



Democratic Theory of Political Analysis

Leonard Peters



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Chapter 1

Introduction

Political theories and analysis

Political science is a branch of social sciences that deals with the theory and practice of politics and the description and analysis of political systems and political behaviour. Political science is often described as the study of politics defined as “who gets what, when and how”. Political science has several subfields, including: political theory, public policy, public administration, national politics, and comparative politics. Political science is methodologically diverse. Approaches to the discipline include classical political philosophy, interpretivism, structuralism, and behavioralism, realism, pluralism, and institutionalism. Political science, as one of the social sciences, uses methods and techniques that relate to the kinds of inquiries sought: primary sources such as historical documents and official records, secondary sources such as scholarly journal articles, survey research, statistical analysis, case studies, and model building.

Terminology And Distinctions

There is as yet no commonly accepted term by which the science of government may be designated. The term “politics “, employed by many writers, is open to the objection that it possesses several meanings and, when used without qualification or discrimination, leads to confusion if not misunderstanding.

According to popular usage it is a term of both a science and an art, that is, it is employed to denote both the systematic study of the phenomena of the state and the totality of activities which have to do with the administration of the affairs of state. As a science it furnishes us with a mass of theoretical knowledge concerning the state; as an art it seeks solutions of concrete problems and is concerned with the processes and means by which government is actually carried on and the ends of the state are realized. In a narrow and somewhat partisan sense the term is applied to electioneering methods by which public officials are chosen and political policies promoted.

“Theoretical “politics is sometimes distinguished from “practical “or “applied “politics, the former being concerned with the fundamental characteristics of the state without reference to its activities or the means by which its ends are attained; the latter, with the state in action, that is, as a dynamic institution. Thus everything that relates to the origin, nature, attributes, and ends of the state, including the principles of political organization and administration, falls within the domain of “theoretical “politics, while that which is concerned with the actual administration of the affairs of government belongs to the sphere of “applied “or “practical “politics.

The majority of writers to-day, however, prefer the term “political science “instead of “theoretical “polities; and the simple term “politics, “instead of “applied “or “practical “politics. Some writers employ the term “science of politics, “others, the “theory of the state, “the *Staatslehre* of the Germans, because, as one

author remarks, "it gives a clearer idea of the wide nature of the field of inquiry "and at the same time "avoids the necessity of a delicate and intricate discussion as to whether the study of politics is a science or a philosophy.

"In spite of all objections, however, the term "political science "has come to be more generally employed by the best writers and thinkers to describe the mass of knowledge derived from the systematic study of the state, while the meaning of the term "politics "is confined to that of the business or activity which has to do with the actual conduct of affairs of state.

Against the term "political science "the objection has been urged that it does not correspond with the facts, since there is no single science dealing with the state, but rather a group of related sciences, each concerned with particular aspects of it. Thus, it is said, the modern state presents itself under divers aspects and is capable of being studied from many different points of view. The mass of knowledge relating to each phase or aspect of the state has developed a history and a dogma of its own quite distinct from the rest.

The phenomena of each have become so numerous and complex as to create a necessity for special treatment by the investigator. Thus the tendency has been to group them into separate categories and treat them as distinct sciences, The plural form, the "political sciences, "therefore seems to correspond more nearly with the facts and is preferred by many writers, especially the French, who commonly speak of the *sciences*.

According to the latter view a political science is one which is concerned, not necessarily with the state in all of its aspects or relations, but with any particular phenomenon of the state or any class of phenomena either as a whole or incidentally, directly or indirectly. Thus there may be as many political sciences as there are conceivable aspects or forms of manifestation of the state. In this sense sociology, political economy, public finance, public law, diplomacy, constitutional history, may be denominated political sciences, since they all deal either primarily or incidentally with some class of phenomena belonging to the state.

Those who maintain that the singular form accords more nearly with the facts argue that in reality the above-mentioned sciences are rather coordinate social sciences than independent political sciences. Thus, says one writer, in support of this view, "The various relations in which the state may be conceived may be subdivided and treated separately, but their connection is too intimate and their purpose too similar to justify their erection into different sciences.

"Without attempting to pass judgment upon the respective merits of the two views, we believe that either form may be justified by distinguishing between political science in its widest and most general sense, and the auxiliaries or disciplines of that science, employing the singular to designate the former and the plural the latter. The former is the general science of the state, the state in the aggregate, the state considered from all points of view; the latter are the special or disciplinary sciences which deal with particular aspects or activities of the state. Such are the sciences

of jurisprudence, political economy, public law, sociology, political and constitutional history, etc.

Definition And Scope

It was a saying of a great Roman jurist that all definitions are dangerous because they never go far enough and are nearly always contradicted by the facts. The truth of this observation applies as well to general propositions in political science as to those of the civil law. Nevertheless, it is equally true, as has been well said by a noted political writer, that “to obtain clear and precise definitions of the leading terms is an important achievement in all departments of scientific inquiry.

“The renowned German scholar Bluntschli defined political science as “the science which is concerned with the state, which endeavors to understand and comprehend the state in its fundamental conditions, in its essential nature, its various forms of manifestation, its development. “Gareis, another German writer, says “Political science considers the state, as an institution of power, in the totality of its relations, its origin, its setting (land and people), its object, its ethical signification, its economic problems, its life conditions, its financial side, its end, etc.

“Jellinek, one of the ablest of living European publicists, distinguishes between theoretical political science and applied political science. Theoretical political science is again subdivided by Jellinek into the general theory of the state and special or

particular theory of the state. The former has for its purpose the study of fundamental principles. It considers the state in itself and the elements which constitute it; not the phenomena of a particular state, but the totality of all the historico-social aspects in which the state manifests itself.

Furthermore, the dual nature of the state, that is, its character both as a social phenomenon and a legal or juridical institution, furnishes the basis for still another distinction, to wit, that between the social doctrine of the state and constitutional political theory. The former deals with the state primarily as a social organization, that is, as a society of individuals organized for common ends; the latter, with the state as a concept of public law, a juristic entity or legal phenomenon.

A succinct definition is that of Paul Janet, a distinguished French writer, who conceives political science to be "that part of social science which treats of the foundations of the state and the principles of government. "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.

"Seeley points out that as most of the commonwealths of antiquity were city states, ancient political science was little more than the science of municipal government, a truth which finds illustration in Aristotle's treatise on "Politics, "a work practically limited in its scope to the consideration of such polities only as were city states. Modern political science on the

other hand is, as has been well said, the science of the national country state and is tending to become the science of the world state. Furthermore, says a well known writer, the modern requirements of territorial expansion, representative government, and national unity have made political science not only the science of liberty but also the science of sovereignty.

All of the opinions quoted above are in substantial agreement on the essential point, namely, that the phenomena of the state in its varied aspects and relationships, as distinct from the family, the tribe, the nation, and from all private associations, though not unconnected with them, constitute the subject of political science. In short, political science begins and ends with the state.

In a general way its fundamental problems include, first, an investigation of the nature of the state as the highest political agency for the realization of the common ends of society and the formulation of fundamental principles of state life; second, an inquiry into the nature, history, and forms of political institutions; and third, a deduction there from, so far as possible, of the laws of political growth and development. In the process of evolution the appearance of new political conditions may give rise to new problems, but upon close analysis they will be seen to be problems of practical politics rather than fundamental problems of political science.

The distinction between political science and political theory or political philosophy is generally observed by the more systematic

writers on the state, though a precise demarcation of the boundary lines which separate them is difficult, if not impossible.

Political philosophy is said to be concerned with a theoretical or speculative consideration of the fundamental principles and essential characteristics of the materials and phenomena with which political science has to deal. It investigates the development of political thought, and inquires into the foundations of political authority; it analyzes, classifies, and forms judgments upon the essential attributes of the state and thereby prepares the way for a true political science. It is concerned rather with generalizations than with particulars, and predicates essential qualities rather than accidental or unessential characteristics.

Again, it is said that while political science furnishes us with the results of logical thinking upon the nature and forms of concrete political institutions, political philosophy inquires into the foundations of the first principles which underlie them. A few writers make the distinction one mainly of teleology, political science being concerned with what the state ought to be, while political philosophy considers the state as it actually is. But this distinction is not generally observed.

Thus far it has been assumed that the study of the phenomena of the state may under proper conditions be treated as a science. To this assumption, however, objections have been raised. Thus, it has been asserted that, on account of the magnitude and complexity of the subject-matter relating to the state, — a body

of material, says an acute thinker, so rich and varied that, from the beginning, political science has been embarrassed by the weight of its wealth, — it is impossible to apply to it rigorous scientific methods of investigation.

Political phenomena, we are told, are characterized by uncertainty, variableness, and a lack of order and continuity. Much of this objection is, however, without weight. If, says Sir Frederick Pollock, those who deny the existence of a political science mean that there is no body of rules from which a prime minister may infallibly learn how to command a majority, they would be right as to the fact, but would betray a rather inadequate notion of what a science is. “There is, “he rightly concludes, “a political science in the same sense that there is a science of morals. “

For our purposes a science may be described as a fairly unified mass of knowledge relating to a single subject, acquired by systematic observation, experience, or reason, the facts of which have been coordinated, systematized, and classified. The scientific method of examining facts is not peculiar to one class of phenomena nor to one class of investigators; it is applicable to social as well as to physical phenomena, and we may safely reject the claim that the scientific frame of mind belongs exclusively to the physicist or the naturalist.

Authorities are now generally agreed that the phenomena of the state present a certain connection or sequence which is the result of fixed laws, though less immutable, to be sure, than

those of the physical world; that these phenomena form proper subjects of scientific investigation; and that the laws and principles deducible there from are susceptible of application to the solution of concrete problems of the state.

All that is required to give a scientific character to the study of political phenomena is that the inquiry shall be conducted in accordance with a definite plan or system, with due regard to the relations of cause and effect, so far as they are ascertainable, and in conformity with certain well-recognized rules of scientific investigation. The consensus of scientific opinion is in favor of this proposition. Aristotle described "politics" as the master science in the highest sense and in practice he applied scientific methods to his study of Greek polities. The Germans have done more than any other group of scholars, by their profound researches and discriminating analytical methods, to give to it the character of a science.

Holtendorff, one of the most systematic of the German writers, ably defended the claim of politics to be ranked as a science. "With the enormous growth of knowledge," he said, "it is impossible to deny that the sum total of all the experiences, phenomena, and knowledge respecting the state may be brought together under the collective title of political science".

We must conclude, therefore, that both reason and the weight of authority justify the claim of politics to the rank of a true science. It renders practical service by deducing sound principles as a basis for wise political action and by exposing the teachings

of a false political philosophy. As a science it falls short, of course, of the degree of perfection attained by the physical sciences, for the reason that the facts with which it deals are more complex and the causes which influence social phenomena are more difficult of control and are perpetually undergoing change.

On account of the impossibility of forecasting results with the same exactness and precision possible in the physical sciences, a fully developed science of the state must of necessity remain always an ideal. As yet it is still probably the most incomplete and undeveloped of all the social sciences.

Political Science Today

The present period of world transformation could with equal justice be called the age of science or that of astropolitics. No one imagines that political science alone among the arts and sciences will remain unaffected by the changes through which the world is moving. The distinctive concern of political science is with the political process itself, and it is impossible to believe that government and law will lie outside the accelerating tempo of history. In this inquiry, directed mainly to those who are seriously concerned with the study of government, we shall consider the future of political science from the viewpoints of scope, method, and impact.

Any problem-solving approach to human affairs poses five intellectual tasks, which we designate by five terms familiar to

political scientists — goal, trend, condition, projection, and alternative. The first question, relating to goal, raises the traditional problem of clarifying the legitimate aims of a body politic.

After goals are provisionally clarified, the historical question arises. In the broadest context, the principal issue is whether the trend of events in America or throughout the world community has been toward or away from the realization of preferred events. The next question goes beyond simple inventories of change and asks which factors condition one another and determine history. When trend and factor knowledge is at hand, it is possible to project the course of future developments on the preliminary assumption that we do not ourselves influence the future. Finally, what policy alternatives promise to bring all preferred goals to optimal fulfillment?

Past Contributions

The problem-solving frame of reference is no novelty to political scientists. It is and has been, for example, common for members of the profession to concentrate on one or another of the intellectual tasks involved. A few reminders will establish the point.

Among the enduring contributions to the study of politics we number treatises that have undertaken to clarify the goals appropriate to political activity. The principal writing of this kind

falls roughly into two categories, the first directed toward the specification of goal, the second toward justification.

The most successful method of specifying a positive vision is an imaginative essay in the manner of Plato *Republic* or More's *Utopia*. There are also the counterutopias, full of hell-fire and damnation, to which Orwell's 1984 belongs. The treatises that seek to justify more than to specify desirable goals rely on many modes of argument. Perhaps the principal tool is rhetoric properly keyed to the receptivities of a waiting audience.

This was true of Rousseau *Social Contract*. It is also possible for a writer to dispense with eloquence almost entirely and to depend on the cumulative impact of evidence and analysis. Such was the method of Marx in *Capital*, which sets forth a theory of power in the language and framework of economic history. Many famous works of justification dispense with rhetoric, empirical detail, or historical analysis and trust the razor of logic and the weight of authoritative citation. This mode of expression is particularly congenial to theologians and jurists.

The great bulk of writing on politics is more devoted to history than to any other dimension of the subject. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that history is written for its own sake. Even the most dreary account of changes in the structure of government is typically inspired by the hope of making available a body of data that will eventually help discharge the obligation shared by all political scientists to explain the rise and fall of political institutions. The immediate technique, however, is

historical, bound to the collection and criticism of sources and to the establishing of sequences of events in time and place.

In the United States, political scientists have been captivated by the task of tracing the roots of government, law, and politics in this country to the soil of England or elsewhere and distinguishing between the original design and subsequent adaptations to American experience. Woodrow Wilson's treatise on Congressional Government is a classic work of the kind.

Systematizers deal directly with the problem of explanation by putting forward propositions that are confirmed, or open to confirmation, by empirical data. One irony of history is that writers have sometimes been identified with a single factor, a set of factors, or a single generalization that does scant justice to the scope and subtlety of their approach. Michels, for example, is known almost exclusively for his formulation of the oligarchical tendencies of mass political parties. Even Aristotle is more commonly referred to in connection with the role of the middle classes in politics than for his discussion of other subjects.

It is not inappropriate that Hobbes is immortalized as the exponent of psychological motives for political action or even that the fecund Bentham is identified with a calculus of felicity. But it does little justice to Montesquieu to narrow his originality to comments on climate, geography, and politics or to condense Spencer to axioms on centralization and external threat.

Grand theories of the probable course of future development only occasionally rise to enduring influence. In this select company,

Marx and Engels take the prime position. On a far more modest scale, political scientists are continually engaged in estimating the probable strength of trends in the immediate and remote future.

For example, students of American government have been substantially of one voice in predicting such developments as the further centralization of the federal system, the rise of metropolitan regions and the decline of states, the concentration of executive power, the liquidation of ethnic discrimination, the continuation of the two-party system, the increase of litigation over civil and political rights, the continuation of controversy over civil-military relations, and the extension of social insurance coverage.

Contributions of this kind are often made jointly with proposals in the realm of public policy. No historian of the American Constitution is unaware of the attention paid by the most active drafters and defenders of the document to classical and contemporary treatises on government and law. Several of the founding fathers attained a command of the theory of government that is impressive to this day. It is necessary to go no further than to name James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton.

Among political scientists of the present century, we think of the role of Woodrow Wilson, A. Lawrence Lowell, and others in founding or promoting the League of Nations. Whatever the problem, political scientists frequently appear as innovators or

critics of policy. This is in fact the intellectual task that many professional students of government find most congenial.

Future Problems

Political scientists, we have said, possess a tradition of distinguished achievement in many areas of problem-solving importance. As we face the future, it is safe to say that the challenges are of far reaching and unprecedented variety and importance. It is perhaps useful to glance here, however briefly, at the scope of these developments.

Will questions of value goal, of overriding objective, become more or less acute as science and technology continue their explosive course? In all probability, these issues will not recede from sight. On the contrary, the chances are that the immediate future contains a unique challenge to man's conception of himself and to the values to which he is presently committed.

We do not intend to emphasize the potentialities of modern knowledge for the destruction of man and his works, formidable as these implications are; I refer to another dimension of the problem. Among all faiths, "man" is traditionally assumed to be an identifiable and usually a cherished form of "life." In Europe-centered civilizations -and America unquestionably belongs in this company — prevailing images of man were shaped by classical philosophy and the Judaeo Christian religion. Asia-centered civilizations have a more varied religious inheritance, mainly Buddhist, Taoist, Hindu, and Muslim.

In whatever doctrinal terms the affirmation is grounded, the articulate leaders of the world community presently employ the language of deference to human dignity. Although many differences of specification exist, it is generally understood that human dignity implies an opportunity for mobility on the basis of merit; human indignity, on the contrary, assumes the blind immobility of caste. The most obvious forms of "man" and "life" are easy to locate on the cosmic map of science. There are also marginal forms, and sooner or later the question of identity will be posed by these marginal phenomena.

Computing machines perform many intellectual tasks more quickly than men do. Even today it is no longer out of the question to design machines that repair themselves or reproduce their kind. More to the point, machines can be made with built-in criteria of "enjoyment" and with the capability of learning through experience. The original criteria, if not specified in fine detail, permit novel responses.

As it becomes more widely recognized that the differences between man or life and machines have reached a vanishing point, the question becomes: Shall we treat machines with the same deference that we give ourselves as advanced forms of life?

The same question will be posed somewhat less starkly in connection with products from laboratories of experimental embryology and related sciences. It is not easy to overcome the original image of "thingness" where a machine is involved. Induced mutants have at least the advantage of belonging to the

traditional realm of “life. “We must be prepared, of course, to meet living systems whose central integrative plan is organized quite differently from the brain and nervous system of man.

The central issue will hinge on how the overriding goal of human dignity is to be interpreted. Shall the idea of “human “be redefined to bring within its field of reference many phenomena that we now tend to exclude? Shall we retain the current identification of the “human “with the biological envelope called *Homo sapiens* and merge the “higher “characteristics of man with a larger category — “advanced forms of life “— in which the human species may some day play a subordinate role? More specifically: When shall we extend the protection of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to machines and mutants?

In whatever terms we eventually define the common-wealth of life or delimit the forms to be called advanced, it is plausible to believe that we will feel some residual loyalty to the symbols of what we today identify as human. Looking back from a future vantage point, the story of man will continue to seem, in some intimate sense, “our “history.

When we consider the trends that have carried the species toward or away from a conception of human dignity, it is apparent that the decisive steps toward a positive self-image were taken during the tens of thousands of years that elapsed before written records were invented. Living in migratory and occasionally settled bands, early man was in contact with proto human forms, forms that were not always easy to distinguish from *Homo sapiens*. As

proto human types dropped out, the biological environment grew more stable. As “reality “was more sharply defined, man was able to achieve a clear, affirmative self-image.

The conception of the dignity of man includes an ordering principle *among* men as well as *between* men and other forms of life. It is not farfetched to conjecture that, in early generations, human survival depended on the cultivation of discipline within bands. Entirely egocentric conduct could bring disaster to everyone. When we take into account the propensity of individual members of the species to act egocentrically, it is possible to perceive the evolutionary significance of what may be called the syndrome of parochialism.

Included in the syndrome are demands by the self on the ego (and on all group members) to sacrifice for the power of common defense and for other shareable outcomes. Among the added outcomes were physical safety, comfort, convenience; those related to intimacy and respect; and those of cultivation or transmission of know-how and of physical facilities.

There are indications of the presence of common themes of fantasy and ritual and of common conceptions of cosmic order. We can summarize by saying that it was the experience of interdependency that enabled man to survive and to develop his peculiar cultures.

All this lies in the shadow before records were written. The appearance of written records is a manifestation of the greatest invention of man — urban civilization. Cities are the launching

pads of mankind's meteoric rise. Urban civilization dates from about 3000 B.C., when the first cities emerged in the valleys of the Nile, the TigrisEuphrates, and the Indus.

During the preceding tens of thousands of years, man had been divided into small, independent folk societies, bound by ties of family identification, mutual sacrifice, and self-preoccupation.

It was in urban communities that traditional bonds of kinship were attenuated for the benefit of territorial units; hence, the simultaneous rise of law, legislation, and the techniques of impersonal administration. Cities most perfectly developed man is the social, not the natural man, for it is now generally admitted that the individual owes much of his character to the society of which he is a part.

The chief fault of the individualists is that they exaggerate the evils of state regulation and minimize the advantages; they misunderstand the true nature and limits of liberty and have a mistaken idea of the relation of the individual to the society of which he is a part. In short, they overemphasize the importance of the man at the expense of the group; they treat him as if he were paramount and as if he determined the character of society when in fact it is society, as has been said, that determines in a large degree the character of the individual.

Their doctrine rests on the assumption that the individual is largely a thing apart from the group of which he is a member, that he can be separated from society and treated as though his interests were entirely distinct from the interests of his fellow

men. In reality, however, the individual is more than a mere fraction of society; he is the epitome of it; he is the “concise formula for the total of actions and attributes;... out of relation to other things, he is literally nothing.”

“Apart from his surroundings and relationships, “says Professor Ritchie, “the individual is a mere abstraction, a logical ghost, a metaphorical specter, a mere negation. “The much-admired individual, self centered and self-contained, is, indeed, not very far from the strong and solitary wild beast.

The Methods Of Political Science

Having endeavored to show that the study of political phenomena may under certain conditions acquire the character of a science, we come now to inquire into the processes and methods by which this may be done. First of all, however, we must note the limitations and difficulties under which scientific investigation of political phenomena must of necessity be conducted.

The material with which the political scientist has to deal is very different from that with which the investigator in the physical sciences is concerned, being of such a character as not to permit of the use of artificial contrivances or apparatus for increasing or guiding our powers of observation or for registering results.

Not only must the investigator work without the assistance of mechanical aids, but he is handicapped by the fact that the phenomena with which political science deals do not follow one another according to invariable laws of sequence, but rather at

indeterminate intervals, constituting, as a noted writer observes, an “interminable and perpetually varying series.

“There is an essential difference between physical and social phenomena. The facts of history and social life cannot be reproduced at our volition and made the subject of experiment with a view to determining what is best under a given set of circumstances.

Social facts never recur at regular intervals as the manifestations of general forces, but rather as the actions of certain individuals. The facts of natural science are susceptible of evaluation; they are governed by uniform and invariable laws. Each particle of matter is identical with every other of its own kind. An atom of carbon or a molecule of carbonic acid is not different from any other atom or molecule, but the units of the social organism may differ infinitely from one another.

There are no general and invariable laws governing social phenomena. Those which have been postulated by the ancient philosophers and some modern sociologists are but vague and glittering generalities.

Not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did the phenomena of the state come to be generally regarded as a proper field for scientific investigation, since which time the literature of the subject has been enriched by the investigations of many scholars, among whom may be mentioned Von Haller, Von Mohl, Waitz, Zacharia, Holtzendorff, and Bluntschli in Germany;

Rousseau, Montesquieu, De Tocqueville, and Laboulaye in France;

Locke, Bentham, Paley, Lewis, Brougham, Austin, Mill, Seeley, and Sidgwick in England; and Hamilton, Madison, Woolsey, and Lieber in America. Among those who have made special contributions to the methodology of political science Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill, Alexander Bain, and Sir George Cornwall Lewis deserve particular mention. Comte conceived the principal methods for the scientific study of social phenomena to be three in number, namely, observation, experiment, and comparison.

Mill recognized four methods: the chemical or experimental, the geometrical or abstract, the physical or concrete deductive, and the historical method, the first two of which he considered to be false methods, the last two, the true ones. Bluntschli considered the true methods of political investigation to be the philosophical and the historical. A recent French writer who has devoted a volume to the subject of methodology in political science recognizes six possible lines of investigation: first, the sociological; second, the comparative; third, the dogmatic; fourth, the juridical; fifth, the method of good sense; and, sixth, the historical.

Other writers dwell upon what they are pleased to call the biological and psychological methods. Without considering each of these in turn we may observe that some of them are hardly applicable to the study of political phenomena, while others are

nothing more than particular forms of the comparative method — a method so broad as to comprehend the processes of accumulation, arrangement, classification, coordination, elimination, and deduction. We may well question the claim of the experimental method to a rightful place in the methodology of political science because, as has already been stated, the nature of society is such that it cannot very well be made an object of artificial experimentation. “We cannot,” says Sir George C.

Lewis, “treat the body politic as a *corpus vile* and vary its circumstances at our pleasure for the sake only of ascertaining abstract truth. We cannot do in politics what the experimenter does in chemistry. We cannot try how the substance is affected by change of temperature, by burning, by dissolution in liquids, by combination with other chemical agents, and the like. We cannot take a portion of the community in our hands as the king of Brobdignag took Gulliver, view it in different aspects and place it in different positions in order to solve social problems and satisfy our speculative curiosity.

“If the chemist wishes to study the effect of a combination of certain substances, he can create by artificial processes conditions favorable to the investigation and exclude disturbing agencies. He may isolate the phenomenon with which he deals and expose it to certain selected influences, leaving the surrounding medium unchanged. But if the political scientist wishes to experiment with democracy, for instance, he cannot select a state at will, introduce his democracy and wait for determinate results.

He will find himself powerless' to exclude extraneous influences, such, for example, as famines, commercial crises, insurrections, or other happenings which might destroy the results of the experiment.

But while scientific experimentation, as the term is employed in the physical sciences, is inapplicable to the study of politics, practical experiments, the *experimenta fructifera* of Bacon, are being constantly made, consciously or unconsciously. It is true, as Comte points out, that political experimentation really takes place whenever the regular course of state life undergoes conscious or unconscious change. Government, of necessity, is constantly trying experiments on the community.

Indeed the whole life of the state is a succession of activities which, in a sense, are experimental in character. The enactment of every new law, the establishment of every new institution, the inauguration of every new policy, is experimental in the sense that it is regarded merely as provisional and tentative until experience has proved its fitness to become permanent.

By observing the operation of a new law or a new policy and then enlarging or diminishing its scope as experience suggests modification, the legislature is able to adapt its provisions to the needs and desires of the community. The process is in the nature of an experiment whose purpose is not the ascertainment of a general truth but experiments for the purpose of testing and improving the institution. The so-called sociological method considers the state primarily as a social organism, whose

component parts are individuals, and seeks to deduce its qualities and attributes from the qualities and attributes of the men composing it. It seeks to interpret the life of the state by applying to it the theory of evolution in the same way that the growth of the individual is explained by evolution.

Closely akin to the sociological method is the biological, which attributes to the state the attributes of a living organism and which attempts to define and classify its separate parts, to describe its structure in the nomenclature of anatomy, and to differentiate and analyze its functions and trace its life processes according to the methods and terminology of the biological sciences.

Among those who have made notable contributions to the study of organized society from the sociological and biological points of view may be mentioned Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, the Austrian scholars Gumplowicz and Schäffle, and the French writers Durkheim, De Greef, Fouillee, and Letourneau, and the Russian Lilienfeld. Comte in this study of society dwells at length upon what he calls "social physics" and "social physiology.

"Spencer, who was deeply infatuated with the biological analogy, drew a striking parallel between the social and animal organisms, pointing out that each possessed a "sustaining system, "a "distributing system "and a "regulating and expending system. "

The first criticism to be made of the sociological and biological theories is that they are not so much methods of investigation as points of view from which the state may be considered. The

biological method rests mainly upon analogy instead of upon real similarity in essentials. It requires but little reflection to see that the resemblance between the body politic and the human organism is at best only superficial, that the laws of growth and change which govern the one are inapplicable to the growth and development of the other, and that little or nothing is to be gained by dwelling upon the analogy.

Essentially the same judgment may be passed upon the so-called psychological method, which in recent years has been overexploited by a certain class of writers, mostly French, who have attempted to explain social phenomena and interpret social institutions through psychological laws.

A method of treatment which enjoys great favor among German political writers and to a less degree among the French is the juristic or juridical method. It is the aim of this method, according to Jellinek, to "determine the content of the rules of public law and to deduce there from the conclusions to which they lead.

"It regards political science as a science of legal norms having nothing in common with the science of the state as a social organism. It conceives the relations of the state always as "öffentliche Verhältnisse, "political concepts as "Rechtsbegriffe "and describes the constitution and activities of the state only in terms of their "rechtliche Natur.

"In short, it treats society, not as a social phenomenon, but as a purely juridical regime, an *ensemble* of public law, rights, and

obligations, founded on a system of pure logic and reason. The state as an organism of growth and development, however, cannot be understood without a consideration of those extra-legal and special forces which lie back of the constitution and which are responsible for many of its actions and reciprocal reactions. Any view, therefore, which conceives the state merely as an institution of public law is as narrow and fruitless as the Hegelian doctrine which goes to the opposite extreme and considers it merely as a moral entity.

The comparative method, first employed by Aristotle, later by Montesquieu and still more recently by De Tocqueville, Laboulaye, Bryce, and others, aims through the study of existing polities or those which have existed in the past to assemble a definite body of material from which the investigator by selection, comparison, and elimination may discover the ideal types and progressive forces of political history.

Only those states which are contemporaneous in point of time, as Jellinek remarks, and which have a common historical basis (*Boden*) and common historical political and social institutions may be compared with advantage. The comparative method, observes M. Saleilles, a noted French publicist, discovers the "general current "which runs through the whole body of constitutions and upon which experience has set the stamp of approval

"The danger of the comparative method lies in the liability to error to which it is susceptible in practice, since, in the effort to

discover general principles, the diversity of conditions, due to different circumstances, such as the temperament and genius of the people, economic and social conditions, moral and legal standards, political training and experience, are apt to be ignored or overlooked.

J. S. Mill has undertaken to show that the comparative method may assume several forms, the “most perfect “of which is the process of *difference* by which two politics identical in every particular except one are compared with a view to discovering the effect of the differing factor. Thus two states are compared which are similar as regards their natural wealth, legal systems, racial conditions, etc., but one of which maintains a restrictive trade system.

If, therefore, one is found to be prosperous and the other not, a general conclusion is postulated with regard to the effect of restrictive commercial policies upon the national prosperity. The method of *indirect difference* compares two classes of “instances “which agree in nothing but the presence of a factor on the one side and its absence on the other.

Thus one state which maintains a protective system may be compared with two or more states which have nothing in common but a free trade policy. By the method of *agreement* two politics wholly different with the exception of two common factors may be compared. Thus two states agreeing in no particular except in having a restrictive trade system and in being prosperous are compared with a view to establishing a connection between the

restrictive policy and the prosperity. Like the method of difference, it is inadequate because its results are likely to be affected by extraneous circumstances, or, as Bain says, by a “plurality of causes with an intermixture of effects. “

What is really a particular form of the comparative method is the historical method, for the facts relating to past politics have little value for political science until they have been subjected to the several processes of treatment which, as stated above, may be comprehended under the general term “comparison. “It is almost a commonplace to-day to affirm the necessity of historical study as a basis for the scientific investigation of political institutions which have historical backgrounds. They can be fully comprehended only through a knowledge of their past; how they have developed, how they have become what they are and to what extent they have responded to the purposes for which they were originally destined.

The maxim that constitutions grow instead of being made would have no meaning apart from this truth. The historical method, says Sir Frederick Pollock, “seeks an explanation of what institutions are and are tending to be, more in the knowledge of what they have been and how they came to be what they are, than in the analysis of them as they stand. “It brings in review the great political movements of the past, traces the organic development of the national life, inquires into the growth of political ideas from their inception to their realization in objective institutions, discovers the moral idea as revealed in history and thereby points out the way of progress. What

Professor Seeley calls the “irresistible temptation to mix up what ought to be with what is “finds an illustration in the ideas of Sidgwick and Pollock (which were also the ideas of Plato and Aristotle), according to which the main object of political science is the discovery of the perfect or ideal state.

To realize this purpose, political science must first proceed to inquire what is the end of the state, and having satisfactorily answered this question, must ascertain what institutions and laws are best adapted for the attainment of this end. Seeley criticises this method as unnatural and fruitless. Instead of beginning with an inquiry into the purpose of the state and the characteristics of the best state, he would proceed, first, with classifying the states which he wished to study; second, with analyzing the structure of a particular state and distinguishing the functions of its several organs; third, with tracing its growth and development, noting any abnormal conditions in its life history; and, fourth, with philosophizing upon the nature of the state in general.

The vast mass of facts collected by different observers must be subjected to rigid scientific tests. “We must, “he says, “think, reason, generalize, define, and distinguish; we must also collect, authenticate, and investigate. If we neglect the first process, we shall accumulate facts to little purpose, because we shall have no test by which to distinguish facts which are important from those which are unimportant; and, of course, if we neglect the second Process, our reasonings will be baseless and we shall but weave scholastic cobwebs. “

Relation Of Political Science To Other Sciences

Political science is not the only science which deals with men in organized society, for, as we have seen, the state manifests itself under the forms of a social as well as a political organism and indeed is not without a psychical and a physical element. Although an autonomous science in the sense that it is not a mere discipline of some other science, it does not stand entirely unrelated to other sciences any more than the state stands isolated in the universe of phenomena.

We can no more understand political science, as the science of the totality of state phenomena, without a knowledge of the allied sciences or disciplines, than we can comprehend biology without chemistry, or mechanics without mathematics. Paul Janet, a noted French writer, has well said that political science is “closely connected with political economy or the science of wealth; with law, either natural or positive, which occupies itself principally with the relations of citizens one to another; with history, which furnishes the facts of which it has need; with philosophy, and especially with morals, which gives to it a part of its principles.

“Other writers, like Jellinek, have treated geography, physical anthropology, ethnology, psychology, and ethics as among the studies auxiliary to political science, Formerly there was a disposition to exaggerate and emphasize to their common detriment the independence of each branch of knowledge, but the tendency of modern thought is to accentuate the relations

instead of the differences. In this connection Sidgwick has aptly remarked that it is for the good of any department of knowledge or inquiry to understand as thoroughly as possible its relation to other sciences and to see clearly what elements of its reasonings it has to take from them and what in its turn it may claim to give them.

First of all, political science touches at many points sociology, which may be described as the fundamental social science. As has been well said, the political is embedded in the social, and if political science remains distinct from sociology, it will be because the breadth of the field calls for the specialist, and not because there are any well-defined boundaries marking it off from sociology,

While, however, the two sciences touch at many points, so that there are no natural boundaries between them, their spheres have been pretty definitely differentiated for purposes of scientific investigation. It is well, therefore, to recognize that the domains and the problems of the two sciences are by no means the same.

In general, we may say that sociology is concerned with the scientific study of society viewed as an aggregate of individuals (the social aggregate) or, as has been said, it is the “science of men in their associated processes “; while political science deals with the political aspects of a particular portion of society viewed as an organized unit. Political science is concerned with one form only of human association, namely, the political; it has,

therefore, a narrower and more restricted field, and begins much later with the life of the race than does sociology.

In sociology the unit of investigation is the *socius*, that is, the individual viewed not merely as an animal and a conscious being, but also as a neighbour, a citizen, a coworker, in short, a social creature, In political science the unit of study is the state as distinct from the nation, the tribe, the clan, the family, or the individual, though not unconnected with them; that is, its primary subject is a definite portion of society which manifests, in a comparatively high degree, a political self-consciousness and which has become organized politically.

In the second place, political science is closely related to history. It is, as Jellinek remarks, almost a commonplace to-day to affirm the necessity of historical study as a basis for a proper understanding of institutions, whether they be political, legal, or social. The political scientist should study, not only the nature of political institutions, but how they have developed and to what extent they have fulfilled the purposes of their existence, History furnishes us in a great measure the materials for comparison and induction.

This is especially true of political history, which concerns itself with the formation of states, their growth, and their decline. The relationship was tersely expressed by the late Professor Seeley, who said "political science without history is hollow and baseless; or to put it in rhyme: history without political science has no fruit; and political science without history has no root. "

While history furnishes much of the data for political science it is not true, as Freeman once declared, that history is past politics or that politics is present history. Not all of history is "past politics. "Much of it like the history of art, of science, of inventions, discoveries, military campaigns, language, customs, dress, industries, religious controversies—has little, if any, relation to politics and affords no material for political investigation. On the other hand, not all political science is history. Much of it is of a purely philosophical and speculative character, and cannot therefore be assigned to the category of history.

The function of history is to narrate and interpret a succession of events; to discover how institutions have persisted and changed from generation to generation; to trace tendencies and laws of growth. It is not restricted in its sphere to those parts of society which manifest political consciousness and which have received political organization, but deals with the record of man prior to as well as subsequent to the organization of the state.

The function of political science, historically considered, is to explain political institutions, and it is concerned only with that part of history which is capable of throwing light upon their present character. According to certain writers, its principal problem is the teleological one of determining what ought to be, so far as the constitution and functions of government are concerned, while history is concerned with what has been. Thus, although their problems are distinct, they have a common subject in the phenomena of the state, and therefore their spheres touch

at many points and overlap at others. To fully comprehend political science in its fundamental relations we must study it historically, and to interpret history in its true significance we must study that politically. As studies they are therefore mutually contributory and supplementary. "Politics are vulgar," said Professor Seeley, "when not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to politics. "Separate them, says Burgess, and the one becomes a cripple, if not a corpse, the other a will-of-the-wisp.

Seeley conceived history to be the name of the residuum which is left when one group of facts after another has been taken possession of by some science. Ultimately, he says, a science will take possession of the residuum, and this science will be political science. Many of the facts of history, he points out, are no longer recorded in historical treatises, but have been appropriated by other sciences.

Thus the facts of the past relating to meteorology, biology, hygiene, surgery, anti various other sciences and arts are not recorded in historical, but in scientific treatises. Physiology has taken possession of a definite group of historical facts; pathology, of another; political economy is appropriating the facts of industry; jurisprudence, of law; etc. If this process of appropriation continues, all the facts of history in the end will be swallowed up. Already historians deal meagerly with the facts regarding the phenomena of the sciences and arts, contenting themselves with referring the reader to some special treatise for information. With political economy, —or economics, to use the

more modern term, —political science is closely related; indeed, it is classed as a branch of political science by at least one noted economist. It was first called “political economy by the Greeks, and was defined by them as the art of providing revenue for the state.

Senior remarks that as late as the eighteenth century political economy was regarded as a branch of statesmanship particularly by the physiocrats, and that those who assumed the name of political economists avowedly treated, not of wealth, but of government. His own conception of the scope of political economy was affected by this view, and he laid it down as a principle that this science involved a “consideration of the whole theory of morals, of government, and of civil and criminal legislation.

The first systematic English writer on the subject, Sir James Stewart, in his “Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy “, enunciated this view when he said: “What economy is in the family, political economy is in the state.... The great art, therefore, of political economy is first to adapt the different operations of it to the spirit, manners, habits, and customs of the people, and afterward to model these circumstances so as to be able to introduce a set of new and more useful institutions. “Nine years later, Adam Smith published his “Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, “in which he stated the objects of political economy, “considered as a branch of the science of a statesman, “to be two: first, to provide adequate “revenue or substance for the people or, more properly, to enable them to provide it for themselves “; and, second, to supply the

state or commonwealth “with a revenue sufficient for the public service. “It proposes, “he said, “to enrich both the people and the sovereign. “

Without quoting further from the earlier writers, it is clear that they conceived economics to be a branch of the general science of the state. Writers of the present day no longer hold to the earlier conception, yet there is no difference of opinion among them concerning the existence of a close relationship of economics and politics as ancillary social sciences. Political and social life is obviously intermixed with, and the activities and even the forms of government are profoundly influenced by, economic conditions.

Conversely, there is a distinct interaction of politics upon economics. The production and distribution of wealth are to some extent determined by the existing forms of government. The solution of many economic problems must come through political channels, while, on the other hand, some of the fundamental problems of the state have their origin in economic considerations.

Thus tariff laws and trade restrictive acts, generally, are favored or opposed largely on economic grounds and to a great extent the whole question of the relation between government and liberty is at bottom an economic problem. The burning questions of present-day politics: government control of public utilities, the relation of the state to corporate enterprise, and its attitude toward the whole question of capital and labour, are at the same

time fundamentally questions of economics; indeed, the whole theory of government administration is largely economic.

Identity Politics has become a prominent subject in the Indian politics in the past few years. Rise of low castes, religious identities, linguistic groups and ethnic conflicts have contributed to the significance of identity politics in India. The discourse on Identity, many scholars feel, is distinctly a modern phenomenon. Craig Calhoun aptly describes the situation when he argues that it is in the modern times we encounter intensified efforts at consolidating individual and categorical identities and reinforce self-sameness.

This is primarily a modern phenomenon because some scholars feel that emphasis on identity based on a central organising principle of ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual preferences, or caste positions, etc, are a sort of “compelling remedy for anonymity” in an otherwise impersonal modern world. It is thus said to be a “pattern of belonging, a search for comfort, an approach to community.” However, the complex social changes and the imbrications of various forces, factors and events in this modern world have rendered such production and recognition of identities problematic.

This is to say that any search for an ‘authentic self or identity’ is not an innocent and unnuanced possibility; it involves negotiating other, often overlapping and contested, heterodox or multiple ‘selves’. Cascardi succinctly elucidates this by observing, “the modern subject is defined by its insertion into a

series of separate value-spheres, each one of which tends to exclude or attempts to assert its priority over the rest”, thereby rendering identity-schemes problematic. Nonetheless, the concerns with individual and collective identity that simultaneously seeks to emphasise differences and attempt to establish commonality with others similarly distinguished, have become a universal venture.

But the question is how do discourses on identity fit into the political landscape? What are the political underpinnings of these discourses on identity? What are the organising principles of movements that characterise themselves as those based on identity concerns? Can we define movements of workers as an instance of identity politics? In short what is the politics of identity and what are its organising principles?

Identity Politics is said to “signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups”. As a political activity it is thus considered to signify a body of political projects that attempts a “recovery from exclusion and denigration” of groups hitherto marginalised on the basis of differences based on their ‘selfhood’ determining characteristics like ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, etc., Identity politics thus attempts to attain empowerment, representation and recognition of social groups by asserting the very same markers that distinguished and differentiated them from the others and utilise those markers as an assertion of selfhood and identity based on difference rather than equality. Contrastingly placed, it is to

imply that adherents of identity politics essentialise certain markers that fix the identities of social groups around an ensemble of definitional absolutes. These markers may be those of language, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, religion, tribe, race, etc., institutionalised in jargons, metaphors, stereotypes, and academic literature and reinforced through practices of positive discrimination or affirmative action. The proponents of identity politics thus, assign the primacy of some “essence” or a set of core features shared only by members of the collectivity and no others and accepts individual persons as singular, integral, altogether harmonious and unproblematic identities. These core markers are different from associational markers like those of the workers who are defined more by their common interests rather than by certain core essential naturally ‘given’ identity attributes of the groups engaged in identity politics. Though many would argue that “worker” was an identity deserving legitimacy and as a group, its movements can be referred to as identity Politics, but probably the term “identity politics” as a body of political projects implied to in contemporary discourses refers to certain essential, local and particular categorical identities rather than any universalizing ideals or agenda. The adherents of identity politics utilise the power of myths, cultural symbols and kinship relations to mould the feeling of shared community and subsequently politicize these aspects to claim recognition of their particular identities.

The strongest criticism against Identity Politics is that it often challenged by the very same markers upon which the sense of self or community is sought to be built. It is despite the fact that

identity politics is engaged in numerous aspects of oppression and powerlessness, reclaiming and transforming negative scripts used by dominant groups into powerful instruments for building positive images of self and community. In other words the markers that supposedly defines the community are fixed to the extent that they harden and release a process of in-group essentialism that often denies internal dialogicality within and without the group and itself becomes a new form of closure and oppression.

Identity Politics as a field of study can be said to have gained intellectual legitimacy since, the second half of the twentieth century, *i.e.*, between 1950s and 1960s in the United States when large scale political movements of the second wave-feminists, Black Civil Rights, Gay and Lesbian Liberation movements and movements of various Indigenous groups in the U.S., and other parts of the world were being justified and legitimated on the basis of claims about injustices done to their respective social groups. However, as scholars like Heyes point out that although “‘Identity Politics’ can draw on intellectual precursors from Mary Wollstonecraft to Frantz Fanon, writing that actually uses this specific phrase—Identity Politics—is limited almost exclusively to the last 15 years.

In India we find that despite adoption of a liberal democratic polity after independence, communities and collective identities have remained powerful and continue to claim recognition. In fact, Beteille has shown that the Indian polity has consistently tried to negotiate the allegiance to a liberal spirit and the

concerns and consciousness of community. According to Bikhu Parekh this process has recognised a wide array of autonomous and largely self-governing communities. It has sought to reconcile itself as an association of individuals and a community of communities, recognising both individuals and communities as bearer of rights.

It was probably this claim for and granting of recognition of particular identities by the post-independence state of India that led many scholars to believe that a material basis for the enunciation of identity claims has been provided by the post-independent state and its structures and institutions. In other words the state is seen as an “active contributor to identity politics through the creation and maintenance of state structures which define and then recognize people in terms of certain identities”. Thus, we find identity politics of various hues abound in India, the most spectacular however, are those based on language, religion, caste, ethnicity or tribal identity. But having said this it would be wrong on our part to assume that each of these identity markers operate autonomously, independent of the overlapping influence of the other makers. In other words a homogenous linguistic group may be divided by caste affiliations that may be sub-divided by religious orientations or all may be subsumed under a broader ethnic claim.

Caste

Caste-based discrimination and oppression have been a pernicious feature of Indian society and in the post-independence

period its imbrications with politics have not only made it possible for hitherto oppressed caste-groups to be accorded political freedom and recognition but has also raised consciousness about its potential as a political capital. In fact Dipankar Gupta has poignantly exposed this contradiction when he elaborates the differences between Ambedkar and Mandal Commission's view of caste. While the former designed the policy of reservations or protective discrimination to remove untouchability as an institution from Indian social life and polity, the latter considered caste as an important political resource. Actually, the Mandal commission can be considered the intellectual inspiration in transforming caste-based identity to an asset that may be used as a basis for securing political and economic gains. Though it can also be said that the upper castes by virtue of their predominant position were already occupying positions of strengths in the political and economic system, and when the Mandal heightened the consciousness of the 'Dalits' by recognising their disadvantage of caste-identity as an advantage the confrontation ensues. The caste system, which is based on the notions of purity and pollution, hierarchy and difference, has despite social mobility, been oppressive towards the Shudras and the outcastes who suffered the stigma of ritual impurity and lived in abject poverty, illiteracy and denial of political power. The origin of confrontational identity politics based on caste may be said to have its origin on the issue of providing the oppressed caste groups with state support in the form of protective discrimination. This group-identity based on caste that has been reinforced by the emergence of political consciousness around caste identities is institutionalised by the caste-based political

parties that profess to uphold and protect the interests of specific identities including the castes. Consequently, we have the upper caste dominated BJP, the lower caste dominated BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party) or the SP (Samajwadi Party), including the fact that left parties (for example use of caste idioms for mobilising agricultural labourers in Andhra Pradesh elections in 1950) have tacitly followed the caste pattern to extract mileage in electoral politics. The Cumulative result of the politicisation can be summarised by arguing that caste-based identity politics has had a dual role in Indian society and polity. It relatively democratised the caste-based Indian society but simultaneously undermined the evolution of class-based organisations. In all, caste has become an important determinant in Indian society and politics, the new lesson of organised politics and consciousness of caste affiliations learnt by the hitherto despised caste groups have transformed the contours of Indian politics where shifting caste-class alliances are being encountered. The net effect of these mobilisations along caste-identities have resulted not only in the empowerment of newly emerging groups but has increased the intensity of confrontational politics and possibly leading to a growing crisis of governability.

Religion

Another form of identity politics is that effected through the construction of a community on the shared bond of religion. In India, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism are some of the major religions practised by the people. Numerically the Hindus are considered to be the majority,

which inspires many Hindu loyalist groups like the RSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) or the Siva Sena and political parties like the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) or the Hindu Mahasabha to claim that India is a Hindu State. These claims generate homogenizing myths about India and its history. These claims are countered by other religious groups who foresee the possibility of losing autonomy of practise of their religious and cultural life under such homogenising claims. This initiates contestations that have often resulted in communal riots. The generally accepted myths that process the identity divide on religious lines centre on the 'appeasement theory', 'forcible religious conversions', general 'anti-Hindu' and thus 'anti-India' attitude of the minority religious groups, the 'hegemonic aspirations' of majority groups and 'denial of a socio-cultural space' to minority groups.

Historically, the Hindu revivalist movement of the 19th century is considered to be the period that saw the demarcation of two separate cultures on religious basis—the Hindus and the Muslims that deepened further because of the partition. This division which has become institutionalised in the form of a communal ideology has become a major challenge for India's secular social fabric and democratic polity. Though communalism for a major part of the last century signified Hindu-Muslim conflict, in recent years contestations between Hindus and Sikhs, Hindus and Christians have often crystallised into communal conflict. The rise of Hindu national assertiveness, politics of representational government, persistence of communal perceptions, and competition for the socio-economic resources

are considered some of the reasons for the generation of communal ideologies and their transformation into major riots. Identity schemes based on religion have become a major source of conflict not only in the international context but since, the early 1990s it has also become a challenge for Indian democracy and secularism. The rise of majoritarian assertiveness is considered to have become institutionalised after the BJP, that along with its 'Hindu' constituents gave political cohesiveness to a consolidating Hindu consciousness, formed a coalition ministry in March 1998. However, like all identity schemes the forging of a religious community glosses over internal differences within a particular religion to generate the "we are all of the same kind" emotion. Thus differences of caste groups within a homogenous Hindu identity, linguistic and sectional differences within Islam are shelved to create a homogenous unified religious identity. In post-independence India the majoritarian assertion has generated its own antithesis in the form of minority religions assertiveness and a resulting confrontational politics that undermines the syncretistic dimensions of the civil society in India. The process through which this religious assertiveness is being increasingly institutionalised by a 'methodical rewriting of history' has the potential to reformulate India's national identity along communal trajectories.

Language

Identity claims based on the perception of a collectivity bound together by language may be said to have its origin in the pre-independence politics of the Congress that had promised

reorganisation of states in the post-independent period on linguistic basis. But it was the “JVP” (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya) Committee’s concession that if public sentiment was “insistent and overwhelming”, the formation of Andhra from the Telugu-speaking region of the then Madras could be conceded which as Michael Brecher mentions was the “opening wedge for the bitter struggle over states reorganisation which was to dominate Indian Politics from 1953 to 1956”. Ironically, the claim of separate states for linguistic collectivities did not end in 1956 and even today continues to confront the concerns of the Indian leadership. But the problem has been that none of the created or claimed states are mono-ethnic in composition and some even have numerically and politically powerful minorities. This has resulted in a cascading set of claims that continue to threaten the territorial limits of existing states and disputes over boundaries between linguistic states have continued to stir conflicts, as for instance the simmering tensions between Maharashtra and Karnataka over the district of Belgaum or even the claims of the Nagas to parts of Manipur.

The linguistic divisions have been complicated by the lack of a uniform language policy for the entire country. Since, in each state the dominant regional language is often used as the medium of instruction and social communication, the consequent affinity and allegiance that develops towards one’s own language gets expressed even outside one’s state of origin. For instance the formation of linguistic cultural and social groups outside one’s state of origin helps to consolidate the unity and sense of

community in a separate linguistic society. Thus language becomes an important premise on which group identities are organized and establishes the conditions for defining the 'in-group' and 'out-group'.

Though it is generally felt that linguistic states provide freedom and autonomy for collectivities within a heterogeneous society, critics argue that linguistic states have reinforced regionalism and has provided a platform for the articulation of a phenomenal number of identity claims in a country that has 1,652 'mother tongues' and only fourteen recognised languages around which states have been reorganised. They argue that the effective result of recognition for linguistic groups has disembodied the feelings of national unity and national spirit in a climate where 'Maharashtra for Marathis, Gujrat for Gujratis, etc" has reinforced linguistic mistrust and defined the economic and political goods in linguistic terms.

Ethnicity

You will study in detail about the ethnicity in unit 26 of the book 2 of this course. There are two ways in which the concept of ethnic identity is used; one, it insiders the formation of identity on the basis of single attribute–language, religion, caste, region, etc; two, it considers the formation of identity on the basis, of multiple attributes cumulatively. However, it is the second way formation of identity on the basis of more than one characteristics–culture, customs, region, religion or caste, which is considered as the most common way of formation of the ethnic

identity. The one ethnic identity is formed in relation to the other ethnic identity. The relations between more than one ethnic identity can be both harmonious and conflictual. Whenever there is competition among the ethnic identities on the real or imaginary basis, it expressed in the form of autonomy movements, demand for session or ethnic riots.

Chapter 2

Impact of Caste System in Indian Democracy

Caste System vs. Societal Democracy

Caste in Indian society refers to a social group where membership is largely decided by birth. This caste system became fixed and hereditary with the emergence of Hinduism and its beliefs of pollution and rebirth. The Laws of Manu (Manusmitri), refer to the impurity and servility of the outcastes, while affirming the dominance and total impunity of upper castes. Those from the lowest castes are told that their place in the caste hierarchy is due to their sins in their past life. Vivid punishments of torture and death are assigned for crimes such as gaining literacy or insulting a member of a dominant caste. Manusmitri, the most authoritative text of Hindu religion legitimizes social exclusion and introduces absolute inequality as the guiding principle of social relations.

Caste still very much matters to Indian citizens even in the modern world, though one must point out that different groups of citizens have different reasons for maintaining the system of caste. The upper castes want to keep caste alive to oppress the lower castes thereby maintaining their domination. It is very interesting to note that the lower caste groups, who are supposed to hate the caste system, also want to use their caste identity to gain benefits in the corridors of power and politics and, at the

same time, they want to put a stop to the caste oppression imposed upon them by the upper castes. It is an ironical and interesting situation of the Indian society in modern India.

Actually, it was meant to show that the four classes stood in relation to the social organization in the same relation as the different organs of the Primordial Man to his body. Together they had to function to give vitality to the body politic. But the caste system grown to the level of retarding the growth of an individual in the name of caste and there by affecting the fundamental rights of an individual to live or to grow, which is the essence of democracy. How caste system affects the Democracy can broadly be classified under two headings.

The roots of democracy lie not in the form of Government, Parliamentary or otherwise. A democracy is more than a form of government. It is primarily a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in the terms of associated life between people who form a society. Dr. Ambedkar

Caste is the most confused knot of all social problems. Indian society is cast ridden. Religion is just a belief and it can change anytime in the life, but caste is a constant factor which don't change even when religion changes. It doesn't change when occupation changes or social status changes. That is Caste remains constant. It is like a omega value simply a mere constant don't change in any situation. Caste system does not allow for upward mobility in society. If a person's family comes from the

lower economic strata, in a society based on a caste system, that person would need to remain within that restricted level.

Caste system affects the society by making the people more exposed to prejudice, stereotyping and other things. These differences in rankings often cause disputes within the society. Caste system is filled with inequality and injustice. The people of one caste don't like to mix with others. This division of society into so many religions, castes and subcastes comes in the way of the unity and integrity of the Indian nation. Caste System is the only reason behind women slavery. It encourages child marriage and opposes remarriage. Women are treated only as sex machine. In many castes', women are not allowed to study, work outside or speak their mind. Caste system is the reason behind the lower status of women in some of the communities. No caste in India respect women rights and their feelings. An Indian cannot eat or marry with an Indian simply because he or she does not belong to his or her caste. An Indian simply cannot touch an Indian because he or she does belong to his or her caste.

Caste System is the precursor of Communal Violence by continuously suppressing a section of people. It forces lower caste people to take weapons in their hand. Naxalite, maoistetc movements are just an aggression of lower caste people on economic inequality. Limited choice of occupations, which is enforced within a caste as well as by other castes. A caste might follow more than one traditional occupation but its members would nonetheless be constrained to that range Restrictions on dietary and social interactions that define who could consume

what and accept from whom. As with marriage arrangements, these restrictions apply at sub-caste level, not merely at the caste level. Physical segregation is there in many parts of the country. These are accompanied by limitations on movement and access, including to religious and educational areas and to basic facilities such as supplies of water.

Since, caste is an age old system which is followed traditionally, people find it difficult to accept the new ideal and scientific principles. Caste system discriminates people and it violates all human rights norms on which UN instruments are founded. In its application, Caste has led to sub-human treatment of a vast population. Presently, India's Dalits constitute around 17% of the population. With other minorities, such as tribal peoples, Sikhs and Muslims, minorities in India constitute roughly 85%; the overwhelming majority. To this day, the level of violence against Dalits and other 'lower' Castes is atrocious. Social degradation perpetuated under the Caste system has very few parallels in human history. Such treatment continues to this day. Discrimination is extended to all aspects of life: whether in employment, education, health, land holding, security, and all aspects of women's rights. The psychological effects on 'inferior' Castes constitute gross human rights abuse and a continuing cruelty and thereby affecting the democracy. We have to remember and recollect the fact that the Indian society does not consist of individuals. It consists of innumerable collection of castes, which are exclusive in their life and have no common experience to share and have no bond of sympathy. The existence

of caste system is a standing denial of the existence of those ideals of society and therefore of democracy.

The religious leaders of Hinduism created the oppressive caste system as an essential component of the religion.

It does not allow for upward mobility in society. If a person's family comes from the lower economic strata, in a society based on a caste system, that person would need to remain within that restricted level.

However so long as a caste system is designed on the basis that people placed in a given caste have the appropriate skills and disposition for their caste it improves efficiency as over time people in a given caste will become more specialized at fulfilling the duties of their caste. This however is often not the case and castes are more often based solely on social and economic power, not the actual suitability of the given people's abilities to their caste.

In my opinion, the caste system affects the society by making the people more exposed to prejudice, stereotyping and other things. These differences in rankings often cause disputes within the society. However, how it affects the society depends on how you see it.

Caste system is filled with inequality and injustice. There is no point in calling casteism as a system or a process, rather it is an evil. Indian society is caste ridden. The people of one caste don't like to mix with others. This division of society into so many

religions, castes and sub-castes comes in the way of the unity and integrity of the Indian nation. People vote on the basis of caste and religion and do not take the merits of the candidate into consideration. Democracy itself has become a mockery owing to this evil.

The caste system can not be eradicated without changing the mindset of the people. The caste system is a great social evil. From time to time social reformers and thinkers have tried to eradicate this evil, but to no avail. Even Gandhiji could not do much for the eradication of Untouchability.

It is a deep-rooted problem which has defied all solutions so far. The problem has persisted largely because of the illiteracy and ignorance of the people. Their ignorance makes the people conservative and superstitious. Hence, they do not accept any social change. They want things to continue as they are. Every measure of social reform is strongly opposed and is considered to be an attack on their religion by the religious fanatics.

Therefore, if the evil of caste system is to be eradicated every possible effort should be made to educate the people and thus create a strong public opinion against the evil. School text books should be carefully revised. Lessons should be included to teach the students that the caste system is manmade. It was a system for the division of labour devised by our wise forefathers. Originally, man was not born into any cast: his caste was determined by his learning or by the nature of work he did in life. Basically, all human beings are equal; they have the same kind of

blood in their veins. The differences of upper and lower are wrong, and entirely the creation of vested interests. The similarities between the different castes should be stressed rather than the differences. In this way would be created awareness against the caste system and its hold upon society would be gradually loosened.

In short, the key to this problem lies in the creation of a strong public opinion against it. Teachers, professional Gurus, scholars, thinkers, and writers should all unite in the nations fight against this chronic and widespread social evil. A responsible press can do a lot in this direction. The caste system persists even after 62 years of independence. Every effort should be made to change the psychology of the people, and strict action taken against offenders. India a nation of diverse culture not only that holds good but also a land of diverse problems. Caste is the most confused knot of all social problems. Religion is just a belief change anytime of the life, but caste is a constant which don't change even occupation and social status changes. Caste is like Iomega value simply a mere constant don't change in any situation. We can't change caste but we can eradicate caste from our society. we can't expect politician to talk about casteless society because they want people to be divided.

Every party in India is strongly backed by a caste. So they don't allow people to get united in casteless society because it difficult for minor caste party to remain in the politics. There dalit parties in India from north to south which project them self as voice of SC's and ST's. Since, independence no changes as came to this

section of people. Top leaders and politicians play caste politics to sustain in power and earn wealth. No equality in the society both economically and socially.

- *Denies Change of Occupation caste system:* Most probably opposes the change of work. A SC and ST cant start doing a business, agriculture etc run successfully. Even today other than Brahmins can't enter temple goddess premises.
- Untouchability mos-t sinful act still in practice of the 21st century. Even today you cant find deprived part of the society cant enter temple premises and many maintain distance from the lower caste don't allow inside there house.
- No unity caste system only increases the hate, anger but never create brotherliness. Still many people of different caste have different style of living.
- Lack in Social Progress since, caste is an age old system which are followed traditionally. So people find it difficult to accept the new ideal and scientific principles.
- Democracy Failure India is the worlds largest democracy but everyday democracy fails. Even today you cant find a dalit candidate contesting in the non-dalit reserved constitution.
- Women Slavery Caste system encourages child marriage and oppose remarriage. Women are treated only as sex machine. Caste system is like a Hitler

fascism principle. No caste in India respect women rights and there feelings.

- Communal Violence Caste system keeps on suppressing a section of people. It forces lower caste people to take weapons in there hand. Naxalite, maoist etc movements are just a aggression of lower caste people on economic inequality.
- Brahmin role Declined today Brahmins eliminated from the superiority position, but problem varies caste within them show difference and oppress lower caste.
- Social Change to some extend people walk freely, study in same class, move same bus etc., Even though we cant find this change in interior part of the world.
- Economic raise about a major portion there is raise in the economic status of the lower and middle caste.
- Improve Education Only education can increase the think of the people and unite people. Caste system exist only because of ignorance within the people. Education can bring next generation new bloods without caste.
- *Promote Inter-caste Marriage:* Society must provide special offers for people who does inter caste marriage. Inter caste marriage will change the next generation people without knowing caste.
- *Eliminate Caste Word:* Government must pass a law like untouchability to make caste a criminal word. No form or government policy must have caste oriented approach.

- *Economic Stability:* We need government economic policy to focus on overall development of all section of the people.
- *Eradicate Timeless Reservation:* We need to remove reservation after first generation receiving the benefits of reservation. Continuous is also a reason for caste development.
- *Nationalize:* We need to take tough decision by bring every temple, water, road's etc under nationalized policy; which makes people accessible to all resources.

Direct And Participatory Democracy

Democracy is a shape of government and an ideal, an aspiration and an average. The center unit of democracy is self-rule. The origin of the word democracy can be traced back to ancient Greece. Derived from the Greek term '*demokratia*', it means rule through the people. In the literal sense, it rejects the isolation of the two, i.e., flanked by the ruler and the ruled. It is motivating to note that unlike the words communism and socialism, which has a point of reference in Marxism, democracy has not been associated with a specific doctrinal source or ideology. In fact, it is a byproduct of the whole growth of Western culture and so, tends to be used rather loosely. Therefore, the history of the thought of democracy is rather intricate and is marked through conflicting and confusing conceptions. It is confusing because 'this is still an active history' and also because the issues are intricate. Though, it has been justified and defended on the grounds that it achieves one or more of the following fundamental

value or goods like equality, liberty, moral self-growth, the general interest, private interests, social utility etc.

Several Meanings

Varied meanings have been attached to the term 'democracy'. Few of them are since follows:

- A shape of government in which people rule directly;
- A society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege;
- A organization of decision-creation based on the principle of majority rule;
- A organization of rule that secures the rights and interests of minorities through placing checks upon the authority of the majority;
- A means of filling public offices by a competitive thrash about for the popular vote;
- An organization of government that serves the interests of the people regardless of their participation in political life.
- An organization of government based on the consent of the governed.

Linking Government to the People

From the dissimilar meanings that are associated with democracy, one item that becomes clear is that democracy links government to the people. Though, this link can be forged in a

number of methods depending upon the superior political civilization of that society. Due to this, there have been ideological differences and political debates concerning the exact nature of democratic rule. Nonetheless, any discussion on democracy tends to address three significant questions:

- Who are the people
- In what sense the people rule
- How distant should popular rule extend
- Direct Democracy

Direct Democracy is a shape of self-government in which all communal decisions are taken by participation of all adult citizens of the state in the spirit of equality and open deliberations. Deliberations or discussions are significant because decisions arrived at by discussions are bigger informed, logical and rational. This is because discussions allow a group to reconcile dissimilar interests, inform members in relation to the several issues and attract on the group's expertise. In other terms, debates enable people to both power and to be convinced through the group.

The significant characteristic of direct democracy is the mechanism that 'all command each and each in his turn all'. It was achieved in ancient Athens by a shape of government brought in relation to the since a result of a size meeting. Its contemporary manifestation is the referendum. 'Gram Sabha', since envisaged in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, is an example of direct democracy in rural India.

Principles Governing Direct Democracy

In a direct democracy, so, the best decisions can never be arrived at by voting. The principle of direct democracy is to govern by consensus, which emerges from cautious deliberations of options or alternatives. In the absence of formal representative organizations, people create decisions themselves by public discussions.

In other terms, the following principles apply in direct democracy:

- People are sovereign
- Sovereignty is inalienable and cannot be represented
- People necessarily express their common will and create decisions directly by referenda
- Decisions are to be based on majority rule

To sum up direct democracy is based on direct, unmediated and continuous participation of citizens in the tasks of government. It obliterates the distinction flanked by government and the governed and flanked by state and civil society. In direct democracy, state and society become one. It is an organization of popular self-government.

Merits of Direct Democracy

The merits of direct democracy contain the following:

- It heightens manage that citizens can exercise in excess of their own destinies, since it is the only pure shape of democracy.
- It creates a bigger informed and more politically sophisticated citizenry, and therefore it has educational benefits.
- It enables the public to express their own views and interests without having to rely on self-serving politicians
- It ensures that rule is legitimate in the sense that people are more likely to accept decisions that they have made themselves.

Greek Democracy since Direct Democracy

The classic instance of a direct democracy is that of ancient Athens throughout the 4th century BC. It can be measured since the only pure or ideal organization of popular participation recognized therefore distant. It had a specific type of direct popular rule in which all-important decisions were taken however size meetings. The Assembly or *Ecclesia* to which all citizens belonged made all biggest decisions. This assembly met at least 40 times a year to settle issues put before it. When full time public officials were required, they were chosen on the foundation of lots. This procedure was adapted to ensure that they were a section of the superior body of citizens. The posts were, though, not fixed and were rotated in quite a frequency therefore that all citizens gained experience in the art of governing and therefore, tried to achieve the broadest possible

participation. A council consisting of 500 citizens acted since the executive or steering committee of the assembly and a 50 strong committee in turn made proposals to the council.

Athenian Democracy: Causes for its Fame

It is significant to understand what made Athenian democracy therefore extra ordinary. Athens, in fact, symbolized a new political civilization enfranchising the entire citizenry. The citizens not only participated in regular meetings of the assembly, but they were in big numbers, prepared to undertake the responsibilities of public office and decision-making. Formally, citizens were differentiated on the foundation of rank and wealth in their involvement in public affairs. The demos held sovereign authority, i.e., supreme power to engage in legislative and judicial behaviors. The Athenian concept of citizenship entailed taking a share in this function, participating directly in the affairs of the state.

Athenian democracy was marked through a common commitment to the principle of civic virtue which actually meant commitment and dedication to the republican municipality-state, the subordination of private life to public affairs and the attainment of general good. In other terms, there was no isolation of public and private life and individuals could attain self-fulfillment and live an honorable life 'in and by the poleis, i.e. the municipality-state. For instance, citizens had rights and obligations but not since private individuals, rather since members of the political society. There were, therefore, public rights and good life was

possible only in the polis. Therefore, 'In the Greek vision of democracy, politics is a natural social action not sharply separated from the rest of life. Rather political life is only an extension of and harmonious with oneself'. It looks that the Athenians whispered in a 'free and open' political life in which citizens could develop and realize their capacities and ability and the *telos* of the general good. And justice meant securing and realization of the citizen's role and lay in the municipality-states.

Aristotle's 'The Politics'

We discover the mainly detailed and extra ordinary explanation of ancient democracy in Aristotle's well-known job *The Politics* which was written flanked by 335 and 323 BC. His job examines the claims, ethical standards and aims of democracy and states distinctly, the key characteristics of a number of Greek democracies. Liberty and equality are connected jointly, particularly if you claim to be a democrat. Without the subsistence of one, the other is hard to achieve. There are two criteria of liberty: a) to rule and in turn being ruled and b) livelihood since one chooses. If one wants to execute the first criterion since an effective principle of government, it is necessary that all citizens are equal. Without numerical equality, it is not possible for the majority to be sovereign. Numerical equality here means that everyone has an equal share in the art of ruling. The classical or the earlier democrats felt that numerical equality was possible to achieve because a) citizens are paid for their participation in government and so, are not losers because of their political involvement, b) citizens have equal

voting authority and c) in principle, everyone has an equal opportunity to hold office. In a nutshell, what we can understand from this is that equality is the practical foundation of liberty and it is also the moral foundation. Therefore, on the foundation of Aristotle's explanation, classical democracy including direct democracy entails liberty and liberty entails equality.

Limitations of Direct Democracy

A distinctive characteristic of direct democracy since practiced in ancient Athens was its exclusivity. The Municipality-State was marked through unity, solidarity, participation and a highly restricted citizenship. There was no isolation flanked by public and private life and even however state and government were inextricably connected with the lives of the citizens, it only involved a little part of the population. It is motivating to note that the Athenian political civilization was an adult male civilization, i.e. only men in excess of the age of 20 years were qualified to become citizens. It was a democracy of patriarchs in which women had no political rights and even their civic rights were strictly limited. There were also other kinds of residents who were ineligible to participate in formal proceedings; like 'immigrants' who had settled in Athens many generations earlier, but were not the original inhabitants. Though, the slave population constituted, through distant, the mainly politically marginalized people. Here, what we discover is that 'political equality' since practiced in Athens did not mean 'equal authority' for all. It was rather a shape of equality that was applicable to those having equal status and in the Athenian context, it was

meant for only males and Athenian born. Therefore, several were a minority of the superior citizenry. Unquestionably, the politics of ancient Athens rested on a highly undemocratic foundation.

Flaws of Athenian Democracy

What we can conclude from the above account is that democracy practiced through ancient Athens had serious flaws. If contemporary democracy is based on the market economy, Athens was a democracy built on slavery; the labour of slaves created the time for the citizen elite to participate. The lack of permanent bureaucracy contributed to ineffective government, leading eventually to the fall of the Athenian republic after defeat in war. It is motivating to note that the mainly influential critic of this shape of democracy i.e. direct democracy was the philosopher Plato. Plato attacked the principle of political equality on the grounds that the masses are not made equal through nature and so, cannot rule themselves wisely. This is because they possess neither the wisdom nor the experience to do therefore. The solution since stated in his well-known job *The Republic* was that the government be placed in the hands of a class of philosopher-kings, the Guardians, whose rule would be something same to what can be described enlightened dictatorship. At a practical stage, though, the principal drawback of Athenian democracy was that it could operate only through excluding the size of the population from political action. This was possible only in little city-states with limited populations and not in superior contemporary democracies with better populations since they exist today. Despite its flaws, the Athenian model was crucial in

establishing the democratic principle. Finer, 'The Greeks invented two of the mainly potent political characteristics of our present age: they invented:

- The extremely thought of citizen since opposed to subject and
- They invented democracy.
- Direct Democracy in Contemporary Times

The classical model of direct and continuous popular participation in political life has been kept alive in sure sections of the world, notably in community meetings of New England in the USA and in communal assemblies which operate in smaller Swiss cantons. The mainly general way used in recent times is referendum since compared to the size meetings of ancient Athens. Referendum is a vote in which the electorate can express a view on a scrupulous issue of public policy. It differs from an election in that the latter is essentially a means of filling a public office and does not give a direct or reliable way of influencing the content of a policy. A device of direct democracy, referendum is used not to replace representative organizations, but to supplement them. They may either be advisory or binding; they may also raise issues for discussions.

Representative Democracy

Representative democracy is a limited and indirect shape of democracy: It is limited in the sense that participation in government is infrequent and brief, being restricted to the act of

voting every some years. It is indirect in the sense that the public does not exercise authority through itself, but selects those who will rule on its behalf. This shape of rule is democratic only since distant since representation establishes a reliable and effective link flanked by the government and the governed. The strengths of representative democracy contain the following:

- It offers a practicable shape of democracy, since big populations cannot actually participate in the governmental procedure.
- It relieves the ordinary citizen of the burden of decision-creation, therefore creation it possible to have division of labour in politics.
- It maintains continuity through distancing the ordinary citizen from politics thereby encouraging them to accept compromise.

Synonymous with Electoral Democracy

Though, although these characteristics may be a necessary precondition for representative democracy, they should not be mistaken for democracy itself. The democratic content in representative democracy is the thought of popular consent, expressed by the act of voting. Representative democracy is, therefore, a shape of electoral democracy, in that popular election is seen since the only legitimate source of political power. Such elections necessity respect the principle of political equality based on universal adult franchise, irrespective of caste, color, creed, sex, religion or economic status. The center of the

democratic procedure is the capability of the people to call politicians to explanation.

In short, the essence of representative democracy lies in:

- Political pluralism
- Open competition flanked by political philosophies, movements, parties and therefore on
- Dissimilar Views on Representative Democracy

There are dissimilar views on representative democracy. The first implies that in representative democracy, political authority is ultimately wielded through voters at election time. Therefore, the virtue of representative democracy lies in its capability of blind elite rule with an important measure of political participation. Government is entrusted to politicians, but these politicians are forced to respond to popular pressures through the easy information that the public put them there in the first lay, and can later remove them. The voter exercises the similar authority in the political market since the consumer does in economic markets. Joseph Schumpeter summed it up in *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy through* describing representative democracy since that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the authority to decide through means of a competitive thrash about for people's vote.

Pluralist

Democracy is pluralist in nature. In its broader sense, pluralism is a commitment to variety or multiplicity. In its narrower sense, pluralism is a theory of sharing of political authority. It holds that authority is widely and evenly dispersed in society, instead of being concentrated in some hands since the elitists claim. In this shape, pluralism is usually seen since a theory of 'group politics' in which individuals are mainly represented by their membership of organized clusters, ethnic clusters and these clusters have access to the policy procedure.

Elitist

It refers to a minority in whose hands authority, wealth or privilege is concentrated justifiably or otherwise. Elitism believes in rule through an elite or minority. Classical elitism, urbanized through Mosca, Pareto and Michele, saw elite rule since being inevitable, unchangeable information of social subsistence. What is majority rule? Few view democracy since a majority rule. Majority rule is a practice in which priority is reported to the will of the majority. What is majoritarianism? Majoritarianism implies insensitivity towards minorities and individuals.

Rival Views

There is a considerable amount of conflict in relation to the meaning and significance of representative democracy. Few questions raised through scholars are since follows:

- Does it ensure a genuine and healthy dispersal of political authority?
- Do democratic procedures genuinely promote extensive-word benefits, or are they self-defeating?
- Can political equality co-exist with economic equality?

In short, representative democracy is interpreted in dissimilar methods through dissimilar theorists. Mainly significant in the middle of these interpretations are advanced through Pluralism, Elitism, the New Right and Marxism. For several political thinkers, representative's democracy is basically larger to every other shape of political system. Few argue that representative democracy is the shape of government that best protects human rights, because it is based on the recognition of the intrinsic worth and equality of human beings.

Others consider that democracy is the shape of government which is mainly likely to take rational decisions because it can count on the pooled knowledge and expertise of a society's whole population.

Others claim that democracies are stable and extensive-lasting because their elected leaders enjoy a strong sense of legitimacy.

Still others consider that representative democracy is mainly conducive to economic development and well being.

Few consider that in representative democracy, human beings are best able to develop their natural capacities and talents. Yet,

democracy remnants a job in progress – an evolving aspiration rather than a finished product.

Fundamental Principles of Representative Democracy

It means that the ultimate source of all public power is the people, and that the government does what the people want to be done. Four observable circumstances can be recognized in popular sovereignty:

- Government policies reflect what the people want
- People participate in the political procedure
- Information is accessible and debate takes lay
- Majority rules, i.e., policies are decided on the foundation of what a majority of people want.

Political Equality

Each person carries equal weight in the conduct of public affairs, irrespective of caste, color, creed, sex or religion. But political thinkers whispered that great inequalities in economic conditions can eventually turn into political inequality. Robert Dahl describes the problem in following terms, 'if citizens are unequal in economic possessions... they are likely to be unequal in political possessions; and political equality will be impossible to achieve.' Particularly significant in contemporary times is the unequal power in manage of information, financial contributions to electoral campaigns. This unequal power symbolizes a serious

barrier in achieving a complete democracy. The ideal society for the practice of democracy was the one with a big transitional class – without an arrogant and overbearing prosperous class and without a discontented poverty-stricken class.

Political Liberty

The citizens in democracy are protected from government interference in the exercise of vital freedom, such since freedom of speech, association, movement and conscience. It is said that liberty and democracy are inseparable. The concept of self-government implies not only the right to vote, right to run for public office but also the right to expression, to petition the government, to join any political party, interest group or social movement.

In the practice of democracy, though, it has appeared that liberty can be threatened through democracy rather than being an essential ingredient. Following are the largest criticisms that are leveled against democracy:

‘Majority Tyranny’ threatens Liberty: Majority tyranny implies the suppression of rights and liberties of a minority through the majority. It is whispered that unbridled majority rule leaves no room for the claims of minorities. Nevertheless, the threat of majority tyranny can be exaggerated. Robert Dahl points out that there is no proof to support the belief that the rights of ethnic and religious minorities are bigger protected under alternative shapes of political decision-creation.

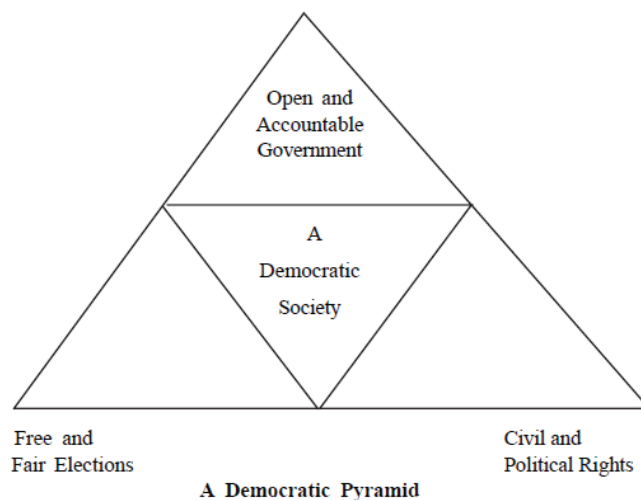
Democracy leads to bad decisions: It is argued through few that representative democracy, which is majoritarian through nature, is not perfect. They say that there is no guarantee that representative democracy will always lead to a good decision. A majority, like the minority, can be unwise, cruel and uncaring and can be misled through unscrupulous or incompetent leaders.

Representative Democracy in Practice

Having said this, let us now pay attention to the actual working of representative democracy. The chief features of a functioning democracy are:

- Free and fair elections
- Open and accountable government
- Civil and political rights

The table given below provides a good thought of these characteristics.



Political Parties: Political parties play a crucial section in the political procedure. In a big measure, political parties determine the operational character of the democratic organization. They give a biggest political dynamic for the working of formal organizations of the organization.

A political party consists of a group of citizens more or less organized, who act since a political element. Through the exploit of their voting authority, they aim to manage the government and carry out their common policies. Few of the essential characteristics of a political party are:

- People constituting a political party have a sure degree of agreement on fundamental principles.
- They seek to achieve their objectives by constitutional means.
- A political party aims to further national interest rather than sectional interest.
- It seeks to capture political authority to enable it to further public interest.

Political parties constitute the backbone of democracy and perform the following *functions*:

- *Parties* mould public opinion: Political parties stimulate the interest of public on dissimilar issues troubles such since housing, livelihood standards, education, foreign dealings, budget etc.

- Parties play a role in the conduct of elections: Elections to the legislature are held on party rows. Political parties select appropriate candidates for party tickets. On the day of voting, parties ensure the maximum turnout of voters.
- Political parties shape the government: The party which secures the majority shapes the government. If no single party secures the majority, then a combination of parties, described coalition, shape the government.
- The opposition acts since a check on government: The opposition party keeps a vigilant eye on the actions and policies of government and highlights its lapses and failures.
- Political parties shape a link flanked by government and people: Parties explain the policies of government to the people and convey reactions of the people to parliament and public officials.
- Political parties impart education to people: Political parties create the people aware of their political rights and stakes in government.
- Political parties act since a unifying force: Political parties are compelled to seek support of all parts of people, livelihood in dissimilar sections of the country. Therefore, they act since a unifying force.

Chapter 3

Democratic Elections and Analysis Theories

The Election Procedure

Contemporary democratic states have representative governments. Big mass and population of contemporary democratic states create it hard to practice direct democracy since a shape of government. Hence, all contemporary democracies have indirect or representative governments, which are elected through people. These representatives are chosen through people by elections. Therefore, elections have assumed an extremely significant role in the formation of contemporary representative democracy. An election is a contest flanked by dissimilar political parties for receiving people's support. At times, an individual can also contest an election since a self-governing candidate. The advantages of contesting elections since a party candidate are since follows:

- Political parties follow specific policies; so, when a candidate symbolizes a party, it is easier for voters to know what he stands for.
- Party candidates get funds from political parties to organize election campaigns.
- Party volunteers may be provided through the party to the candidate throughout the procedure of electioneering.

- Familiar leaders of the party canvass for party candidates and address their rallies.

Elections in a democratic organization are based on the principle of equality i.e. *one person, one vote*. All persons irrespective of caste, color, creed, sex or religion enjoy sure political rights. In the middle of these rights, the mainly significant right is the right to vote. In politics, everyone is equal-every person has an equal say in the formation of government.

Secret Ballot: The voter casts his vote secretly in an enclosure; therefore that no one comes to know of the choice he has made. In representative democracy, secret voting is preferred; otherwise, the voter may not exercise his true choice openly due to fear of intimidation and undue power.

Constituency: Constituencies are marked in order to carry out the election procedure with efficiency. Constituency is the territorial region from where a candidate contests elections. If only one person is to be elected from a constituency, it is described a *single member*

Constituency. If many representatives are elected from the similar constituency, then it is described a *multi-member constituency*.

The whole election procedure, e.g. in India, is mannered, controlled and managed through a self-governing body described the *Election Commission*. It ensures free and fair elections. The Election Commission fixes and announces the dates of elections in our country. The Election Commission has another extremely

significant responsibility. It makes certain that the party in authority does not get undue advantage in excess of other parties. The procedure of election runs by many formal levels. This procedure includes of:

- Announcement of dates
- Filing of nomination papers
- Scrutiny of applications
- Withdrawal of applications
- Publication of the final list
- Campaigning
- Casting of votes
- Announcement of results

In fact, the moment the Election Commission announces the dates of elections, political parties start their behaviors. The first task of political parties becomes the selection of candidates who are going to contest in elections since their party candidates. Contemporary electioneering is a cumbersome procedure. It requires a vast system to control it, which is provided through political parties. Moreover, elections need a reasonable amount of finance, which is also provided through political parties.

Selection of Candidates

In the functioning of representative democracy, the role of political parties has become both, indispensable and extremely significant. In fact, political parties have given an organized form to democratic politics. Political parties field and support their

candidates, and organize their campaigns. Every political party announces specific programmes and promises to implement these programmes in case it comes to authority. Voters while casting votes for a candidate of a scrupulous party do therefore knowing fully well the programmes and policies of that party.

Nomination

Once election dates are announced, political parties have to choose their candidates by a procedure of selection. Then, candidates have to file their nominations to election offices which are appointed through the Election Commission. There is a last date for filing nomination papers. After all nominations have been filed, there is a procedure of scrutiny. It is done to check whether all information given in nomination papers is correct. If there is a doubt or a candidate is not establishing eligible, his/her nomination paper is rejected. Once the scrutiny is in excess of, candidates are given a date for withdrawal. The withdrawal procedure makes certain that There is since small wastage of votes since possible and That all names printed on ballot paper are those of serious candidates.

Representations

Political parties have representations which are allotted through the Election Commission (EC). The EC allots representations to each political party and makes certain that they are not same because they can confuse voters. In India, representations are important for the following causes:

- They are a help for illiterate voters who cannot read names of candidates.
- They help in differentiating flanked by two candidates having the similar name.
- They reflect ideology of the concerned political party.

Campaigning

Campaigning is the procedure through which a candidate tries to persuade voters to vote for him rather than for others. Each political party and every candidate tries to reach since several voters since possible. A number of campaign techniques are involved in election procedure. Few of these are:

- Holding of public meetings which are addressed through candidates and a number of regional and national leaders of a party.
- Pasting of posters on walls and putting up big and little hoardings on roadside.
- Distinction of handbills which highlight largest issues of their manifesto.
- Taking out procession in support of dissimilar candidates.
- Door-to-door appeal through influential people in party and locality.
- Broadcasting and telecasting speeches of several party leaders.

Counting of Votes and Declaration of Results

After voting is in excess of, ballot boxes are sealed and taken to counting centers. Throughout counting, the candidate or his representative is present. After counting, a candidate receiving an easy majority is declared elected. At times, easy majority leads to troubles. The elected candidate symbolizes majority when there are only two candidates, but not therefore if there are three or more candidates; e.g. if A gets 40 and B, C and D get 20 votes, then A is declared elected. Now, however A has got 40 votes he does not reflect the majority because 60 votes are actually against him. Elections are an extremely significant section of democracy because the whole fortification of a democratic organization depends on how elections are held.

Democracy and Alienation

Alienation amounts to isolation from one's genuine or essential nature. What passes for democracy in the contemporary world tends to be a limited and indirect shape of democracy, thereby alienating the individual citizen. This democracy is small more than, what Joseph Schumpeter referred to since an 'institutional arrangement' for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the authority to decide through means of a competitive thrash about for peoples' vote.

This institutional arrangement has been criticized through radical democrats for reducing popular participation to a close to meaningless ritual, i.e., casting a vote every some years for

politicians who can only be removed through replacing them with another set of politicians. In short, people never rule and the rising gulf flanked by government and people is reflected in the spread of inertia, apathy and alienation.

Democracy and Public Opinion

To a great extent, democracy depends on public opinion. In a representative democracy, every government has to think of what will be the public reaction to its policies. All parties want to capture and retain authority. Coming back to authority in the next successive election depends on what people think in relation to the job when the party was in authority.

Strong public opinion plays an extremely important role in capture of authority and forming government through a single party or a combination of parties, described coalition. If the public is alert and intelligent and keeps itself informed, government cannot take the risk of disregarding people's aspirations. If it disregards their aspirations, it instantly becomes unpopular. On the other hand, if public is not alert and intelligent, government can become irresponsible? At times, this might threaten the extremely foundations of democracy.

Formulation of Public Opinion: Public opinion is shaped in several methods and many agencies contribute in shaping public opinion. For a healthy public opinion, citizens should know what is happening approximately them, in their own country and in the world at big. A country's government makes policies not only

in relation to the internal troubles, but has a foreign policy also. A citizen necessarily hears dissimilar opinions in order to create up his/her mind. Therefore for democracy to job well, citizens require to apprise themselves of several views. In the middle of the agencies, which help in formulating sound public opinion are the press, the electronic media and the cinema. Democracy allows a person to contribute his/her share of opinion in decision-making. For all this, there is a must of free discussion and argument.

Democratic government provides a lot of freedom to the ordinary citizen. Though, citizens have to exploit freedom with responsibility, restraint and discipline. If people have few grievances, they necessarily illustrate them by channels provided through the democratic organization. Acts of indiscipline on the section of citizens might wreck the democratic set up of an organization.

Gender and Democracy: Participation and Representation

The third wave of democratization which began in the mid 1970s brought in relation to the competitive electoral politics to several countries in Latin America, East and Central Europe and sections of Africa and Asia. It was seen since a triumph for democracy since the number of electoral democracies increased from 39 in 1974 to 117 in 1998. Though, since in the earlier longstanding democracies, the stages of women's representation in new democracies are still low in both legislatures and executives. The

thrash about for political citizenship was for an extensive time a significant goal of women's movements. The suffrage campaigns that took lay in several sections of the world in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries were based on the assumption that right to vote and participate in electoral procedures was an significant section of being a citizen.

If democracies now guarantee all citizens the right to participate in the political arena, why are women therefore poorly represented? Does the low participation of women mean that democracies are undemocratic? Theorists of democratization have a diversity of definitions of what counts since a democracy.

At one end of the continuum, there is a minimal definition which implies that all that is needed is competitive elections.

Mid-range definitions also emphasize requires for freedom and pluralism, such since civil rights and freedom of speech, therefore that state may be measured a liberal democracy.

Neither of these definitions makes the distinction flanked by *right to participate and the skill to participate*. Only the more utopian definitions that believe the 'excellence of democracy' emphasize that democracy also implies the enjoyment of full citizenship in its broadest sense.

Citizenship is defined not presently in words of civil and political rights, but also in words of economic and social rights that can facilitate the full participation of all in the political sphere. Democracy can be vibrant and effective only when citizens take

section in an active civil society. The 'public' and the 'private': Feminists have argued for an extensive time that there are a number of troubles with the methods in which democracy is defined, theorized and practiced. Liberal political theory is based on a division flanked by public and private sphere. Within this model, men seem since the head of households and since abstract individuals active in public sphere, while women are relegated annalistically to private sphere. The 'political' is, so, defined since masculine in an extremely profound sense.

In practical words, the manner in which political action is mannered in democracies and nature of mainly women means that they participate to a distant lesser extent than men, particularly at higher stages of conventional political action. For instance:

Several women discover approach and object of politics forbidding

Even if they do decide to pursue a political career, women often experience difficulties in receiving selected on winnable seats on the party's list

Further, since in other areas of public sphere, women discover that constraints placed on them through their responsibilities in 'private' sphere also reduce their skill to participate in conventional political action on similar words since men. It would be incorrect to provide an impression that there is an agreement on nature of democracy. Lenin, for instance, has argued that

liberal democracy is a screen which hides use and power of the masses. More recently, Carole Pateman has argued that democracy necessarily also extend to the workplace – where mainly people spend a great section of their day – before we can be said to live under democratic circumstances. A dissimilar kind of criticism of democracy argues, through pointing out that even democracy can go dangerously wrong. Aristotle reminded us that for its proper functioning, even a democracy requires a stable organization of law.

Democracy can otherwise become the arbitrary dictatorship of the several, i.e., the mob rule. In a same vein, De Tocqueville argued that democracy creates the possibility of a new shape of tyranny – the tyranny of the majority. Madison warned of the danger of factions, which means a group-big or little – whose interest does not reflect the common interest of the people, and who effort to subvert the democratic organization for their own purposes. Contemporary democracies tend to make bureaucratic systems approximately themselves. According to Max Weber, the interest of the bureaucratic systems creates a tension in democratic practice, since the bureaucracy created through democracy will have a tendency to choke off the democratic procedure. Pareto argued that, howsoever democratic a society may claim to be, it will be inevitably ruled through a powerful elite. But, it can argued that the thought of isolation of Powers and the concept of Checks and Balances can go an extensive method in avoiding despotism. Moreover, we require to ensure that those people who create laws do not enforce them also.

Democracy and the Internet

No other invention of this new technical period has proliferated since rapidly since the Internet. The internet has rapidly accelerated the growth of transnational dealings fostering a type of mutual power and interdependence. The Internet affects democracy in a number of methods. Its role in combating totalitarian regimes is, indeed, positive, for it creates access to information and therefore, undermines the monopoly of the government in question.

But on the other hand, the Internet creates troubles for democracy insofar since it weakens the state's regulative capability. The transnational interpretation of civilizations through the Internet undermines the capability of government to govern effectively. Further, since distant since national security is concerned, the Internet has opened up new possibilities for asymmetrical conflicts. States can sustain huge damage from net based attacks, not from other states but from individuals. Nevertheless, the new information technology will almost certainly, on balance, reinforce the existing authority buildings rather than weaken them.

Socialist Democracy

Let us first analyze the concept of contemporary democracy before Karl Marx. It is significant to note that his secure associate Friedrich Engels does not speak in relation to the democracy, but always in relation to the pure democracy.

Through this he meant a bourgeois state, in which common suffrage prevails, but private property is not touched. It meant that it was either possible to erect a socialist state directly after the overthrow of feudal and military monarchy or pure democracy, that is the bourgeoisie capitalistic republic, would first approach into authority. At that time, people came to accept a democratic state, since a bourgeoisie state governed through a way of common suffrage.

When Marx began his political behaviors, he establishes democracy to be already a great international movement. The history of European democracy extended back two and a half millennia. In the republics of ancient Greece, the political shape of democracy was the contract to aristocracy or oligarchy, to the rule of the 'minority' of the rich or noble. In contrast to this, democracy was the rule of majority, of the masses in common, whereby the owners of property or the bearers of nobility had no privilege to claim. Greek political science already engaged itself with the question, whether every state in which will of the majority of citizens decides is a democracy, no matter what the composition of this majority is and how it arises or whether a definite class character belongs to a democracy. Aristotle answered the question therefore: that democracy is nothing more than the rule of poor in the state; presently since oligarchy is the rule of the rich.

In the transitional ages, democratic shapes showed themselves in urban communes. Throughout transition to contemporary times, the radical religious sects became the bearers of democratic

ideas. Therefore, democratic masses and their leaders were united in a distrust of contemporary growth, and their view that both republic and democracy were primarily a moral matter, a moral renewal of the human race, already contained a condemnation of contemporary economic and social growth.

Today, the democratic ideal is more than a mere composite of individualism, socialism and nationalism. It is based upon the acceptance and promotion of features of life of each group of men, therefore uniting individualism with a shape of regionalism or nationalism and on the other hand, it implies a system of any one group, which is less homogenous than that implied in the earlier shapes of socialism. For democracy, implies a freedom of voluntary association and the performance through such associations of several functions which the earlier socialists would have left to the state.

Democracy is to begin with a principle of legitimacy. Authority is legitimate only when it is derived from power of the people and based upon their consent. From a normative standpoint, the definition of democracy strictly derives from the literal meaning of the word-'Authority of the people'. It is recognized positively through the subsistence of urbanized representative organizations and through the establishment of constitutional government. It presupposes not a direct exercise of authority, but delegation of authority; that is an organization of 'manage' and 'limitation' of government. From the time the word 'demokratia' was coined in the fifth century B.C until roughly a century ago, democracy was used since a political concept. Tocqueville was

struck, though, through the social characteristic of American democracy and we therefore speak of 'social democracy'. Marxism has popularized the expression 'economic democracy' and guild socialism; Webb's book '*Industrial Democracy*' has given currency to the label 'industrialist democracy'. The labels people's democracy, soviet democracy and the like, pose a special democracy. When the socialist movement revived in Europe in the late 1860's, mainly socialist leaders were under the power of Marxism. In 1881, the German Social Democratic Party and in 1897 the Swedish Democratic Social Party, carried public ownership of all means of manufacture, sharing and swap since their objectives. Other socialist parties adopted the similar objectives in their constitutions or manifestoes, and even the British labour movement, which had not carried socialism till 1918, adapted too little extent the aim of public ownership.

Now after a lapse of a small in excess of three decades from the end of the Second World War, the picture is dissimilar. In all urbanized democratic countries of the West, except for Italy and France, communist parties have been reduced to nullities, and even the Italian and French communist parties have been diminishing in strength. In the communist countries of Eastern Europe, there are rising revisionist tendencies while in Russia itself, there seems to be a rising acceptance of Khrushchev's dictum that it is possible for communist parties to ignore the question of means. On the other hand, social democratic parties have grown in strength in all European countries. They have either been in authority or have shaped the largest opposition. They no longer seek to replace the entire capitalist order through

an economy based on public ownership of means of manufacture, sharing or swap. They are reconciled to a mixed economy accompanied through full employment and social security. The authors of 'twentieth century' socialism have stressed that socialism should be defined in words of vital values of equality, freedom and fellowship and not in words of any scrupulous means through which those values may be realized. Same changes have taken lay in the programs of all European Socialists – these parties are taking a much more discriminating attitude towards public ownership; though, social democracy supports the public demand that it is necessary to safeguard significant public interests.

Therefore, the socialists in the underdeveloped world can attract few precious lessons from a survey of these changes in the fortunes of communism and social democracy in Western countries and the altered objectives of social democratic parties.

Western Liberal Democracy

Contemporary liberal conception of politics acquired a realistic, pragmatic, secular and scientific orientation. State became the pivotal political system. Rousseau introduced the thought of popular sovereignty and democracy. It was recognized that within the reach of the people, organizations such since state, government and semi-official organizations etc began to be treated since centers of political action. Rights of private property, and individual liberty began to be asserted. In the advanced liberal concept, the state is viewed since a positive

welfare organ. Liberal democracy assured a competitive party model since essential to symbolize the wishes of people. This involves eliciting people's opinion by periodic elections to legislatures. Further, government is seen since limited and since operating in a world of voluntary associations. Society is viewed since pluralistic, which means that it is collected of autonomous parts and associations. Hence, government sets out to rule in general interest.

Western liberal democracy is a political theory that appeared in Europe throughout the seventeenth century and has sustained to this day since one of the dominant theories and ideologies in the world. This excludes the socialist countries with dictatorships of dissimilar types. Locke contributed the ideas of limited government, constitutionalism, individual rights and the rule of law. Bentham's contribution place in the utilitarian conception of majority interest calculated in words of individual utility. Mill contributed the thought of individual liberty, plurality of opinions, and the principle of growth of individual personality.

When we describe the liberal state to be politically democratic, we should note that it refers not only to the electoral procedure, but also to characteristics like the rule of law and right to property. In a liberal organization without any written constitution such since in the United Kingdom, this means the law enacted through parliament is supreme. And the property rights granted in liberal democratic states prevent the government from creation drastic changes in economic matters. This is the cause that the radical view criticizes liberal

democracy, for not laying emphasis on economic equality. They described themselves people's democracy, which implies that the means of manufacture are socially owned.

Therefore, the above provides a fairly good picture of liberal conception of democracy which is based on a number of assumptions; first, it holds that an individual is endowed with an autonomous mind, cause and will; that is, he is a rational being. Therefore, he can decide what is best for him. Second, the individual is a moral being, which means that they are all equal. Each one should have an equal opportunity to participate in politics. Third, truth is comparative and multi-dimensional and is not absolute. So, at a scrupulous moment, truth can be recognized only by a free inter-play of ideas. That, tolerance is the essence of democracy was strongly argued through Mill in 'On Liberty'. Truth in a democracy implies that everyone can participate in politics and it is the government of all people; so, a democratic government acts in the interest of all. Competition in the middle of leaders and parties ensures popular manage in excess of government and maximum liberty for individuals. Rule of law, equality before law and vital minimum rights are features of a Western liberal democracy.

Non-Western Shapes of Democracy

It may be surprising to few those countries like the erstwhile USSR, Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam, to name but some claim to be democratic. Indeed, they claim to be the only true democracies. In order to understand that exact

nature of this claim, it is significant to go back to Marx. He whispered that the politics of the West was characterized through class conflicts, and that competition flanked by parties would be no more once the feud flanked by classes ended. True democracy he idea, would exist only where one class predominated, embodying the overwhelming size of the people. All other shapes of democracy were denounced since bourgeois. If an authority clash lived on a competitive foundation, therefore that it might be convinced through wealth, Marx measured that democracy to be bourgeois, and so, unworthy of any name.

Competitive politics is condemned through communists for being a fraud. They themselves claim to have no other classes because they say that all the exploiting clusters were eradicated in the early days of the Russian revolution. Soviet lawyers and political apologists argue that the West's adaptation of democracy is a sham and fraud because of the subsistence of an economic organization- Capitalism- which favors the rich.

Socialist Democracy

In the west where capitalism has prevailed, this takes the shape of accommodation of progressive dilution of the socialist principle. We all know what socialism is. In company with other ideological concepts, socialism has a double reference. On one hand, it refers to the ideals, values, properties of what is often described the socialist vision. On the other hand, it refers to empirical characteristics of social and political organizations which embody the vision. At the stage of values, the significant

ones are those of freedom, equality, society, brotherhood, social justice, a classless society, co-operation, progress, peace, prosperity, abundance and happiness. Sometimes, the value components are stated negatively: socialists are opposed to oppression, use, inequality, strife, war, injustice, poverty, misery and dehumanization. At the stage of organizations, the adherents and opponents similar would say that socialism is opposed to capitalist private enterprise organization, which it seeks to replace through a organization of manage in excess of wealth and property and the social supervision of system of economic action; this is summarized in the formula, the general or public ownership of means of manufacture.

Names in political communication have shown themselves to be unstable in excess of times. John Ruskin, for instance, proudly described himself a communist, while he repudiated socialism, republicanism and democracy. For H.M Hyndman, the word socialism denoted mild, Christian-liberal do-goodery, while the word social democracy meant for him militant Marxism. Today, of course, the opposite would be the case. It was Proudhon, not Marx and Engels, who first described his doctrine 'scientific socialism'. Bakunin, at one time, held a system which was described the Alliance for Socialist Democracy. Marx himself in his youth dismissed communism since being only an 'imperfect realization of socialism'; later Marxian usage became more systematic, however never entirely free from ambiguity.

Four Vital Tendencies of Socialism: The Essence of Socialist Democracy

An effort is made in this element to provide a more systematic outline to the tendencies, which jointly create up socialist idea, reflected in the concept of socialist democracy. *Egalitarianism* is the first tendency, which is the classical principle of socialism. The dominant notion of equality culminates in a conception of society. Politically, egalitarianism obviously demands complete democracy, but democracy in its easy, classical, unitary sense, without enduring party divisions. *Moralism*, the next tendency, constitutes the Christian principle of socialism; that is, it stresses on high ideals which seek to bring justice through replacing enmity with mutual help, and fostering feelings of brotherly love and understandings in the middle of human beings. The political shape mainly harmonious with moralist values is, again democracy, possibly tempered through mild notions of paternalism and certainly presupposing a sense of moderation and responsibility on the section of individual principles. Little and big societies governed through a majoritarian organization are fitting vehicles for the realization of the moralist ideal.

Rationalism is the third tendency, in on behalf of the principle of enlightenment. Here, the chief values are individual happiness, cause, knowledge, efficiency in manufacture and the rational purposeful system of human society in the interest of progress. The political shape that rationalism leads towards is also democracy, as this tendency tends to acknowledge the

fundamental equality of human beings and believes in self – sufficiency of individual human cause. It believes, though, that democracy should be tempered with meritocracy, consistent guidance through experts, scientists, technicians, and intellectual people who are to be trusted with the promotion of common happiness.

Libertarianism, which could be termed the romantic principle of socialism, is the last of the vital tendencies in the sense that it is extreme and radical in the middle of socialist principles. It centers on the ideal freedom, in the sense of total absence of restraint, internal and external. Here, it would be hard to talk in words of a favored political arrangement. Anarchy is what comes adjacent to its ideal; but again libertarianism too goes with the acceptance of equality in a fundamental sense. Libertarianism is the gentlest and the mainly tolerant of socialist tendencies.

These are the four tendencies of socialism, which reflect the essence of socialist democracy. The comparative weight of each tendency, though, varies from case to case. In other terms, we discover that one or another tendency assumes predominance in excess of others in the case of a given country, doctrine, movement or historical era. This is why the predominance of libertarianism in the Western New left is in a big section due to the rising moderation and integration of social democracy.

Democratic Techniques and Socialism

The rise of fascism in Europe and the continuance of dictatorship of the Communist Party in erstwhile Soviet Union also led several socialists throughout the thirties to provide rising attention to the techniques of democracy under a collectivist regime. While the socialist movement in common had for several years maintained that collectivism without democracy was a distant cry from socialism and that there could be no socialism without the accompaniment of thorough-going democratic processes in the economic, political and social organizations of the country, there were several who took the location prior to the thirties that all that was necessary to do was to transfer industry from private to public ownership and democracy would take care of itself. Experiments in state ownership and manage in communist and fascist countries and even in lands with a democratic shape of government, both in times of peace and war, proved a rude awakener to these students of the movement and caused big numbers within and without to think by methods and means of safeguarding and strengthening the democratic procedure under a co-operative organization of industry. This examination caused them to place rising emphasis on:

The require for preserving and strengthening democratic forces of the population such since the deal and industrial-union movement, the consumers and producers co-operatives, labors, socialist and progressive political parties, educational and cultural movement of the masses, and for endeavoring to create these movement thoroughly democratic.

The require for bringing in relation to the secure co-operation in the middle of industrial workers, the therefore-described transitional class, the cultivation population, in the thrash about for bigger social arrangements.

Require for applying effective democratic techniques to regional, state, and federal governments therefore since to create them thoroughly responsive to the will of the people.

The require for encouraging, under a co-operative organization of industry, an long organization of voluntary co-operative enterprises, since a supplement to publicly owned industries, especially in agriculture, the distributive trades and in cultural action.

Require for establishment within each industry of processes whereby consumers, workers, and technological and administrative clusters would be adequately represented in determination of policies.

Require of experimenting with the corporate of public ownership of a semiautonomous character, and of decentralizing manage and management of public ownership since much since seemed compatible and socially efficient.

The require for developing administrative processes directed toward efficient, honest, and democratic management by a sound organization of civil service, public accounting, communal bargaining, personal dealings etc. Techniques should be devised

for stimulating industrial incentives by a proper organization of rewards for job well done.

The must of preserving civil liberties and preventing discriminatory practices against any part of population because of race, religion, color, or national origin.

Require for co-operating with other countries with a view to eliminate the reasons of war, of abolishing imperialistic controls, and of raising livelihood standards during the world.

Trend towards Democratic Socialism

The goals of democratic socialism have one item in general; that is to create democracy more real through broadening the application of democratic principles from political to non-political areas of society. Freedom of worship and freedom of political associations are still the mainly essential foundations of democracy. The Socialists concentrate on the promotion of these 'finer points of democracy'. In contrast, socialist parties have fought an uphill and usually a losing thrash about in nations where democracy is not a livelihood item, but an aspiration, a hope, and thought yet to be realized. This happened for instance, in Germany, Italy and France.

Democratic Socialism in England

England urbanized parliamentary organizations, which were conducive to the development of socialism. England moved with

the times, and brought in relation to the compromise flanked by democracy and socialism. Socialism was allowed to emerge peacefully without require to have a bloody revolution. Democracy tolerated the rise of social principles. In Britain, there was no require for workers to revolt on a size level against the government, since the government itself took necessary steps to promote their interests. British soil was appropriate for the development of democratic socialism, while on the other hand, in Russia and China the climate was not favorable since the government neglected the interests of the poor and tried to suppress them. Since a result, revolutionary socialism rose and its tide swept the government off its feet.

Democratic socialism has no high priest like totalitarian communism. It has no Marx or Lenin. The mainly influential socialist thinkers in England have regularly been without any official location. Their impact has been due to their moral power and felicitous literary approach. The movement owes much to the ideas of Robert Owen, Sidney and Beartrice Webb, R.H. Tawney, G.D.H Cole, Harold Laski and several others. But the philosophy still remnants undefined. 'The nature and content of democratic socialism cannot through any means be defined. It is a broad framework wherein we have to fit in our ideas of democracy and socialism in tune with our political backdrop and cultural and spiritual heritage.' Therefore there is no definite form of democratic socialism. It is to be dissimilar in dissimilar countries according to requires and circumstances. Still we can point out sure broad principles of democratic socialism.

Broad Principles

Democratic Socialism lays great stress on the importance of the superior interests of society since an entire, against the narrow and selfish interests of the individual. It is against individualism or laissez-faire, it is a theory of society welfare. It promotes cooperation instead of competition and removes antagonism flanked by the employer and the employee. Socialism stands for the principle of economic equality. The state should prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of some individuals therefore that the gulf flanked by the rich and the poor classes may not be wide. Though, democratic socialism does not aim at establishing absolute equality, which is approximately impossible. Its aim is to remove glaring inequality of wealth through progressive taxation of the rich. It stands for equitable opportunities for all.

Democratic socialism also stands for general ownership of significant means of manufacture, which are to be utilized for general good. It is in favor of granting full civil, political and economic rights. The individual is free to lead his own method of life, outside intervention. It stands for extension of democracy from political to economic and social meadows. Therefore, there is a desire to widen the foundation of democracy. If democracy is to be real, it should go distant beyond the frontiers of politics and enter the economic field. It is against the ownership of land, factories and other means of manufacture through some at the cost of the society. It necessity be clearly noted that democratic socialism is not against all shapes of private property, but only

against such private property, which becomes the means of use. It allows little plots of land, homes and other limited property, since these cannot be put to anti-social uses. In conclusion, we may say that democratic socialism is neither merely anti-capitalism. 'There is no use of man through man, no injustice, oppression, or denial of opportunities.'

One of the extra ordinary results of the victory of democratic socialism in Britain was the elimination of communism since a significant factor in British politics. Even in developing countries, democratic socialism gives an alternative to the extremes of communism and capitalism through bringing in relation to the much needed socio-economic transformation of civilizations.

New Leftism: Attack on Soviet Marxism

The New Left has a scrupulous feature of its own. It believes in socialism and yet strives to promote and protect humanism that had become a scapegoat under the 'socialist' organization of the former Soviet Union. That is, while the achievements of socialism is the bedrock of traditional Leftism, socialism integrated with democracy and humanism is the keynote of, what is usually recognized since, New Leftism. What keeps the New left at a fundamental variance with the Old left is its stern emphasis on pursuing positive social and political goals. It believes in freedom and democracy, and is prepared to fight for these ideas. The New Leftism is a product of the post-Second World era. Its development is on explanation of three factors: stern reaction

against the adaptation of official Marxism since given through the great comrades of the former Soviet Union, vehement protest against the social, economic and political create up of affluent civilizations of advanced Western countries, and extremely strong emphasis on the worth and dignity of man. That is, the movement came since a result of a multi-stage protest—protest against Stalinist excesses, against the dogmatic and mechanistic adaptation of Marxism since given through the Soviet leaders, against centralized and undemocratic methods of doing things and against anti- humanistic, bureaucratic and bourgeoisie society of oppression.

The mainly recent land spot is the reappearance of the New left, which may be termed 'New Socialism'. The fight of the American Negroes for civil rights, the student revolt in France aimed at changing the education organization, the thrash about of workers in Spain for democratization of the political organization are few of the momentous measures that inspired New Leftist thinkers to say that youthful units can bring in relation to the desired state of affairs. What is needed is change: change towards real democracy, which can be brought in relation to the through youthful parts of people. This is because they alone can understand the pernicious dimensions of a socialist organization and then fight for restoration of a free, democratic and dignified life. In brief, the aim of the New Leftists is to attack the diversity of Marxism that urbanized in the former Soviet Union. Instead, they think in words of a new diversity of socialism based on practicable portion of Marxism. Socialism of this kind necessity is in consonance with premises of a democratic organization.

Therefore that people may have the boons of freedom, growth and happiness. To say that it is possible to achieve a change in excess of to socialist rule with democratic means does not necessarily imply, though, that it is possible also to implement and uphold socialism with such means. Communist theory has persistently alleged—and on this point it has not yet changed—that it is impossible to carry by socialism under a organization of free elections, freedom of speech, free association and free majority decisions.

Soviet theorists do not stand alone in their contention that the implementation and maintenance of socialism are impossible with democratic means. Right-wing liberals, like Friedrich Hayek, agree with them on that count. Their interest is, of course, the opposite: they hope to see democracy maintained and socialism abandoned. But on the biggest issue under discussion here—whether it is possible to have both democracy and socialism—he two opponents are agreed. It is impossible, they say. In his 'Road of Serfdom' Hayek predicts that socialism will inevitably lead to the abolition of democratic liberties. One of his chief arguments is that socialism needs centralized scheduling and that, even in the event that there is a big majority for socialism, there regularly will be no majority able to agree on particulars ends and means. In such a case, he says, a democratic parliament 'cannot direct'.

In appraising the Lenin-Hayek theory of incompatibility flanked by democracy and socialism, we necessity not underestimate the strength of their combined arguments. They competently point to

grave difficulties and dangers. But they fail to prove the impossibility. Their allegations are half-true at best. It is a strong argument that those who are to lose their privileges are likely to rise in violent resistance when a radically socialist legislation issues from a pro-socialist majority in a democratic legislature. This was strikingly illustrated after the Spanish Revolution of 1931, when the democratic majority in the newly elected parliament occupied in simultaneously frontal legislative attacks against all vested interests monarchists, army, church, large land owners and large industrialists- before it had built up sufficiently strong armed forces of its own for support of the republican government. Though, there is no justification for a scientific verdict that it was impossible to avoid a same outcome when an effort is made to carry by socialism with democratic processes.

Another strong argument of this problem is that workers who have won parliamentary majorities may be impatient in their desire to close tangible benefits quickly and beyond reasonable limits. In order to cope with this danger, it will be necessary to educate people in advance therefore since to prepare them for a meaningful exercise of majority powers. That may not be simple, but it is not necessarily impossible. Finally, it is a weighty argument when Hayek warns that the majority is likely to split whenever biggest decisions on scheduling become necessary. But once this danger has been well understood in advance, it may not be impossible to meet it through proper device, such since a cautious preparation of master plans and delegation of the authority to create current economic decisions under such plans

to few board or commission. The question of compatibility of democracy and socialism, so, is still an open one. There is good cause to consider that it is necessary to go all the method beside the totalitarian road, if a majority should be bent on carrying by socialism, although sure modifications in the procedure of economic legislation and management will be necessary.

Establishment of a penetrating and reassuring political theory concerning the compatibility of socialism and democracy could also offer encouragement to whatever tendencies there may develop in present Soviet Russia or few of its satellites towards introduction of more democratic organizations. It would create possible a stronger and more precise language in international political discussion in relation to the both democracy and socialism, and coexistence since well.

Chapter 4

Political Ideologies and Political Analysis

Gandhism

Gandhi's moral-political ideas can be established in his books since well, letters and editorials in the four weekly journals, which he edited or published at dissimilar times throughout his public life in South Africa and India. These weekly journals were: *Indian Opinion*, *Young India*, *Harijan*, and *Navajivan*. Gandhi's books, few of which were first serialized in his journals, were: *Hind Swaraj*, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, *Ashram Observances in Action*, *A Guide to Health*, *Discourses on the Gita* and *Constructive Programme*. Gandhi also wrote and published paraphrases and/or translations of Plato's *Apology*, W. Salter's *Ethical Religion*, John Ruskin's *Unto this Last*, Henry David Thoreau's *Principles of Civil Disobedience* and Leo Tolstoy's *Letter to a Hindoo*. Approximately all of Gandhi's scripts, including his numerous speeches, interviews and correspondence, can be established in the 100 volumes of the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*.

Gandhi's scripts were produced, not in any academic setting, but in the midst of actual political struggles through vast masses of people against racial discriminations, colonialism, economic use, untouchability and communalism. Gandhi led those struggles in South Africa and India. He also campaigned for them throughout

many visits to England, where, incidentally, he had studied for and passed the bar-at-law examination. He did few of his script on his days of silence and fasting and throughout many words of imprisonment in South Africa and India. His well-known book, *Hind Swaraj*, was written on board the ship *Kildonan Castle* throughout a return journey from England to South Africa in November 1909.

Few Powers which Formed Gandhi's Political Idea

For a historical-contextual understanding of Gandhi's moral-political theory, it is necessary to bear in mind that throughout the years from 1905 to 1918, his attitude towards the British imperial organization went by a protracted procedure of change from loyal support to, first, disenchantment and, then, to radical opposition. Few of the measures which contributed to this change in Gandhi's political ideology were: the Partition of Bengal, racial discriminations against Indians in South Africa, the Rowlatt Acts, the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and the Khilafat issue. The change in Gandhi's political thinking throughout this era was also convinced through the following books, which he read.

Critical Scripts on Contemporary Culture

Throughout this era, Gandhi read the jobs of Tolstoy, Ruskin, Carpenter, Maitland, Salter, R.P.Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji, etc. Of these, Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is within You* and *The Gospel in Brief* and John Ruskin's *Unto This Last* had an extremely great impact on Gandhi. They and to a lesser extent,

the scripts of other authors contributed to his becoming disenchanted with contemporary western culture. From these scripts, Gandhi also derived few normative ideas of an alternative to the individualistic, utilitarian and authoritarian principles on which the imperial/colonial government rested. Gandhi's ideas of *swaraj* and *sarvodaya*, meaning self-realization by service to others, were greatly convinced through Tolstoy and Ruskin.

Hindu Religious Philosophy

Gandhi also studied the *Bhagavad Gita* and many other holy books of Hinduism, few of which were recommended to him through his Jain mentor, Rajchand Mehta, also described Raychandbhai. These were books on yoga, *advaita vedanta*, Jainism, Buddhism, Samkhya, etc. These books led Gandhi to espouse a set of religiously inspired norms or principles of personal and communal conduct, e.g., the values of *satya*, *ahimsa*, *aparigraha* and *samabhava*. Gandhi saw in them an alternative or corrective to the dominant, contemporary/western values or principles of individualism, utilitarianism and violence. In the *Bhagavad Gita*, for example, he establish an 'infallible guide of conduct.' The hymns of Narsinh Mehta, a saint-poet of the fifteenth century, also instilled in him the value of service to others, especially the poor and the needy. These readings and the aforementioned measures turned Gandhi into a radical opponent of the imperial/colonial government in 1919-20. At a special session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1920, Gandhi successfully moved a settlement on non-co-operation against the government. India's goal, he said, is nothing less

than *swaraj*. It was by this procedure of change in his thinking and actions throughout this decisive stage in his life that he urbanized his moral-political theory and practice of *satyagraha*, *swaraj* and *sarvodaya*. Jointly, these seemed to him to be providing an emancipator alternative to the political theory of colonial/imperial modernity. He also whispered that his conception of *swaraj* and *sarvodaya* is an emancipator alternative to illiberal traditionalism since well.

Swaraj: Inward Freedom and Outward Freedom

Through *Swaraj*, Gandhi meant both outward or political freedom and inward or spiritual freedom. In 'outward freedom,' he incorporated national political independence and parliamentary *swaraj*. They are shapes of outward freedom in that they seek to free people from external manage or rule through others, be they foreigners or one's own compatriots.

Through 'inward freedom,' he meant freedom from such inner impediments since ignorance, illusions, selfishness, greed, intolerance and hatred. These impede or obstruct the individual's self-realization or achievement of *moksha*, i.e. the *atman*'s realization of its identity with the *Brahman* or *paramatman*. Hence, he writes: 'Government in excess of self is the truest *Swaraj*; it is synonymous with *moksha* or salvation.' Gandhi made an original contribution, both in theory and in practice, with regard to both these kinds of *swaraj*. He talked of his ideal of *swaraj* since a square, of which the four inseparable faces are:

- Political independence;
- Economic independence;
- Non-violence in social dealings and moral obligations toward others; and
- Truth since *dharma*.

Let there be no mistake in relation to the concept of *swaraj*. It is complete independence of alien manage and complete economic independence. Therefore at one end, you have political independence, at the other the economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social; the corresponding end is *dharma*, i.e. religion in the highest sense of the word. It contains Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc., but is Larger to them all. You may recognize it through the name of Truth that pervades everything and will survive all destruction and all transformation. Moral and social uplift may be recognized through the word we are used to, i.e. non-violence. Let us call this the square of *swaraj*, which will be out of form if any of its angles is untrue. In the language of the Congress, we cannot achieve this political and economic freedom without truth and non-violence, in concrete words without faith in God and hence, moral and social elevation.

Independence and Parliamentary Swaraj

The first component of Gandhi's conception of *swaraj* since outward freedom is national political independence. He made a greater contribution than any other single individual to the transfer of political authority from the imperial government to the

Indian national leadership. He is rightly described the 'Father of the Nation'. While maintaining that national political independence was an essential meaning of his conception of *swaraj*, Gandhi argued that it is only an incomplete or partial meaning or component of it. In his view, a fuller or deeper conception of *swaraj* 'is infinitely greater than and contains independence.' That fuller conception of *swaraj* contains, besides national political independence, the following additional components: a 'parliamentary or democratic *swaraj*' and *swaraj* since self-realization by service to others.

In 1931, Gandhi declared that he was 'wedded to adult suffrage.' On another occasion, he said: 'Swaraj of a people means the sum total of the *swaraj* of individuals.' He elaborated it in the following terms:

Through *Swaraj* I mean the government of India through the consent of the people since ascertained through the main number of the adult population, male or female, native-born or domiciled.... [R]eal *swaraj* will approach not through the acquisition of power through some but through the acquisition of the capability through all to resist power when it is abused. In other terms, *swaraj* is to be obtained through educating the masses to a sense of their capability to regulate and manage power.

What is conveyed in the above passages is a model of what Gandhi described 'parliamentary or democratic *swaraj*,' for the achievement of which, he devoted a considerable section of his

political job. In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi had taken a very negative view of the value or role of the organizations of contemporary culture, namely, the parliament, law-courts, the police, the military, machinery, hospitals, railways, etc. These organizations of contemporary culture, he said, were divorced from morality, whereas, through contrast, 'the tendency of Indian culture is to elevate the moral being.' In lay of the organizations of contemporary western culture, he put forward an alternative ideal of 'real house rule ... [namely] self-rule and self-manage' through the individuals in accordance with the spiritual values of truth and non-violence.

Though, within a year of his active involvement in mobilizing the Indian masses into the freedom thrash about, Gandhi made an incomplete revision of his earlier views on the organizations of contemporary culture. That revision was due not only to his active involvement in the freedom thrash about, but also to the criticisms which several political thinkers and political leaders had made of Gandhi's booklet. At any rate, within in relation to the a year of his final return to India from South Africa in 1915, Gandhi came to adopt a rather positive attitude towards the organizations of contemporary life, including the parliament, law-courts, machinery, railways and hospitals. Rather than dismissing them outright since he had done in his *Hind Swaraj*, he now reluctantly incorporated them in what he described his 'pardonable programme for the achievement of parliamentary swaraj.' He said that his *Hind Swaraj* was to be taken, not since 'an effort to go back to the therefore-described ignorant dark ages', but since an effort to analyze contemporary culture 'in the

level of ethics.' He declared that in the name of his ideal swaraj, he would *not* dream, since he had been accused of doing, 'of no railways, no machinery, no army, no navy, no laws and no law courts.' He would rather have them re-structured therefore that they operate 'for the benefit of the people,' and 'not since now for draining the masses arid.' He now viewed 'parliamentary', i.e., 'democratic swaraj' since an extremely necessary and precious component of his conception of comprehensive swaraj.

'Therefore distant since I can see,' he wrote in 1920, 'Swaraj will be a Parliament chosen through the people with the fullest authority in excess of fund, the police, the military, the navy, the courts and the educational organizations.'

Since to the organizational characteristics of 'parliamentary swaraj,' Gandhi preferred it to be a village-based, decentralized set-up, in which all but the lowest stage of government was to be indirectly elected through the immediately lower stage. This decentralized, village-based model of parliamentary/democratic swaraj was not the model that was favored through the Congress and adopted through the Indian Constitution. The Constitution, though, does incorporate few therefore-described Gandhian organizations such since the village panchayats. Moreover, the personal and civil liberties since well since the democratic rights component of the liberal-democratic political philosophy of the Constitution are vital to Gandhi's own moral-political philosophy.

Few Characteristics of Parliamentary Swaraj

In his practical and theoretical job for establishing Parliamentary Swaraj, Gandhi concentrated on endowing it with four characteristics: universal adult franchise, civil liberties, minority rights, and a primary commitment to justice for the poor and the exploited. These, he whispered, are the necessary ingredients of parliamentary swaraj. Gandhi regarded personal and civil liberties to be the 'basis' and 'breath' of Parliamentary Swaraj. In a speech before the all India Congress Committee in September 1940, he said, 'Freedom of speech and pen is the basis of Swaraj'. It is the 'only means', he added, for the non-violent method of attaining swaraj.

The well-known Karachi Settlement of the Congress on Fundamental Rights which was drafted through Jawaharlal Nehru, in consultation with Gandhi, was moved for adoption through Gandhi himself who included several suggestions and revisions made through Gandhi. In fact, Gandhi was the mover of the settlement. The settlement incorporated a mainly impressive list of personal and civil liberties and democratic, political rights.

Regarding the primacy of personal and civil liberties, Gandhi wrote:

Civil liberty constant with the observance of non-violence is the first step towards Swaraj. It is the basis of freedom. And there is no room there for dilution or compromise. It is the water of life. I have never heard of water being diluted.

Now, let us turn to the Minority Rights component of the Gandhian conception of Parliamentary Swaraj. Gandhi was acutely aware of the danger of parliamentary democracy lapsing into majoritarian tyranny in excess of, or intolerance of, minority clusters or societies. While he held resolutely to the procedural, majority rule principle of democratic government, he was equally committed to its other, twin or inseparable principle, namely the principle of the guarantee or defense of fundamental, cultural or religious rights of minority societies. In 1931, he said:

It has been said that Indian Swaraj will be the rule of the majority society, i.e., the Hindus. There could not be a greater mistake than that. If it were to be true, I for one would refuse to call it swaraj and would fight it with all the strength at my command, for, to me *Hind Swaraj* is the rule of all the people, is the rule of justice. Whether under that rule the ministers were Hindus or Mussalmans or Sikhs, and whether the legislatures were exclusively filled through the Hindus or Mussalmans or any other society, they would have to do even-handed justice. And ... no society in India require have any fear of Swaraj being monopolised through any other...

Gandhi maintained that 'matters of first rate importance' to the religious and cultural life of the minority societies should be kept outside the purview of the democratic, procedural principle of majority rule. Extremely insightfully, he wrote:

Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy, individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously

guarded. I, so, consider that the minority has a perfect right to act differently from the majority.

The golden rule of conduct ... is mutual toleration, seeing that since suggested, never all think similar and we see *Truth* in fragment and from dissimilar angles of vision. Conscience is not the similar item for all. Whilst, so, it is a good guide for individual conduct, imposition of that conduct upon all will be an insufferable interference with everybody's freedom of conscience.

An extremely special characteristic of Gandhi's conception of parliamentary/democratic swaraj is the justice of its vital organizations, which seeks to promote the welfare of all through giving primacy to the interests of the poor and needy. 'A non-violent organization of government,' he said, 'is clearly impossibility therefore extensive since the wide gulf flanked by the rich and the hungry millions persists.' Let us quote him again:

Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. ...It means the leveling down of the some rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth, on the one hand and a leveling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent organization of government is clearly impossibility therefore extensive since the wide gulf flanked by the rich and the hungry millions persists.

Gandhi often spoke of his ideal of swaraj since 'the poor man's swaraj.' At the time of independence in 1947, he advised his countrymen to adopt a preferential come to the poor not merely

at the public-policy stage, but at the personal stage since well. He said:

I will provide you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the side of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and inquire yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any exploit to him. Will he gain anything through it? Will it restore him to manage in excess of his own life and destiny? In other terms, will it lead to swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?

Gandhi's conception of social/distributive justice, which he often referred to in words of 'economic excellence,' is rooted in his trusteeship doctrine of property. He whispered that statutory trusteeship is a shape of organizing economic life, which, without depriving the individuals of their legitimate incentives for greater productivity and without depriving the society of the increases in wealth, brings in relation to the a non-violent, equitable sharing of wealth. In March 1946, Gandhi wrote: 'Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow, all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees.' He further stated:

Since for the present owners of wealth, they would have to create their choice flanked by class-war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth. They would be allowed to retain the stewardship of their possessions and to exploit their talent to augment the wealth, not for their own sake but for the sake of the nation and so, without use. The state would regulate

the rate of commission which they would get commensurate with the service rendered and its value to society. Their children would inherit the stewardship only if they proved their fitness for it.

In an article entitled 'Theory of Trusteeship', Gandhi wrote:

I am not ashamed to own that several capitalists are friendly towards me and do not fear me. They know that I desire to end capitalism approximately, if not quite, since much since the mainly advanced socialist or even the communist. But our ways differ, our words differ. My theory of 'trusteeship' is no makeshift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it.

Sarvodaya: Swaraj since Self-Realization by Social Service

Let us begin this part through noting that while *swaraj* conveys Gandhi's thought of freedom, *sarvodaya* conveys his thought of equality. We may also note that Gandhi's doctrine of sarvodaya is a corrective to utilitarianism, communism and the doctrines which justify inequalities and exclusions on the foundation of caste, race, color, gender, etc. 'Sarvodaya' is the title, which Gandhi gave to his paraphrase of John Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. In that book, Ruskin gave a moralistic critique of the science of political economy of self-interest. He brought out the role of 'social affection' in our lives. Reading Ruskin brought in relation

to the 'an instantaneous and practical transformation' of Gandhi's life. He learned three lessons from Ruskin's book, namely.

That a lawyer's job has the similar value since the barber's in since much since all have the similar right of earning their living from their job; and That a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth livelihood. Of these three principles, the first is the largest principle of *sarvodaya*. It is also the source of the other two principles. Gandhi clarified that he had recognized the first principle before reading Ruskin's book, which only served to confirm it and provide it a contemporary articulation. A good trade of Gandhi's ideas on *sarvodaya* were derived, since in the case of *swaraj*, from the holy books of Hinduism.

There are many steps in Gandhi's thinking on *sarvodaya*. They are:

- Our aim in life is self-realization or *moksha*.
- Self-realization or *moksha* means identification of the self or *atman* with *Brahman* or God. This needs a discipline or *yoga* of self-purification.
- The method of realizing our identification with *Brahman* or, in other terms, the method of finding God is to see God in all his making or manifestation.
- Love or service of all is the method to self-realization or *moksha* in this world.

Conveying these ideas, Gandhi wrote since follows:

Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his behaviors, political, social and religious, have to be guided through the ultimate aim of the vision of God... The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary section of the Endeavour basically because the only method to discover God is to see Him in His making and be one with it. This can only be done through the service of all.

I am impatient to realize myself, to attain *moksha* in this extremely subsistence. My national service is section of my training for freeing my soul from the bondage of flesh. Therefore measured, my service may be regarded since purely selfish. For me, the road to salvation lies by incessant toil in the service of my country and there by, of humanity.

Gandhi derived several of these ideas from the holy books of Hinduism. In them, he establish a clear enunciation of the value of 'disciplined rule from within,' which he understood to be the 'root meaning' of *swaraj*. He wrote:

The root meaning of *swaraj* is self-rule. *Swaraj* may, so, be rendered since disciplined rule from within.... 'Independence' has no such limitation. Independence may mean license to do since you like. *Swaraj* is positive. Independence is negative.... The term *swaraj* is a sacred term, a Vedic term, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraint which 'independence' often means. Gandhi interpreted the *Bhagavad Gita* since depicting the futility of war and violence. Besides non-

violence and truth, the other principles of morality which the *Gita* teaches are: *tapas, dana and yajna*. He saw a 'gospel of service' in the third chapter of the Bhagavad Gita. It taught him to desire the welfare of others. In his *Discourses on the Gita*, he *pointed* out that the Lord or Brahman dwells in all, including 'the lame, the crippled and the afflicted.' On the thought of service to all, Gandhi was also deeply convinced through his parents, the teachings of the Vaishnava saint-poets, especially, Narsinh Mehta, and the scripts of Ruskin and the non-conformist Christians, especially Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi whispered that without self-restraint or self-purification, we could not render moksha-oriented service to others. Refuting the charge that these are ideals for the ascetics, he said that they are meant 'for acceptance through mankind in common.' He wrote:

No worker who has not overcome lust can hope to render any genuine service to the reason of Harijans, communal unity, Khadi, cow-defense or village reconstruction. Great reasons like these cannot be served through intellectual equipment alone; they call for spiritual attempt or soul-force.

Gandhi, the terrain on which the relationship flanked by one's moksharealization and one's disinterested service of all takes lay is the field of politics; namely, the field of 'toil in the service of my country and there through of humanity.' This relationship flanked by moksha-realization and service-centered politics was a consistent theme in Gandhi's scripts and public job. Appropriately, he concluded his *Autobiography* with the following report:

To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth side to side, one necessity be able to love the meanest of making since oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to stay out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means. Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self-purification; without self-purification, the observance of the law of ahimsa necessity remain an empty dream.

In a 'Foreword' he wrote to *Gokhale's Speeches*, Gandhi urged the *sadhus, rishis, munis, maulvis* and priests to become *political sanyasis*. He also described upon political workers to become spiritually and morally occupied. In his 'Last Will and Testament', he recommended the disbanding of the existing Congress system and its flowering into a Lok Sevak Sangh. He wished that its members would, thereby, devote themselves to the remaining tasks of the programme of swaraj and sarvodaya, which he delineated since follows:

India has still to attain social, moral, and economic independence in words of its seven hundred thousand villages since distinguished from its municipalities and cities.

Gandhi also stipulated that the *loksevaks* would abjure untouchability and necessity consider in 'the ideal of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions and

equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.' Gandhi's moral-political conception of sarvodaya is a corrective both to Western utilitarianism and to the inequalities and exclusions of the traditional caste organization. His critique of utilitarianism can be establish in his Introduction to his *Sarvodaya*, which was his paraphrase of Ruskins's book, *Unto This Last*. Gandhi wrote:

People in the West usually hold that the entire duty of man is to promote the happiness of the majority of mankind, and happiness is supposed to mean only physical happiness and economic prosperity. If the laws of morality are broken in the conquest of this happiness, it does not matter extremely much. Again, since the substance sought to be attained is the happiness of the majority, westerners do not think there is any harm if this is secured through sacrificing a minority. The consequences of this row of thinking are writ big on the side of Europe.

In 1926, Gandhi brought out the variation flanked by utilitarianism and sarvodaya in the following terms:

A votary of ahimsa cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula. He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the effort to realize the ideal. He will so be willing to die, therefore that the others may live. He will serve himself with the rest, through himself dying. The greatest good of all inevitably contains the good of the greatest number, and so, he and the utilitarian will converge in several points in their career, but there does approach a time when they necessity section company, and even

job in opposite directions. The utilitarian to be logical will never sacrifice himself. The absolutist will even sacrifice himself.

Satyagraha versus Passive Resistance

Satyagraha is the name of the Gandhian, non-violent method of political action to resist and change untruthful and violent organizations of social or political authority. Throughout 1906-14, Gandhi successfully used such a method of political action to resist the policy of racial discrimination, which the British colonial government of South Africa had adopted against the Indian immigrants. In India, he led several regional satyagraha campaigns, few notable ones being those of Champaran, Ahmedabad, Vaikom, Bardoli and Kheda. He also led a number of all-India satyagraha movements, beginning with the one against the Rowlatt Act in 1919.

Gandhi acknowledged that his theory of satyagraha was convinced too little extent through Henry David Thoreau's scripts. In Thoreau, 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience', Gandhi establish confirmation of his views on coercive characteristics of state and on the individual's obligation to his own conscience. 'From Thoreau and Ruskin', Gandhi wrote, 'I could discover out arguments in favor of our fight.' Gandhi's initial struggles against racial discriminations in South Africa were called since 'Passive Resistance'. But, he soon establish the English word to be unsatisfactory, partly because it was not intelligible to ordinary Indians and partly because it did not convey the special feature of his way of political thrash about. Hence, in 1906, he invited

the readers of his weekly, *Indian Opinion*, to suggest an alternative name. The best of the suggestions received was *sadagraha*, meaning 'firmness in a good reason.' Gandhi changed it to *satyagraha* since it conveyed his preferred thought of 'truth force' He explained his choice in the following terms:

Truth implies love, and firmness engenders and so serves since a synonym for force. I therefore began to call the Indian movement '*satyagraha*' that is to say, the force which is born to Truth and Love or non-violence, and gave up the exploit of the phrase 'passive resistance.'

Gandhi distinguished flanked by body-force = brute-force = the force of arms from soul force = love force = truth force. He referred to the former since the way of violence, which, he said, is celebrated in and through contemporary culture. *Satyagraha*, he said, relies on soul-force or truth-force and is suitable to *swaraj*. He wrote:

Satyagrah is a way of securing rights through personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance through arms. When I refuse to do an item that is repugnant to my conscience, I exploit soul-force. For example, the Government of the day has passed a law, which is applicable to me. I do not like it. If through by violence I force the Government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I exploit soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Gandhi, *satyagraha* was both practically necessary and morally desirable for the Indian Freedom Movement. He said that as the

'English are splendidly armed'; it would take several, several years for the Indians to arm themselves in a matching or effective manner. More than this practical difficulty, Gandhi disapproved of the immorality of the way of violence. He pointed out that 'to arm India on a big level is to Europeanize it' or, in other terms, to continue to be seduced through the morally flawed contemporary European culture. Gandhi, the distinctive characteristics of satyagraha, in comparison with 'passive resistance,' are since follows:

- While the passive resisters harbor hatred toward their adversaries, the satyagrahis view their opponents with love.
- The passive resisters, unlike the satyagrahis, may harass and injure their opponents.
- Satyagraha, unlike passive resistance, can be offered even to one's adjacent and dearest ones.

Passive resistance is a resistance through the weak and helpless, and it does not exclude the exploit of violence, whereas satyagraha is a moral-political action through the strong, and it excludes the exploit of violence. Believing themselves to be weak, the passive resisters would tend to provide up the thrash about at the earliest opportunity. 'On the other hand,' Gandhi wrote, 'if we offer satyagraha believing ourselves to be strong, two clear consequences follow. Fostering the thought of strength, we grow stronger and stronger every day. With the augment in our strength, our satyagraha too becomes more effective and we

would never be casting in relation to for an opportunity to provide it up.'

Few Evaluative Comments on Satyagraha

Regarding Gandhi's theory and praxis of *satyagraha*, many critics uphold that non-violence and self-suffering are impractical ways against violent oppression. The Gandhian method, they method, is 'other-worldly' and 'anti-humanist'. Gandhi maintained that non-violence and self-suffering were 'not for the unworldly, but essentially for the worldly.' He did admit that these principles were extremely hard to practice, but insisted that we require to, and can, stay on moving beside these rows. 'Perfect non-violence whilst you are inhabiting the body, he wrote, 'is only a theory like Euclid's point or straight row, but we have to Endeavour every moment of our lives'. Gandhi rightly maintained that it is desirable and possible to bring in relation to the predominantly non-violent society.

It may still be objected that *satyagraha* demands of the satyagrahis, self-suffering even unto death. It is true that self-suffering is a biggest unit of satyagraha. Though, self-sacrifice is also involved in case of violent resistance. Sacrifice even unto death is, therefore, the general unit in both violent and non-violent resistance against oppression. That is why Gandhi approved of the exploit of satyagraha only in cases of clash in excess of fundamental issues and only after all milder ways of nonviolence have failed. 'I should be deeply distressed,' he wrote in 1921, 'if on every conceivable occasion every one of us were to

be a law unto oneself and to scrutinize in golden levels every action of our future National Assembly. I would surrender my judgment in mainly matters to national representatives.' But when a situation of violent oppression persists even after all milder ways of non-violent resistance have been tried, Gandhi maintained that self-suffering even unto death of the nonviolent fighter for truth is a bigger assertion of individual freedom than is the death in- defeat of the violent resister.

Gandhi has himself given many explanations of the merits of the satyagraha method of political resistance and social transformation, in comparison with the ways of violence. In 1924, reacting to rumors that he was likely to be invited to visit the Soviet Union, Gandhi wrote:

I do not consider in short violent cuts to success. Those Bolshevik friends who are bestowing their attention on me should realize that though much I may sympathies with and admire worthy motives, I am an uncompromising opponent of violent ways even to serve the noblest of reasons. There is so, really no meeting ground flanked by the school of violence and myself.

Two years later, Gandhi gave the following account of the real variation flanked by violent and non-violent ways:

My non-violent resistance is activated resistance on a dissimilar plane. Nonviolent resistance to evil does not mean absence of any resistance whatsoever, but it means not to resist evil with evil but with good. Resistance so, is transferred to a higher and absolutely effective plane.

Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* exerted a tremendous power on Gandhi's views on the repressive character of the contemporary state and his commitment to non-violent resistance. Gandhi acknowledged that reading Tolstoy made him realize the 'infinite possibilities of universal love' and made him a 'firm believer in ahimsa'. Gandhi and Tolstoy corresponded with each other. In his last letter to Gandhi, Tolstoy acknowledged that his satyagraha movement in South Africa was a new and mainly significant manner of emancipator thrash about through the oppressed. Like Tolstoy, Einstein too has written in deep appreciation of Gandhian satyagraha. In a tribute published in a *festschrift* for Gandhi's seventieth birthday, he wrote:

Gandhi is unique in political history. He has invented an entirely new and humane technique for the liberation thrash about of an oppressed people and accepted it out with the greatest power and devotion. The moral power which he has exercised upon thinking people by the civilized world may be distant more durable than would seem likely in our present age with its exaggeration of brute force. For the job of statesmen is permanent only in therefore distant since they arouse and consolidate the moral forces of their peoples by their personal instance and educating power.

Marxism

Marxism usually refers to the ideas of the German philosopher, Karl Marx. But Marxism does not mean exclusively the ideas of Marx. It contains the ideas of Marx, Friedrich Engels and their

supporters, who call themselves Marxists. Therefore, Marxism refers to the body of ideas, which predominantly contains the ideas of Karl Marx. Marxism is a livelihood philosophy. Marxist thinkers are continuously contributing to the philosophy of Marxism. Therefore, it is said that Marx is dead, but Marxism is still alive. The Marxist philosophy lived even before the birth of Karl Marx. This is the cause David McLellan has written three volumes on Marxism, viz., *Marxism before Marx; Idea of Karl Marx* and *Marxism after Marx*. Similarly, the Polish thinker Leszek Kolakowski has authored three volumes on Marxism. The point once again is that Marxism does not mean only the ideas of Karl Marx.

Utopian and Scientific Socialism

Since said earlier, Marxism lived before Marx. These are recognized since the early socialist thinkers. Karl Marx calls them Utopian Socialists. They were utopian, because their diagnosis of the social ills was correct, but their remedy was wrong. It was impracticable, and so, they were described utopian. The word 'utopia' was derived from a novel of Thomas Moore titled, 'Utopia.' It refers to an imaginary island, described Utopia, where a perfect socio-economic- political organization lived. There was no use and people were happy. Few significant utopian socialist thinkers are Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc, Saint Simon, Sismondi and Proudhon. Marx calls his socialism since 'Scientific Socialism'. It is scientific, because it offers the economic interpretation of history through by the scientific methodology of dialectical materialism. It explains not only the

true reasons of use, but also offers the scientific remedy of revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat to cure the social ills of use. It not only offers scientific causes for class division and also thrash about in society, but also gives for a scientific mechanism to set up a classless and use less society.

Evolutionary and Revolutionary Socialism

Socialism is further divided into evolutionary and revolutionary socialism. Evolutionary socialism does not consider in revolution and wants to attain socialism by peaceful means. Evolutionary Socialists have faith in parliamentary democracy and want to bring social change by the ballot. They eschew violence and therefore, are opposed to a violent revolution. They also do not subscribe to the dictatorship of the proletariat and advocate a peaceful democratic transition from a class divided to a classless society. Fabian Socialism, Guild Socialism, Democratic Socialism are all several kinds of evolutionary socialism.

Revolutionary socialism, on the other hand, believes in class thrash about, revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Social change cannot be peaceful. It has to be violent. A peaceful revolution is a contradiction in words. Revolution is the midwife of social change, and this revolution necessity be violent. Revolutionary Marxism is usually recognized with the scientific socialism of Karl Marx. Syndicalism is also a kind of revolutionary socialism. Evolutionary socialism also traces its roots from the ideas of Karl Marx and Engels. They have talked in relation to the withering absent of the state. Exponents of

evolutionary socialism have picked up the theory of withering absent of the state, and argued that slowly by peaceful means, social change can be effected and an exploitation less and classless society can be recognized. Though, the critics of evolutionary socialism do not accept this thesis, and argue that the thought of withering absent of the state applies only to the socialist state or the dictatorship of the proletariat and not to the capitalist state. It will never wither absent. It has to be smashed by a violent revolution. So, the logic of evolutionary socialism is flawed.

Vital Principles of Marxism

The vital tenets of Marxism are the following: dialectical materialism, historical materialism, the theory of surplus value, class thrash about, revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and communism.

Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism is the scientific methodology urbanized through Marx and Engels for the interpretation of history. Here, Marx has borrowed heavily from his precursors, particularly, the German philosopher Hegel. Dialectics is an extremely old methodology, employed to discover truth through exposing contradictions, by a conflict of opposite ideas. Hegel refined it through developing the trilogy of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. It is popularly recognized since the *Dialectical Triad*. Progress or development takes lay by the dialectical procedure.

At every level of development, it is characterized through contradictions. These contradictions induce further changes, progress, and growth. The thesis is challenged through its anti-thesis. Both include units of truth and falsehood. Truth is permanent, but falsehood is transitory. In the ensuing clash of the thesis and the anti-thesis, the truth remnants, but the false units are destroyed. These false units constitute contradictions. The true units of both the thesis and the anti-thesis are fused jointly in a synthesis. This evolved synthesis throughout the course of time becomes a thesis and therefore, it is again challenged through its opposite anti-thesis, which again results in a synthesis. This procedure of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis continues until the level of perfection is reached. In this evolutionary procedure, a level will approach, when there will be no false units. These will be destroyed at dissimilar levels of development. It will constitute the perfect level and there will be no contradictions and therefore, there will be no further development. The dialectical procedure will approach to an end after arriving at the perfect truth. It is the contradictions, which move the dialectical procedure and a complete elimination of contradictions spots the end of the dialectical procedure itself.

For materialism, Marx is highly indebted to the French school of materialism, largely the French materialist thinker Ludwig Feuerbach. It is the matter, which is the ultimate reality and not the thought. The latter is a reflection of the former. How we earn our bread determines our ideas. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their subsistence but, on the contrary, it is their social subsistence that determines their consciousness.

Marx has observed that 'Hegel's dialectics was standing on its head and I have put it on its feet'. Hegel has urbanized dialectical idealism. For him, it is the thought, which ultimately matters. Thought lies in the foundation or the sub-building, which determines everything in the superstructure. Society, polity, economy are in this superstructure which is formed through the prevalent dominant ideas of the age. Ultimately it is the thought, which matters, and the other things are only its reflection. Marx replaced thought with matter. According to Marx, the material or the economic forces are in the substructure and the thought is a section of the superstructure. Thought is the reflection of material forces. The economic forces determine the thought and not vice versa. Therefore, Marx has reversed the location of thought and matter. This is the cause that he claims that 'in Hegel it was upside down and I have corrected it'.

The foundation or the substructure consists of the forces of manufacture and the dealings of manufacture. These two jointly constitute the manner of manufacture. When there is a change in the forces of manufacture because of growth in technology, it brings changes in the dealings of manufacture. Therefore, a change in the manner of manufacture brings a corresponding change in the superstructure. Society, polity, religion, morals, values, norms, etc. are a section of the superstructure and formed through the manner of manufacture.

Historical Materialism

Historical materialism is the application of dialectical materialism to the interpretation of history. It is the economic interpretation of world history through applying the Marxian methodology of dialectical materialism. The world history has been divided into four levels: primitive communism, the slavery organization, feudalism and capitalism. Primitive communism refers to the earliest section of human history. It was a property less, exploitation less, classless and stateless society. Means of manufacture were backward, because technology was undeveloped. The society owned the means of manufacture. They were not under private ownership and therefore there was no use. Stone made hunting weapons, the fishing net and hooks were the means of manufacture. The whole society owned these. Manufacture was limited and meant for self-consumption. There was no surplus manufacture and therefore there was no private property. As there was no private property, there was no use. As there was no use, there was no class division. As there was no class division, there was no class thrash about. As there was no class thrash about, there was no state. It was, therefore, a communist society, but of a primitive kind. However life was hard, it was characterized through the absence of use, clash and thrash about.

Technology is not static; it evolves continuously. Technical growth results in the improvement of manufacture. This leads to surplus manufacture, which results in the emergence of private property. Means of manufacture are now not under the society,

but private ownership. Society is, therefore, divided into property owning and property less classes. Through virtue of the ownership of the means of manufacture, the property owning class exploits the property less class. Class division in society and use lead to class thrash about. As there is class thrash about, the dominant class that is the property owning class creates an organization described the state to suppress the dissent of the dependent class that is the property less class. Therefore, the state is a class instrument and a coercive organization. It protects the interests of its creator that is the property owning class.

In the beginning, this society is divided into masters and slaves. Masters are the haves and the slaves are the have notes. The slaves carry out the entire manufacture job. The masters live on the labour of slaves. They use the slaves and whenever the slaves resent, the state comes to the rescue of the masters. Therefore, the state serves the interests of the master class. It uses its coercive powers to suppress the voice of the slaves. The slave organization is succeeded through feudalism. Technical growth leads to changes in the means of manufacture and this brings in relation to the corresponding changes in the dealings of manufacture and the superstructure. The slave organization is replaced through the feudal manner of manufacture and it is reflected in the society, polity, morality and the value organization. The division of society into feudal lords and peasants characterizes feudalism. The feudal lords own the means of manufacture, that is land, but the peasants carry out the manufacture job. Through virtue of ownership of the land,

the feudal lords get a vast share of the produce without doing anything. Therefore, the feudal lords are like parasites, which thrive on the labour of peasants. Feudal lords use the peasants and if the peasants ever resist their use, their resistance is ruthlessly crushed through the state, which protects and serves the interests of the feudal lords. The peasants are a dependent and exploited class, whereas the lords are a dominant and exploiting class.

Capitalism succeeds feudalism. Technical growth continues and therefore there is change in the forces of manufacture, which leads to a mismatch flanked by the forces of manufacture and the dealings of manufacture, which is resolved by a bourgeois revolution. Therefore the contradiction flanked by the forces of manufacture and the dealings of manufacture is resolved. The feudal manner of manufacture is replaced through the capitalist manner of manufacture. Division of society into the bourgeois and the proletariat class characterizes capitalism. The bourgeois class owns the means of manufacture, but the proletariat class carries out the manufacture. Proletariats are the industrial workers. They sell their labour in lieu of meager wages. It is usually an existence wage, which is enough only to support them and their families, therefore that an uninterrupted supply of labour force can be maintained. Manufacture is not for consumption through the self, but for profit. The desire to maximize profit leads to a reduction in wages and a rise in working hours. This further deteriorates the lot of the working class, which is eventually pushed into a situation, where it has

nothing to loose except for its chains. This paves the method for the proletariat revolution.

Theory of Surplus Value

Marx has urbanized the theory of surplus value to explain the use in the capitalist society. Here, Marx was convinced through the theories of classical economists. He subscribed to the labour theory of value. The value of a commodity is determined through the amount of labour consumed in its manufacture. Labour is also a commodity. It can be bought and sold like other commodities. Out of the four factors of manufacture, labour is the mainly basic. In its absence, the other factors of manufacture are useless. Land, capital and system are the other factors of manufacture. It is the application of labour to these factors of manufacture, which makes them productive. In the absence of labour, they are sterile.

If a wage is paid in proportion to the amount of value created through a laborer, then there is no use, But this is not the case in capitalism. Labour is unique in the sense that it creates more value than is required for its maintenance. The variation flanked by the value created through the worker and the value paid to the worker, since wages, constitute the surplus value and the profit of the capitalist. For example, if a worker has created a value of say Rs. 25,000 in a month and has been paid Rs. 15,000 since wages, then the remaining Rs. 10,000 will constitute the profit of the capitalist. Therefore, the worker always creates more value than he is actually paid. This surplus value created through the

worker is the profit of the bourgeois, which has been defended through the classical economist, because it leads to capital accumulation, which is invested further in new industries and enterprises and leads to development and prosperity. For the Marxists, it is the use of the workers, which has to be abolished.

With the development of capitalism and the rise in competition, the wages of the workers continue to fall and reach the level of existence stage. Existence wage is the minimum possible wage; beyond this the wage cannot be reduced. It is the minimum possible wage for the subsistence and perpetuation of the labour force. Therefore, cut throat competition in capitalism leads to deterioration of the lot of the proletariat. This intensifies class thrash about and eventually leads to revolution.

Class Thrash about

According to Marx, the history of all hitherto existing society has been the history of class thrash about. Except for the primitive communist level, all historical ages have been characterized through the antagonism flanked by the dominant and dependent classes or the haves and the have notes. This antagonism is caused through class contradictions; it is the result of use through the property owning class of the property less class. During history, there have been two contending classes in every epoch. In the slavery organization, they were the masters and the slaves, in feudalism, the feudal lords and the peasants and in capitalism, the bourgeois and the proletariat. The masters, the feudal lords and the bourgeois are the owners of the means of

manufacture. Though, it is the slaves, the peasants and the proletariat, who carry out manufacture, but their produce is taken absent through their exploiters and in return, they are given presently sufficient for their subsistence. Through virtue of the ownership of the means of manufacture, the property owning class exploits the property less class. This is the largest source and reason of class thrash about. The interests of the contending classes are irreconcilable. No compromise or rapprochement is possible flanked by the contending classes. The inherent contradictions of contending classes of every epoch can be resolved only by the annihilation of the exploiting classes.

Revolution

Class thrash about paves the method for revolution. Class thrash about is imperceptible, but revolution is perceptible. Intensification of class thrash about prepares the ground for revolution. Class thrash about is an extensive drawn affair, but revolution is short, swift and violent. In the terms of Marx, 'revolution is the indispensable mid-wife of social change'. Transition from one historical level to another occurs by revolution. Feudal revolution brought an end to the slavery organization; the bourgeois revolution ended feudalism and the proletariat revolution will bring an end to capitalism. Therefore, any epoch creation social change is always brought in relation to the through a revolution. Revolution occurs when there is incompatibility flanked by the means or forces of manufacture and the dealings of manufacture. To resolve this incompatibility, revolution occurs, which brings corresponding changes in the

dealings of manufacture and the superstructure to create it compatible with the forces or means of manufacture. Technical growth brings changes in the means of manufacture. The handbill provides you a society with the feudal lord, and the steam-mill, a society with the industrial capitalist.

Proletarian revolution will be the last revolution in the annals of history. Revolution occurs to resolve contradictions. Therefore revolution will not take lay, if there is no contradiction in society. After the proletarian revolution, there will not be any further revolution, because there will be no contradiction. Though, revolution will take lay only when the forces of manufacture have fully matured. Revolution cannot be advanced or postponed. It will happen when the forces of manufacture have matured and do not match the dealings of manufacture. Revolution brings an end to this mismatch. The sequence and direction of social development cannot be changed. No level can overleap other level. No level can be short-circuited. Primitive communism will lead to the slavery organization, the slavery organization to feudalism and feudalism to capitalism. Dictatorship of the proletariat or socialism will succeed capitalism, which is the penultimate level of social development. Dictatorship of the proletariat will eventually lead to the establishment of communism. With the proletarian revolution, revolution itself will approach to an end.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The proletariat revolution will lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also recognized since the *socialist state*. The state tools created through the bourgeois to oppress the proletariat will be taken in excess of through the proletariat themselves. Now, the table will be turned and the proletariat will exploit the state tools against the bourgeois. The bourgeois will attempt to level a counter-revolution to restore the old organization and therefore, the coercive organizations of the state are needed to restrain the bourgeois.

The state has always been the instrument of oppression. The dominant class to oppress the dependent class has created the state. It is a class instrument. The state protects and serves the interests of its creator, which is the property owning class. This class has always been in a minority, whether it is the masters or the feudal lords or the capitalists. Therefore, a minority has been oppressing a majority viz., the slaves or the peasants or the proletariat by the coercive organs of the state. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the first time the state comes under manage of the majority. Now, for the first time, the state's coercive tools is used through the majority against the minority.

According to Marx, all states have been dictatorships and therefore the socialist state is no exception. It is also a dictatorship. The state has always been used through one class to suppress the other class. In the socialist state, the proletariat class will exploit the coercive organs of the state such since the

army, the police, prison, judicial organization etc., against the bourgeois class. Marx argues that if democracy means the rule of the majority, then the proletariat state is the mainly democratic state, because for the first time in the annals of history, authority comes into the hands of the majority. Before the proletariat state, authority has always been in the hands of the minority. Therefore if majority rule is the criterion, then only the proletariat state can be described a democratic state.

Communism

Under the livelihood care of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state will blossom forth into communism. Socialism is a transitory level. It will pave the method for the eventual emergence of communism. Which is stable and permanent? This will be the stage of social development. After the establishment of communism, there will be no further social change. The dialectical procedure will approach to an end. A perfect, rational social organization will be recognized, free from antagonisms and contradictions. There will be no class contradictions and therefore, no class thrash about. In fact communism will be a classless, stateless, private property less and exploitation less society.

In a communist society, there will be no private property in the shape of private ownership of the means of manufacture. The means of manufacture will be under the ownership of the society. Cooperation and not cutthroat competition will be the foundation of communist society. Manufacture will be for consumption and

not to earn profit. Profit motive will be replaced through social requires. As there will be no private property, there will be no use. As there will be no use, there will be no class division, no property owning and property less class, no haves and have notes or no dominant and dependent class. As there is no class division, there is no class thrash about and therefore no require of the state. This is the cause why a communist society will be a classless and stateless society.

State is the instrument of use. It is a class instrument and a result of class division in society. As there is only one class of workers in communism and no other class to suppress or oppress, there will not be any require of the state. It will become redundant in a communist society. It will be relegated to the museum. The state, though, will not be smashed; it will slowly wither absent. Communist society will be governed through the Louise Blanc principle of 'from each according to his capability to each according to his require'. There will be no lay for parasites. He who will not job will not eat also. There will be only one class of workers. The whole society will be converted into the working class. There will be no lay for use. It will be an egalitarian society. There will be harmonious connection in the middle of the people.

Theory of Alienation

There have been two separate phases in the Marxist philosophy. *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, present the human side of Marxism. In the *Manuscripts*, capitalism has been

analyzed without reference to class antagonism, class thrash about and violent revolution. Here, the evil powers of capitalism have been explained by alienation and loss of identity and freedom. These views of Marx have been recognized with a younger Marx. There occurs an epistemological break in Marx's philosophy with the script of *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. The later Marx is recognized since mature Marx, who urbanized the theory of scientific socialism. Marx's earlier ideas were exposed only in 1932, with the publication of the *Manuscripts*.

The theory of alienation is a significant Marxian concept. The Hungarian Marxist George Lukas had urbanized the theory of alienation entirely on his own even before the publication of *Manuscripts* in 1932. Though, the concept of alienation became popular only after the publication of the *Manuscripts*. Marx has recognized four stages of alienation. Firstly, man is alienated from his own product and from his job procedure, because the worker plays no section in deciding what to produce and how to produce it. Secondly, man is alienated from nature. His job does not provide him a sense of satisfaction since a creative worker. Under mechanization, job tends to become increasingly reutilized and monotonous. Thirdly, man is alienated from other men. The competitive character of the capitalist organization forces everyone to live at someone else's expense and divides society into antagonistic classes. Lastly, man is alienated from himself. The realm of must dominates his life and reduces him to the stage of an animal subsistence, leaving no time for a taste of literature, art, and cultural heritage. The capitalist organization subordinates all human faculties and qualities to the

circumstances created through the private ownership of capital and property. The capitalist himself, no less than the worker, becomes a slave of the tyrannical rule of money.

Theory of Freedom

Since a humanist philosophy, Marxism is primarily a philosophy of human freedom. Freedom consists not only in securing material satisfaction of human requires, but also in removing the circumstances of dehumanization, estrangement and alienation. The capitalist organization is characterized through must since opposed to freedom. Must refers to the circumstances under which the inevitable laws of nature govern the life of man. These laws of nature exist self-governing of man's will. Man can acquire scientific knowledge of these laws, but cannot change them at his will. Freedom does not consist in an escape from must. Freedom lies in the knowledge of these laws of nature and the capability to create these laws job towards the definite end of the emancipation of human society.

Therefore, a sound knowledge of the productive forces operating behind the capitalist organization and a programme to create these forces job toward human ends were essential instruments of human freedom. Only a programme of socialist revolution would accomplish humanity's leap from the kingdom of must to the kingdom of freedom. The emancipation of human society and the realization of true freedom is possible only with the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of communism.

A Critical Appraisal and an Overview

Marxism has been subjected to severe criticism. It has simplified the class division of society into two classes, the haves and the have notes. This is distant from the reality. Society is extremely intricate and is divided into numerous clusters. There is no clear cut division of classes since envisaged through Marxism. Moreover, there exists a vast transitional class. Marxian thinkers predicted that with the advancement of capitalism, the transitional class would disappear and merge with the proletariat class. But this has not happened therefore distant and there is no possibility of it ever happening. In fact, the reverse has happened; the transitional class has strengthened its location and increased its mass. Marxists also predicted the narrowing of the capitalist class. Here again, presently the opposite has happened. Instead of shrinking, the foundation of the capitalist class has been enlarged. Marx predicted the accumulation of capital, but there has been the dispersal of capital. The condition of the proletariat class has not deteriorated since predicted through Marx. Therefore, the actual working of the capitalist organization has proved the Marxist theory of classes to be wrong.

Marxists had predicted that the inherent contradictions of capitalism would lead to its collapse. But this has not happened therefore distant. No advanced capitalist organization has collapsed. Capitalism has proved its resilience. It is the socialist organization, which has collapsed in several sections of the world. Capitalism has the tremendous capability of version. This

is the largest cause for its subsistence. Marx failed to assess capitalism correctly. According to Marx, the proletarian revolution will happen only when capitalism has matured. There is no chance of the proletarian revolution occurring and succeeding in a backward feudal society. But this is exactly, what has happened in reality.

Revolution has taken place only in feudal civilizations such as Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba etc. This was the largest issue of debate flanked by two factions of Russian Marxists, the Mensheviks led through Plekhanov and the Bolsheviks led through Lenin. Ultimately, the Bolsheviks prevailed in excess of the Mensheviks, but the latter were closer to classical Marxist teachings. According to Marx, his teachings can lessen the birth pangs, but cannot short route the several levels of social development. Though, Lenin and Trotsky in Russia and Mao in China recognized communism in a feudal society without going by the procedure of first establishing capitalism. To resolve this obvious contradiction, Trotsky urbanized the 'theory of Permanent Revolution'. He fused the bourgeois revolution with the proletarian revolution in his theory. These two revolutions can happen simultaneously in the view of Trotsky. However this looks to be a more practical view, it does not confirm to the vital Marxian principles.

The Marxian theory of economic determinism has been severely criticized. It is not only the economic factor, but other factors also that are equally significant in bringing in relation to the social change. If economy determines polity, society, morality,

value organization etc., then economy itself is formed through these. It is a *two* method procedure. Economic forces are not immune to the powers of polity, society, civilization, religion, values, norms etc. If the foundation or the substructure forms the superstructure, then the superstructure also forms the substructure. Therefore, the theory of economic determinism cannot be carried. Later Marxist thinkers like Gramsci carried the significant role of the superstructure.

The Marxian concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism suffer from many flaws. After the proletarian revolution, the proletariat will seize the state tools from the bourgeois. With the establishment of communism, the state will become redundant and will slowly wither absent. This has not happened. In socialist society, the state in fact became all-powerful. Instead of weakening, the state has consolidated its location and there is no possibility of its fading absent. The Marxian dream of a stateless society will never be realized. The state will continue to play a leading role in a socialist and communist society and there is no possibility of it ever being relegated to the museum.

The socialist state wherever it has been recognized, has either been overthrown or discredited. Wherever, it is still surviving, it has been compelled to introduce wide-ranging changes, which do not confirm to the teachings of classical Marxism. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, disintegration of the Soviet Union and economic reforms in China have led thinkers like Francis Fukuyama to write the obituary of Marxism. Fukuyama in his

well-known book *End of History* proclaims the triumph of capitalism in excess of communism in the post-cold war world. With the victory of capitalism in excess of communism, history has approach to an end. Here, Fukuyama talks of history in the Hegelean sense. After capitalism, there will be no further economic and political development. Capitalism is the mainly rational and perfect organization. It is the mainly perfect ideology and philosophy. Therefore ideological and philosophical development comes to an end with the emergence of capitalism. Its largest challenger communism has been defeated and this further proves its claim that it is the best possible social, economic and political organization ever evolved through humanity.

It is extremely hard to accept the thesis propounded through Fukuyama. The importance of Marxism lies in two meadows. Firstly, it has been used since a tool for social analysis. Secondly, it provides a voice to the voiceless. It is the philosophy of the poor, the oppressed and the suppressed people. If the contribution of Marxism is analyzed in these two meadows, since suggested, reach the conclusion that it is still relevant and has not become redundant since claimed through the liberal critics. Marxism since a come of social analysis is still relevant since it was in the past. Its importance since a way of social analysis will never diminish, irrespective of whether the socialist state survives or not.

Marxism since an ideology has definitely lost its edge, but it has not become completely redundant. Since extensive since use will

continue, people will be oppressed and suppressed, Marxism will remain relevant. Marxism since a philosophy of the exploited and the oppressed will continue to inspire the masses to strive for their emancipation. Therefore there is no question of its defeat and irrelevance. In fact the organizations, which have collapsed, were not organized on classical Marxian principles. They were a variant of Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism. Therefore it is the Leninist-Stalinist organizations, which have collapsed in Europe and elsewhere and not classical Marxism. Marxism since a come will continue to be used through scholars for social analysis and the exploited-oppressed people will continue to espouse Marxist philosophy for their emancipation. Here, Marxism will never become irrelevant. It will always give an alternative philosophy to liberalism. Marxism will also act since an effective check on the excesses of liberalism. It will mitigate the rigors of the capitalist organization.

Fascism

Common Explanations and Characteristics of Fascism

Fascism has been interpreted in multiple methods. A favorite Marxist location is to explain it since a violent, dictatorial instrument of monopoly fund capital, which appeared in the shape of brutal attack on workers, rights in an era of intensification of class thrash about and acute crisis in the capitalist economy. Another interpretation views fascism since

the product of cultural and moral breakdown in the aftermath of brutality and savagery of World War I.

Oswald Spengler wrote his *Decline of the West in 1918* and argued that Western culture, characterized through industrialism had reached an era of decline in the 20th century. Spengler attacked the rational strains of modernity in order to celebrate the 'Philosophy of Life' since an alternative. Wilhelm Reich, a neo-psycho analyst, in his *Size Psychology of Fascism* explains Fascism since a result of extreme neurotic or pathological impulses that place dormant in the patriarchal family set-up. Another liberal interpretation traces fascism since a product of size society where traditional solid identities based on kinship, religion, craft and guild and residence break down and a new amorphous size-society is created. Few others relate it to a unique expression of transitional-class radicalism against monopoly business homes' profit-motive. Lastly, it has been seen since a shape of Bonapartism or an autonomous authoritarian state led through a charismatic leader self-governing of any specific class-interests or class-power.

Fascism appeared since a radical movement based on the rejection of liberalism, democracy and Marxist socialism. Though, it differed from the conservative authoritarian clusters. The conservative right invoked traditional legitimacies based on the church, the monarchy, kinship etc. whereas the Fascists wanted a radical institutional change and mobilized people in the name of *Organic Nationalism*, a belief in the harmonious collectivity of nation privileged in excess of all other shapes of human-

identification. Since in the human body, the structural connection of the several organs or sections of the body to each other only serves to describe and delimit their roles; therefore in the organic view of the fascist state, the state since the embodiment of national will takes precedence in excess of the identities and rights of the individuals. This view also accounts for the deep-rooted hostility of fascism to inter-nationalism and to systems and movements based on inter-nationalism such since communism, freemasonry, the League of Nations and to the multi-national Jewish society. In common, Fascism symbolized the rejection of political civilization inherited from Enlightenment and its ideas such since rationalist materialism, the philosophy of individualism and pluralism. The fascist opposition to the democratic-bourgeois organizations and values did not rule out their exploit of size, constitutional and plebiscite shapes of politics, but they made exploit of these democratic organizations only to wreck them from inside and in order to undermine their value. Fascism was opposed, in all its shapes, to the notion of democracy based on respect for pluralism, individual autonomy and the subsistence of civil and political liberties.

The size- mobilization of fascists was based on the pattern of militarization of politics. They made exploit of military insignia and terminology in their mobilization. Since military-systems are based on unity of command and order and perfect subordination of rank and file to the higher command, therefore the fascist systems had their quasi-sacred figure of the leader-the Duce in Italy and the Fuhrer in Germany whose will was supreme in all matters.

A party militia was often used to reinforce the sense of nationalism and wipe out opposition to their dictatorships. The extreme stress on the masculine principle or male-dominance in the fascist ideology and the exaltation of youth were also related to this militarization of politics. Another important characteristic of fascism was the system of few type of regulated, class-collaborationist, integrated national-economic building. The thought of corporatism since a society of people free from class-clash appeared in reaction to the development of individualism and the new centralizing states. It was a residue of the feudal ideology of mystical 'society' of personal ties. But slowly it acquired a contemporary, class-collaborationist shape. The ideology of societal corporatism whispered in giving full autonomy to the corporations, but fascist ideology accentuated state corporatism or the complete subordination of corporations to the requires and requirement of the fascist state.

Ideological Strands of Fascism

At the ideological stage, there was no single unifying thought that guided the fascist movement and state. Fascism appeared from heterogeneous borrowings from several ideas. The vital ingredient of fascism was a type of synthesis of organic nationalism and anti-Marxist ideas. The power of Sorel's philosophy of action based on intuition, power and élan was also discernible in the pattern of fascist size-mobilization. The fascists also tried to apply Darwin's ideas to the growth of society. They whispered that people in any society compete for subsistence and only Larger individuals, clusters and races

succeed. This belief directly fed into the anti-Jewish politics or anti-semitism practiced largely under German fascism, but also elsewhere. Such application of Darwin's ideas in the realm of society came to be recognized since 'Social Darwinism'. Adolph Hitler's autobiographical report in *Mein Kampf* made out an explicit case for the application of such Social-Darwinist racial ideas. In this book, Hitler characterized parliamentary democracy since a sin against 'the vital aristocratic principle of nature' and depicted all human civilization since the exclusive product of the creative Aryan race and condemned the Jewish society since inferior and lacking in creativity. The size-extermination of millions of Jews grew out of this insanity of Nazi ideology in Germany where totally impersonal bureaucratic 'extermination' of a people classified since a species of inferior inhuman was put into practice. The political theorist Carl Schmitt wrote his critiques of parliamentary democracy in the 1920s arguing for a plebiscitary dictatorship. The Philosopher Martin Heidegger attacked Western modernity for its technical violence and for a contempt of being. In several methods, these philosophies of the right were to become justifications for the Fascist and Nazi regimes in the 1930s.

Fascism in Italy appeared since the convergence of three dissimilar trends. The radical Syndicalist Confederation of Deal Unions split in 1914 in excess of the issue of Italian participation in war. The Syndicalists had whispered in the 'self-emancipation' of the 'producers' by regulation at factory stage. The workers associations or syndicates would replace the state at a suitable time and these would act since the instruments of self-

government. Now the right wing syndicalists moved towards extreme nationalism. They called nations in class words, i.e., since 'plutocratic' or having colonies or 'proletarians' or 'have not' nations without colonies. Italy was called since a proletarian nation. The Futurists who rejected traditional norms and existing organizations and exalted 'violence', and who were fascinated through speed, authority, motors and machines or all the contemporary technical possibilities, contributed a second biggest ideological factor. Mussolini's 'socialistic' views and ideas on 'national revolution' was the third biggest ideological strand of Italian fascism. This heterogeneity of ideas beside with regional political exigencies was responsible for variations in the shape of the fascist movement and state.

Social Bases of Fascism

Since suggested, define the nature of political and institutional forces that helped in the growth of the fascist movement and state and continued it.

War, Diplomacy and Nationalism

World War I provided the sociological and psychological circumstances for the crystallization of the fascist state. It revealed the capability of nationalism in the mobilization of masses and economic possessions. It further demonstrated the importance of unity of command, of power, and moral mobilization and propaganda in the service of the contemporary state. After the war, fascism appeared since a vision of a

coherent and reunited people, mobilized on the foundation of an entire communal liturgy of songs and torch- light procession, highlighting the cult of physical force, violence and brutality.

At the Versailles, the victorious Allied powers tried to extract the words of defeat from Germany. Severe reparations were imposed on Germany. Germany's military might was reduced to 100,000 men. Germany also suffered in words of territorial possessions including loss of its colonies. Discontent in excess of the severity of the Allies' peace words and conflicts and squabbles in excess of the newly drawn frontiers contained seeds of future conflicts. There was no mechanism to adjudicate rival claims and resolve conflicts. The League of Nations lacked the executive powers to impose peaceful solutions. Hitler was ready to exploit military force to achieve union with Austria and to get enough 'livelihood legroom' for the German people.

Italian fascism claimed colonies for a 'proletarian' Italy. Japanese militarists demanded an 'equitable sharing of world possessions' and were willing to favor a military action to achieve their aim. Nationalism, war and diplomacy forced individuals and clusters within national boundaries to take faces. It also made it possible to restrict the public democratic legroom. Any person or group could be recognized since the 'national enemy' or 'traitors' and wiped out for not owing allegiance or loyalty to the fascist 'national' state. Earlier defeat was attributed to the betrayal of these units in the fascist propaganda.

The Economic Crisis of 1929

World War I resulted in size destruction, of possessions both physical and human, and hence, productive capacities of civilizations involved in it. Reconstruction and 'recovery' in Europe after the war was financed through US loans. The procedure went on smoothly till a crisis began in the US in excess of the rapid drop in agriculture prices. Since the world agriculture manufacture began to rise with 'recovery' in Europe, North American agriculture was hit through a rapid drop in the prices and several faced bankruptcies. Soon the stock markets in America were affected in October 1929. Since a result of the global integration of the markets, the crash affected all the economies. Plantations, farms and factories closed down throwing millions out of occupations and restricting output.

The Industrialists who had taken advances and loans from banks and financial organizations establish it hard to repay. Several banks and financial organizations started facing bankruptcies. With millions out of occupations and factories, there was no demand for goods and services since the purchasing authority of the people deteriorated. The economies showed no sign of recovery. In such conditions, re-militarization advocated through fascist leaders created occupations not only in the armies, but also in the armament industries. Since this stimulated a demand for goods and services, the fascist programme appealed to people in crises-ridden times-especially when it also satisfied their 'national pride'.

The Political Mobilization for Fascism

The initial programme of fascists in Italy, launched since 'Fasci Di Combattimento' described for the installation of a republic and reflected demands for radical democratic and socialistic reforms including confiscation of vast war-time profits of capitalists, the suppression of large joint-stock companies and land for landless peasants. These leftist units of the programme were dropped in 1920 and only an emotive mixture of strident patriotism, justification of war, a concern for national greatness and aversion to the socialist party were retained. The development of fascist squads, with the support and connivance of state officials and army was directly connected to actual or perceived threats of the left. The support of the traditional conservative elites such since army officers, bureaucrats, and businessmen was utilized and left its imprint on the fascist party and state. In order to achieve a broader mobilization of people, the military kind militia, semi-military propaganda kind systems and regimented fascist deal unions were also created. The Party and its grand Council controlled all these systems.

Similarly, chauvinist sentiment and popular radical demands in Germany were used through Hitler's fascist system, the German National Socialist Worker's Party in order to gain size political support. It described for a greater Germany with land and colonies, the annulment of the treaty of Versailles, nationalization of large monopoly business, profit distribution in large enterprises, the abolition of unearned incomes and agrarian reforms. German fascism capitalized on the rising unease created

through the Great Depression of 1929 and its impact on the German economy. They made exploit of the political instability of the Weimer republic, whose own constitution was used since an instrument to subvert it from within. All these factors created circumstances for the rise of the Nazi Party, the system of German fascism. It had a scrupulous appeal for those patriotic Germans whose national pride had been hurt through the defeat of Germany in World War I and its subsequent humiliation at Versailles.

The Question of Hegemony and Coercion

The German fascist state associated with the Fuhrer Adolph Hitler earned for itself the distinction of being the mainly barbaric and destructive regime that used industrial techniques for the execution of intended size murder and genocide. The secret state police office, or 'Gestapo' since it came to be recognized in Germany was created in 1933 under the Prussian Interior Ministry, and rapidly attained autonomy from the provincial government. From 1934, Heinrich Himmler became the head of this nation-wide fascist organ of terror. Its Prussian part was headed through Reinhard Heydrich, who was also in charge of the SD, a party intelligence system affiliated to the dreaded SS, with a nation-wide network of informers. It became the internal disciplinary executive of the German fascist state. Such systems of terror acquired the complete authority of life and death in excess of every German. Any opposition to the fascist state was ruthlessly suppressed. Absolute authority was concentrated in the hands of the Fuhrer. The exploit of a rational

bureaucratic mechanism in order to exterminate the gypsies, Jews and political opponents by concentration camps is a familiar characteristic of the fascist state. Similarly, in Italy, Spain and other fascist regimes, every effort was made to dismantle democratic organizations of the civil society and replace them with institutionalized dictatorships based on the personal command of the dictators. All this necessitated more and more regimentation of the civil society. Few scholars even characterize fascism since a 'totalitarian state' or a state, which acquires day-to-day manage in excess of the life of its citizens. But despite the dictatorial rule, fascism made exploit of sure consent-structure experiments. At the ideological stage, exploit of nationalist sentiments and even anti-Semitism had a popular sanction behind it.

Separately from this, few new ways were also tried. The fascist state in Italy created the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro in 1925. Its largest concern was the system of leisure time for the working people. It ran a vast network of regional clubs and recreational facilities with libraries, bars, billiard halls and sport grounds. The Dopolavoro circles arranged concerts, plays, films illustrates, and organized picnics and provided cheap summer holidays for children. Through the 1930s, there were in relation to the 20,000 such circles in Italy. Moreover, although the Syndical Law of 1926 brought labour under the manage of the state in the interest of manufacture and confirmed the fascist deal unions in their monopoly of negotiations with employers and banned strikes, the fascist state also introduced few welfare schemes for the workers in the 1930s. Family allowances were given in 1934,

mainly to compensate for the loss of income resulting from the imposition of a forty-hour week. Insurance against sickness and accident was included into wage agreements, and later in the 1930s, Christmas bonus and holiday pay were introduced. All such events were meant to set up legitimacy of the state that had abolished civil liberties and democratic rights. Compared to Italy, German labour was more tightly regimented under the Nazi regime.

State and Society under Fascism

The fascist state appeared since the institutionalization of personal dictatorship. In Italy, all opposition parties and systems were banned in October 1926. The Public Safety Law made the security of the state take precedence in excess of personal liberties. The Fascist Party itself was bureaucratized and syndicalism ideas were suppressed within the party. Several industrialists from North Italy including the owner of Fiat Company, Giovanni Oienyale, had financed Mussolini's fascist system.

Private capital was a beneficiary of the fascist manage of labour. The 'Corporate State' was formally created in 1934 with 22 combined corporations of employers and employees, but they lacked the real authority to take economic decisions. State intervention in the economic life of the Italian nation was marginal in the early section of fascist regime. The Great Depression and require to fulfill imperialist ambitions, especially in the Mediterranean Sea and Africa for its aggressive

nationalist-militarist project led to an increased state intervention in the economic life. The basis of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction in the 1930s reflected this trend of economic regulation in the service of contemporary warfare. Though, even in 1940, IRI possessed only in relation to the 17.8% of the total capital assets of Italian industry. The state, in scrupulous, focused on the development of chemical, electrical and machine industries and gave impetus to modernization by electrification of railways and telephone and radio industry. Though, compared to Germany, investments in military-manufacture were low despite the regime's rhetoric of Italy 'being in a permanent state of war'. Moreover, despite early radical denouncements of the monopoly capitalist class, the fascist state helped in cartelization, i.e., making of big industrial federations.

Mussolini also tried to appease the Church. Big grants were made for the repair of war-damaged churches. In 1923, religious education was made compulsory in all secondary schools. The Roman question was finally settled in 1929. The Lateran Pacts were signed with the Church, giving virtual manage of religious-education to the Church and the Pope's right to govern the Vatican was established. The Church's largest place system, Catholic Action, was guaranteed freedom provided it stayed out of politics. The personal absolutism and party's manage of social life was more stringent in Germany. In Italy, large business, industry, fund, army and professional bureaucracy retained a big degree of autonomy and fascism came to authority on the foundation of a tacit compromise with these recognized organizations and elites. In Germany, the Enabling Act became

the legal foundation for Hitler's dictatorship. Legislative authority was transferred to the executive. The bureaucracy was purged of politically undesirable and 'non-Aryan' units. The federal character of the state was destroyed. The vital constitutional rights were suppressed. The 'rule of law' was transformed into the 'rule of leader'. The extra-legal notion of the Fuhrer, to whom bureaucracy and the army swore 'unconditional obedience', assumed crucial importance in the administrative functioning and signified burial of constitutionalism. The will of the leader became the foundation for the legitimacy of law. The independence of the judiciary was totally destroyed. Furthermore, the press was totally controlled. Liberal and Jewish-owned newspapers and the Socialist Press were forced to secure down.

Any kind of literature, and art that was establish antithetical to the fascist perception was banned. The cultural life of citizens by propaganda and education became one of the chief goals of the Nazi regime. All education was transformed in accordance with fascist ideals. Text- books were re-written. Jews were forbidden to teach and racial theories of 'Aryan- German' master race supremacy became a section of the curricula. The fascist state in Germany also attempted to achieve a complete regimentation of labour. 'Trustees' appointed through the owners fixed wages. A labour front was created in October 1934. It operated not since a deal union, but since a propaganda machine, and incorporated employers and professionals since members. Its stated aim was the maximization of job, and the fascists controlled it. The fascist state's attitude to women was based on ultra-conservative patriarchal sentiments. The social role of women was defined

through the slogan of 'Kids, Kitchen and Church'. The mainly oppressive characteristic of fascism in Germany was a systematic persecution of Jews. The ideology of Nazi party in Germany was informed through a strong hatred of the Jews and an intense obsession with the maintenance of the Aryan purity of the German Master race. The Jews were stereotyped since inferior, racially impure and a source of all ills of Germany. They were deprived of citizenship, spaces in the universities and management. Their businesses were attacked. They were subjected to all sorts of unprecedented discrimination. Later on, millions of them were sent to concentration camps and massacred throughout World War II. Italian fascism in contrast, lacked any systematic policy of racial anti-semitism, at least, up to 1937. Though, in November 1938, under the power of the Nazis, racial anti-Jews laws were also passed in Italy.

Individualism And Communitarianism

Individualist versus Communitarian Location

In responding to this question, individualists and communitarians hold dissimilar and apparently conflicting locations. While the individualists see political reality since being formed through decisions and actions of free and rights-bearing individuals, communitarians emphasize the connection flanked by the person and the society and see this connection to be the foundation of politics. This debate may then be characterized since one flanked by those who favor individual rights and

autonomy and those who emphasize the bonds of society in political life.

Relevance in the Indian Context

The debate flanked by individualism and communitarianism is particularly relevant to the Indian context. The Indian Constitution deviates from the traditional liberal framework, which guarantees individual rights and ignores the rights of society membership. It endorses and accepts the twin ideals of individual autonomy and society membership. The Constitution contains both the guarantee of individual civil rights and liberties and the principle of equal respect for all societies. A revise of the debate flanked by individualism and communitarianism is, so, also significant for understanding few of the questions and issues in modern Indian political theory and practice.

It would be helpful to note that there are dissimilar diversities of individualism and communitarianism. In this element, we shall revise few of the key arguments and themes contained in these theoretical locations. We begin with an introduction to the meaning and origin of liberal individualism. We then go on to understand few of the largest arguments of individualistic perspective, namely, the conception of self and understanding of the nature and functions of the state. This is followed through an introduction to the communitarian critique of liberal individualism. We, then, analyze the locations held through

communitarians on the conception of the person and the nature and functions of the state.

Meaning and Growth of Individualism

Individualism is one of the many theories of connection flanked by the citizen and the state and of the proper scope of state behaviors. Other theories of this connection, which oppose the theory of individualism are socialism, sarvodaya, fascism and communitarianism, which since suggested, revise later in this element. What distinguishes individualism from these other theories is its emphasis on the individual since the primary element in political and social theory. Few of the largest advocates of individualism have been Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Herbert Spencer and more recently, F.A. Hayek and Robert Nozick. In India, Mahadeo Govind Ranade and the Swatantra Party largely supported the individualistic view.

Atomism and Methodological Individualism

The concept of individualism is one of the largest characteristics of liberal political idea, the other characteristics being universalism, egalitarianism, secularism and the isolation flanked by the public and the private. The thought of individualism covers a wide diversity of ideas, attitudes and doctrines. At the heart of these ideas and doctrines is the systematic according of primacy to the individual in excess of any social group, society or communal. The individual is regarded since an end in itself while political, economic and social

organizations are measured since a mere means to that end. This thought of individualism is described 'Atomism'—a view of society constituted through individuals for fulfillment of ends, which are primarily individualistic and which exist antecedently or prior to any scrupulous shape of social life. Individualism also refers to the doctrine in relation to the centrality of individual to any political theory or social account. This doctrine is described 'Methodological Individualism' – a doctrine that asserts that no account in social science or history can be fundamental unless based upon facts and characteristics of individuals, their properties, goals, beliefs and actions. In other terms, social wholes or the aggregate pattern of behavior necessity always be explained in words of the individual.

More importantly, the theory of individualism relates to the principle of laissez-faire—French phrase that means 'leave alone' or 'allow to do'. The principle of laissez faire is a principle of economic individualism and is a section of the broader theory of connection flanked by the state and the citizen. It was the battle cry of tradesmen, moneylenders and little manufacturers of 18th century France and England, who felt constrained through the controls and regulations of the mercantilist state. The mercantilist state was characterized through a great trade of state intervention in the economy. In contrast, economic laissez-faire stood for the policy of non-intervention or minimal intervention through state in the economic sphere. The economy, it was felt, should be left to operate in accordance with the demand and supply mechanism of the market. Laissez-faire or

economic individualism, in other terms, stands for limited government and free deal.

Views of Contractualists including John Rawls

Individualism is essentially a contemporary phenomenon that began to take form in the 17th century in the scripts of Hobbes and Locke. As the times of Hobbes and Locke, liberal political theory has made it its primary purpose to explore the connection flanked by the individual and the state. All individuals have inalienable rights. Government derives its powers from the consent of those who are to be governed. This consent is expressed through and recognized on the foundation of a social contract flanked by the governed and those who govern. The distinctive characteristic of the individualistic location, though, is the claim that the parties to the social contract are essentially people acting since individuals, and not since representatives of a cultural or communal group. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau spoke of a number of men establishing the state by a social contract and were explicit in relation to the eliminating associations and clusters intermediate flanked by the individual and the state. In fact, Rousseau maintained that if the Common Will is to be truly expressed, it is essential that there are no subsidiary clusters within the state. The mainly recent biggest exponent of the contractarian point of view, John Rawls, similarity assumes that the parties in the 'Original Location' who job out the principles of justice are individuals who speak for themselves. Moreover, the justice that they speak of is only for individuals. While Rawls does illustrate little concern for social

classes, he does not raise the question of whether society/clusters should be measured since entities with claims to justice.

Views of Utilitarians

Emphasis on the individual is not confined to the social contract perspective in liberal political idea. In speaking of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, utilitarians such since Jeremy Bentham and J.S.Mill also had individuals in mind. In fact, in his job *On Liberty*, Mill accentuated the liberty of the individual and require of the state to keep out of private concerns. Similarly, those who speak of the consent of the governed usually take it since an obvious assumption that the consent is to approach from individuals. Further, the theories of democracy which trade with the concept of one man-one vote, one vote-one value and majority rule clearly have individuals in mind. Individualism has guided much of contemporary liberal political idea. Though, the theory of individualism is not universally carried or is free of criticism. Political theory today is deeply divided in relation to the connection flanked by the state and the citizen since well since in relation to the proper scope of state behaviors. Since suggested, analyze few of the biggest assumptions in relation to the liberal individualism, which have approach under attack from communitarianism.

The Individualist Conception of the Self

Central to the theory of individualism is its conception or understanding of the self. In fact, individualism builds its understanding of dealings flanked by the state and the citizen since well since the proper scope of state behaviors on the foundation of its conception of the self. Since suggested, revise the individualist conception of the self or person.

In the individualist view, people are free, rational and capable of self-determination. People are rational in that they are the best judges of their interest. They are capable of self-determination; that is, they are capable of determining their own conception of good life. A person's conception of good life is his set of beliefs and values in relation to the how he should lead his life and in relation to the makes life worthwhile. People are free in the sense that they possess the skill since well since the right to question their participation in existing social practices and to opt out of them, should these practices no longer remain worthwhile. Individuals, in other terms, are free to question and reject or study any scrupulous social relation. We, since individuals, have the skill to detach ourselves or step back from any scrupulous social practice and question whether we want to continue pursuing it or not. No scrupulous task or end is set for us through society; no end is exempt from a possible revision or rejection through the self. A person's goals, aims and ends are always things that he chooses to attach himself to and so, detach himself from, when they are no longer worthy of such attachment. A person is, therefore, related to his ends, goals

through an exercise of will. Rawls expresses this argument in the following phrase:

‘The self is prior to the ends, which are affirmed through it’. In the individualist view then, individual freedom of choice is needed precisely to discover out what is precious in life, to shape, analyze and study our beliefs and values. People necessarily have necessary possessions and liberties needed to live their lives in accordance with their beliefs and values without being penalized. They necessarily also have cultural circumstances necessary to acquire an awareness of dissimilar views in relation to the good life and to acquire a skill to analyze these views intelligently. On the foundation of the conception of the individual since free, rational and capable of self-determination, individualists develop their theory in relation to the connection flanked by the citizen and the state and of the nature and functions of the state.

The Individualist Theory of the Nature and Functions of the State

The individualist theory of the nature and functions of the state is based on its conception of the self since free, rational and self-determining. As individuals are free, rational and capable of self-determination, their interests are better promoted through letting them choose for themselves what sort of life they want to lead. Individual interests are harmed through attempts through the state to enforce a scrupulous view of good life. In the individualist view, the conception of the self since free, rational

and self-determining necessarily needs a conception of the state since neutral and minimalist. The primary value in the political order for individualism necessity, then, be the neutrality of the state. In fact, a distinctive characteristic of liberal individualism is its emphasis on the state since a neutral and minimal political power.

A neutral state may be defined since a state, which does not favor, protect, promote or contrarily, discriminate against or penalize any scrupulous individual conception of good. Rather, such a state gives a neutral framework within which dissimilar and potentially conflicting conceptions of good can be pursued. It is committed to tolerating dissimilar views and conceptions of good life held through its citizens. In other terms, the neutral state does not enforce a scrupulous conception of good life. Instead it stays out of the peoples' decisions concerning the best method to lead their lives, thereby leaving each individual free to pursue his/her own conception of good or method of life.

Functions of State and Government

What are the legitimate functions of state and government? In the individualistic view, people have their natural or pre-political freedom. Government arises out of the consent of the governed. State is not a natural entity; rather, it is an artificial but necessary construct. State, In fact, is defined since a necessary evil. As it is a necessary evil, the government that rules the least is measured the best. The functions and role of state are, so, limited to guarantee and defense of individual rights and

freedom. In other terms, the role of state is minimal and limited to the maintenance of law and order and the provision of security to its citizens, beyond which they should be left free. The state should interfere in the liberty of citizens only to prevent one individual from unnecessarily interfering in the liberty of others.

In the individualist view, a state that defines its duties beyond that of security and the defense of individual rights restricts freedom and the self-determination of its citizens. Individualism, therefore, sees an inverse relation flanked by the expansion of state behaviors and the enlargement of the sphere of individual rights and freedom. The individualist conception of self, its understanding of connection flanked by the state and the citizen and the proper scope of state behaviors have been criticized through a number of theoretical perspectives, few of which are fascism, sarvodaya, communism and feminism. Though the mainly profound critique of the individualist perspective is establish in the theory of communitarianism.

As the 1980s, the theory of liberal individualism has establish it's mainly distinctive and intensives challenge and critique in what has been labeled since communitarianism. The word *communitarian* was first elicited through Michael Sandel in his job *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* in which he urbanized a critique of the liberal individualist foundations of John Rawls's theory of liberal justice. Few of the other communitarian critics of liberal individualism are Alisdair MacIntyre, Michael Walzer and Charles Taylor. These communitarian thinkers are highly inspired through Hegel and Rousseau.

Communitarians are first and foremost concerned with society. Two or more people constitute a society when they share a general conception of good and see this good since partly constitutive of their identity or selves. Such a 'constitutive society' may be a secure friendship, family connection, neighborhood or even a comprehensive political society. Communitarians insist that each of us since individuals develops our identity, talents and pursuit in life only in the context of a society. We are through nature social beings. As the society determines and forms the individual nature, political life necessity start with a concern for the society, and not the individual. In other terms, the locus of philosophical concern in reflecting on the ideal and the presently state necessity be the society and not the individual.

The largest fault of liberal individualism according to communitarian thinkers, is then that it is mistakenly and irreparably individualistic. The liberal conception of the connection flanked by the individual and the state is unduly limited since well since misrepresentative of the true nature of society. In the communitarian view, it is not sufficient to think in words of a two-stage connection; with the individual at one stage and the state at the other. Clusters and societies inhabit an intermediate location flanked by the individual and the state and should be incorporated in the middle of the types of rights-and duty-bearing elements whose inter-relationships are explored. Through emphasizing rights and freedom of individuals in excess of society, liberal individualism neglects the importance of society membership and identity to social and political life. It

ignores the extent to which the society/society in which people live forms who they are and the values they have. Although communitarian critics focus on dissimilar characteristics of liberal individualism, it is possible to identify few of the largest themes and arguments, such since the critique of the liberal-individualist conception of self and its understanding of the nature and functions of the state. The Communitarian Critique of the Individualist Conception of the Self A great trade of communitarian idea has presented itself in words of an explicit reference to and a rejection of the individualistic conception of self. The common form of this communitarian claim is that individualistic political theory takes us to be too far/distinct from our social ends and conceptions of the good in a method that basically fails to correspond to the method in which we actually relate to these ends.