalists in some cases.

In the tenth place, the traditionalists complain the behaviouralists on the ground that focussing on political behaviour of individual is not sufficient to study and analyse the political situation of any given society. The critics of behaviouralism, therefore, said that factors responsible for or that influence the behaviour must also be recognised, and if necessary, scrutinised. Things like, what the individual say, how they behave, in what way they formed their opinions, are complex; and that there is no direct way of dealing with them. Also, man, being a social animal live in group, and, therefore, he has no independent opinion on many occasions. One man's views on an object are influenced by others' view and vice-versa. Therefore, an empirical analysis of the behaviour of individual is not sufficient for arriving at conclusion.

In the eleventh place, the behaviouralists could be complained for having biased attitude towards the study of behaviour, and against the normative methods of political analysis. The political behaviouralists have given maximum and undue importance to the political behaviour of voters, and giving less importance to the organisation and institution, which are, infact equally important. Therefore, the behaviouralists' so as to have a balanced account of a political concept should give equal importance to organisational and institutional perspective of politics.

In the twelveth place, the behaviouralists assumption that individual is rational being, has certain short-comings. It is maintained for the sake of criticism, that all individuals are not equally rational. For having a perfect rationality, certain level of educational attainment, consciences etc are important. However, all individuals do not have the same qualities in toto; and, therefor, one cannot expect the same kind of rationality from all individuals.

In the thirteenth place, critics also pointed out that behaviouralism has been developed and propounded to meet the increasing crises of capitalism. The supporters of behavioural school of thought diluted the crises in capitalism with ideological pronouncements; and this dilution is the cause of confusion.

In the fourteenth place, unlike socialism, communism and liberalism, the behaviouralism does not have an openly advocated political ideology. Though it is believed to be having a leaning towards capitalist systems, it does not openly pronounce that it stands for capitalism.

Lastly, but not the least, however, the critic of behaviouralism, Wasby mentioned another point of criticism. He said, inordinate emphasis on the scientific methods has faced another criticism. The behaviouralists boastfully declared that their application of improved and sophisticated techniques has largely enhanced the importance of the concept. But the accuracy of the doctrine has never been properly judged. In the words of Wasby, "Because of the heavy emphasis by behaviouralists on methods, the criticism that they are more interested in technique rather than the results they obtain does strike home with a certain accuracy." It should be noted that collection of data is not everything about the concept. Correct and accurate facts and data have to be collected, they are to be analysed properly; and for this purpose, good techniques are to be applied; the person who applied them must be efficiently well qualified. All these conditions must be fulfilled for construction of an over-arching theory. Critics are, therefore, sceptical about the realization of all these conditions. The behaviour of individual voter may change from time to time, according the changing situation; and to meet this changing situation, new technique may be required. But the supporters of behavioural theory were silent on the matter.

## **4. Post-Behaviouralism**

### **(a) Meaning of post-Behaviourism :**

With the failure of behaviouralism to meet the changing political scenario after the end of Second World War, there emerged a new situation in the field of political science which demands, ideology resulting in the emergence of a new approach to the study of political science, which is called Post-Behaviouralism. David Easton observed that if behaviouralism could be regarded as the product of dissatisfaction with the traditional research, post-behaviouralism was itself a sign of mounting discontent with important aspects of the behavioural revolution. The purpose of post behavioural revolution was

to improve the acceptability and reliability of political understanding and explanation about the prevailing situation. The post-behaviouralism is an endeavour to seek new methods and techniques which would be able to explain the new problems and new situations; and then, make recommendation to that effect. The transition from behaviouralism to post-behaviouralism was not merely an eyewash or a showcase. Both the very subject of post-behaviouralism and the method of analysis undergone remarkable changes. Easton maintains, "many post-behaviouralists are turning from the problematic of methods to unsettling questions about the subject matter of research and from the quest for explanation to doubts about the uses of political knowledge. Priorities for the research are being reassessed without having objectives necessarily being abandoned" Easton further maintained that political science is a subject which is enriched by continuous research; and behaviouralism is a subject in that continuous process. Again, post-behaviouralism is a state of that continuity; and it is linked with the earlier state. Easton believes that both behaviour and post behavioural revolutions are closely connected with one another. Post-behaviouralism denotes only a change in the emphasis.

### **(b) Factors contributing to the emergence of post-behaviouralism**

There are, as a matter of fact several factors which are collectively responsible for the emergence of post-behaviouralism for the study of political phenomena. One of such factors is identified as change in the interest of the behaviouralists themselves. It is observed by Easton that like the behaviouralists the post-behaviouralists also take keen interest in the voting behaviour of individual voters for the formation of political opinion, activities, legislature and judiciary etc. But, the extent of the interest had been on the rise since 1960s till 1970s. During this period there emerged in USA new problems and issues; and that the external issues and problems (outside USA) created new impact upon political and economic life of USA. The behaviouralist could not avoid these problems and issues, which they responded academically, which in-turn resulted in the emergence of a new doctrine, called post-behaviouralism. The issues confronting USA

during that period of time were the emergence of cold war and its collapse, problems created by USA intervention in Vietnam War, the break-up of Soviet Union and the emergence of independent states in the elsewhere Soviet Union and, the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. Also, problems created by the revolt of black American against the domineering attitude of the white Americans, the emergence of Russia and USA as super powers. All these developments in USA, Europe and Asia collectively and individually contributed to the emergence of Post-behaviouralism.

Both the intellectual and academic interests of political scientists in USA and Europe were dominated by the new conditions; and many of them were determined to face the challenge of the new situation. The American Political Science Association took the leading part in spreading the doctrine of behaviouralism. The American Political Science Association took interest in accommodating the new method, which would be capable of meeting the new demand by the new political situation. A caucus was formed which clearly announced that the purpose of political science would be, to take steps for the improvement of the living condition of common people, and help the under-privileged and not to propagate doctrine or to indoctrinate general public. The behaviouralist failed to achieve this objective; and neo-behaviouralist turned their attention to the above noted objective. It is in this back ground that, a new approach, called post-behaviouralism came to surface in the study of political science.

During the early part of the twentieth century, a good number of people from the intellectual community of America started having interest in Marxism and Socialism, which created a kind of panic among many American; and they wanted to develop a new political ideology to combat Marxian political ideology, which at that time gained the support of many workers in Europe and Russia. However socialism and communism has slowly been losing its popularity, mainly because of Lenin's assertion of communism, as single party dictatorship. Owing to this, communism failed to garner popular support in Western European countries. In the meantime, behaviouralism along with other liberal political doctrines were vigorously advocated and that favourable atmosphere was created for the blossoming of behaviouralism, which later on, come to be known as post-behaviouralism. In the words of

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Easton; “with the dissolution of the USSR and the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe, the viability of Marxism as a philosophy and analytic approach has come into more serious question than ever before.

The Marxists belief that state will wither away because of its inherent internal contradiction, has become a wishful thinking or a dream that would never come true. In Russia, under Lenin’s dictatorial regime, and in some other socialist states, states become so powerful that individuals and various organisations are forced to be prepared to sacrifice themselves at the alter of the state. The behaviouralism strongly advocated the need for changing the socialist or communist system. They maintained that there must exist a state but not in the Marxian sense of state. State is a neccissity, but the individuals must precede the state. The post-behaviouralists were not so content with the term, ‘state’ and several new terms were circulated, out of which political system was suggested by some behaviouralists. Interest articulation, interest aggregation, elitism,etc are suggested by some others. The outcome of these was the creation and adoption of post behaviouralism which slightly differs from behaviouralism.

In the 1970s, behaviouralists in USA started their analysis of voter’s behaviour, and people’s interest on the issues about which decisions have been taken. But, some political scientists started analysing democracy in a new way. However, there are too many issues in which no decision could be taken. Even the executive organ of the government has not taken matter seriously. At this juncture a good and future oriented democracy badly needs the comprehension of all of them into its fold. There are too many problems and issues which remained outside the purview of authority. This approach changed the whole panaroma of democracy, society and outlook of political scientists. Docks were cleared for the arrival of a new political doctrine, and then comes what is called Post-Behaviouralism.

Counter-cultural movement can be said to be another cause of the advent of post-behaviouralism, Counter-cultural movement which changed the mood of many people, found an important berth in political science. According to David Easton, ”In one sense, the counter-cultural movement achieved many of its goals. It brought about fundamental re-orientations in world-wide perceptions of important issues. Environmental pollution, poverty, sexual quality, feminist perspectives,

freedom in forms of personal dress and appearance, the new so called style or non-material issues came to the political fore-ground” The issues were popular and very catchy. Many top ranking political scientists could not overlook the importance of all these issues. They wanted to include them in their analysis and in this way post-behaviouralism earned the states of reality. In summary form, the post-behaviouralism can reasonably be called a consequence of the various burning issues that tormented the mind and actions of people.

The concept like values, justice, equality, freedom etc earned new meaningful and importance in the seventies. Adherence to the old dogmas could not serve any meaningful purpose. Serious and devout political philosopher who devoted their time and energy, and intellect to this time-old concepts and their fructification. The political thinkers, therefore, cannot ignore their responsibility in this aspect. Value and value judgement, justice, idealism, etc may not constitute the core of behaviouralism, but their disregard may create problems for acceptability for a well defined theory. The post-behaviouralist realised from experience that new political concepts or revision of any political ideology must embrace values, ideas and justice. In this way, the post-behaviouralism, argued a new age and tradition. The point here is, for a future oriented society, post-behaviouralism is, perhaps, most suitable and appropriate. Therefore, post-behaviouralism can be rightly called a marriage between the basic concepts of behaviouralism based on empiricism, and idealism, value and justice. It is a mixed concept of traditionalism and behaviouralism.

### **(c) Nature of post-behaviouralism**

David Easton, the main advocate of post-behaviouralism has given three main features of post-behaviouralism, of which the dissatisfaction of political thinker over the behavioural theory based on facts and data constitutes the most important feature. While behaviouralism is the result of discontentment of political scientists on traditionalism, post-behaviouralism is the consequential effect of these political thinkers excessive emphasis on facts and data in the process of investigation of political problems. The post-behaviouralists have given tremendous efforts to

convert political science into a rigorous scientific stream of study. In order to achieve this objective, the study and investigation of the subject have to be based on solid foundation. This is necessary because the subject has to cope with the ever emerging issues which are facing the American society. Therefore, while the behaviouralists heavily emphasised the importance of the methods and techniques, and largely neglected many issues which are constantly faced by the American society.

In the second place, the post-behaviouralism is said to be future-oriented; and the main thrust is to provide a new direction for political science. It sought to provide information and guide to researchers in political science; what they have to do, why and how they are to be done etc. The post-behaviouralists do not give importance to the historical background, but they rather give more importance to the future or in short they are futuristic. To quote Easton, "Post-behaviouralism seeks to propel political science in a new direction..... This new development is then, a genuine revolution, not a reaction, a becoming, not a preservation, a reform and not a counter-reformation". It is, therefore, to be ascertained that post-behaviouralism never make any attempted to go backward, to look backward, to retrospect, but it rather strive forward, more forward, and go ahead to the future.

In the third place, it is to be established that post-behaviouralism is both a movement and an intellectual tendency. It seeks to lead political science to a new direction. This objective of post-behaviouralism could be achieved only if the post-behaviouralism is transformed into a movement. Here, movement is not related to any kind of agitation, but it refers to continuous efforts, and that, continuous efforts are to be made for the realization of the goals. It is also said to be an intellectual tendency. Research methods, adopted by post-behaviouralists include rigorous scientific and statistical methods. The appeal of post-behaviouralists is not to those persons who are not interested in the subject or those who are the common people. Its appeal, on the other hand, is to young graduated political scientists or old members of the profession. Easton, referring to what post-behaviouralism actually is, said, post-behaviouralism is a genuine revolution and not a

reaction. It respectfully recollects the past, the contribution of the political scientists.

#### **(d) Credo of Relevance**

David Easton, being found himself compelled by circumstances and situation, shifted his attention from behaviouralism to post-behaviouralism. He believes that the new concept, he calls, "post-behaviouralism" has sufficient degree of relevance, and he referred to it as Credo of Relevance. It would, therefore, be appropriate to see the Credo of Relevance.

1. Easton maintains that substance must be given more importance than technique. Sophisticated techniques which are immensely useful should, in no case, over shadow the substance or purpose of political science. In other words, substance should always precede techniques. Easton, speaking about the importance of his credo of relevant, writes, "For the aphorism (aphorism) of science, it is better to be wrong than vague, post-behaviouralism would substitute a new dictum that it is better to be vague than non-relevantly precise".
2. The Credo of Relevance revealed that, there was a misconception of earlier behaviouralists that maintenance of status-quo of the then existing structure of society, that is, capitalist structure, was wronged. However, the post-behaviouralist have no intention to proceed empirically the social change. The purpose of post-behaviouralism is to accelerate the social change by using a more sophisticated scientific method. To quote David Easton, "To confine oneself exclusively to the description and analysis of facts in their broadest context. As a result empirical political science must lend its support to the maintenance of the very factual conditions it explores. It unwittingly purveys an ideology of social conservatism tempered by modest incremental change"
3. The behaviouralists including Easton, admitted that a blunder has been committed for not recognising the brute reality of society. Owing to this, the conclusion reached after completion of the research was based on unreality; and was characterised by

unreal conclusion. The post-behavioural thinkers did make attempts to rectify their blunder by giving consideration to the real situation of the society, which Easton calls, Bruited Reality. The efforts for recognising the real situation while doing the research work, had been made by post-behaviouralists, which help political science in time of crisis situation

4. It is maintained that the behaviouralists paid too much emphasis on scientific methods and value free analysis which resulted in a biased view of political science. But for a propose balanced analysis it is essential that both empirical and scientific research as well as value added analysis shall be added or combined together. The behaviouralists made a grave injustice to political science by keeping away value judgement from its.
5. Credo of Relevance, according to Easton is protection of the value of human civilization; and that this highly valued function is given to intellectuals. However, as and when there is a failure on the part of intellectuals to perform this function as they should, it would amount to dereliction of duty engaged in the research of the intellectuals fail to protect or fail to find out ways for the protection of this value, they would be blamed for negligence of duty. Therefore, according to David Easton, the intellectuals should give their best efforts to find out ways and means through which they would be able to provide and protect those values which are needed for the survival of human civilization. They are also burdened with providing the basic needs of the people. Since the intellectuals are given wide-ranging function, they must also be given sufficient freedom of inquiry and that they shall be employed for social change and development.
6. Credo of Relevance, according to Easton is, the responsibility given to intellectuals which is the obligation to understand problems confronting the society. The next task of the intellectuals would then be, to find out ways and means for solving those problems. Thirdly, they should be involved in those actions related to the changing of society according to the changing situations. Easton observes, "To know is to bear the responsibility for, acting, and to act is to engage in reshaping

society”. Easton looks at intellectuals from separate stand point. Intellectuals are scientists and the task of scientists to recommend the scientific ways of social change. Therefore, the intellectuals must study the social issues and problems in the proper perspective with a scientific outlook. The slogan of post-behaviouralists is action science, that is, an action must be based on science.

7. Credo of Relevance is social upliftment. If the implementation of the knowledge they acquired is the duty of intellectuals; then the institutions with which they are associated are also part of the implementation of policy. Easton wants to emphasise that the intellectuals, the scientists and all other institutions disseminating academic principles are all directly involved in the gigantic task of social upliftment. Easton concludes that, if so, “politicisation of the professions is inescapable as well as desirable”. The post-behaviouralists, the scientists, the intellectuals, all are actors of the social change. Also, the state or politics is part of the process. He is of the opinion that all the post-behaviouralists may not agree with all the credo of relevance. But the doctrine of post-behavioural revolution appears to embrace the above noted crucial features of post-behavioural revolution as it appears to be taking shape today.

### **3 Political Culture**

#### **(a) Meaning and definitions**

Political culture has been defined by ‘International Encyclopedia of Social Science’ as a “set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviours in the political system”. The term, political culture has been used in the field of social science, which refers to historically based, widely shared beliefs, feelings and values about the nature of the political systems, which can serve as a channel of communication between citizens and the government. Maria Eugenia looks at political culture as “ the set of

discourses and symbolic practices by means of which, both individuals and groups articulate their relationship to power, elaborate their political demands and put them at stake” Rose and Dogan briefly defined political culture as “referring to the values, beliefs and emotions that give meaning to political life”. To Almond and Powell, political culture is “The Pattern of individuals’ attitudes and orientations towards critics among the members of a political systems” Roy Mandrid maintains that political culture means “commonly shared goals and commonly accepted rules” Lastly, Samuel Beer said, “political culture is the values, beliefs and emotional attitudes about how new government ought to be conducted and what it should be.”

As seen in the above mentioned definitions of political culture, it has been established that, political culture, which is an embodiment of attitudes, beliefs, sentiments etc of individuals in the society; and it embraces both the political ideas and operating norms of polity. It is, therefore, the manifestation of the psychological and subjective dimension of politics. It is the product of both the history of the political system and the histories of its constituent individual members. In other words, political culture is said to be rooted equally in both public and private experience. Political culture is also said to be the manifestation in aggregate form of psychological and subjective dimension of politics. It has been observed that different countries and nation states have different political culture based on the nature of the society, ethnic and culture composition, values, beliefs etc of the society as well. An understanding of political culture of a society helps one to understand how and why the government is organised and functions in certain way, why democracies succeed or fail or why some countries still retained monarchies, and why the others discarded the same. For example, in USA, political culture of the people could be understood in terms of voting behaviour, that is, a person could be identified as a democrat or republican from how and in whose favour he casted his vote in the Presidential election. Again, it should be observed that political culture is different from political ideology. The term, political ideology refers to a code of beliefs or views about the governments and politics that may influence the way one castes his vote or whether or not one supports legislative action of the government or legislature. For example, two persons can have one and the same political culture, but

they may have different view on political ideology. For example, a right wing conservative can form the same political culture as a left-wing liberal. Therefore, political culture is something that we share while political ideology is something that is not necessarily shared; and it is something that we use to define ourselves and make political decisions.

### **(c) Concept of Political Culture**

Hughes, in 1988, said “Political Culture; the expression has of late gained general currency “In the very same year, at a session of American Historical Association that turned into a discussion of political culture,, Political Culture was said to be inclusive of values beliefs and patterns of behaviour that are relevant to the political process prevalent among individuals and groups in a given society. The increasing adoption of scientific method in the analysis of political problems has been co-inciding with the growing expansion of democracy. The need had been felt for finding a distinct set of cultural orientations for stability, depth and efficacy of the system to the same degree and level as economic or social factors.

It would be improper to concieve political culture as a motionless entity or a cause that determines the political life of a nation. Political culture is said to be a variable that maintains complex interactions with the economy, the social structure and the political – institutional sphere, but within this doctrine of mutual influences. There are some predominant causal directions, which we can discern. Progress in this field has accelerated in recent time mainly on account of diffusion of trans-national surveys on the case studies, which have allowed researchers on the subject to collect systematic information about the political culture of societies of almost every cultural heritage, and at all levels of economic development.

Political culture, as a subject of studies is an inter-desciplinary terrain at the crossroads of political science, sociology anthropology, psychology and mass communicational research it involves a set of inter-related theories, hypothesis and concepts. The post-modernization theory, which has been developed by Inglehart and subsequently, by Christian Welzel, emphasized the political impact of Emanicipative or Self-Expression values. Almond, Verba and Easton advanced some

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aspects of the foundational Civil Culture models, which stress the importance of responsive institutions and the support from citizens for stability of a political regime

#### **(d) Theories of Political Culture**

In 1963, Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, published a book on political culture associated with five democratic countries; Germany, Italy, Mexico, United Kingdom and United States. They have identified in their book three basic types of political culture, which can be used to explain and identify why people do or do not participate in the political processes of the country. The four basic types they mentioned are: parochial political culture, subject political culture, participant political culture and Political Sub-Culture.

##### **1. Parochial Political Culture**

Parochial political culture is a political culture where citizens have only limited awareness of the existence of a central government. The parochial political culture is most found in those backward Asia and African countries. People in these countries are politically less conscious and, therefore, they do not have much interest in involving themselves in the political processes of their country. Parochial political culture refers to the political system where the people have no understanding of the national political system. It is the kind of political institution in which people do not possess any interest or tendency to participate in the input processes, and have no consciousness of the output processes. The African tribes and Eskimos fall in this category. In such countries where parochial type of political culture exists, people because of their political ignorance, have no role to play in the political culture of the state.

##### **2. Subject Political Culture**

The subject political culture is found in monarchical and authoritarian form of government. It is also found in Communist and

Dictatorial form of government in which, people are not expected to involve themselves in the government. The people, under these systems of government, though may be aware of what the government is doing, have no say in the functioning of the government. It is not a matter of approve or disapprove, people have to follow what the government wants them to do. People in the country where subject political culture is the type of political culture, know the role of the government regarding law making, enforcement of laws and tax collection etc. In this type of political culture, people are not taught to participate in the input functions of the state. Therefore, under this system of political culture people have very little influence on the working of government.

### **3. Participant Political Culture**

In a participant type of political culture, people have the freedom and liberty to participate in the political system, and influence it's working tremendously. In a participant political culture, people, for being having the freedom to have and pursue their interest and aspirations, keep on putting demands through democratic means. They develop a particular attitude towards the political system. Political parties and other pressure groups are being formed which play important role in shaping the policies and programs of the political system. The participant political culture is found in western liberal democracies, including USA, UK, France, Canada, Germany, etc. In these countries, public opinion plays a big role in the determination of public policies, which are being implemented by political authority with full public backing: In USA, for example, political culture can be defined according to some basic and commonly shared values and beliefs, such as commitment to democracy, equality, free enterprise and individualism. Concepts, which are related to liberty, nationalism and reliance on legislature, rather than individual ruler, are also unique to their political culture. The history of American political culture could be traced back to American Revolution and the desire for liberty as well as puritan roots. Therefore, participant political culture, which is associated with liberal democracy, is the dominant political culture of western liberal democratic political systems.

#### 4. **Political sub-culture**

It is observed that all social groups living in a particular political institution may not necessarily be equally advanced: while some may be more advanced, the others may be less advanced. In such inequality of advancement, the group of people who are more advanced developed participatory political culture, while the others may still retain subject or parochial culture. This happens to be so because; in many countries there are different ethnic groups with different culture, history, religion and racial affiliation. Owing to the diversity of people living in the same political system there automatically emerged differences in education, political consciousness, economic and social background. Therefore, the people who are more backward developed a political sub-culture. Also, sub-culture develops when the political system is unable to advance rapidly according to the rapidly changing needs of society. In some cases, new political structure may be introduced by the elite, but certain people may not be able cope with it. It is in this way that different sections of people in the society may have different political orientations. Therefore, when a particular section of society is clearly distinguished from others in the same political system, then we find that it has developed a distinct political sub-culture of its own. France is the classic example of such political sub-culture.

Other theories of political culture address how political culture takes root, and is transferred and transmitted from one generation to another generation through political socialization, and include Seymour Martin Lipset's formative events theory, which described the long lasting effects of key events that took place when a country was founded; Louis Hartz's fragment theory, which explains the long lasting effects of European Colonization on countries and societies; Roger Inglehart's post materialism theory, which explains the long-lasting effects of childhood economic and social conditions.

## **a. Political Science and Political Socialization**

Intellectual curiosity about the roots of national differences in politics dates from the writing of Herodotus, and possibly no recent studies have achieved the richness of understanding of such classic studies of national temperaments as those by Tocqueville, Bryce and Emerson. However, the dynamic intellectual tradition which inspired political culture studies comes almost entirely from the studies of national character and the psychological analysis of the 1930s and 1940s. Benedict (1934;1946), Mead (1942;1953), Gover (1948;1953;1955) Fromm (1941) and Klineberg (1950), all sought to utilize the findings of psycho analysis and cultural anthropology to provide deeper understanding of national political behaviour. A major objection to this study was their failure to recognise that the political sphere constitutes a distinct sub-culture with its own rules of conduct and its distinct processes of socialization. The practice of moving directly from the stage of child training to the level of national decision making meant that crucial intervening processes were neglected.

The notion of political culture seeks to retain the psychological subtleties of the earlier national character studies while giving of appropriate attention to the distinctive features of political sphere and to the intervening stages of personality development between childhood and induction into the general culture, which the second is the more particular, and usually more explicit, socialization to political life. In some forms of analysis, it is useful to distinguish an additional stage, political recruitment to special roles within political process. These stages are not always sequential; explicit political socialization can occur at a very early point, when the individual is still being socialized into general culture.

The investigation of the relationship between the final political socialization process and the dominant pattern of behaviour in the Political Culture are the basis of the analysis of political culture. In some states, there is fundamental similarity between the content of various socialization processes and the existing political culture. This type of similarity, which existed historically, is found in the traditional political cultures of Japan, Egypt, Ethiopia and Turkey. In such systems,

the values, beliefs and attitudes, internalized in the process of the general socialization process are consistent with and reinforced by the attitudes, values and beliefs emphasised in the process of more explicitly political socialization; and the combined socialization processes tend, in turn to support and reinforce the current political culture. Under such condition, the prospects are for continued existence of coherent and relatively stable political culture.

It should, however, be observed that it is possible to distinguish various kinds of tensions and instabilities in political cultures in accordance with the types of contradictions and inconsistencies in the socialization processes, and between these processes and the requirements of political systems. The most serious contradictions and inconsistencies are to be found in revolutionary systems in which, elite political culture is either shaped by a highly explicit and uncultured-bound ideological or is the product of an exogenous historical experience, such as Colonialism. In some societies, the primary process of socialization tends to provide people with an optimistic view of life and deep sense of basic trust in human relations, while the later stages of political socialization stress cynicism and suspicion of political actors of a political system. Political culture, therefore, is characterised by a critical and contemptuous view of existing political practices, but it is also colored by a strong Utopian ideology that reform can ultimately remedy the existing situation. Therefore, cynicism is balanced by the expectation that reforms are worth seeking. This, it appears, to have been the character of the cynicism which inspired the muckraking tradition in American politics. The same dynamic also appears to have been working Philippines political culture. In societies distrust in contemporary political institutions and personages is preceded by an earlier socialization process, which in stills a sense of fundamental distrust and suspicion, with the result that people have little faith in reformist solution and feel that political improvement requires cataclysmic changes. Myanmar is an appropriate example of this process.

There are certain historical events within the political system relating to problems of continuity and discontinuity, which are neither relevant nor consistent with the past and present socialization process, which required the analysis of the relation between socialization and political

culture; and also which demand changes in the political culture of the society. In all dynamic political systems, there are problems as the socialization process is incapable of matching the change in the political process. The problems of change become more problematic, particularly, when there is a sudden change in the international status of a society. For example, when a colonised people gains independence, there is a sudden change in the international status of the colonised people and society that is from the status of colony to independent national entity. It is maintains that one of the basic sources of instability in many newly developing countries rests precisely in the differences between the emphasis of the socialization processes, which produced the various strata of the contemporary society and the attitudes, necessary for operating a national political process.

### **(e) Socializing Agents of Political Culture**

The political socialization process operates in terms of various socializing agents of Political Culture of which some are; family, mass media and political parties. Family tends to be prominent at the early phased of the socialization process; and that their influences are most closely related to personality characteristics, fundamental to the political culture. There are also other socializing agents, which include mass-media and communication, political parties and pressure groups, which are inclined to become critical at later stages, and, therefore, are primarily involved in influencing the more cognitive aspects of the political culture.

Most of the current research on different political cultures have been seeking to determine the relative importance of different kinds of socializing agents in shaping and remodelling different aspects of the political culture, and therefore, in evaluating the links between the sociological structure of the society and the political process. For example, the family is peculiarly potent in the USA in determining party loyalties, while formal education, according to Almond and Verba, is most vital in producing commitment to democratic values. In the study and analysis of transitional political system of underdeveloped countries, it has become apparent that the intensely politicised nature of these societies is often the result of the dominant role of partisan, as

against non-partisan or constitutional agents of socialization. It is important that the trend toward one party systems in Sub-Sahara Africa, is closely associated with the fact that nationalist parties were the only strong agency for socializing most of the newly politically conscious masses. When non-politisan and politically neutral socializing agents are weak, social life tends to become highly politicized, and little appreciation is likely to exist. For such fundamental constitutional institutions as an impartial bureaucracy and the rule of law. Studies of the process of nation building in societies in which the mass media are weak, and cannot provide an objective view of national events suggests that constitutional development cannot become readily institutionalized under such condition. According to Schramm, this relationship between the socialization process and the ensuing political culture explains some basic education and has quite different social experience from the mass of their followers. Even many transitional societies, the very basis of legitimacy of the leaders, rest on the popular belief that, they are men, inherently set apart from others at birth.

It is again to be noticed that the basic problem relating to the dynamics of political culture relates to uneven changes in the socialization patterns of the two sub-cultures. There can arise a serious complications for the political system when political leadership discover that the mass-sub-culture is no longer responsive to the traditional leadership patterns, but that they themselves have little knowledge in more modern ways of ruling. The opposite problem can also arise when the elite sub-culture has been changed considerably by the new patterns of the elite socialization, but the mass sub-culture remains unchanged. Under such conditions, leaders may be impatient for change; and in displaying little understanding and even outright scorn for the essential qualities of mass culture they may create resentment among the people who may feel that their leaders have lost their sense of the proprieties of ruling.

#### **(f) The content of political culture**

The content of political culture in every society is said to be unique. The studies of different political culture revealed that different themes and the ultimate test of the utility of the theory of political culture will

depend upon its value for politics. In some political systems, the mass political cultures are highly heterogeneous, and there exists sharp differences, depending on the diversity of the population. In some societies, societies were deeply divided on ethnic, religious social and economic loyalties and status. In such a political system, the pattern of relationships among the various sub-cultures becomes a crucial factor in describing what the political culture is.

In analysing the extent which the elite and mass cultures contain complementary set of values, it is important to distinguish between those systems in which recruitment into the elite sub-culture is generally preceded by socialization into the mass sub-culture, and those in which the channel of socialization are completely separate. In a most stable democratic society, the general pattern is, for individuals to be socialized into the mass sub-culture before being recruited to the leading political role and, therefore, the elite, in spite of gaining highly specialized skills and political knowledge, can still appreciate the basic values of the citizenry as a whole. However, it does not follow that in cases people who rise out of mass sub-culture will continue to be sympathetic or responsive to their background. As a matter of fact, in transitional societies, leadership elements have deep resentments against what they feel are the backward attitudes of those with whom they were once associated.

In most traditional, and many transitional systems, those destined leadership positions tend to have quite different career lines, receive quite different form of difficulties in creating national institutions in countries, where popular political consciousness was inspired by highly partisan and ideologically oriented independent movement.

### **(g) Elite and mass sub-culture**

Every society has been experiencing some inherent inevitable differences between the political orientations of those who are involved in decision making, and those participating citizens who are only observing the working of the political systems. It is in this context that in every political system, there exists, elite culture or the political culture of the decision making authority at the political hierarchy of the

political system, and the political culture of the masses or general populace; and the relationship between the two is another critical factor determining the functioning of the political system. The relationship between these two political cultures determines such crucial matters as the basis of the legitimacy of the political system, the freedom and limitations of political leadership, the limits of political mobilization, and the possibilities for the creation of condition for orderly transfer of political power, as and when necessary.

It has been observed that mass sub-cultures are hardly homogeneous, as there are usually significant differences between the politically attentive strata of the society, and the elements who are relative and generalized analysis. There have been advances in comparative analysis in which similar qualities of political cultures have been related to a common type of political system.

Again, it would seem to be possible to isolate some universal dimensions of political cultures in terms of certain inherent qualities of both political system, and the processes of personality formation. NathaLeites (1951;1953) has demonstrated the value of analysing elite political behaviour characterologically. It appears likely that further research will reveal that political culture that seeks to manifest definable syndromes that are related either to recognized patterns of personality development or to general patterns of historical development, or to both. At this stage of knowledge, it is possible only to suggest certain universal problems or themes with which all political cultures must deal in one way or the other.

#### **(h) Scope and Functions of Political Culture, and Politics**

It is to be observed that any political culture of any given society has to define for its society the generally accepted scope or limits of politics and the legitimate boundaries between the public and private spheres of life. The scope involves definition of the accepted participants in the political process, the range of permissible issues, and the recognized functions of both the political process as a whole, and the separate agencies or domains of decision making with collectively constituted political process. It is to be noted that the scope of participants in most political systems is formally defined by the requirements of citizenship,

but in all systems, there are usually formal or informal limits relating to age, sex, social status, training, family connections and the like which govern the recruitment process.

In the same way, in most political cultures, certain issues are recognised as being outside the domains of politics or the jurisdiction of a particular parts or agencies of the political process. The relationship of issues and functions could be highly specialized in the sense that particular issues are recognised as being the special responsibilities of special forms of decision making, such as electoral, parliamentary, bureaucratic, juridical, or technocratic expertise.

Again, it has been seen that in democratic, political cultures, there usually is a clear sense of the appropriate boundaries of political life, explicit recognition of new issues as they arise accordingly, and respect to some degree for functional specialization in the handling of issues, and for the relative autonomy of the different domains of political decision making, but little for the autonomy of the different domains. In transitional systems, there are, normally, no clearly accepted boundaries of political life, but the impotence of politics provides actual limits; there is an expectation that all matters can become politicised; and, there is little functional specialization or autonomy in the various domains of political decision making.

### **(i) Concepts of power and authority**

In providing concept on the nature and propriety of power and authority, political culture may differ according to (1) the basis for differentiating power and authority; (2) the models by which the one may be translated into the other; (3) the assumed limits of the efficacy of power; (4) the elements or components of legitimate power, that is, physical force, popular support moral justification, legal sanctions, etc; (5) the degree of diffusion of centralization of power and authority.

It can be observed that, the process of legitimizing power has a critical bearing on the performance of a political system. Legitimization, normally involves restraining of the use of potential power, and placing limits on the range of actions of particular institutions and power holders. This, it should be noted, has been particularly true with western political cultures and in the development of American constitutional

theory in relation to the division of powers. These restraints of legitimacy, sometimes, take an absolutist form, with the result that no single or political actor can perform decisively, and with full efficiency. In a few political cultures the process of legitimizing power proceed in the opposite direction, so that legitimacy is conferred only on those who can, and only on those who would act decisively and effectively. However, this is said to be true only in those countries which experienced and went through a period of national humiliation as a result of weakness in the international affairs. For example; the Chinese Communist Party has been a crucial factor in the giving of Chinese government a sense of legitimacy in the eyes of its people. On the other hand, in democratic political cultures, there are ambiguous feelings about the need to restrain all powers, and the need for legitimate power to be effective. In a transitional society, it always is difficult for any forms of power to become legitimized, because all seem to have so much difficulty in being effective.

In all political cultures, it is observed, the concept of power and authority, have deep psychological dimensions because of the fundamental role of parental authority in the early socialization process. The skill that children developed in coping with family authority tends to provide a lasting basis for adult styles in dealing with authority. Therefore, in some cultures, it is widely assumed that authority can best be constrained by stressing issues of justice and fairness in a spirit of friendly informality, while in others the style is that of winning favour by displaying complete and abject submission.

#### **(j) Political Integration and political culture**

Political culture has been considered as an important instrument for socio-political integration of the people of the same ethnic and cultural groups living in a given political system. It provides people with a sense of national identity and a feeling of oneness and of belonging to a particular political system. One of the most serious problems facing different political system is that of establishing a sense of national identity; and the problem of national identity is in turn the function of the process by which individuals realize their own separate sense of identity. It is the relationship between national identity and

personal identity, which serves as the basic and fundamental link between the socialization process on the one hand, and the integration of the political process on the other.

It should be noted that integration involves the relationship between various structures of the political system and, therefore, it is related or associated with the problems of specialization of function among those who are involved in the decision making process of the political system.

The other aspect of integration is, how, why and in what manner and extent different sub-communities, or sub-cultures, ethnic or regional groups are related to one another. It should be maintained that, political culture varies according to the extent to which such sub-cultures, ethnic minorities, religious minorities etc are given the right to protect, preserve and maintain their separate identities, while at the same time, maintaining standard of integration.

### **(k) Status of politics and politicians in political culture**

A political culture, it is observed, must establish the generally acceptable rewards for active political participation. In traditional societies, the high status of political leaders also meant that those with power or those active political participants could legitimately expect high material rewards. With the emergence of other professions and professional groups, and the contraction political sphere, the material rewards of those who enter public life has been seen moving down word; and that they were increasingly expected to make personal sacrifices for performing public services. The political culture, therefore, in controlling the accepted balance between rewards and penalties for those entering public life, also tends to control the quality of people recruited for the service. In a democratic political culture, the desire to shackle power produces the requirement that those who seek, should also have no self-interest, but only serve the interest of others; and the suspicion that this is not always the case that lowers popular esteem for politicians as a class. Political culture, therefore, in creating the distinctions between statesmen and politician provides another basis for rewarding and controlling those who seek power.

## **(I) Evaluating function of political culture**

Political culture is also said to be containing standard for evaluating the effectiveness and competence of those who are engaged in performing some specialized functions in a political systems. Such standards of evaluations, in most cases, depend on popular opinions and views about how national and community-wide problems could be solved. In a traditional culture, problem solving was normally associated with the correct performance of rituals, and, therefore, evaluation of performance was strongly influenced by skills displayed in ceremonies. The modern political cultures, though still recognised the central place occupied by rationality in the process of problem solving, there tend to be great differences among different political cultures in what is accepted as being rational. Decision on the skill of leadership is largely influenced by the extent to which a society values the personal attraction of leadership or the abilities of technical experts. Changes in the standard of evaluation or evaluative dimension of political cultures occur as new skills and the professions are recognised as being relevant for solving national problems.

It is also observed that the evaluative aspect of political cultures must also reflect the inevitable fact that politics deals with further contingencies which lie beyond the range of ready prediction. Political Culture, in order to forecast or predict the powers of acceptable leaders, must provide some basis of faith on the basis of which prediction has to be made. In the traditional political systems, the traditional political culture that has existed was morally placed in the mystical and charistic powers of personal leadership. In other cultures either divine or securely inspired doctrines are presumed to be with necessary predictive power. Still in some other cultures the very massiveness and essentially esoteric operation of bureaucracies and the complex machineries of government are sufficient to generate a popular faith that those in power have a grasp of the future. The ultimate test in all cases is skill in maintaining popular faith and support in capacity of leaders to deal with all possible eventualities

### **(m) The effective dimensions of political culture**

It is observed that, of all social activities politics has the most extensive range of emotional attraction; and that political culture seeks to regulate the expression of acceptable public passions, and to deny legitimacy to others. Over and above, since politics involves struggle for power, politics is interpreted as the struggle for power, personal aggression is a basic emotion that, all political cultures must deal with by making some forms of legitimate aggression and by defining areas and times in which its expression is permissible.

The function of political culture relating to provision of integration to the political system and the provision relating to collective identity are vital to the process of integration of all political cultures existing in the political system. It involves the degree to which the inherent drama of power and decisions are either accentuated or muted. The effective dimension of political culture is essentially dimension of political culture determined by the manner in which people are legitimately permitted to realise. The psychological satisfaction from active participant in politics.

The coherence and stability of political culture are under constant and perpetual threat by the attempts of people to politicise those matter which are of private in nature and those matters which are purely personal so as to satisfy themselves. These individuals, as a matter of fact, do not have any goal which serves public interests. This aspect of political culture was for the first time pointed out by Harold Lass well, (1930; 1948), and for the second, by Almond in Communist Movements (1954)

### **(n) Balance between cooperation and competition in politics**

Politics, it is said, rests upon collective actions which, in turn depend upon the basic spirit of trust and the capacity for cooperation. Also, it should be maintained, at the same time, that politics involves both conflict and competition. Therefore, culture and political culture should maintain a balance between conflict and cooperation; and that the capacity of political cultures to manage this problem usually

depends on how the basic socialization process handles the problem of mutual trust and distrust in personality development.

A strong sense, mutual trust is the pre-requisite for building a complex human organisation; and that when there exists a sense of mutual distrust and suspicion, collective action for collective goal becomes difficult, and under this situation, competition tends to become out of hand, and becomes profoundly disruptive. On the other hand, general cultures which do emphasise on the building of mutual trust and confidence may have to be balanced by political cultures which emphasised on the need for suspicion in the management of public institutions. For, example, in USA, it has been suggested that the basic socialization process did emphasized to a peculiarly high degree basic trust in human relations, but the American political culture stresses the need to distrust institutions, to check their powers and to demand strict accountability of public officials. In many transitional societies, we find the opposite pattern in that the socialization process instills deep distrust of human relations, while at the same time; people are asked to have complete and uncritical faith in their public institutions. This pattern has been seen in India, Myanmar and Italy.

### **(o) The future of the theory of political culture**

As seen in the fore-going discourse of political culture, there is an increasing body of propositions that seeks to relate aggregate and individual behaviour in different political systems, so that it is possible to talk of the growth of the theory of political culture. However, it would also be appropriate to note that there are a number of criticisms of the theory, which reflect its current early stage of development. That is the theory, though is in its early stage of development, is faced with many criticisms. It has been observed that the concept represents a little more than a new label for old ideas. This observation is a valid observation up to certain extent, but it is one that ignores the central purpose of the theory, which is to search for a new way of connecting psychological theory to the performance of the total political system. At present, the mere term, 'political culture' is capable of evoking quick intuitive understanding, so that people often feel that without further and explicit definition they can appreciate its meanings and freely use it.

The very ease with which the term can be used, however, means that it will be employed as a “missing link” to fill in anything that cannot be explained in political analysis.

The concept of political culture if effectively to be employed, it needs to be supplemented by structural analysis, but there lies a difficulty, that is, political structures can be seen on the one hand, as product reflecting the political culture, while on the other hand, they are also important “givens” which shape the political culture. They are in fact, the problems which must be surmounted if the theory of political culture is to realise its early promises. The prospect, it is said, is excellent that current research is going to set aside most of these objections and greatly advance the utility of a political culture theory. The systematic theory recently developed, based on comparative research, which in turn is based on survey methods, promises to clarify further the relationship between the political socialization processes and numerous dimensions of political culture. The work of Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba which identified the components of the democratic political culture has been advancement in identifying and evaluating the factors affecting democratic development throughout the world. In the 1960s, Verba made a research on the topic by applying some of the hypotheses of the Civic Culture to India, Japan, Nigeria and Mexico. The basic concepts of the Civic Culture have been employed by Ward in analysing Japanese development, by Scott for Mexico, by Rose for England and by Barghoorn for the Soviet Union. Other research on the political and psychological inhibitions to economic growth is suggesting further critical dimensions to the modern political culture, whether democratic or not.

he theory of political culture, even in its current form, represents a significant advancement in the direction of integrating psychology and sociology with political science to produce a richer and better understanding of politics.

## **5 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION**

### **(a) Meaning and definition of political socialization**

Political socialization has been defined as “a long process by which people form their ideas about politics and acquire political values. The family, educational system, peer groups and mass media, all play a role”. It encompasses the way in which people acquire values and opinions that shape their political stance and ideology. It is also being described as a study of the developmental process by which people of all ages and adolescents acquire recognition, attitude and behaviour. Political socialization is also both formal and informal process of social and educative learning. It is one of the major concepts of modern political philosophy, which is considered as important and inevitable for the proper understanding of political stability of a country. Political socialization refers to a learning process by which, norms and behaviours, acceptable to a well running political system are transmitted from one generation to another generation. It is, therefore, through the performance of this function that individuals are inducted into the political culture and their orientation towards political objects, which are a process of socializing in a political system through information on politics formed. It is also a process of socializing in a political symbols, institutions and procedures and internationalizing the value system and ideology supporting the system. It is also said to be a process which works at individual as well as at community level through cultural transmission. Political socialization, because of all these functions, is considered as one of the most important functions of the political system; and, is a part of the general socialization which starts at the later life. The process of acquiring political values and attitudes is also called political socialization, which occurs throughout our life-times as we come into contact with other people. The groups that teach and expose us to political ideas and values are known as agents of political socialization. It has to be seen that political socialization is the process by which individuals learn and frequently internalize a political lens framing their perceptions of how power is arranged, and how the world around them is organised; those perceptions, in turn, shape and defined

individuals' definitions of who they are, and how they should behave in the political and economic institutions in which they live.

According to Almond "political socialization is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed". To Easton and Dennis, "political socialization is concerned with "those development process by which acquires political orientation and pattern of behaviour". Again, Allan R Ball defines political socialization as "establishment and development of attitudes to beliefs about the political system".

As seen in the proceeding discussion on the meaning and definitions of political socialization, it could be established that political socialization is a life-long process of learning, and mutual process that is routed primarily in social interactions. Individuals, it is observed, are being socialized in the general value-system and behavioural pattern of the society. At the same time, however, individuals are also found inculcating values and norms of other specific process which take place within the society, mainly because of the existence and functioning of other system in it. Political socialization, therefore, is said to be an important process, and which happens to be significant input function of a political system that regulates the society through authoritative allocation of values-system; maintenance and system persistence are two important qualities of the political system. Persistence of system greatly depends on the maintenance of political culture. Political culture is said to be sustained through the process of political socialization. This is the process by which political attitudes and values are inculcated as children become adult, and as adult are recruited to new roles in the political system. Political culture, therefore, is shaped both at the levels of individual and community, which is transmitted from one period to another period, mainly because of the process of political socialization. Political socialization is said to be the learning process by which the political norms and behaviour, acceptable to currently existing political system are being transmitted to the succeeding generations. It involves all types of learning, formal and informal, and deliberate and accidental. Political socialization also includes even non-political learning which affects political behaviour, such as the learning of relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics. In a nutshell, political values, norms, standards and

attitudes are implanted into the minds of the individuals through the process of political socialization. It is because of the indoctrination of individuals into the political culture that the political system as a whole could proceed on, continues to sustain and continues to exist from generation to generation.

## **(b) Theories of political socialization**

A clear and thorough understanding of the concept of political socialization demands a prior and clear understanding of the various theories of political socialization. There are macro-level and micro-level theories of political. As for macro-level theories, they help in suggesting some common guidelines for researcher on political socialization. They provide a broad area and dimension to deal with the concept of political socialization. These theories demonstrate the relevance of socializing phenomena for the operation of the political system. Micro-level theories, on the hand, concentrate on the individual member of the political system; and the way through which they are socialised.

It is to be maintained that, macro-level theories are the systems persistence theory, advocated by Easton and Dennis. The theory maintains that political systems are confronted with stress; and political socialization, as an effective mechanism for managing all kinds of stresses in the political system. Stress management involves a number of processes, which includes, among others; investigation, ordering and management of stress itself; and finally arriving at a possible conclusion or solution. For instance, it includes the problems of obedience or lack of obedience; compliance or defiance; and the general level of demand and support mechanism in the political system.

Micro-level theory, on the other hand is concerned with learning or it is a learning theory. An individual, according advocate of the theory, acquires characteristic response to given stimuli through the process of learning. The learning theory or micro-level theory, therefore, implies that the process of political socialization may take the form of either direct or indirect learning. The direct learning involves the definite communication of information's values or feelings towards political

ideas and objects. One such example is; the civic course in high school curriculum. Indirect political socialization, on the other hand, refers the outcome or the result of the long process of personality development of individuals, which begins from the early childhood. Members of a political system acquire most of their ideas and value orientations through the process of indirect learning.

Under the broad spectrum of learning theory, learning theory are psychoanalytic theory learning theory itself and cognitive development theory. Out of these, psychoanalytic theory is considered as the most important theory, which is the stand propounded by Sigmund Freud, a child is born with some natural instincts or unconscious needs, which are restrained and restricted by the outside world; and in the process the child grows, develops and becomes civilized. For instance, a child may like the physical appearance of certain political personality. But his parents informed him regarding the negative aspect of that person. Therefore, he develops a conflicting mind, which he, however, reconciled and on that basis, forms his opinion.

Finally there exist what is called cognitive development theory according to which, what a child acquires is very much dependent on the cognitive intellectual equipment available to him at various stages in the process of development. These stages of development in the life of the child are in sequence in an orderly society. These stages described particular levels of stability of readiness. This theory also suggests that particular kinds of political learning may accrue at each of these stages. For example, a child learns, that is New Delhi. Then he learns about the existence of a capital of a state; and then, he may learn that New Delhi is the capital of India.

As seen above, theories of political socialization sought to examine the behaviour of individuals in political situations with the aim to formulate and test the hypothesis relating to uniformity of behaviour in different situations. Based on the discussed theories of political socialization, the approaches to the study of the concept of political socialization could be summarised, as propounded by the scholars; and it is found that political socialization has been approached from three different angles, such as attachment to political system; partisan attitudes; and political participation. In so far as the

attachment to political institution is concerned, the investigation is concerned with the involvement in the activities of the political system is considered, and how far is the members are drawn towards and linked to the political institutions, structures, political functions, roles, norms and values. Take for example; that members of Indian political system are more or less attached to the political system, like parliamentary democracy and the electoral system. Indian citizens are also maintaining a close link with the political structures like the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. People are conscious of the political functions, like the decision making process, legislation and adjudication. Finally, the people are linked to the political norms and values like freedom, equality and social justice.

With regards to partisan feeling and attitude, it should be observed that members of a political system, in due course, develop certain noticeable type of orientations, and psychological tendencies towards the party system and the political parties, particularly in a parliamentary set up of democracy. Take for example, members of political system gather information and even formulate opinions on the individual incumbents of the authority structure. They observed the activities, behaviours, policies and agendas of different political groupings, including political parties. They eventually try to be in close touch with the competing political ideologies and policy-initiatives.

Political participation, on the other hand, is basically a behavioural act on the part of members of the political system, which centres around the specific as well as general political conduct of the individual members of the political system. Political participation of the members of a political system ranges from the act of voting to the actual participation in the decision making process by getting themselves elected as members of political authority of the system.

Again, in the context of approaches in the study of political socialization, Hees and Torney, have postulated four models of political socialization; accumulation model, the inter-personal model, the identification model and the cognitive developmental model. The scholars dealing with research on the subject established that, individual's intellectual development is a continuous process. It continues throughout adult life because of participation in work, in

politics, in political campaigns, in trade union organisation, and of course, a variety of other activities.

### **(c) Types of Political Socialization**

Political socialization, broadly speaking, may take the form of either or latent transmission. It is said to be manifest when it involves the explicit communication of information, values or feelings towards political objects. On the other hand, latent political socialization is transmission of non-political attitudes which affects the political system.

Take for example; a college student, who is newly admitted in the college, seeks to imitate the senior so that he may be acceptable to the college environment. Having an aspiration and interest in becoming one of the leaders of the students' union, he started developing the style and behaviour of such role in anticipation. Therefore, through this anticipative behaviour, political socialization occurs in him when he started to be exposed himself to the teaching of different courses in political institutions and process, the student develops an attitude of political learning that is towards political objects. Therefore, an individual manifestly acquires political socialization through political learning or education. Once the student participates in students union elections and occupies an office, he is politically socialized through such participating experience. On the other hand, as and when individuals involve in transmitting values to influence a person, it is called, interpersonal transmission. Take for example; a parent orienting the child towards the political objects, acquiring skills and habits through experience; and using them in one's political career, on the other hand, implies latent political socialization through apprenticeship. It is further to be noted that within the two broad categories of political socialization, that is, manifest and latent, there are other different types of political socialization, which include, particularistic, universalistic, effective institutional, specific and diffuse political socialization.

In the first place, particularistic type of political socialization is concerned with motivation of individual towards one type of role. Take for example; when parents from one particular social, religious or

ethnic group motivate their children to love their own religion or caste, etc. it automatically become a case of particularistic socialization. However, universalistic socialization, on the other hand, refers to orientation of an individual towards different general role which is not confined to one's own religious or social group. It motivates an individual for playing a role which concern other members of a society or political system; and when emotional values of individual is transmitted to other individuals. That is, when emotional values, like feeling proud for his political system; having total loyalty to the country and possessing respect for rules etc, then it becomes the case of effective political socialization. Institutional socialization, on the other hand, refers to motivation of individual towards more pragmatic and calculated values; for example, inculcating the belief that a political system should be supported so long as one derives the benefit from it. When a political structure motivates an individual towards a particular political attitude, it then becomes specific political socialization. Diffuse political socialization, on the other hand, take place when one is motivated towards vague norm or object; and that this type of political socialization is more general in nature.

#### **(d) Agencies of Political Socialization**

Agents of political socialization refer to the agencies through which political socialization takes place. The most important question that is being posed here is, how an individual member of the political system learns to recognise relevant political position; to internalise the role expectations attached to these positions; and, finally, to perform these roles and related tasks appropriately. The role expectations are matched by the personality traits; and at the same time, individual's political behaviour and orientations become dependent upon motivational factors. The agencies of political socialization play a vital role in this situation and coordinate the entire process. The following are the important agencies of political socialization, which are; family, educational institutions, peer groups and the mass media.

**(i) Family, as the agency of political socialization**

Family, the first and the smallest unit of social institution it is the primary socialization structure encountered by the individuals. It is the primary source of socialization from which the long process of political socialization started. It sets the entire socializing process in motion and retains an impact on the child over a long period of time. It is the family, which is playing a vital role in shaping and moulding the behaviour and attitude of a child towards the authority. It makes collective decisions, which are mostly authoritative for a child. An early experience of a child in participating in decision making process increases the child's sense of political competence; provides him with skills for political interaction; and provides such opportunity for active participation in the political system when he eventually becomes an adult and matured person. It is also, further, to be observed and maintained that the child's pattern and level of obedience to decisions taken at the family level motivate him towards the norms of political system as a political subject. Family, being the source of individual's life, it is also the source of his behaviour, attitude, outlook and character. Therefore, family though is the smallest social organisation, is responsible for shaping and moulding the future political attitudes by locating the individual in the vast social world; establishing his ethnic, linguistic, religious ties with social class; affirming his cultural and educational values and achievements; and directing his occupation as an economic aspirant. Glass, in 1986, recognising family as the primary source of influence in the development of a child's political orientation, maintains that the influence of family in political orientation of a child is due to his constant and close relationship between parents and child. Family perpetuates values and attitudes that support political authority and could greatly contribute to a child's initial ideological views, on politics or party affiliations. Family is also said to be having an effect on "political knowledge, identification, efficacy and participation" depending upon variables, such as "family demographic, life cycle, parenting style, parental level of political cynicism and frequency of political discussion". Human, an American scholar, while analysing the parent-children relationships, has confirmed the important contribution of family to the process of political socialization. He establishes that

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children, in most cases, are oriented towards the ideology, and political values, which their parent possesses.

## **(ii) School or Educational Institution, as Agent of political Socialization**

Almond and Powell rightly remark that school structure is the second powerful influence in political socialization. Adolescent citizens, it is said, have been provided with the knowledge about the political world, the political environment around them and the political culture and system in which they have been living right from the time they started going and attending the school. Schools and educational institution provide children with more concrete perceptions of political institutions and relationships. School also provides and transmits the values and altitudes of the society to the students. It is to be noted that, the schooling pattern is made to be in conformity with the political ideology of the country; and that in almost all states, schools form the very basis of the social and political system which not only educate, but also train the future responsible member of the nation, who would lead the country's political future. School can also play an important role in shaping attitudes about the unwritten "rule of the political game" as the traditional British Public Schools; instill the values of public duty, informal political relations and political integrity. Countries all over the world, both liberal democratic or socialistic, considered schools as an important agency for socializing the children in the art and craft of their respective systems. Weisberg, for example, has given a very analytical explanation in his field. He has proved that general process of political socialization along with its specificity comes into existence at the school level. Almond and Verbal, in their "five nation, study" found, without exception, that educated persons were more aware of the impact of government on their lives; paid more attention to politics; had more information about political process; and manifested a higher degree of political competence.

School, being the place where a child spends maximum of his time, is the place where he gets himself exposed to a variety of values, interests and attitudes, serves as an agency through which a child becomes

socialised in politics. In USA, students spend most of their time, are taught varieties of things like political situation, incidents, different perceptions of different people within and outside the political system, thereby, getting themselves socialised in politics.

Higher educational institutions, like college and university also play a very important role in the process of political socialization of students. Divergent subjects and disciplines, which are being taught in colleges and universities, played each of their own roles, each of which are related to political socialization process of individual student. Having been adjusted themselves in higher educational institution; they started developing in themselves greater civic sense and responsibility. Being in the process of becoming educationally matured individual, an individual learner gradually develops independent thinking and forming independent opinion and judgement. He then could form his own political opinion and view on political development taking place in the political system without being influenced by any party loyalties. In this way, schools and other educational institutions, right from the lowest primary school to the highest university level, educational institutions play a vast and extensive role in the process of political socialization in any political system.

### **(vii) Peer Groups**

Peer groups, which may include, childhood play-group, friend-circles and small work-groups in which members share relatively equal status and close ties. The early childhood friends in the same neighbourhood are the first persons with whom children interact outside the family. Children valued much their friends and friend-circle as they are the only people outside the family with whom they interact, share their problem, share their joy and grievances. Through interaction and long friendship, they form opinion, sometimes, share one and common opinion on the situation, incident and development taking place in the locality and, also in the political system. All these are the contributory factors for the socialization of individual, and then for the political socialization which in turn has its impact on the entire political system. For a better understanding and for the convenience of analysis, it would be proper to divide peer groups into two, which are; peers outside the

family and peers outside the academic institution. These peers, that is, peers outside the family and peers outside academic institution, do play important and significant role in shaping the early socio-political image and attitude of children. The first category of friends interact in the conspicuous informal way and influence the behaviour of children, and in building their socio-political personality in the context of vast political system of which the children will be responsible members. The second category of peers have a specific impact in regard to the manners of the children, their behavioural pattern, their sense of discipline, obedience to authority and their familiarity to a routine-life. Peer group sought to influence the individual and put pressure on him to accept its ideas and attitudes. An individual may be involved in political activities because of the influence of his close friends. In such cases, the individual changes his attitudes and ideas and presents the behavioural pattern as desired by his close friend circle.

Again, experience in jobs, involvement in formal and informal organisations also plays an important role in the process of political socialization. Participant in strike, protest movements, collective demonstration and other union activities, like picketing help the individual in gaining specific skills. This enables the individuals in shaping his political ideology, value-stance and group behaviour. The formal and informal organisations and secondary groups may be channelled for explicit communication of political information and belief in this direction. An individual, under this situation behaves and conducts himself according to the activities of the group to which he belongs. It is, therefore, to be maintained that the occupational experience leads to the organisation of a professional group and group culture, negotiation and settlement of disputes, growth of cadre-based leadership; communication on the bargaining capability, and above all, all decision making processes.

It is to be noted that, government mechanism and political parties also have their own role in the process of political socialization. It has been seen that, the direct link of individual with the functioning of government effectively shaped his attitude towards the whole political system. In the same way, political parties either orient a man towards the political object or promote cultural changes in him mostly on the basis of political desire. It is, therefore, established that political parties

and governmental mechanism influence in their own way the process of political socialization of individual.

**(viii) Mass media, as an agency of political socialization**

Lastly, but not the least, mass media does play a very important role in the process of political socialization. As a matter of fact, the study of political socialization without a reference to mass media would be virtually incomplete. Since mass media becomes the major instrument of mass communication system, today it is maintained that, Medias, the agents of political socialization do so in a highly complex manner. Exposure of individual to mass media is vital for the development of individual for political orientation leading to political socialization. It is the mass media from which people could get information about the functioning of political system, which are having political impact on the people. It has become all the more important today, as it has been trying to maintain feedback mechanism and research techniques for the assessment and interpretation of public opinion. Mass media has now been considered as a surveillance of the environment; correlation of the components of society in responding to the environment; and transmission of the social heritage. In doing so, the mass media help in promoting political values along with social values. Mass media, therefore, is said to be the storehouse of political information, distributor of political messages and the creator of public opinion. It is mass media which creates a cultural environment in order to promote individual, group and community through, expression and enlightenment. Mass communication, with the help of mass media, caters the divergent needs of socio-economic, political and cultural existence. In the process, mass media, with the help of mass communication, plays a considerable role in inculcating political socialization in the hearts and minds of the people.

Again, the print media, being an integral part of mass media plays a positive role in the field of political socialization. In spite of the existence of electronic media, the print media and the press publications, have been functioning as the communicator of wide ranging information to the general public. The role of press, therefore, is immense in the process of political socialization. The individuals

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receive information on divergent policies and program of the political system. They also have the opportunity to appreciate or criticise the functioning and activities of the political system. Therefore, it can be concluded that the role of mass media in the process of political socialization is important beyond imagination.

## **5 Conclusions**

It should be noted that in the course of our discussion of political socialization, attention has been sufficiently paid on the theoretical perspective of political socialization. It is, therefore, found from the discussed theories of political socialization, that political socialization has been approached from three different angles; such as attachment to political system, partisan, attitudes and political participation. Again, while dealing with the conceptual analysis of political socialization, due importance has been given to the forms of political socialization, like manifest and latent. Over and above, the role of different agencies of political socialization, like family, educational institution; peer group, work place and mass media has been highlighted in inducting political socialization. Family, educational institution, peer group and mass-media, all play their respective role, which may be different from one another as far as the degree and level of importance is concern. Therefore, it could be concluded that political socialization, being a life-long process by which people form their ideas about politics and acquire political values, is an important component of political system.

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