

25th August, 2022

iv) Sarvodaya

v) ⇒ Gandhi's concept of swaraj

- Swaraj can be considered as the Indian version of liberty & freedom. The concept of swaraj kept on evolving. For moderates, it was getting greater representation of Indians in governance. While for extremists like Tilak, it was self government. Aurobindo was the first person to interpret swaraj as complete freedom from foreign rule rather than dominion status which was the goal of the moderates.
- Gandhi spiritualized the concept of swaraj, as acc. to Gandhi real meaning of swaraj is inner freedom. Gandhi's concept of swaraj was based on the ideas of upanishads & as per upanishad swaraj implies self control i.e. control on one's desires.
- Gandhi was also inspired by Leo Tolstoy who held that the kingdom of God is within you & man does not require any external control.
- Gandhi has explained swaraj in multiple spheres i.e. political, economic, cultural & social spheres. In political sphere, swaraj means democratic decentralisation i.e. a system where individual is at centre. Thus,

- Gandhi has emphasised on P.R.I with ultimate objective to create Ram Rajya i.e. Gandhi's stateless society.

In economic sphere, swaraj will give life of dignity to millions who are living in a state of poverty & it is to be achieved through land reforms & revival of cottage & small scale industries & promotion of khadi.

Swaraj in economic sphere aims to fulfill the basic needs without training environment.

Swaraj in social sphere will lead to abolition of untouchability & other social evils.

Swaraj in cultural sphere: Acc. to Gandhi, one should respect one's own culture as culture is the part of person's identity. However, Gandhi suggested that one should accept good things from all cultures. In the words of Gandhi,

' I do not want my house to be walled from all the sides & my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all the lands to be blown in my house as freely as possible.'

Thus, Gandhi's concept of swaraj was his approach towards addressing the problems of India & aimed at re-generation of India.

vi) Gandhi's critique of modernisation

- Gandhi wasn't the only person to criticise modern civilisation. In West, this ~~sta~~ tradition started with Rousseau. Gandhi was critical of western civilisation not because of its origin in the west but because of its nature.
- Two defining features of modern civilisation are utilitarianism & materialism.
- Acc. to Gandhi, modern civilisation is satanic as it has degraded human beings, human beings who had the capacity to become God, end up becoming Satan.
- Acc. to Gandhi, utilitarianism has reduced man to the level of just satisfaction of appetite. & the over-emphasis on the material pleasures has led to the sacrifice of spiritual satisfaction.
- The modern civilisation has not only harmed the human society, it has also harmed the environment. As acc. to Gandhi, the path of development which the western world has followed in last 100 years, if rest starts following the same, at least 9 more Earths will be required.
- Acc. to Gandhi, true civilisation is a civilisation which does not degrade man to the status of animals.

but which makes man a better human. True civilisation does not mean satisfaction of wants but the minimisation of wants.

- Gandhi in context of India didn't favour excessive mechanisation. Instead of mass production, Gandhi favoured production by masses. Aco. to Gandhi, machines should not lead to replacement of humans & production should be for needs & not for greed.
- Gandhi hated the separation of ends & means, the so-called Machiavellianism as the defining feature of modern civilisation. Gandhi has discussed the critique of modern civilisation in the book, 'Hind Swaraj'. In this book, he has given the blueprint for future path of development to be adopted by India.

⇒ LIBERALISM & IDEALISM

- Idealism is the oldest ideology found in Ancient Greece & the prominent scholars of this ideology are Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Emmanuel Kant, Hegel.

Idealism : Ancient times



Divine Rights of King : Medieval times



Theory of Natural Rights : Modern times
(possessive individualism)

Growth of theory of natural rights in modern times around 17th century led to the rise of individualism or possessive individualism, which led to the rise of classical liberalism around 19th century. Scholars of classical liberalism are Locke & Adam Smith.

→ Idealist view on human nature

- For idealist, man is social by nature.

→ Idealist view on society

- Society is natural i.e. organic view of society & for idealist, society should have priority over individual i.e. whole is more important than part. For idealist, man by nature is a social animal, man cannot live without society. Hence he should recognise the contributions of society. & should pay

back to the society. Thus, idealists reject the concept of possessive individualism.

→ Idealist view on state

• If for ^{classical} liberals, state is a necessary evil, for idealists, state is a source of virtue. Eg: Acc to Aristotle, state comes into existence for the sake of life & continues for the sake of good life.

In modern times, within idealism, there are 2 traditions with respect to their views on state:

i) Hegelian tradition : state given priority.

ii) Kantian tradition

Hegelian tradition later on gave rise to fascism or totalitarianism. It became the basis for justification of absolute state by leaders like Hitler & Mussolini.

Kantian tradition has given more importance to society over state & this tradition has emphasised on the concept of human dignity or on the concept of moral man. (i.e. man is part of society).

Kantian tradition led to the development of modern/ positive / welfare liberalism. This tradition led to the rise of moral individualism i.e. each man is an end in itself. No one ought to be treated as means for the other.

Note: If idealists has influenced modern liberals, idealists have also influenced socialists as socialists also believe that man is social in nature & both welfare liberals and socialists give primacy to the interests of society.

→ Idealists view on freedom

- Idealists have taken a metaphysical view on freedom

Eg: Acc. to Rousseau, in order to be free man should follow his real will & general will is representative of man's real will. Hence, acc. to Rousseau, man will be free when men will follow the laws of state. Similar concept of freedom is given by Hegel. This view is known as moral view of freedom.

→ Idealists view on rights

- Right is a protection which man has from the society & state. Acc. to idealists, there is no conflict of interest b/w man & society. Thus, man does not require rights. Hence, idealists only talk about duties.

→ LIBERALISM

- It started as a progressive ideology with an aim to give liberties to people & protecting people from coercion.

- Though with time, it got overshadowed by utilitarianism & from a progressive philosophy, it got limited to an economic doctrine as utilitarianism emphasised more on pleasure rather than liberty or dignity. & liberalism came to be called as pig's philosophy & utilitarianism became the justification for extreme exploitation of workers. & there were protest against such policies which led to growth of left movements which forced liberals to change.
- Liberalism has survived as the longest surviving ideology because of its flexible nature.
- Liberalism is considered an ideology of modern times & the factors which led to rise of liberalism are:
 - i) Renaissance
 - ii) Scientific Revolution
 - iii) Industrial Revolution
- Liberalism is considered as the ideology of emerging bourgeoisie class or capitalist class during 17th cent. & with time it has become the way of life & now it has become the feature of western civilisation.
- It is said that liberalism has won the historic

battle of ideologies + liberalism is the end of history.
Acc. to Fukuyama, liberalism represents the end point
of man's ideological evolution.

- Liberalism is seen as meta-ideology as there are different schools of liberalism + there is a debate among these schools.

27th August, 2022

→ Classical Liberalism (Adam Smith, Locke, Bentham)

- Views on human nature

- For them man is individualistic by nature. Man is rational by nature. (enlightenment strengthened this view of classical liberalism). Man is rational by nature means that he knows what is best for himself + thus he does not require any patrimonial authority. Thus, classical liberals support individual autonomy + acc. to them, as man is rational, he can be given rights + man can ^{challenge} change customs + traditions.

Note: ^{Classic} Liberal concept of man is atomistic man which means, man is self sufficient + can lead his life on his own. Welfare liberals + communitarians has criticised the concept of atomistic man + acc. to them, the concept of atomistic man is just an imaginative description + not the correct description of man. It is just an abstract individualism.
Acc. to communitarians, man is the product of

culture. Man's conception of right & wrong is shaped by this culture. Thus, acc. to communitarians, man is embedded or situated self.

- Views on society

Society is the creation of man & thus they deny collective good. For classical liberals, society is a market place where people go to fulfil their needs & interests. Thus, they have taken market model of society as acc. to Bentham society is nothing but the sum of individuals & there is nothing called collective good. This view of society is opposed by Idealists, socialists & communitarians.

- View on State

Acc. to classical liberals, state is not natural rather it is the result of contract & state is an instrument of utility. State is a means, man is the end. Thus, classical liberals have taken a mechanistic view towards creation of state. This view is criticised by idealists as for idealists, state is natural i.e. they have taken organic view of state.

✓ Powers of the state

For classical liberals, state is necessary evil Evil because it curtails liberty but necessary because man is selfish & can't live without state.

✓ Role of State in public policy.

- Acc. to classical liberals, that state is best which governs the least meaning 'maximum governance minimum govt.' Classical liberals favour minimal state. They prefer police state who should maintain law & order. It can be called as a night watchman state.
- State can be referee but not the captain. Classical liberals does not want state to intervene in the economy & the market forces of demand & supply should govern the economy as it will lead to most effective & efficient allocation of resources.
- Adam Smith suggested free market economy i.e. a laissez faire state.
- Sumner held that "Drunken in the gutter is where he ought to be."

- Views on rights

- They believe in natural rights & classical liberals have recognised civil & political rights only. They have not recognised socio-economic rights.

Liberty. Classical liberals believe in negative liberty i.e. liberty in the absence of state.

Equality. It was the liberals who are the first to talk about equality & they have emphasised on these concepts of equality.

- i) Moral equality
- ii) Equality before law
- iii) Equality of opportunity
- iv) Proportionate equality

- Acc. to classical liberals, all of us are children of God & all are equal in moral sense, thus all deserve equal respect as all are equal in terms of dignity.
- Equality before law was demanded by emerging bourgeois against the feudal lords.
- Equality of opportunity: In medieval times, heredity was the basis of property, hence the emerging capitalist class started demanding opportunity to own property (Socialist concept of equality is based on ^{equality of} outcome).
- Proportionate equality: Classical liberal's concept of equality is proportionate equality i.e. goods to be distributed in proportion to worth while socialist's concept of equality is absolute equality. Acc. to socialists, liberal's concept of equality is only procedural while socialists' is substantive as socialists demand making people equal in socio-economic sense & not just in moral sense i.e. in terms of dignity.

With time utilitarian tradition overshadowed liberalism.

↳ With time lib-utilitarianism started to be known as liberalism started facing challenges from socialists. Hence there was a shift from classical to modern liberalism.

- J.S. Mill tried to reform utilitarianism by bringing elements of idealism (Mill brought Kantian tradition of moral individualism i.e. each man is an end in himself i.e. concept of human dignity). Thus Mill re-established the importance of liberty over utility. Though Mill's concept of liberty is seen as negative liberty & Mill is seen as standing on crossroads of classical & modern liberalism.

→ Modern liberalism / Positive / Welfare liberalism

• 1930's - 1970's

(T.H. Green & Laskey & Keynes)

- Liberalism dominated by utilitarianism led to extreme exploitation of working class which led to rise of socialist movement. Hence, liberals tried to reform liberalism by bringing elements of idealism.

- Views on Human nature, also called developmental view
Progressive view & acc. to them man is moral by nature which means man lives in society. Acc. to them, man has progressed from the state of animal existence to the state of human existence & modern liberals have rejected the concept of atomistic man.

- Views on society

They considered society as natural & necessary. & they have rejected the concept of possessive individualism which means man has no obligations towards the society & acc. to modern liberals, there is a contribution of society in achievements of man.

- View on State

Acc. to them, state is not a necessary evil & the presence of state does not limit liberty rather it enhances liberty. Therefore, for welfare liberals, state is required not only for policing but also for welfare functions & acc. to modern liberals, state should be free to take affirmative action in favour of disadvantaged section of society.

- View on Liberty

Their view on liberty is seen as positive view on liberty i.e. state should help towards development of capabilities. or capacity building.

- View on equality

Welfare liberals also believe in equality before law but they have allowed the state to make reasonable classification among the citizens & thus they have given the concept of equal protection of law. Welfare liberals also believe in equality of opportunity but to make their concept of equality substantive they have allowed the state to do positive discrimination in favour of weaker section of the society. Acc. to welfare liberals, state should take affirmative action as there is no level playing field in the society.

- T.H. Green

- First to give concept of positive liberty

"Liberty is the capacity to do something worth doing"

- Original idea of liberty in individualism was the absence of external interference. Hence, classical liberals tried to keep the scope

of state minimal Classical liberals supported economic policies based on laissez faire & the social policy based on survival of the fittest

- There was a time when liberty was overshadowed by utility & liberalism became synonymous with utilitarianism. Utilitarianism was criticised as pig's philosophy as it justifies exploitation of workers in the name of maximisation of happiness of capitalists. It was J.S. Mill who first realised that man should have max. liberty but acc. to Mill state can intervene if the liberty of man ^{will result into} harm to others. In Mill, the idea of positive liberty didn't crystallise & it was Green who established that liberty has two dimensions: Internal & External & Green has given special importance to the internal dimension by defining liberty as capacity as acc. to Green, liberty is the capacity of doing something which is worth doing.

"The role of the state is to hinder the hinderances that comes in the path of liberty."

- Liberalism is a meta-ideology & there is

disagreement ^{among} within liberals w.r.t. role of state. Classical liberals believe that state is necessary evil & that state governs best which governs the least.

- Modern liberals have realised the limitation of the idea of liberty in terms of absence of interference as acc. to modern liberals, it will not be liberty. It will be reduced to the privileges of few & this concept of liberty will be followed & many may not have the capacity to do what they want to do.
- Hence positive liberals have refined liberty as well as the role of state & for positive liberals, state is an instrument of virtue as state hinder the hinderances which come in the path of liberty. Thus the role of state is expansion of liberty of man.

29th August, 2022

- "Human consciousness postulates liberty", liberty involves rights, rights demand state"
- The above statement explains the substance of modern liberalism i.e. how modern liberals describe man, his liberty & the relationship b/w man the society, man & the state

- Green has described the modern liberal view on man & liberty & he has rejected the perception of possessive individualism considering it as an abstract individual. On the contrary, he has given the concept of man who is the member of the society i.e. the concept of moral man.

Thus, welfare liberals have taken the progressive & the developmental view of man. Acc. to welfare liberals, man is different from animal & thus it is natural for man to desire for liberty. Hence, Green has suggested that human consciousness postulates liberty.

- In continuation, Green has given the positive liberals' conception of society i.e. society is natural & man can enjoy his liberty only when society recognises his right to liberty. Further, Green has explained modern liberal view on state that though state is not the source of rights yet state is the protector of rights. Hence, in the words of Green "state removes the hindrances that come in the path of liberty of man". Hence state is not a necessary evil but an instrument of utility required for the enjoyment of rights. Thus, positive liberals have established the interdependence b/w

man & state, man & society & have not looked at their relations as the zero-sum game.

"Will, not force, is the basis of the state"

To understand the principle of political obligation, scholars since the time of Plato & Aristotle have tried to explore the principle of political obligation i.e. why people respect the state or obey the laws of the state? There are two sets of scholars:

First, those who believe that people obey the law of the state out of the fear of punishment eg: Hobbes, Marx. Marx goes to the extent of suggesting that state is an instrument of coercion & it works in the interest of rich & coerces the poor.

Second set of scholars believe that people obey the state as they realise that state performs useful functions; starting from Plato to Aristotle. as they believed that state is a source of virtuous life. Scholars like Rousseau & Hegel believed that real freedom lies in obeying the laws of the state.

Positive liberals have challenged the Marxist perception & believe that people obey the state as state hinders the hindrances both internal & external

which comes in the path of realisation of freedom
Hence state continues because there is will of people
for state.

- Laski

There has been transition in the ideas of Laski. He started as liberal but he got influenced by developments in Soviet. However, later realised that socialism gives no scope for liberty. Hence he came back to liberalism.

Despite being liberal, he remained tilted towards socialism & he has given a long list of socio-economic rights which, acc. to Laski, have to be provided by the state to the citizens (Many such rights are incorporated in Part IV of Constitution).

His ideas led to the evolution of Fabian Socialism.

"Every state is known by the rights it maintains"

Like Green, Laski believes that the role of the state is protection of rights of man as rights are necessary for human existence. The role of the state is

providing rights is so important that we can understand the nature of the state on the basis of the rights

it provides to its citizen. Eg: Totalitarian state will deny even the basic liberties whereas democratic

welfare states will provide not only civil-political rights but also socio-economic rights. + acc. to Laski, rights are those conditions of life without which no man can seek, in general, to be at its best; means without rights man can't achieve development of his personality.

Acc. to Laski, "a social order not based on the recognition of rights is the order based on sand." means if state & society will not recognise the rights of people, it will collapse like house of cards or a sand castle. Soviet which was once recognised as super power, collapsed like house of cards as it didn't recognise the freedom & liberty of man.

"Rights are the claims not empty of duties."

Rights & duties are complementary. If man has certain rights, man has certain duties too. Thus, Laski or welfare liberals have rejected possessive individualism (- man does not have any obligation towards state). + established the importance of society & emphasised on duties.

	Classical	Welfare liberal
Human Nature	Man is individualistic in nature	Social in nature
On society	Market-place	Natural
On state	Necessary evil	Source of virtue
On liberty	Negative liberty	Positive liberty
On equality	Equality before law & equality of opportunity	Equal protection of law & positive discrimination
On functions of state	Night watchman state	Welfare state

* → Neo-liberalism (Hayek, Milton Friedmann, Nozick)

- The best way to describe neo-liberalism is rolling back of state or market fundamentalism.
- Britain under M. He Thatcher in 70's & US under R. Regan in 80's were the first to reject the welfare state (in the western world) & to adopt neo-liberalism.
- US adopted welfare state in 1930's in the form of under Rossevelt's new Deal Act to come out of great economic depression & Britain adopted welfare state around 40's.
- India is perhaps the first country who has constitutionally adopted the goal of welfare state after Independence.
- The policies of neo-liberalism became the global

phenomenon in 90's as with the disintegration of Soviet Union, neo-liberal policies have been adopted by Eastern European countries including Russia as shock therapy & in the third world countries like India as SAP (Structural Adjustment Programmes).

- The emergence of WTO in 1995 with almost universal membership is the highest point of victory of neo-liberalism. The supporters of neo-liberalism like Thatcher described neo-liberalism as inevitable as she gave ^{TINA} factor (There is No Alternative).
- Neo-liberalism can be described as the rolling back of the state & it is based on 10 principles given by James Williamson known as Washington Consensus.
 - i) Reduce fiscal deficit
 - ii) No-indiscriminate subsidies
 - iii) Market determined interest rates
 - iv) Deregulation
 - v) Disinvestment
 - vi) Diversification --
- By 1940's, there was a universal acceptance w.r.t. the welfare state. However, with time welfare state became too big to be sustainable & there was a time when it was expected that state should take care of all the requirements of man i.e. from cradle to grave. Thus welfare state became nanny states & it resulted into huge fiscal deficits.

corruption, inefficiency & BoP crisis. Hence, there was no other option but to roll back the welfare functions of the state.

- World Bank gave the concept of good governance & as per good governance, the role of the state should be limited to set the fundamentals right. Thus, this concept is based on the idea of regulatory state. & thus neo-liberalism comes near to the classical liberalism & the theory of minimal state.

Classical

- Neo-liberalism

- Classical liberals advocated freedom for market however, classical liberal like Adam Smith has only supported laissez faire in the economy & he has suggested that state should take & invest in such activities where pvt. players can't. Hence, they have not established that market is God & market has solution for every problem

- Market fundamentalism

Friedrich

- Hayek

- Hayek rejected the concept of positive liberty & acc. to him, liberty is simply the absence of coercion. He has rejected the intervention of state in economy as acc. to him, state-controlled economy results

in inefficiency & corruption & in state-controlled economy, money never reaches the targeted people, it is pocketed by the bureaucrats. In a state-controlled economy, there will be diversion of resources from productive to non-productive resources & state-controlled economy will give rise to parallel or black economy. He held that planning is the road of serfdom as planning is irrational & planning is bound to fail. Acc. to him, even the most expert planners can't take all possible scenarios into account.

- He has praised market & acc. to him, market is like a huge central nervous system with the ability to intercept millions of messages at the same time which planners can never do. Hence, decisions should be left on the market.
- Acc. to Hayek, social justice is a mirage which is unachievable as in the name of social justice, state only increases its power. It is not the fault of the rich person that somebody is poor, hence there is no justification if state is coercing the person for upliftment of the other.
- Thus, acc. to Hayek, progressive taxation is like a bonded labour & the only way through which poor can be helped is through individual initiative or charity, rather than state pushing for social justice.

- Friedmann
- While other liberal scholars stood for liberty & freedom, as acc. to them, freedom is needed for the market but for Friedmann, market is needed for freedom. It means, without free economy, there is no freedom for the people.
- Nozick : 'Anarchy, State & Utopia'
- He has revived the concept of night watchman state as he suggested that minimum state is inspiring as it motivate motivates the individual to work hard. He also believes that progressive taxation is like bonded labour & he has suggested that even security should belong to pvt sector.

30th Aug, 2022

- Current status of neo-liberalism.
- Starting from 1970's, it became the hegemonic ideology ~~grow~~ in the world around 90's. The emergence of WTO with almost universal membership is the highest point of the victory of neo-liberalism.
- However, very soon, neo-liberalism started facing challenges & there was growth of counter-liberalism ^{liberalism} globalisation movement around the world. The establishment of WSF (World Social Forum) against the neo-liberal platform WEF (World Economic Forum) is clear indication of dissatisfaction.

with neo-liberalism.

- WSF is the loose federation of various NGOs, civil society networks & left leaning intellectuals, ^{like} Noam Chomski, Emanuel Wallerstein. Liberal economists like Amartya Sen also emerged as a critic of neo-liberal policies as acc. to Sen, neo-liberalism only focuses on economic growth but overlooks human development.
- Joseph Stiglitz in his book 'Globalisation & its discontents' has highlighted the weakness of neo-liberal order of globalisation.
- Stiglitz has emphasised on the democratisation of institutions of global governance like World Bank & IMF. He has also emphasised on post-Washington Consensus giving importance to human development. Post-Washington Consensus:
 - focuses on democracy & human development
 - focuses not just on economic growth through market reform but also emphasises on social growth & development welfare & thus encourages sustainable development.
 - advocated creation of safety nets for the poor & it focuses on improving govt efficiency rather than seeking minimisation of govt role.

- focuses on improving human capital & demanded transfer of technology from developed to developing world
 - Since 2008 global financial crisis, neo-liberalism is facing existential crisis. Initially, the negative consequences of neo-liberalism were limited to developing countries but since 2008, it has started affecting adversely even the developed countries too.
 - Neo-liberalism is seen as pro rich & anti-poor & acc. Stiglitz, it has resulted into inter-state & intra-state inequality. With the exception of few countries i.e. big states, in general the neo-liberal policies have adversely affected the developing countries.
- To a certain extent, we can link the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism to market fundamentalism forced by capitalists of western countries. Even the phenomenon of Arab Spring has its roots in inequalities, unemployment & the rise of hardships because of the neo-liberal policies.
- The policies of US President Trump i.e. US first & the rise of Euro-skepticism in Europe is a symbol of weakening of liberal world order. Brexit is a

clear symbol of weakening of forces of neo-liberalism.

- Neo-liberalism has given a new lease of life to socialism & socialism has re-emerged in west which can be seen in the rise of neo-leftist parties. The overwhelming response to Thomas Piketti's book 'Capital in 21st century' is a symbol of new challenges being faced by neo-liberalism. Neo Rightist = Neo-liberal - Neo-conservative

→ Social liberalism

- The supporters^{ev} of welfare state in contemporary times are known as social liberals. The prominent ones are Amartya Sen, John Rawls & Ronald Dworkin. There is no difference in the philosophical basis of social liberals & modern liberals but the difference lies in policies. While modern liberals emphasise of establishment of PSUs, administered pricing, social liberals emphasise on capacity building. Social liberals support the idea of public private partnership & acc. to social liberals, economic growth & job creation should be given to the priv sector. Acc. to social liberals, state has to act as a regulator & should invest in capacity building of people i.e. education & health.

Note: In economic policies, it is modern liberals who come near to socialism rather than social liberals. It becomes difficult to differentiate b/w modern liberalism & socialism. [Nolan Chart]

• Neo-liberals

- talks about good governance i.e. state should focus on transparency & accountability

Social liberals

- human governance i.e. focus should be on human development i.e. capacity building. On the basis of idea of Amartya Sen, Ha Mahbub-ul-haq designed HDI

Que: Do you think liberalism has won the ideological historical battles of ideologies?

- Liberalism originated in modern west & today liberalism is not just an ideology. It has become the way of life in the west.
- Liberalism is the longest serving ideology because of its liberal nature. It has faced multiple challenges & it has adapted itself to these challenges.
- Since beginning, liberalism has faced challenges & the initial challenge came from conservatives. though the major challenge came with the victory of socialist revolution in Russia in 1917

- During inter-war period, another challenge emerged in the form of fascism.
- Fascism was defeated in WW I but after WW II, communism emerged as a major challenge & during cold war, the world got divided into 2 blocks: Liberal & Communist.
- Even the third world which was represented by non-aligned countries was actually closer to Communist block.
- The sudden collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe i.e. disintegration of Soviet Union marked the end of cold war & the end of cold war was described by Francis Fukuyama as the end of history as acc. to him, we are not witnessing the end of cold war but the end point of man's ideological evolution.
- Acc. to him, the end of cold war has established liberalism as the end of history i.e. the ultimate ideology or way of life. Indirectly, the thesis of end of history established the supremacy of western way of life.
- However, it is too early to say that liberalism has won historic battle of ideologies as since 90's, it is coming under challenge. S. P. Huntington gave the 'clash of civilisations' thesis challenging the thesis of Fukuyama that liberalism is the end of history.

- Various philosophical traditions like communitarianism, multi-culturalism, post modernism - have challenged the hegemony of liberalism.
- Initially, challenge to liberalism came from developing countries but at present the challenge is coming from western world itself as there is growing support for both left & right. Thus it is too early to say that liberalism has won the historic battle of ideologies.

→ SOCIALISM

- Socialism is an ideology of modern times. It emerged in response to the exploitation of working classes because of capitalism & socialism as an ideology can be seen as an anti-thesis to capitalism.
- Socialism promotes a system of production where the means of production are owned by society.
- The core value of socialism is equality but instead of legal equality, they believed in socio-economic equality; instead of equality of opportunity they believed in equality of outcome. Socialists consider liberal view of equality as formal & procedural while they consider their view as substantive.
- If liberal concept of equality is proportionate, socialist view of equality is absolute.

→ Assumptions of socialist

- Acc. to socialists, man is social by nature.
- They consider that society is natural & thus socialists have taken an organic view of society.
- Their view on rights: Originally socialists didn't believe in rights as acc. to socialists, man has no conflict with society & thus socialists have emphasised on fraternity (comrade). However, later socialists have emphasised on socio-economic rights.

- Socialists have emphasised on freedom from ^(needs) necessities & they believe that freedom is possible only in a socialist society.
- Socialists believe in redistributive justice (~~It~~ ^{welfare} liberals believe in distributive justice).
- Their view on state: There is disagreement among socialists towards the role of the state. While some prefer state-led socialism, others prefer state-less socialism.
(Fabianism) (Marxist socialism, Gandhian soc)
- Means to achieve: Here also socialists are divided as some believe in peaceful, constitutional means to achieve socialism known as evolutionary socialism while others prefer violent means known as revolutionary socialism.

31st August, 2022

→ Types of socialism

- Socialism before Marx: Scholars like Robert Owen, Charles Fourier have preferred to appeal to the conscience of capital class. Marx called them utopians as acc. to Marx, they don't have the proper understanding. Also, they are not ready for action. Marx described his ideas as scientific & called his theory as theory of Praxis which means a revolutionary doctrine for establishment of communism i.e. Marxist socialism.
- Socialism after Marx:

- Evolutionary Socialism (Revisionism)
- Fabianism
- Syndicalism
- Guild Socialism

(cont. of Lenin)

i) Evolutionary Socialism : Edward Bernstein , Karl Kautsky

Evolutionary Socialists have proposed the parliamentary road to attain socialism. Bernstein developed differences with Lenin as Lenin believed in revolution. Evolutionary socialists held that revolution has become a redundant idea as workers have acquired right to vote & they can & will form the majority in parliament. Hence, acc. to evolutionary socialist, through legislative means such laws can be made that will be in favour of poor. Thus, evolutionary socialists have recommended the parliamentary road to socialism.

ii) Fabianism : Sydney Webb , Beatrice Webb

- ✓ British variety of socialism. Fabianism also believes in peaceful constitutional methods to bring socialism.
- ✓ While other socialists have emphasised on the role of workers, Fabianists have emphasised more on the role of middle class & acc. to Fabianists, socialism can't come until & unless it becomes a common sense i.e. people should find socialism logical.
- ✓ The word 'Fabianism' comes from the Roman General Fabius Maximus who believed in the policy of "strike when iron is hot". Similarly, Fabianists believe

that socialism will come when social conditions will become favourable.

- ✓ Acc. to Fabianists, it is not possible to bring socialism in one go & we have to work consistently in generating consensus in favour of socialism & in this middle class intellectuals should work to create awareness.
- ✓ Fabianists have emphasised on Fabian societies dedicated towards promotion of socialist ideas.
- ✓ Fabianists believe in state-led socialism where middle class will work with the state to promote socialist ideas.

Note: Fabian socialism is farthest to Marxism & nearest to Liberalism. & at times it becomes difficult to differentiate b/w a welfare Liberal & a Fabianist.

iii) Guild Socialism: GDH Cole

- ✓ Guild socialists also believed in peaceful constitutional methods. They believed in class & class struggle & they accept that the real interest is economic.
- ✓ Guild socialists proposed the idea of functional representation it denotes multi-member constituency where people have different economic & professional interests & they elect their own representatives.
- ✓ Acc. to Guild Socialists, there can be guild of capitalists, workers, lawyers, traders, doctors.
- ✓ Guild socialists have given the idea of functional parliament.

where there is a need of two houses. One house for territorial representatives & the second for functional or economic representatives.

- ✓ They have given the concept of industrial democracy i.e. the participation of workers in the formation of rules & regulations. Thus, guild socialists have not only taken into account the interest of the workers but also the interest of different economic groups within society & it has also recognised the difference in the interest of different economic groups within the society.

Note: Guild socialism is a mid-way b/w syndicalism & fabianism.

iv) Syndicalism : George Sorel, Ferdinand Pelloutier

- ✓ Syndicalists have recommended violent techniques for abolishing the political state & establishing economic state. They have recommended methods like direct action, strikes, lockout of factories & their objective is to establish dominance of working class (it may correspond to dictatorship of proletariat).
- ✓ Syndicalists believe in principles of Marxism like historical materialism & class struggle.
- ✓ Syndicalist state will be a confederation of syndicates or workers' union. All positions of authority, decision-making will be in the hands of workers.
(A guild can be of different economic interests while syndicate means workers' union)

→ Critical Appraisal of Evolutionary Socialism

- Evolutionary socialism is practiced in one form or the other in many countries at present. Though evolutionary socialism is criticised as it does not have any coherent doctrine as there are so many varieties of evolutionary socialism: revisionism, fabianism, guild or syndicalism.
- Different forms of evolutionary socialism accept or reject some or the other tenets of marxism without evolving any suitable alternative strategy. It is therefore devoid of any general unified view or a consistent philosophy or programme.
- Different schools of evolutionary socialism seek to substitute class cooperation for class conflict, democracy for the dictatorship of proletariat & the evolutionary means for revolutionary means but they have failed to ascertain how these substitutes will attain socialist goals.
- In spite of these short comings, evolutionary socialism is an effective instrument for mitigating the rigours of capitalism & it is definitely better than the crude form of capitalism with unrestrained competition.
- The constitutional method of securing the goals of socialism is therefore not entirely a redundant idea provided the working classes should be well organised, vocal & seriously engaged in building strong pressure

against the capitalist class

- As stated by Nehru, "I hope socialism will not kill or suppress individuality indeed I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic & cultural bondage."

Que: Socialism is like a hat which has lost its shape because everyone wears it. Comment.

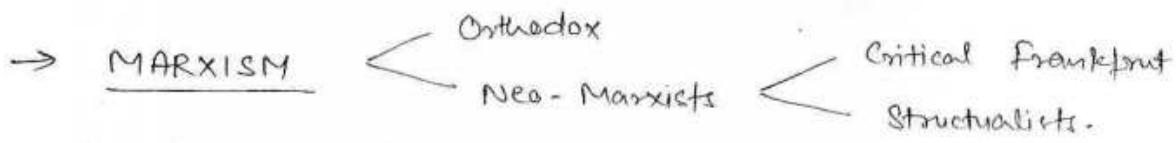
Que: Relevance of socialism in contemporary times

- Collapse of Soviet
- Neo-liberal policies at global scale
- Francis Fukuyama describes it as end

If liberalism is described as end of history, socialism became question of history

- too early
- 2008 crisis - books
- anti-globalisation
- WSF vs. WEF
- New lease of life to socialism due to 2008 crisis

Though socialism has not been adopted in majority of the countries as economic & political system but it has always remained relevant as a critic to capitalism & to make capitalism more humane.



- Orthodox Marxists believe in the works of mature Marx & they are influenced by the Marxist work 'Communist Manifesto'. They are influenced by the concept of historical & dialectical materialism, class struggle & they believed Marxist ideas as scientific.
- Orthodox Marxist : Lenin
- Lenin was the first person to implement Marxist ideas in practice & Lenin gave the theory of imperialism in his book 'Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism' (Lenin's theory of imperialism became the basis for Marxist theory of international politics).
- Lenin in this book has exposed the myths that imperialism is whitemen's burden or civilizing mission. In fact, he described imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism & Lenin even suggested that WWI was the war of colonies.
- Though Lenin drifted from Marx & that's why Lenin is also seen as Peter who denied his master.
- On one hand, it was Lenin who implemented the learnings of Marx, on the other hand, it is because of Lenin that Marx is criticised as an enemy of open society.
- While Marxism meant for advanced capitalist countries, Lenin applied the principles of Marx in feudal Russia.

- Marx gave no role to peasantry, Lenin included peasantry in the revolutionary class.
- While Marx was against the concept of party system & preferred spontaneous revolution when masses will develop true consciousness, however, Lenin made Communist party as the vanguard of revolution.
- Marx was against intellectuals, Lenin incorporated intellectuals.
- Marx was ethno-centric & he considered colonialism as a blessing in disguise for the people of East (He believed that British Rule in India is a source of modernisation & he considered the Revolt of 1857 as a feudal revolt) while Lenin had sympathy for people of colonies & he created Communist International with the objective to support nationalist struggles in colonies as Lenin believed that spark against capitalism will begin in colonies where capitalism prevails in the most inhumane form.

• Mao

- 1st person to implement Marxist principles in completely Asiatic situation.
- Maoism is seen as pragmatic form of Marxism
- If Marx was against capitalism, Mao was against feudalism & imperialism.
- Marx gave no role to peasantry, Lenin gave secondary role & Mao gave central role to peasantry.
- Marx was against nationalism (as for Marx, nationalism

is false consciousness) Mao was strong nationalist & he was not against domestic capitalists.

- Mao also modified the Marx's concept of dialectics as acc. to Mao, contradictions are of two types: antagonistic & non-antagonistic. Antagonistic contradiction can't be resolved & it prevails b/w the peasants & the feudal lords & the foreign bourgeois class.

Non-antagonistic contradictions can be resolved i.e. b/w people & domestic bourgeois class.

- Mao also has made the changes in the Marx theory of revolution as Mao believes in permanent revolutions as acc. to Mao, single revolution will not bring the requisite change as reactionary elements will keep on emerging. Thus, acc. to Mao, systems needs to be cleaned again & again. That's why Mao after communist revolution started cultural revolution in China & gave the slogan 'let hundred flowers bloom & let hundred schools of thought flourish'. (His objective was to know his critics & to crackdown on
* Mao was aware that a reactionary elements).

- Mao was the man of action & his famous work is 'Red Book' which contains the strategy of guerrilla warfare. Mao believes that power comes from the barrel of the gun. Hence, like Marx, Mao also believed that masses can end their exploitation &

can come to power only through violent revolution.

- Mao believed that masses lacked resource, hence they should go for guerilla warfare
- Mao was successful in bringing communist revolution in China & Mao is one of the most successful mass leaders in the world.

1st Sept, 2024

→ Mao vs. Gandhi

- Both Mao & Gandhi were contemporaries & faced similar challenges. The situation in China was worse than India, as it was an international colony. The influence of both the leaders was beyond their countries. Both led successful mass movements. However the two represent the two different schools of thoughts & political ideologies.
- If Mao believed that power comes through the barrel of the gun then Gandhi believes that eye for an eye will make the world blind. & Gandhi believed violence belong to the world of animals.
- Gandhi was successful in getting independence from foreign rule however, India is still far from the Gandhian vision of society. Despite constitutional directions, we have not been successful in implementing land reforms & eradicating poverty. While in China,

with a single stroke, Feudalism ended & land came under the collective ownership.

- The failure of land reforms in India & the exclusive growth has given rise to left wing extremism considered as the biggest internal security threat for India.
- However, this doesn't imply the failure of Gandhian ideas rather it reflects the failure of political will on the part of subsequent governments to achieve constitutional directives.
- Thus, there is a need of political will for the successfully implementing the ideas of Gandhi & we need to understand that power need not to come from barrel of the gun, such success comes at huge cost of human life & satyagraha is both politically & morally superior approach.

→ Neo-Marxism

* i) Critical Frankfurt

- It was estd in Frankfurt in 1920. However later it was shifted to US around 1930s. because of the restrictions imposed by Hitler. After Hitler's defeat, it was re-estd. in Frankfurt. The major concern of scholars of this school is human emancipation i.e. how to make man free.

- The scholars of the critical school were critical of orthodox or Soviet Marxist, fascist state as acc. to them both deny freedom which will lead to the establishment of totalitarian states.
- They also criticised Soviet Marxist as the belief of scholars of this school is rather than revolution, the main objective of Marx was to end alienation.
- They were also critical of liberal democratic society as acc. to them, even in these societies, there is no real freedom it is just the illusion of freedom.
- They are also critical of science as acc. to them science undermines rationality & science only promotes a specific type of rationality & science undermines the importance of values. as science only talks about true or false & science undermines the importance of right & wrong. Hence they are also critical of projecting Marx as scientist & they project Marx as philosopher with an objective to end alienation.
- The aim of critical Marxist:

Their aim is human emancipation & like Marx they also believed that freedom is not possible ^{even} in

capitalist society & they have tried to investigate the reasons behind continuation of capitalism.

- Acc to this school, for capitalism to survive, it is necessary that people should continue to buy the products created by capitalists. Hence capitalism has survived by creating false needs i.e. by creating a consumerist society & by making consumerism as mass culture.

- How consumerism became mass culture?

Acc. to scholars of critical school, there is a role of mass media & ICT (Information Communication Tech) in making consumerism a mass culture. They have analysed the role of advertisement industry in sustaining capitalism. & acc to this school, corporate houses are selling cultural items & they are selling values & lifestyles.

Note: Orthodox Marxists believe that economic lies at base but for Critical school, culture forms the basic structure.

Acc. to scholars of critical school, culture is manufactured, produced, distributed at large scale & culture is no more the element of super structure rather culture has become the part of basic

structure. All this has reduced man to a one dimensional personality i.e. the dimension of consumer & man has lost the critical reasoning & man behaves like herds of sheep & goats & if one purchases anything others will follow & this has forced man to work beyond what is needed. There is no freedom for people in a capitalist society as they work mindlessly to accumulate consumer items. There is loss of aesthetics, & man finds happiness in collecting items of utility.

- The belief of scholars of this school is that workers in the western country are no more proletarian & they are also just finding happiness in consuming goods & that's why there is no scope of revolution against capitalism.

- Acc. to scholars of critical school, man has become intellectually inactive & politically passive even for the entertainment, people just sit passively in front of the cultural content & build their opinions not by rational dialogues but by media-manipulated public sphere.

- Acc. to these scholars, totalitarianism need not to be established only by violence as there are

many types of social control & one of the most effective way is through culture.

Note: The focus of scholars of critical school is to end alienation while the focus of structuralist is to revive relationship b/w base & super structure in contemporary reality.

→ philosopher Marx
Mature Marx

→ Prominent Scholars

i) Herbert Marcuse

He has given the concept of one-dimensional man.
According to him, man used to be a real multi-dimensional personality & now only one-dimensional personality has remained i.e. man as consumer. Until & unless, we reject the consumerist culture, there is no scope for freedom. According to him, it's an illusion that there is freedom in liberal democratic society as the reality is that people are living under cultural authoritarianism & culture has become the means of social control. According to him, consumerist culture is not psychologically disruptive, it is also harmful for environment & society.

ii) Theodore Adorno

He has analysed the impact of advertisement industry in creation of mass culture.

iii) Max Horkheimer

Acc. to him, as per the law of dialectics we are supposed to move towards greater freedom & progress. However, reverse dialectics has started & we are moving towards more slavery.

iv) Habermas

He said that public sphere has become media manipulated

To sum up, critical Marxists have suggested that now culture has become the part of basic structure & the need is to understand that how culture is being produced & promoted & works for the preservation of capitalism

→ Structuralist

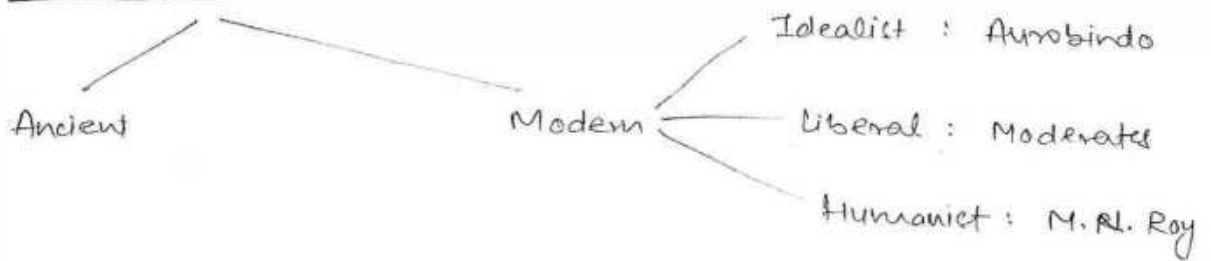
- Marx adopted structural approach for the analysis of society & held that economic structure constitute the base & the rest of all the institutions form the superstructure.
- Gramsci modified Marx's approach by establishing that the role of superstructure should be given equal importance, hence he has given the concept of two layer structure. Gramsci has postulated autonomy of super st. which marks departure from classical Marxism.

- The French Marxist, Althusser, held that Marx has over-determined economic factor & he held that it is not necessary to start the revolution from the basic structure itself rather revolution can start from any part. He has given the concept of Multiple Structure as the basis of analysis of Russian Rev. as the latter started from political structure & not from economic structure. Thus, acc. to Althusser, it is not necessary that behind any phenomenon ~~it~~ ^{only} ~~is~~ the economic factor is the determinant.

Imp:

- feminism
- fascism
- post-modernism
- critical frankfurt
- end of ideology & history.

⇒ INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT



- The beginning of modern Indian political thought coincided with the advent of Indian Renaissance in early 19th cent. It refers to a sort of awakening among Indian intellectuals & other enlightened sections & their concern about the widespread ignorance & apathy then prevailing in the Indian society.
- The impact of the west provided the occasion for national awakening. The major streams within modern Indian Political thought are:
 - Idealist / Extremists
 - Liberal / Moderates
 - Humanist
 - Critics of caste system& the political thought of Gandhi is so vast that it can't be placed under any category

→ Liberal / Moderates

- The scholars of liberal streams saw the advent of British rule in India as an opportunity of embarking on its social reconstruction. They regard British as representative of modernity & expected that British

rule will prove to be a vehicle of modernisation.

- They were inspired by the tenets of British Liberalism. Liberals in modern India ~~sets~~ realise the conditions of Indian society was far from the ideals of liberalism. as the relation b/w individual & the society under the Indian tradition is not based on logical ground & individual was relegated to subordinate position & to accept the primacy of the society. & thus acc. to liberals, this is the reason behind India's decline.
- Indian liberals believed that India could never attain regain greatness until its social life was reshaped on rational basis.
- Acc. to liberals, the seeds of century-old slavery were to be found in the social system & redemption from this inherent slavery called for a momentous change like the reformation of Europe.
- Thus, they sought to take help of British govt in eradicating the prevailing superstitions, ignorance & evil practises from Indian society.
- Liberals sought to achieve the goal of social reconstruction of India by invoking the sense of justice of British rule.

- Colonial masters had thrown the challenge for the identity of India as a nation & they held that India is not a nation, India is nothing more than geographical expression. Liberals accepted that India is ^{not} a nation. but India is a nation-in-making.

→ Idealist / Extremist

- Idealist rejected the approach of both colonial masters & liberals & they established that India is a nation & India was a nation from the beginning.
- Idealists were concerned with the rediscovery of cultural identity of India & build a national movement on its foundation.
- Idealists argue that despite diversity, India has its own identity, hence, Indian idealists have focused on determining the national identity of India.
- Idealists sought to revive the ancient Indian culture so as to spread the national consciousness among Indians & achieve independence from foreign rule.

2nd Sept, 2021

While Indian liberals thought was directly inspired by the Western liberalism, Indian idealist thought was not directly inspired by western idealism. At best, the logical structure of Indian idealism was somewhat

similar to the logic behind western idealism. Acc. to this logic, idea, consciousness or spirit is the essence of universe & all social institutions are manifestations of prevailing idea.

→ Humanism

- Humanism refers to the philosophical outlook that it is man who is at the centre of universe & it believes in huge potential of human intellect.
- It holds that human dignity, human interest & human welfare are of primary importance in all worldly affairs.
- Acc. to humanist view, human being is capable of self realisation through application of its faculty of reason & they seek to end all discriminations of race, religion & nation through the application of its faculty of reason.
- Humanist regard each human being as rational, sensitive & an end in itself & it imparts the value of human being to the highest place in the universe.
- In modern Indian political thought, Swami Vivekananda & Rabindranath Tagore are regarded as true representatives of humanistic thought. Besides M.N.

Roy has given a new interpretation of humanism i.e. new-humanism, scientific humanism or radical humanism.

⇒ SRI AUROBINDO

- Edited newspaper 'Bande Mataram'
- Books: 'New Lamps for Old' & 'Savitri'
- Aurobindo belongs to the extremist phase of Indian National Congress & he was a critic of moderates. He was against the constitutional methods of moderates & he gave the theory of passive resistance & it is Aurobindo who prepared the ground for Gandhi. Aurobindo's biggest contribution is his theory of Indian Nationalism.

(His Theory of Nationalism is known as cultural nationalism. Acc. to Herder, nation is natural & exclusive concept. The term nation comes from Latin 'Nasci' meaning race. Every race settles in a particular geography & because of the geographical conditions, a specific way of life evolved. This specific way of life becomes culture. Thus race & culture become the basis of nationalism. In Indian context, it is Aurobindo who reflects the idea of cultural nationalism. He has applied

the concept of German scholars like Herder & Hegel that nation is natural & nation has spirit, spirit may be dormant but it can't be denied. Thus, he has spiritualised the concept of nation & that's why Aurobindo is known as 'Prophet of Nationalism'.)

- Acc. to Rabindranath Tagore, the world will come to know the essence of India through the writings of Aurobindo.
- Aurobindo has written a series of articles i.e. 'New Lamps for Old' in his newspaper 'Indu Prakash' in which he has criticised the approach of early nationalists as they had great faith in the British sense of justice. However, acc. to Aurobindo, foreign rule isn't a blessing, not even blessing in disguise. Foreign rule is nothing but evil & foreign rule will stop nation's growth.
- Aurobindo was the first person to talk about the goal of Purna Swaraj & demanded complete independence. He suggested that there is a need to change the strategy as acc. to Aurobindo, British govt in India isn't a constitutional govt but a despot. Thus, he had no faith in constitutional methods & recommended direct action, which acc. to Aurobindo, can be of 2 types:

i) Armed Resistance

ii) Passive Resistance

- Aurobindo was not against the use of force. However, acc. to him, the present situation is not right for the use of force. Hence he suggested passive resistance i.e. Swadeshi & boycott of British goods. acc. to Aurobindo, the need is to strike at the very root of British imperialism. (He was the main inspiration behind Swadeshi Movement in Bengal).
- Aurobindo had also proposed national education as Aurobindo was convinced that British schools are only meant to produce loyalists.

→ Aurobindo's Theory of Nationalism

- Aurobindo has spiritualised the concept of nation & he held that nation has a spirit, spirit may be dormant but it can't be denied. & he suggests that old men of India i.e. moderates need new lamps to see the spirit of India as a nation.
- Acc. to Aurobindo, moderates are unable to see the spirit of nationalism among the youths & he warned moderates to stop praising British as it will weaken the morals of those who aim to fight British. Thus, acc. to Aurobindo, to revive

this spirit. we need a bold theory of nationalism.

- Aurobindo's spiritual nationalism was inspired by B.C. Chatterjee's concept of 'Mother India', as acc. to Aurobindo. we should all see India as a Mother & we should not accept our Mother in chains. Thus, acc. to Aurobindo, nationalism must become the religion of youth. & we should have the same level of commitment towards nation that we have towards religion.
- Acc. to Aurobindo, emergence of India as a nation has a divine mission (i.e. to deliver the message of spirituality) & it will be for the benefit of humanity.
- He suggested that the universal spirit has expressed itself differently for different civilisations. for ^{eg:} Greek represents dimension of beauty, British represent dim. of utility & materialism, Romans - ethics India - spirituality & thus India must fulfill the divine mission to spread the message of spirituality & India can't spread this message from the state of slavery. Thus, acc. to Aurobindo, international community should support the rise of India as a nation as it will be beneficial for the humanity.

- ° Acc. to Aurobindo, it will be foolishness if we imitate others & every nation has a specific purpose & each nation should understand & develop its own destiny. Thus, Aurobindo was convinced that blind imitation of Europe was not at all conducive to India's regeneration.
- ° He was critical of early nationalists who believed that INC has to conduct its sessions at different places to arouse the spirit of nationalism. Aurobindo held that Indian Nationalism does not depend upon Congress pandals. It is eternal & acc. to him, despite the diversity we find there exists fundamental unity. This fundamental unity is expressed in a way of life observed in the sub-continent from east to west, North to South & this fundamental unity is the basis of Indian Nationalism.

→ Aurobindo's belief in ideals of Gita

- ° Acc. to Gita, one should follow the law of one's own being. Thus, when one follows one's own Dharma or duty, it leads to re-birth but when one leads away from Dharma. Thus, based on these ideas, Aurobindo said that every nation

has a specific purpose i.e. to express the aspects of universal spirit. Every nation should understand & develop its own destiny & the aim of India, the nation, is to deliver the divine message of spirituality & this message only India can deliver. It is God's will & thus it is the duty of Indians to God & India can't deliver this message till India is not free.

→ Aurobindo's concept of freedom

- Acc. to Aurobindo, freedom is supreme value which can't be compromised. In his words, "Craving for freedom is lodged so deep in human breast that even thousands of arguments are powerless to disapprove it".
- Aurobindo analysed that the liberal view of freedom is mechanical as it ignores the importance of society. Acc. to Aurobindo, liberty should not be seen as a device to satisfy one's own impulses & acc. to Aurobindo, the biggest flaw of the liberal view of freedom is that it ^{puts} individuals against the society.
- Acc. to Aurobindo, socialism gives primacy to society but completely ignores individual. Thus,

it forces individual to give up freedom.

- Acc. to Aurobindo, any theory of freedom should be such which allows individual to achieve freedom in a way which is not detrimental to the society.

- Thus, for Aurobindo freedom is obeying the law of our existence. & to understand this, the source is soul. & acc. to Aurobindo, one should follow the message of soul & thus the real freedom is inner freedom. Freedom is not just the fulfilment of physical needs, freedom is flowering of divine within us. It is only when we follow inner freedom, we can create a perfect social order, the ideal society.

- Aurobindo was initially talking of swaraj for nation but later he started talking about swaraj for individual. Thus, he has emphasised on inner freedom.

- He has given the concept of Sachitananda i.e. the purpose of life is attainment of happiness

→ Aurobindo's concept of human unity

- Acc. to him, aggregation is the law of nature & nature expects all of us to come together.

If we don't follow the law of nature, nature will destroy us.

- He has spiritualised on the concept of nation & he held that every nation is a reflection of one or other dimension of universal spirit. In this way, he has established that all humans are part of universal spirit. Thus, Aurobindo never believed that the idea of nation is against the idea of cosmopolitanism i.e. the value of *Vandeva Kutumbakam*.
- His idea of human unity comes from the civilisational values of *Sanatana Dharma*.
- It is to be noted that Aurobindo's ideas of human unity have become all the more relevant in contemporary times when we see the rise of global challenges as it is beyond the capacity of a single human or single state to deal with challenges like climate change, terrorism, nuclear proliferation.

3rd Sept, 2022

⇒ B.R. Ambedkar

- Ambedkar is seen as the tallest leader of Dalits in India & acc. to ^{an} Dhanjay Keer, no Dalit leader could achieve what Ambedkar was able to achieve for his community. (Dalit word comes from Marathi 'Dal' meaning broken. Acc. to Ambedkar, Dalits are Broken men).
- He was born in Mahr caste in Maharashtra which was treated as untouchable among Hindus & he spent his lifetime fighting against caste prejudices, an injustice to which Untouchables were widely subjected.
- Ambedkar was convinced that Untouchables need to do something to eradicate curse of untouchability from Indian society. (But somehow this suggestion has ignored the role of all social reformers & well-wishers who come from upper castes like Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda & Bhandari. Thus this attitude is indicative of a very narrow outlook).
- * Ambedkar is also a controversial personality like Syed Ahmad Khan & he has been called anti-national because of the following reasons:
 - a) He opposed Purna Swaraj resolution of INC & he held that Depressed Classes should be grateful to British for improving their status.

b) Ambedkar directed Dalits to stay away from Indu INC & Gandhi's Harijan Sewa Sangh.

c) Ambedkar called Poona Pact as the Himalayan blunder as he supported separate electorates for Dalits.

d) Ambedkar supported Jinnah's demand for Pakistan.

e) Ambedkar joined Defense Advisory Council & Viceroy's Executive Council. which was set up to gain British legitimacy in India.

- Thus based on the basis of above points, certain sections of Indian political class call Ambedkar as anti-national.
- He called 'Quit India Movement' of Gandhi as mad adventure as he wanted British to stay & thus like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, he also emerged as the leader of a community rather than nation. Ambedkar himself said that between the interests of Dalits & the interest of the nation. He will give preference to the interests of Dalit.
- However, acc. to Amundhati Roy & Christophe Jaffrelot, it will be wrong to call Ambedkar anti-national as Ambedkar represented the larger section of Indian society i.e. Bahujan Samaj & a person representing

a larger section can't be considered as 'anti-national'. It was difficult for Ambedkar to accept society divided by caste as a nation as acc. to Ambedkar, the concept of nation should be based on trinity of liberty, equality & fraternity. Thus, acc. to Ambedkar, there can be no nation without fraternity.

- However, it doesn't mean that there was no desire in Ambedkar for India to emerge as a nation as in his speech to constituent Assembly, he held that "I know we are divided politically, economically & socially, we are a group of warring camps, I myself is a leader of one such camp. However, I am convinced that the day will come when we will forget these differences & India will emerge as a nation."
- Ambedkar advocated the sooner we accept that we are not a nation, better it will be as we will start thinking how to become a nation by understanding the reasons which are restricting us to become a nation.

→ Main ideas of Ambedkar

- Main work of Ambedkar revolves around abolition of caste & his most important work on this issue

is 'Annihilation of Caste'. Ambedkar himself belonged to the community of Untouchables & thus he was having first hand experience of what it means to be Untouchable in India. He has to face untold humiliation but because of his extraordinary talent & strong will, he was able to earn a degree in law & he started practising law. However, because of his caste, nobody approached him for his services. Hence, he realised that even when Dalits are educated, they will not be able to live a life of dignity.

- Hence he believed that Untouchability has to be abolished to abolish the exploitation of Dalits. Ambedkar used the term 'Dalit' for Untouchables & acc. to Ambedkar, upliftment of Dalits is not possible without rejecting Hindu social order. Acc. to Ambedkar, "Hinduism as a religion & caste system as a social order has ruined Dalits."
- He even believed that caste system i.e. caste based social order will ruin Hindus themselves & it will ruin India as well. Acc. to Ambedkar, it is because of the caste system where a person's status is based on birth. Hinduism can't be missionary religion as Hinduism can't go for conversions like

Islam & Christianity. & thus he held that Hindus can't form a nation as they are segmented communities & warring tribes.

- He held that Hindus are the race of losers & they will continue to lose to other religions. Thus, caste system is not just responsible for exploitation of Dalits, it is also responsible for weakness of Hindus & India as a nation.

- Acc. to him, Hinduism is nothing but Brahmanism & it is the hegemony of Brahmins. The core idea of Hinduism is endogamy & without ending endogamy, caste system can't end. Hence, acc. to Ambedkar, without e

- Acc. to Ambedkar, Hinduism is not a religion but madness as acc. to him, the religion which force poor to ^{remain} poor, uneducated to remain uneducated, allows man to touch excreta of cow but not touch fellow human beings is nothing but madness

- In Hinduism, there is a justification of inequality even in philosophy & there is nothing in Hinduism except caste system. Hence, one can't reject caste being Hindu. & annihilation of caste requires rejection of Hinduism. Hence, he held that there is a need to put dynamite beneath Vedas & Manusmriti.

Hence, Ambedkar appealed to reject Hinduism & he himself converted to Buddhism & he held that disowning the religion of my birth, "I had no choice but being born as Hindu but it is in my capacity not to die as Hindu. I reject religion which treats me inferior" & thus Ambedkar dedicated his life for the abolition of untouchability.

* → Comparative study b/w Ambedkar & Gandhi

- If Gandhi is considered as the father of nation, Ambedkar is known as father of constitution. Though the two leaders had similar aim i.e. emancipation of untouchables but their paths were different. Arundhati Roy has addressed Gandhi as saint while Ambedkar as doctor.

On technique:

- Ambedkar also adopted the Gandhian technique of Satyagraha & he organised the Satyagraha to assert the rights of Untouchables, to take water from the same well which is used by upper caste Hindus. Ambedkar was disappointed as he couldn't get the support of Gandhi for his Satyagraha as Gandhi held that for the time being, Satyagraha as a strategy should be used only against colonial authorities & thus acc. to Ambedkar, it is better for Untouchables to take help from British

the improvement of their status as towards their emancipation & Ambedkar never believed in the commitment of Gandhi as Gandhi never kept any fast for abolition of untouchability.

- On issue of conversion: Acc. to Gandhi, one can accept good things from other religions but one should not leave one's religion as if a person is born in a particular religion, there is a Divine will. However, Ambedkar supported conversions. He even explored to convert himself to be a Muslim & Christian but ultimately found spiritual satisfaction in Buddhism as acc. to him, Buddhism is based on Karuna (Love), Samanta (equality), Prajama (rejection of superstition).

5th Sept, 2022

- On view of Varma system: Acc. to Gandhi, varma system is division of labour & it's a feature of advanced society. However, acc. to Ambedkar, in reality varma system exists as caste. Acc. to Ambedkar, varma is text & caste is context & caste system isn't division of labour rather it is division of labourers. The entire concept of untouchability is based on purity & pollution. It is also not a sensible economic system as Profession is not based on merit but based on birth. Acc. to Ambedkar, Gandhi's impracticability is evident as he himself is not following the

Varna dharma. Hence, acc. to Ambedkar, abolishing Varna & Caste is same. Ambedkar criticised Harijan Sewa Sangh formed by Gandhi. He compared it with Putana (Poona). Ambedkar had objection with the use of word 'Harijan' & acc. to Ambedkar, the term 'Harijan' is misleading as it does not tell the real status of untouchables in Indian society. & it will push untouchables into false consciousness that's why Ambedkar preferred to use the term 'Dalit'.

→ Ambedkar's view on revolution

- Ambedkar had analysed the relevance of Marxist mode of revolution in Indian situation & he found that it is not appropriate as the basic structure of Indian society isn't economic rather ideological & Brahmanism forms the basic structure. Hence, just the economic upliftment will not give Dalits the life of dignity, hence he suggested annihilation of caste.

Acc. to Ambedkar, "Political tyranny is nothing compared to social tyranny. A reformer who defies society is much more courageous man than a politician who defies government."

- Acc. to Ambedkar, society in India is more exploitative, hence state can work for emancipation of Dalits.

Hence, Ambedkar favoured state-led affirmative actions for the upliftment of Dalits. In this context also, his views are different from Gandhi as Gandhi was against state-led model & Gandhi supported autonomous village republics throughout India.

However, Ambedkar held that Indian villages are den of ignorance where caste system is more entrenched & hence Ambedkar proposed state-led approach for upliftment of Dalits.

- Acc. to Ambedkar, Dalits should go for building counter-hegemony & to change the status, Dalit requires the consciousness. Hence, his mantra for Dalits ^{was} 'Educate. Agitate. Organise'. Thus, acc. to Ambedkar, Dalits have to make a sincere effort for their own emancipation & he wanted the govt to play a positive role in this process. He advised the untouchables to migrate to larger towns & cities & to take up modern professions which will determine their new status on regional basis & not on the accident of birth.

* → Difference b/w Ambedkar & Marx

- Though Ambedkar was influenced by Marx idea of social justice which aimed at ending the exploitation of the poor. However, Ambedkar felt that Marxist method is not so relevant in Indian society.

↳ Ambedkar disagreed with Marx on two main points:

i) Marx considered religion as the opium of masses while Ambedkar had not agreed on this, as acc. to Ambedkar, Buddhism is not the opium of masses as Buddhism has a lot for the nourishment of human soul. Dalits should embrace Buddhism, as it will provide them a source of inspiration & spiritual satisfaction.

ii) Marx viewed state as an instrument of exploitation while acc. to Ambedkar, society is more exploitative & Ambedkar preferred affirmative action from state ^{for} upliftment of untouchables.

iii) Marx supported violence, Ambedkar didn't

iv) Marx: anti-capitalist; Ambedkar - need is to end caste not class

*
→ Ambedkar's idea of social justice

(social justice is equal political, social & economic rights to all).

- Acc. to Rawls, Justice is the first virtue. The issue of social justice has not only been the concern of political philosophers but political leaders also.
- Ambedkar's idea of social justice has to be seen in the context of peculiar forms of injustices found in Indian society. The basic composition of Indian society has been based on caste & acc. to Ambedkar, it has made the life of the people at the lowest level, hell & thus social justice for Ambedkar meant the life of dignity to this section of society. & acc. (idealism) to Ambedkar, social justice requires annihilation of caste. since caste is a basic structure of Hindu society, thus it also means rejection of Hinduism & for Ambedkar, Hinduism is not a religion but madness & Hinduism is nothing but Brahma-manism.
- Ambedkar's idea of social justice embraced the concerns for India's subaltern classes i.e. the Bahujan samaj & it includes concerns for untouchables, tribals, women, labours & peasants

Ambedkar - caste-less

Marr - class less

Gandhi - class less, state-less

It was his idea of social justice which inspired him as a law minister to bring Hindu Code Bills & the Bill challenged the patriarchy present within Hindu Personal laws.

- He believed political power is necessary for empowerment of untouchables. The special rights which minority have in India can be attributed to Ambedkar's idea of social justice.
- In a nutshell, Ambedkar sought to establish social justice by annihilation of caste system as Ambedkar believed this is the only way to restore social justice.

Justice for liberals : equality of opportunity

Marxist : " " outcome

Ambedkar : annihilation of caste.

⇒ M.N. Roy

Started as revolutionary → Marxist

- M.N. Roy (Manabendra Nath Roy, original name Narendra Nath Bhattacharya) is considered as one of the remarkable failure in politics. He was one of the most learned personality during freedom struggle. However he proved to be a complete failure in politics.
- His biggest contribution is his idea of radical humanism / scientific / new humanism (he has give a new interpretation of humanism) also described by Roy as known as the philosophy of freedom.
- M.N. Roy started as revolutionary & he believed that revolutionary methods are the way to achieve freedom of India.
- He was not impressed with the approach of INC to deal with the problems of masses in India.
- He got influenced by the Marxist ideas & to know more about, Marx he went to Mexico & he became the founding member of Communist Party of Mexico & around 1930s, he got the recognition as major Marxist intellectual & he became the critic of Gandhi & the

projected Gandhi as the scholar of bourgeois class & he held that INC's programmes are against masses (Acc. to him, Gandhi's programme of non-violence was actually violence against masses.) Acc. to Roy, Gandhi is a weak watery man looking for appointments with viceroys & called Gandhi a man with medieval era mentality, a reactionary who is trying to bring religion into politics.

- Around 30's, again there was a transition in the ideas of Roy & gradually, he became critic of Marx. He was basically the critic of Soviet Marxism as acc. to Roy, historical Marxism is not the scientific explanation of history. In fact, it is economic determination as it has ignored the important roles played by the ideas in shaping history.

- He held that history is not the product of class struggle, rather history is the product of class-cooperation. He also held that surplus value is not bad. It is bad when it isn't equally distributed.

- He also held that revolution does not mean change in the mode of production, real

revolution is ideological change in the minds of people & thus acc. to Roy, instead of communism we should strive to get radical democracy i.e. cosmopolitan union of free persons.

- Though he criticised the concept of Marx, he continued to assert himself as Marxist & suggested that he is giving humanist interpretation of Marx.
- M. N. Roy was invited to 2nd Communist International as a Marxist intellectual which was called by Lenin to decide what should be the approach of Communist International towards freedom struggle of colonies. Here Roy developed differences with Lenin & he entered into debate with him as he was not ready to accept the strategy proposed by Lenin & that's why, he was removed by Communist International.

Lenin proposed 2 stage strategy:

- i) In the first stage : support nationalist parties in colonies like INC in India, Kuminparty in China.
- ii) Once they gain independence, Communist International will support Communist revolution by masses to establish communism.

- However, the Roy's view was that we should not support nationalist parties as it was against the principles of Marx & acc to Roy, the Communist International should directly support Communist parties in the colonies as acc to Roy, the leadership of nationalist party is controlled by bourgeoisie class. He believed that the masses in India are fully prepared for Communist movement & hence there is no need for 2 stage strategy (later, he acknowledged, his understanding was wrong).

- As around 30's, there was transition in his ideas he joined INC & became sympathetic to Gandhi & believed that Gandhi's programmes did help the masses. However, he tried to radicalise INC from within & formed the League of Radical Congressmen.

- Around 40's again there was a transition in his ideas & he became critic of Gandhi & he criticised Gandhi's Quit India Movement & he appealed to support British who were fighting against fascist power. Later he decided

to form his own political party : RDP , Radical Democratic Party based on his philosophy of Radical humanism. Later, he disbanded his own party & started Radical Humanist Movement to propogate the philosophy of radical humanism.

6th Sept, 2022

* → Radical Humanism

- Radical humanism prescribed by N.N. Roy as philosophy of freedom & he gave this philosophy as he was disatisfied with the existing philosophies - parliamentary democracy, fascism, communism.
- Acc. to Roy, Parliamentary democracy is inadequate as it does not give opportunity to masses to directly participate in governance. Hence, acc. to Roy, there can't be real freedom unless there is radical democracy (Acc. to Roy, Radical democracy will be a decentralised democracy based on network of people's committees. His radical democracy stood for abolition of feudalism, nationalisation of land, modernisation & nationalisation of industries).
- Acc. to Roy, even communism is not liberating as it submerges man under the collective ego of class.

- Acc. to Roy, fascism is to be rejected as it submerges man under the collective ego of nation.
- Thus, acc. to Roy, we need a philosophy which gives real importance to man as an individual & which aims to achieve freedom for man.
- Acc. to Roy, real freedom is freedom from all fears. It includes freedom from foreign rule, political, economic, social freedom & freedom from religion & acc. to Roy, freedom doesn't lie in choosing religion but freedom lies in man's capacity to reject religion.
- Acc. to same him, freedom will come with promotion of scientific rationality & thus Roy looked towards science as a liberating force & he believed that intellectual or mental revolution has to precede political-economic revolution.
- Acc. to Roy, education is indispensable to achieve the goals of new humanism as education makes individual conscious of their potential & help them think rationally & thus acc. to Roy, educated electorate is a pre-condition for a successful democracy.

• Acc. to Roy, every person is rational i.e. man is rational by nature & man can't survive without reason. Roy believed that reason in man is materialistic i.e. reason has physiological origin. i.e. reason in man has developed in his struggle for existence. He rejected the view that religion is source of ethics (Ethics are the set of principles which society found appropriate for conduct of social life) rather acc. to Roy, it is the reason which is source of ethics.

- Thus, acc. to Roy, as man is rational, so there is a hope for better human society based on reason.
- Acc. to Roy, those socio-cultural practices which don't appear rational need to be rejected. Thus, society should be based on scientific rationality.
- Thus, freedom is possible only if the society is based on scientific rational principles rather than on superstitions.
- Hence, radical humanism rejects meta-physics & it believes in science. Thus, radical humanism supports intellectual revolution & acc. to Roy, the crisis in modern civilisation is lack of faith

in innate rationality of man. Like Protagoras, Roy also believed that man is a ^{measure} ~~major~~ of everything & the progress of society has to be measured by the amount of freedom it gives to man.

- Thus, radical humanism rejects blind faith, fatalism, & Roy suggested constant research & constant examination of our values in the light of modern scientific knowledge.
- Thus, the objective of his philosophy of freedom is creation of order which gives highest importance to human freedom with the aim to create cosmopolitan unity of free persons linked to each other with reason & humanity.

→ SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

How appropriate it is to say that he was originator of two-nation theory?

- He belonged to elite class amongst Muslims (His family served in the court of Mughals).
- During his time, the Muslim community in India was passing through the phase of depression & he was concerned about the state of his community.
- He believed that upliftment of Muslim community is possible only with modernisation of Islam. He argued that the religious beliefs are not impervious to change & if religion cannot keep pace with changing times, it will become inert.
(Why he remains a controversial personality not only among Hindus but Muslims as well?)
- He strongly opposed the orthodox character & the narrow outlook of the religion. He tried to reinterpret Quran & opposed all types of irrational practises like wearing of veil by women, polygamy & instant divorce amongst Muslims.
- He used to say that Islam as a religion is most compatible with science & the need is that Muslim youth should hold a book of science in

one hand & Quran in another. He was convinced that upliftment of Muslim community is possible only when they adopt scientific learning & with the help of British, he established Mohanmads Anglo Oriental College (AMU - Dhrent). He was criticised by orthodox Muslims because of his scientific & modern approach.

- There is a tradition in his ideal as earlier he stood for Hindu-Muslim unity & he used to say that, "Hindus & Muslims are the two eyes of a beautiful bride - India." He advised Muslims to avoid eating beef respecting the sentiments of Hindu neighbours.
- However, with time, his views changed & the major reason for change in his views was the language controversy which emerged in Awadh (U.P.) around 1867 known as Hindi-Urdu controversy. Around this time there was a growth of movement for Hindi as the official language & the supporters were demanding that it was the language of masses & thus Hindi should replace Urdu as official language. This controversy took ugly turn as both sides were not ready to accept

each other's demands. The entire controversy disappointed Khan & he assumed that with time, more & more controversial issues will emerge & hence, co-existence will not be possible & thus in the interest of peace, it will be better if both live as separate communities & it is because of this thinking, he has been called as the originator of two-nation theory.

Communalism is basically an ideology which has evolved through 3 stages in India:

i) Communal Nationalism

Notion that since a group or a section of people belongs to a particular religion or community, their secular interests are same i.e. even those matters which have nothing to do with religion will affect all of them equally.

ii) Liberal Communalism

Notion that since two religious communities have different religious interests, they have different interests in secular sphere too.

iii) Extreme communalism

Notion that not only different communities have different interests but these interests

are incompatible i.e. two communities can't co-exist

- Khan was a controversial figure as acc. to many intellectuals, he was only concerned with upliftment of his community. He realised that British is a new force in India & British rule is going to be there for long, hence he suggested the Muslim youth that there is no point of opposing it & in such a situation, the best approach is to join hands with British. & he believed that education & modernisation is the only way for upliftment of Muslims. & only British can provide such resources for achievement of these goals.
- He has written "Asbab-i-Bagawat-e-Hind" i.e. causes for revolt of 1857 in which he has said that Muslims were not responsible for the revolt of 1857 rather it was the wrong policies of the British which forced people to revolt. Later, he had written series of articles 'Loyal Mohammedans of India' in which he expressed the loyalty of Muslims towards British & he advised Muslims to stay away from INC & thus due to these reasons, he was criticised by Hindus as opportunist & leader of

community rather than a nation.

- His status among Muslims is at par with that of Raja Ram Mohan Roy among Hindus. Though he became the controversial figure yet, he has emerged as the tallest leader among Muslims in the sub-continent & no other Muslim leader has contributed towards the upliftment of Muslims the way Khan has contributed.
- Muslim youth at present in India is passing through similar frustration & stagnation & there is a need of leader like Khan who can guide Muslims towards importance of education & to stay away from radicalisation & polarisation.

⇒ PERSPECTIVES ON INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

- There is a lack of consensus amongst the scholars as how to define the political activities that were taking place on the subcontinent b/w 1857 to 1947.
- The grand theory or meta-narrative is that the political activities can be described as the national movement. However, this meta-narrative has been criticised by different schools of thought i.e. Marxist perspective, Socialist, Dalit, Colonial perspective.
- Acc. to R. Chandra Pradhan, 'A textbook to Colonialism & Imperialism' interpretation of Indian Nationalism from different perspectives is like six blind men trying to understand an elephant. In order to understand & de-construct political activities of that time it will be useful if we don't ignore the multiple narratives behind meta-narrative.
- The debate has its origin in the works of colonial historians & administrators like Curzon, Dufferin, Herbert Risley - who challenged the idea of India as a nation & the political activities in India during this time as Indian National Movement.

→ Imperialist / Colonial perspective

- Dufferin challenged INC as he held that Congress represented microscopic minority. Colonial scholar John Stacey wrote that "The first & the essential thing about India is that there is no India & it never was."

Another scholar John Silleley wrote that "India as a nation is a vulgar error which political scientists ^{should} aimed at eradicating."

- Colonial scholars held that it is wrong to call political activities as national movement & acc. to them, it was essentially a communal movement & the leaders of Indian National Movement are communal leaders - they are power brokers, they are competing among themselves & there is no grand idea inspiring these leaders. Thus, it was communal politics & the formation of Pakistan is the logical result of communal politics.

Response by Indian nationalists to Imperialist perspective:

- Early nationalists accepted the oriental discourse that India is not a nation but held that under the process of modernisation introduced by British, India is evolving as a nation. & the goal of INC should be to promote this emerging consciousness.

The best expression of the above approach is found in autobiography of S. N. Banerjee i.e. 'Nation in Making' in which he has acknowledged that British rule in India has been seen as a blessing in disguise. Early nationalists believe in political nation rather than cultural nationalism. Cultural nation is natural while political nation is build by people. They believed that political nationalism is required for large & diverse country. for eg: India & US as political nation while Pakistan & Israel are examples of cultural nation.

Liberal nationalists decided to conduct Congress sessions in different parts of the country as they believed it will contribute in growth of national consciousness.

- Idealists' Response: Idealists believe in cultural nationalism. Aurobindo, known as Prophet of Indian Nationalism, made nationalism above intellectual debates. He has given a bold theory of Indian nationalism & he held that nation is a spiritual concept & he held that India has always been a nation.

Later historians like, Tarachand, R.C. Majumdar

provided the nationalist interpretation of acc. to them it is wrong to suggest that: there was no national movement

- no grand idea inspiring the leaders
- acc. to them, INC was a national party & there was a desire among Indians to emerge as a nation.

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7th Sept, 2022

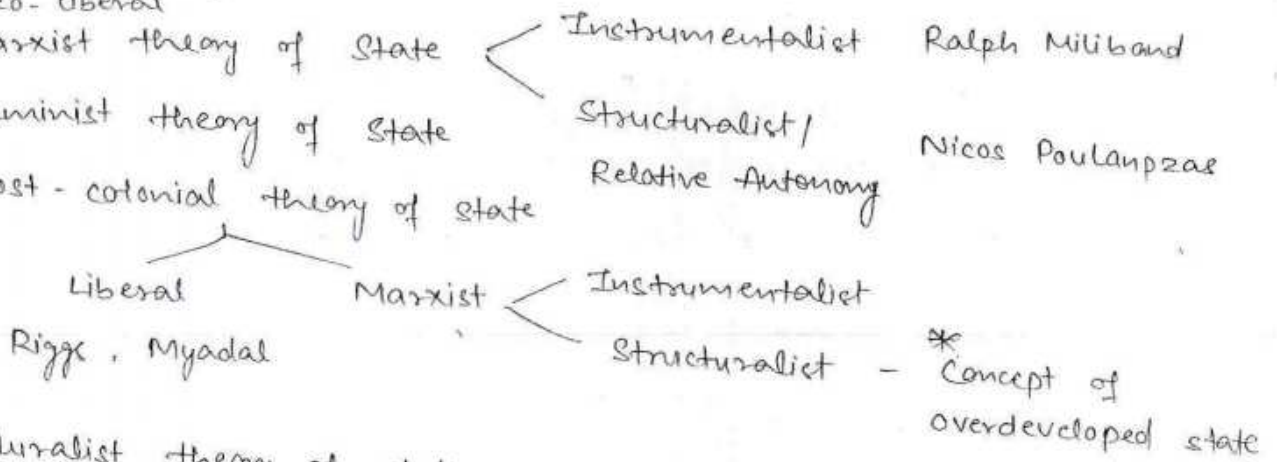
→ Marxist perspective

Marxist perspective isn't entirely homogenous & there is disagreement amongst Marxist scholars regarding the role of Gandhi & INC.

- handout -

⇒ THEORIES OF STATE

1. Liberal theory of state
2. Neo-liberal
3. Marxist theory of state
- * 4. Feminist theory of state
- * 5. Post-colonial theory of state
6. Pluralist theory of state



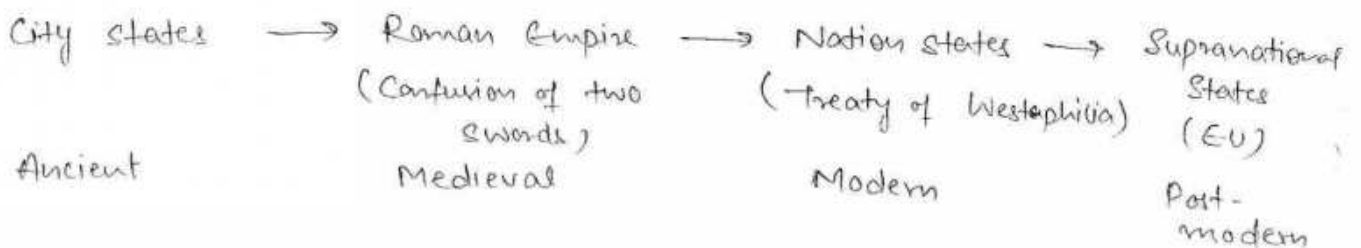
Pluralist state vs Pluralist theory of sovereignty
Pluralist theory of state

Pluralist state is a secular state where different ethnicities, religions, groups can live together.

Parliament, People, Judiciary
Pluralist theory of sovereignty is that sovereignty is not at one place. Thus, pluralist state & pluralist theory of state are different.

State is an idea & its manifestation is in the form of govt. The features of modern state are: territory, population, sovereignty, govt.

→ Evolution of State



In international law, the origin of nation-state is believed to be started from signing of Treaty of Westphalia &

that's why the nation-state system is also called as Westphalian system.

- Acc. to Garner, "Political Science begins & ends with state" & state represents authority i.e. legitimate power. Acc. to Weber, State is a human community that claims the monopoly of legitimate use of force within a given territory.
- Sovereignty is a defining feature of modern nation state & it was Hobbes who gave the complete theory of sovereignty of state & he clearly established state absolutism & he ended the confusion of two swords. He clearly defined that law is command of sovereign & it comes with power of punishment.
- Acc. to Weber, the right to use legitimate force is the exclusive prerogative of state & state continues to exist so long it is armed with sovereignty. If a state will lose its sovereignty in internal revolt or through external aggression, the result is disappearance of state.
- Though international recognition is essential element of state, however, international recognition is the outcome of sovereignty not a condition of its existence. For eg: US withheld recognition of PRC for decades after it came into existence with WW II, hence international recognition is incidental to sovereignty of state, not a condition for its existence.

- There are 2 theories of sovereignty : monistic & pluralist

8th Sept, 2022

→ Monistic theory of sovereignty

- Its roots lie in the theory of Hobbes hence monistic theory is sometimes called as Hobbesian theory of sovereignty. During the medieval times, sovereignty was fragmented which led to chaos, hence it was accepted that in a particular territory, the authority of the state should be absolute. Neither any association outside the state nor any association within the state can challenge the authority of the state.
- John Austin is the key exponent of the monistic theory of sovereignty. Acc. to his view, the entire power in a defined territory is centralised at one place & monistic theory clearly establishes law as the command of the sovereign. It is because of this attribute, Max Weber described modern nation-state as having monopoly over the use of violence in a defined territory i.e. legitimate coercion is in the hands of the state.
- Austin has advanced his theory of positive law which expresses the will of legal sovereign state & hence state is not bound by the dictates of natural law or any other superior law.

(Positive laws are the laws duly enacted by the legislative body & recognised by judiciary. Positive laws are binding upon all & its violation is effectively met with punishment. Positive laws are judged by their legal validity & not by the conformity to moral customs & traditions. In case, positive law comes into conflict with any customary or religious law, positive law will prevail.)

• Thus Austin's theory dwells on the legal character of sovereignty. As said by Austin, "If a determinate human superior not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of the society, then that determinate human superior is sovereign & that society is political society."

"Determinate human superior" means that exactly where lies the sovereignty i.e. sovereignty needs to be determinate. "Not in the habit of obedience to a like superior" means sovereign does not obey any other sovereign. Thus, sovereignty means absolute power. "Habitual ... society" means majority respects the sovereign; "political society" is state.

• Characteristics of sovereignty

- Determinate
- Inalienable
- Permanent
- Absolute
- Non-transferrable
- Enforceable

→ Pluralistic theory of sovereignty

- The monistic theory dominated till WWI as it was accepted that state has absolute power & there are no restrictions or limitations on the powers of state not even the international law. Though adherence to such ideas led to recurrence of wars & the consequence of this was WW I & II.
- Hence the need was realised to modify the theory of sovereignty & to give importance to international law & promote respect to human rights.
- After WW II, emphasis was given ^{by liberal scholars} on international institutions & it was realised that the powers of a state has to be limited & thus emerged the idea of pluralistic theory of sovereignty.
- Pluralistic theory is rejection of monistic theory & acc. to pluralist scholars the concept of sovereignty given by Austin is far from reality & state can't exercise its sovereignty in absolute manner.
- Acc. to pluralist, state is like an association like many other associations & man has created various associations for fulfillment of their interest & state can't fulfil all the interests of man.

- Acc. to historian Henry Maine, there is no example in history which can be put forward as an ideal example of Austin's theory of sovereignty. He has cited the example of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who was also unable to exercise sovereignty the way Austin described.
- Acc. to pluralists, the exercise of so state sovereignty in domestic sphere is limited by customs & traditions & in the external sphere it is limited by sovereignty of other states. & acc. to pluralists, sovereignty of state has further diluted under the forces of globalization.
- Pluralists like Laski has believed that the monistic theory of sovereignty is against international peace & security & in place of monistic theory, Laski supports the strengthening of international law. Acc. to Laski, with emergence of federal form of govt, it has become impossible to locate the sovereign.
- Acc. to scholars like Krabbe & Duguit, state is not the only source of law & there are multiple sources of law like customs & traditions. Thus, for pluralists, monistic theory is idealist & absolute sovereignty is not possible.

• Philosophical basis of Pluralist theory

- Laski has given the philosophical basis of pluralist theory & acc. to him:

- ✓ universe is multi-dimensional
- ✓ man is part of universe. Hence man has multi-dimensional personality.
- ✓ man has multiple needs & hence man has created multiple institutions
- ✓ state alone does not fulfil all the needs, hence man has created other associations who deserve share in man's obligation.

• Types of Pluralist $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Moderate Laski} \\ \text{Extreme Machiavere} \end{array} \right.$

Laski - a) "Since society is federal, authority should also be federal."

b) "State is the keystone of social architecture"

Machiavere: c) "State commands because it serves"

d) "State is both the child & guardian of law"

e) Laski was critical of Hobbesian & Austinian notion of state sovereignty. Laski believed that monistic theory does not give the realist view of state & in practice, sovereignty of state is limited because of the presence of other associations. Laski

being advocate of international peace & humanity was critic of monistic theory as adherence to the monistic theory has led to wars.

- Acc. to Laski, all associations play some or the other role in the life of a man, thus they also deserves the share in man's obedience or share in the authority. Thus, state alone
- As state alone does not fulfill all needs of man thus state can't claim monopoly on the authority. Thus, acc. to Laski, as society is federal, authority should also be federal.

b) Laski himself is inconsistent in his thoughts towards the views on state as on one side, he wants to keep the state & at the same time, does not want to give powers to the state.

- By the virtue of the functions which state performs state automatically gains prominence. The unique role of the state is of conflict resolution i.e. equilibrium maker. Thus, state resolves the disputes among other associations & automatically state gets a superior position.
- Laski himself recognised that these are different stones of social architecture & the state is the keystone of social architecture & since state is the keystone, state automatically emerges supreme.

c) Extreme pluralist Machiver has not given any primacy to the state & for Machiver, state is just one of the associations.

- Acc. to Machiver, there are many institutions & associations which are prior to state, not dependent on state for their existence. Eg: Religious institutions.

- Machiver has given the concept of service state & acc. to Machiver, state commands because it serves. It means state deserves the respect so long it will serve the useful functions & there is no supernatural or divine basis of state authority.

d) Machiver is not comfortable with the idea of state having unlimited authority & Machiver has suggested that the state is child of law. It means, state itself is under law (concept of rule of law), state's powers are limited. Thus he has established the limited nature of authority of the state. Though Machiver believed that state is the guardian of law & its purpose is to maintain law & order.

- Acc. to Machiver, general will isn't the will of state, it is the will of people of state.

Totalitarian rulers have misused this concept & the concept of General Will does not give ultimate powers to the state, it gives ultimate powers to the people & state has to abide by the will of the people

→ Evaluation of Pluralistic theory

• Pluralistic theory is the more realistic explanation.

In the age of federalism & ^{with} the growth of international institutions & organisations like UN & other inter-governmental organisations, it has become difficult to accept the monistic theory of sovereignty that is sovereignty is concentrated at one place. Monistic theory is a legal fiction while pluralistic theory is practical implication.

• However, inconsistency prevails in pluralistic theory as on one side they are against the state but still consider state is important & wherever state will exist, it will automatically gain primacy over other associations & thus acc. to pluralists, state has to be recognised as a higher association than others (this is the difference b/w anarchists & pluralists).

• Even when pluralistic theory is inconsistent, it

is not irrelevant as it is more conducive for international peace & it is more realist & practical. Though it is said that pluralists want to keep the cake & have it too.

15th Sept, 2022

→ Liberal theory of State

Origin : Social contract

Function : for classical

for modern liberals - welfare state

Nature : Neutral → arbitrator, equilibrium maker in the state i.e. everyone is equal in the eyes of state.

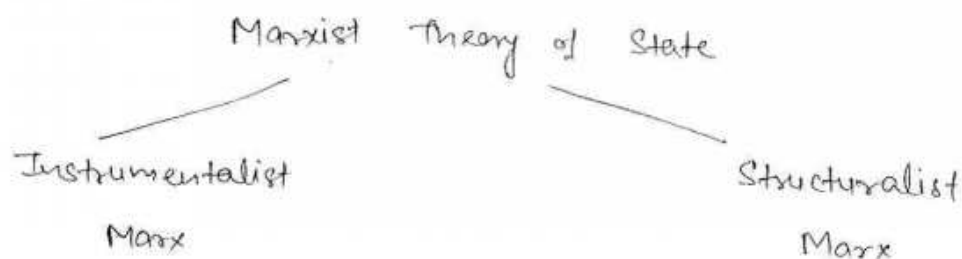
→ Marxist theory of State

Origin : force theory

Functions : Works in the interest of capitalist bourgeois class

Nature : Class Institution & an instrument of coercion.

Marxist criticised the liberal view of state that state is neutral arbitrator & acc. to Marxists, this is false consciousness as acc. to Marxists state is a class institution.



Imp. Scholar

Ralph Miliband

Nicos Toulantzas

Emphasis

On state as an instrument
of exploitation &

Base & superstructure
model

i) Instrumentalist theory of state

• It is influenced by thoughts of Marx which Marx has written in the book 'Communist Manifesto'. In this book, Marx has analysed the nature of state in advanced capitalist society & in the words of Marx,

"State is the executive committee of capitalist class."

It means state will only implement the orders & doesn't frame the laws. The instrumentalist school of thought is based on the concept of historical materialism & they believe that economy is the basic structure & state is the part of superstructure & state will exist so long classes will exist. In the words of Lenin, "State represents irreconcilability of class antagonism". It means state is not a neutral arbitrator, it's an instrument of dominant class & so long classes will exist, state exists.

ii) Structuralist theory of state

There is another theory of state given by Marx in his book "18th Brumaire" of Louis Bonaparte. The essence of this theory is that the state is not just reflection of base. state is also a structure in itself. Acc. to Marx, in some situations state

ceases to be an instrument of capitalist class & gains relative autonomy & gives the impression of neutrality & state becomes equilibrium maker amongst the competing classes.

Acc. to Marx, when capitalism is in advanced state becomes the instrument of capitalist class. However, in some society, a single class may not be controlling the entire basic structure & parallelly multiple classes will exist like strong feudal class, strong capitalist class & workers are well organised with strong workers' Union. In such a situation, no single class will be able to dominate the entire economic structure & this will give lot of bargaining power to state & thus state ceases to be an instrument of particular class & state becomes equilibrium maker amongst competing classes.

Acc. to Marx, in this situation state will go for making strategic equations with different classes at different times & power will get tilted to that class to whichever state will join.

Since state gains bargaining power, it will not act as an instrument of particular class & this will give the illusion of autonomy & neutrality. & state

will appear equilibrium maker.

Note: This theory brings Marx's theory of state near to liberal theory of state. (relative vs. complete autonomy)

- Debate b/w Ralph Miliband & Nicos Poulantzas
- Miliband has analysed the nature of state in post-capitalist society. [Original capitalism - laissez faire
Post " - welfare state]
- His objective was to enquire whether welfare state has brought any significant change in the lives of poor working class. The result of his finding was that there was no qualitative change in the lives of the poor. Even after the introduction of welfare state & still there is unequal distribution of wealth & wealth is concentrated in the hands of few. Even the welfare state is an instrument of capitalist class & acc. to Miliband, the class that controls the economic structure, continues to control the political structure.
- Acc. to him, even bureaucracy & judiciary in welfare state are highly elitist, hence decision making continues to be in favour of rich.
- Miliband exploded the myth of managerial revolution (James Burnham) as James suggested due to managerial revolution

the nature of capitalism has changed as originally, the power was with the capitalist class but now the decision making power in industries has shifted to managerial class which is an open class & person from any social background can become manager. Even the child of working class can be a manager. Hence all the decisions in an industry are not necessarily in favour of capitalists.

However, acc. to Miliband, managerial revolution is a myth as it is extremely difficult for children of working classes to become a manager unless & until they are exceptionally talented. Thus, there is no change in the nature of capitalism & no change in the nature of state.

Nicos Toulantzas has applied the relative autonomy approach of Marx for the analysis of welfare state & he has concluded that in general, the welfare state does not exist as an instrument of a particular class & the reason for this is:

- i) the introduction of universal Adult Franchise
- ii) Emergence of competitive party system within welfare state

Acc. to Toulantzas, within welfare state, there is a cut-throat competition within politics & each

party has to maximise its support & thus it isn't possible for any party to align with a single class & that's why in their manifests, they have something for every class. However, Toulantze also accepted that though state appears neutral but state is only relatively autonomous as in the crisis situation, state ultimately favours the rich.

→ Feminist Theory of State

- Acc. to Catherine Mackinnon (Book: 'Towards Feminist Theory of State'), in her book states that there is no feminist theory of state. Acc. to her, "When I look towards state, state appears male to me."
- For feminist scholars, personal is political & their focus is on the patriarchal structure of the society & acc. to feminist scholars, patriarchy has resulted in the subordination of women as well as their exploitation.
- Acc. to feminist scholars, state is an instrument of patriarchy.
- Feminists have ambivalent attitude towards state as on one hand they believe that state is an instrument of patriarchy while on the other hand, they

believe only state can help to improve the status of women.

- Iris Marion Young has given the concept of differentiated citizenship which justifies the affirmative action by the state in favour of women.

→ Post-colonial Theory of State

- The states which were under colonialism or imperialism commonly known as third world countries are known as post-colonial states. These states have colonial past & they still continue to suffer from colonial legacy.
- Acc. to Kwame Nkrumah, all post colonial states are suffering from colonial legacy which needs to be seen as neo-colonialism. Colonialism explains a situation of dependency which denotes unequal exchange which has led to uneven development.
- The nature of post-colonial states have been analysed by the scholars from different perspectives:
 - i) Modernisation perspective → F.W. Riggs & Gunnar Myrdal
 - ii) Marxist
 - Instrumentalist (Dependency School)
Emmanuel Valkestein
 - Structuralist
Hamza Alvi

• Modernisation perspective:

- Acc. to F.W. Riggs, the post-colonial states will prosper if they will integrate their economy with the international economy. Riggs has used the term 'Prismatic societies' for post-colonial states i.e. existence of traditional & modern features within these states i.e. these states & societies are in transition & they are moving towards modernisation.

16th Sept, 2022

- Features of Prismatic societies:

- i) Formalism: There is a big difference in theory & practice, means the rules are modern but still the practices are traditional.
- ii) Poly-communalism: There are different communities that co-exist with each other but still there are lot of rifts that prevail b/w each of them.
- iii) Poly-normatism: i.e. in these states or societies different norms are being followed while formulating laws.
- iv) Functional overlapping: In developed societies there are functional specialisation but in post-colonial states lack functional specialisation. For eg: In many post-colonial states, army is performing multiple functions which are expected from civil administration.

- v) Attainment Norms : In these states, achievements are still based on birth rather than merit or worth.
 - vi) Administrative system : The offices in prismatic societies are organised on formal principles but informal practices dominate i.e. nepotism prevails.
 - vii) Economic system : Differential prices prevail for different classes as per their bargaining power.
- Gunnar Myrdal has used the word 'Soft State' for post-colonial states & he has tagged India as a 'Soft State'. A state which is unable to implement laws & not able to curb corruption & is seen soft on law-breakers, is seen as a soft state.
 - If the rule of law will change into rule of mob, the state will become failed state.
 - Acc. to Myrdal, most of post-colonial states are soft states & outcome of Soft states is lawlessness & the state will fail to implement the developmental programmes.

• Marxist perspective

b) Instrumentalists / Dependency theory

Note: This perspective leads to the development of Marxist Theory of International Politics. i.e. IPE International Political Economy.

- This theory is given by Marxist scholars of 3rd world countries or post-colonial states to understand the nature of states in these regions. The main exponents of this approach are A. G. Frank, Samir Amin & Wallerstein.
- The instrumentalist scholars have categorised the states into 2 groups i.e. the core states & peripheral states. Acc. to these scholars, core countries are the advanced countries & there is concentration of economic, political, military & technological power in the core countries. & the state in the core countries are the instrument of Bourgeois capitalist class. Acc. to Wallerstein, the peripheral states are in the state of dependency & there is unequal exchange & unequal development btw core & peripheral countries & the core is benefitted at the cost of periphery.
- The peripheral countries are not autonomous & they are the instrument of state in core countries which in turn themselves are the instrument of their own Bourgeois class.

- Thus acc. to scholars of this approach, the post colonial states should de-link themselves from the international economy controlled by the core countries & they should focus on national autonomous development.

ii) Structuralists

- This theory for the post-colonial state is given by Pak scholar Hamza Alvi. His theory is applicable for various states in South Asia particularly for Pakistan as acc. to him, State in Pakistan is overdeveloped.
- Acc. to Alvi, the evolution of modern State in post-colonial societies is not a natural evolution, it is an imported institution. It has been imported by the colonial masters; hence there is a mismatch in the level of development b/w political & economic structure.
- While the economic structure has remained traditional or feudal, the political structure has become modern. Hence, political structure has overdeveloped in comparison to economic structure.
- Alvi has called Pak as military bureaucratic oligarchy. He believes that the instrumentalist theory will not

be a right approach to understand the nature of state in post-colonial societies. The States in core countries can be called as instrument of Bourgeois class while States in post-colonial societies can't be called as an instrument of particular class. Acc. to Alvi, the power in post-colonial states is concentrated in hands of executives i.e. civil servants which has become the most powerful class in itself.

For eg: India ^{before 90's} used to be known under 'Inspector Raj'

- Acc. to Alvi, State in Pak bargains with three classes:

a) Indigenous feudal class

b) Indigenous Bourgeois class (Executive, Army)

c) Bourgeois class of core states

3 A's
Army } Allah.
America

→ POWER

Power < Over
To (Constructive)

- i) Liberal
- ii) Marxist
- * iii) Elitist
- * iv) Pluralist
- v) Gramsci
- vi) Hannah
- * vii) Foucault
- viii) Feminist

- Power may be regarded as one of the central concept in Pol. Science. It is said that power holds the same status in realm of Pol. Science as held by the concept of money in realm of Economy.
- Power denotes the capacity to get things done by others even against their will or power is the ability to influence others.
- Politics is seen as the study of shaping & sharing of power & acc. to Max Weber, "Politics is the struggle for power."
- Power to be effective & stable must be accompanied by the capacity to secure willing obedience, then this power will be ^{seen} as authority.
- Power relation in a society can be expressed in terms of command & obedience. If command is based on genuine motivation, it will result in willing

obedience & here power relation takes the form of authority. However, if the command is based on coercion & obedience comes from fear, power relation will take the form of tyranny. Thus, authority is the best instrument to assure effective & enduring use of power.

• Though power is a core concept yet it remains a contested concept as Steven Lukes has categorised theories of power in 3 groups:

i) Power as decision-making

ii) " " agenda setting

iii) " " thought controlled process

Power as decision-making: Focus of these theories is on formal structures or institutions in the society as acc. to Hobbes, power lies with the sovereign or state

Power as agenda setting: Ex. Marx Theory. Acc. to Marx, ^{though} power is exercised by state, the agenda is set by propertied or Bourgeois class.

Power as thought controlled process: Ex: Gramscian theory, Althusser's concept of interpellation & Foucault's concept of discourses.

- Power theories explain who exercises power, what are the means of power & how power is exercised.

→ Theories of Power

1. Liberal: Power lies with people
2. Marxist: Power lies with propertied class

17th Sept, 2022

3. Elitist theory of power:
 - 'Elite' is a French word which means something excellent.
 - Elitist theory also accepts the division of society into 2 classes i.e. Elite or dominant class or dependent class. (like class theory or Marxist theory of power.)
 - However unlike Marxist or class theory, Elitist theory treats this division as somewhat natural & functional while Marxist theory held that division of society into classes is based on exploitation.
 - Elitist theory held that division of society into elite & masses is functional & this division doesn't give rise to any injustice in the society. Hence, masses need not rise against the ruling class.
 - Elitist scholars have concluded that power never

lies with people or masses but power always lies with elites.

- Acc. to Plato, ~~the~~ reason & courage are the properties of Guardian class. Aristotle also differentiated b/w masters & slaves. Machiavelli also differentiated b/w prince & common man & Machiavelli held that Prince has to be brave like lion & cunning like fox.
- Acc. to Elitist scholar. It is neither possible nor desirable for masses to hold power & the nature of power & money is similar as both have the tendency to get concentrated & there will never be a trickle down effect. Thus, acc. to Elitist scholars, power with masses is a myth. It is neither possible nor desirable.

V. Pareto

- Pareto in his book 'Mind & Society' said that the history of mankind is the graveyard of Aristocracy. He has given the theory of the circulation of elites & acc. to Pareto, power keeps on circulating b/w elites & there will not be any trickle down effect. Pareto has distinguished b/w governing & non-governing

Elites. The governing elites hold & wield power for the time being while non-governing elites constantly work to replace governing elites by showing greater ability & excellence. Thus there will be constant competition b/w governing & non-governing elites & masses have no chance of entering into the ranks of elites.

Gr. Mosca

Mosca in his book 'Ruling class' has differentiated people into 2 classes: governing & governed. & acc. to Mosca, those who have strong organizational skills become the part of governing class.

* Robert Michel

In his book 'Political Parties' in which he has given the Iron Law of Oligarchy (the only law in Pol. Science). Acc. to Michel, power will remain concentrated in the hands of few. He has analysed the power structure even in socialist states & he has found that there is no difference in internal functioning of political parties even in socialist states.

- Acc. to him, if power is concentrated in the hands of elites in political parties of liberal states, the situation is not different even in socialist state. Irrespective of the ideology, power is concentrated in the hands of elites.
- Acc. to him, there is no truth in Lenin's claim that communist parties work on the principle of democratic centralism.

C. Wright Mills

- Mills' objective is to understand the nature of democracy in US. He observed that even US is ruled by power elites & the political system of US is oligarchy. When as in US, the entire power is concentrated in hands of 3 groups known as power elites. These 3 groups are:
 - i) Federal politicians
 - ii) Big corporate houses
 - iii) Top leadership in military.
- Acc. to Mill, in every society there are some key institutions & people holding top positions in these key institutions are called as power elites. Acc. to Mill, US was not always governed

by power elites but certain historical developments has led to rise of power elites. Eg: Increasing role of US in world politics since the end of WW-I, ^{the Great} economic depression after which state acquires more control. Acc to Mill, even the decision to use nuclear weapon was taken by power elites. Even US President Eisenhower called US as military-industrial complex.

4. Pluralist Theory of Power (Democracy) by Robert Dahl

- Dahl wanted to examine the reality of C.W. Mills view about democracy in US that whether US is a oligarchy & decision-making is concentrated in the hands of power elites. Acc. to his observation, it is wrong to think that power is concentrated in the hands of ~~few~~ ^{power} elites as acc. to Dahl, in US, there are powerful interest pressure groups & associations of people who are very active in US politics & they are safeguarding the interest of their members.
- Thus power isn't concentrated at one place rather it is distributed among various groups & there is fair distribution of

power & it is not as narrow as suggested by Mill.

- Acc. to Dahl, didn't reject Mills' view that power elites do not exist. However, power elites do not take decisions affecting day-to-day life of the people as in US interest pressure groups hold considerable power. Individual as a member of interest pressure group do exercise considerable power.
- Acc. to Dahl, it may be true that decision to use nuclear weapon was taken by power elites but that was an emergency decision which was taken under extraordinary circumstances.
- Thus for Dahl, US is polyarchy & power is fairly distributed.
- Acc. to Dahl, US & Western liberal democracies are polyarchies which can be defined as best practicable form of democracy. Acc. to Dahl, perfect democracy doesn't exist in practice & at best we can call US as polyarchy. & Polyarchy suggests that masses have power only as member of interest or pressure group & they can work for their interest

only if they can form association which can effectively lobby for their interests. Thus for Dahl, power is fairly distributed among different interest & pressure groups.

- Concept of deformed polyarchy or Neo-Pluralism
- Robert Dahl in his later works with Charles Lindblom has revised his earlier view of polyarchy & held that US is deformed polyarchy.

- As acc. to Dahl, within US all interest or pressure groups don't have equal power & he accepted that power is tilted towards corporate class & they enjoy maximum power. Thus, under the concept of deformed polyarchy, he comes near to the view of C. Wright Mills that corporate class holds max. power in US.

Marxist: Capitalists control entire superstructure; Pluralist: Capitalists influence only eco. stru.

5. Gramsci's & Hannah's theory of power

- Power is ideological domination
i.e. hegemony
- Power is empowerment
- Ultimate source of power is economic power
- People acting in consort generate power
- Civil society generates hegemony & that's
- Isn't against civil

Why he has suggested
war of position to
build counter hegemony

society. rather
promotes public
participation i.e. power
is sui-generis

* 6. Post-Modernist / Foucault theory of power

19th Sept, 2022

(Discourse, Discipline, Governability)

Foucault : "Knowledge is power"

"Power is everywhere"

"Power flows throughout the society like
network of capillaries"

- Foucault is known as one of the greatest intellectuals & he has rejected the conventional theories of power given by Hobbes & Marx.
- Hobbes theory of power is called Juridico discursive theory of power (i.e. the legal theory of power) & acc. to this theory, power lies with the sovereign & the power exercised by the sovereign is coercive. Acc. to this theory, the exercise of power is one-dimensional i.e. by the sovereign on the subjects.
- The view of the Marx is that the power lies with the Bourgeois class & Marx

has also considered that power is coercive.

• Foucault is against the conventional theories of power & acc. to him, if we limit our understanding of power to above institutionalised way, we may be overlooking many other ways in which power is exercised.

• Thus from Juridico discursive view, he has shifted the focus towards sociological analysis of power (which means how society exercises power). Instead of macro theory of power, Foucault has given a micro theory of power (i.e. he just didn't look at institutions but he is emphasising on how each & every individual is exercising power).

• Sources of influence on Foucault

i) Karl Marx :

Acc. to Marx, in every epoch the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas.

ii) Nietzsche :

He has given the concept of will to power & acc. to this concept, the will to power has shaped all the human actions.

The will to power is stronger than will to life. Hence even knowledge is not free from power & hence every knowledge or theory is built to exercise power.

- Foucault was homosexual & he faced depression due to his sexuality & this made him realize that there can be different types of depression & there can be different understanding of freedom.
- He tried to analyse "why we think what we think" & "why we say what we say" & he also tried to understand how the current system of knowledge & morality has come into existence. To understand Foucault's theory of power, it is important to understand the concept of discourses, disciplinary power & governmentality.
- Concept of discourses
 - Acc. to Foucault, discourse is the institutionalised way of speaking & writing about reality. It's a specific way of telling the truth.
 - Truth, acc. to Foucault, is just a narration or a story. Truth does not belong to

the world of permanence, truth belongs to this world. Truths are produced, sold, regulated, circulated.

- Acc. to Foucault, it is political, economic & social forces which define truths & truths are dependent on the value system of society. Foucault has used the term 'Regimes of Truths' which denotes the truths in circulation. Hence, acc. to Foucault, there is no truth beyond time & space & truths are created by projecting it as scientific discourse.

• Concept of discipline

- Discipline is a type or technique of power which makes the person on whom the power is exercised to believe as if it is in his interest. Acc. to Foucault, persons even develop respect for the one who exercises this power. In his book, 'Discipline & Punishment', he has discussed the evolution of the disciplinary society.

Foucault explained that in ancient times the system of cruel & torturous punishment

was prevailing. However, such systems of punishment was not benefitting the state, rather it was creating hatred towards the state & sympathy towards criminal. Thus acc. to Foucault, States changed their technique & prisons became the places of reform & this created sympathy for state for being benevolent.

- Foucault wanted to show that society is like a prison & we are like prisoners. He has given the reference of Panopticon (a dome shaped building) from where state can keep watch over prisoners so that prisoners can be left free inside the jail. However, prisoners are conscious that they are under the constant watch, hence they will keep themselves under discipline. Thus, acc. to Foucault, people in a society are prisoners within Panopticon as they are constant gaze & surveillance of the society & they will keep their body & mind in discipline. Foucault has explained the concept of bio-power. Bio-power represents the ability of state to discipline human

body & acc. to Foucault, bio-power is built through discourses. State has homogenised people for the sake of governance. As it is not possible for the state to appoint policeman for everyone, hence has emerged the concept of discipline.

- Foucault in his later works has used the term governmentality i.e. developing the mentality using discourses so that people can govern themselves. Foucault has linked the discourse of madness with capitalism as those people who are able to discipline their bodies as per the time requirement of capitalism are considered as normal while those who are not able to do so are considered lazy & mad. Thus, acc. to Foucault, being normal & being mad are determined by the productive requirement of individual by the society.
- Features of power acc. to Foucault
 - Foucault has given the unconventional view of power & instead of Juridico discursive

model of power, he has given the sociological model of power.

- Instead of Macro view of power (i.e. power lies with institution), he has shifted to micro view of power as acc. to him, power is not limited to certain institutions. power is flowing throughout the society in the form of discourses & in the network of social relations.
- Application of power is not unidirectional, it comes from anywhere & goes anywhere.
- Power is the product of discourses & acc. to Foucault, all of us are trapped in grid of power & matrix of relations.
- Prominent works of Foucault
 - i) Madness & civilisation : In this book, he has analysed the conditions that has given rise to discourses of normality, rationality & madness. & he has suggested that madness can be silenced by the monologue of reason (one point of view).
 - ii) History of Madness : In this book, he has criticised the western tradition as acc. to

him, western tradition has created a simplistic worldview & he has criticised the structuralist orientation of western tradition.

- iii) Birth of the Clinic: In this book, he has decoded the discourse of medical science & how human beings have become the object of medical examination.
- iv) Birth of Prison: In this book, he has explained that institutions of prisons, schools, mental hospitals have similar objective to achieve i.e. teaching discipline.
- v) History of Sexuality: In this book, he has decoded the discourse of sexuality & how heterosexuality seems normal & homosexuality as abnormal.

→ Power, Authority & Legitimacy

Legitimacy is the power which reflects the consent of governed

- The exercise of power for which people have given their consent is legitimacy. Acc. to Max Weber, legitimate power is authority & within a particular territory only state has the authority. Like Hobbes, Weber also believes that the state has monopoly over exercise of power.
- Acc. to Weber, exercise of power by anyone except state is not legitimate & if state will lose legitimacy, it will result in the crisis of governability i.e. crisis of governance.
- Because of governability crisis, state has to rely on coercive apparatus & greater use of violence which will further lead to laws of legitimacy. For eg: States of India facing governability crisis in states like J & K & North Eastern States.

→ Difference b/w legality vs. legitimacy

- Something which is legal doesn't mean which is legitimate as there are certain laws like Sedition, AFSPA are legal but are not seen as legitimate by many. Hence, state will

find it difficult to implement or enforce such laws

→ Methods used by State to gain legitimacy

- By maintaining fundamental rights
- By ensuring Rule of Law
- By adopting welfare policies
- By holding free & fair elections & freedom of press.

→ Indicators of legitimacy

- If people pay their taxes
- People participate in elections
- People are performing their fundamental duties, participate in national festivals & respect national symbols.

→ Theory of legitimacy by Max Weber

- Weber is famous for his theory of Bureaucracy & he has distinguished b/w power & authority.

Authority = Power + Legitimacy

- Weber is critic of Karl Marx as Marx has challenged the legitimacy of State by calling it an instrument of capitalist class. Marx

consider the exercise of power by state as illegitimate as state is a class institution & state exercise coercive power on power poor on behalf of rich.

- However, acc. to Weber, revolution predicted by Marx didn't take place in capitalist society because people consider exercise of power by state as legitimate.
- He has criticised Marx on following grounds:

20th Sept, 2022

- i) He has criticised the concept of historical materialism of Marx & he has believed that Marx's explanation of history is monocausal as acc. to Marx, all that has happened in history is because of economic reasons. Weber in his book 'Protestant of Ethics & Rise of Capitalism' has shown that how values of Protestant religion has led to rise of capitalism.
- ii) He has criticised Marx's theory of social stratification as Marx held that society will get polarised into 2 classes i.e. Proletariat & Bourgeois. However, acc to

Weber, the society has seen proliferation of various classes as there is growth of various types of middle class.

iii) While Marx was the critic of State & Bureaucracy, Weber is admirer of Bureaucracy & considered it as the most rational institution.

• iv) Weber has given the concept of Ideal type & based on this concept of Ideal types, he has given 3 types of authority:

a) Traditional authority

b) Charismatic authority

c) Rational-legal authority

┌ Ideal type represents a conceptual framework as acc to Weber while doing research, there is need to make some ideal types. This conceptual framework helps in comparing the concepts in reality & understanding the difference b/w concept & reality.

a) Traditional Authority: Acc. to Weber, basis of this authority is customs & traditions. The traditional basis of authority is found in all the societies but it is most dominant in traditional societies.

b, Charismatic authority: The basis of this authority lies in the personality of leader. Eg: The basis of Gandhi's authority was his charisma which provided legitimacy to many of his actions in the eyes of people. It is the shortest basis of authority yet it has the biggest role in society which is facing crisis.

c) Rational - Legal Authority: The basis of this authority is laws which are product of rational debates. In modern societies, authority of Bureaucracy is based on rational laws.

In India, all three authorities co-exist in different permutations & combinations. The aspiration is to strengthen is to Rational - Legal authority & one of the biggest challenge in India is to question the traditional authority.

→ Legitimation Crisis

- Habermas, the Neo-Marxist scholar, has analysed the nature of welfare States. He wanted to investigate that whether welfare states offer permanent solution for contradiction that prevails b/w labour & capital.

- He predicted that ^{even} the welfare state will offer a temporary solution & it is bound to face crisis which he called as 'Legitimation Crisis'.
- Acc. to Habermas, the welfare state invented by liberal scholars is based on contradictory principles i.e. Socialism in Politics & Capitalism in Economics. (Pro-poor policies)
- Acc. to him, welfare state tries to fulfill its socialist objectives through progressive taxation & there is a limit to which pvt sector can support welfare programmes.
- With each election, politicians have to offer more as there is rising graph of expectations. Acc. to Habermas, a point will come when it won't be possible for pvt sector to finance welfare programmes & then the state will have to roll back the welfare policies & this will consequently increase hardships of people & it will result in protest & it will create Legitimation Crisis for state.
- The analysis of Habermas can be explained through Greek economic crisis. The govt in

Greece was spending huge amount of money for social-security programme. The sub-prime lending crisis in US led to financial crisis in Banks of Europe & Banks of Europe demanded that Govt of Greece should repay the debt but the govt wasn't in position to payback. The financial institutions like IMF & EU imposed Austerity measures & these measures led to civil Protest in Greece i.e. the Legitimation Crisis & political instability in Greece.

⇒ DEMOCRACY { It is a form of govt where rulers are elected by people }
limited by const law & citizens' rights }
final decision fair & free }
making power

• Democracy is an old concept & liberalism is a recent one. Today, liberalism is generally thought to be inseparable from democracy. Until 19th cent., liberal state was not at all democratic. Classical liberal theory was committed to individual's right to unlimited acquisition of property & to capitalist market economy which implies inequality not only in political economic sphere but in political sphere also as classical liberalism insisted on property qualification for right to vote.

• Liberal democracy represents combination of free market economy with Universal Adult Franchise. The principles of liberal democracy are:

- i) Govt by consent
- ii) Public accountability
- iii) Constitutional govt
- iv) Recognition of minority rights

• The word 'democracy' came from demos + kratin (m. to rule). The term 'democracy' (m. people) was 1st used in 5th cent BC by Greek

Historian Herodotus.

- Abraham Lincoln, famous definition of democracy -
govt of the people, by the people, for the people.
- Democracy can be understood in 2 ways:
Narrow sense & Broad sense.

i) Narrow sense: It's a form of govt which gives opportunity to the people to participate in the process of governance. People's participation is considered as sine qua non i.e. essential principle for good governance. It is believed that good governance can't be achieved without transparency & accountability. Good governance requires responsible citizenship. Democracy as 'by the people' relies heavily on wisdom of people. The major problem of democracy includes self-interest & irresponsibility of the leaders & in some quarters, it is suggested as the rule of mediocre & it should be replaced by rule of meritocracy.

Note: All the ills of democracy can be cured through more democracy. While no other govt gives to the citizens like democracy can, at the same time, no other govt demands so much as democracy can. Thus, the future of democracy depends

on development on human wisdom.

Acc. to Winston Churchill, "Democracy is the worst form of govt. However it is the best form of govt till we don't have better form of govt."

As experience suggests that democracy is the best practicable form of govt. It represents decentralisation of power & democracy represents political equality.

- ii) Broad sense: Democracy in broad sense represents way of life, a value system. It is believed that without democratic society, democratic politics is a myth. Ambedkar was skeptical about future of democracy in India & he believed that democracy is just the top-soil in India. In his 'Grammar of Anarchy' speech, he mentioned that, "We are entering into lives of contradiction as we are introducing political democracy but India lacks social & economic democracy. It isn't enough to have one man, one vote, it is also necessary to have one vote, one value. Thus, acc. to Ambedkar, the ultimate value of democracy is respect for human dignity."

- Acc. to Ambedkar, a democratic society is a society where there is respect for human dignity, freedom of speech & expression, values of toleration & pluralism are practiced.

→ Waves of Democracy

Huntington has explained the global expansion of democracy in form of 3 waves:

- 1st wave: Establishment of Parliamentary democracy in Western European countries & US.
- 1st reverse wave: Interwar period when some countries came under authoritarianism, Germany, Italy
- 2nd wave: After end of WW II, democracy returned in most of European countries & in many 3rd world countries of Asia & Africa who came out of colonial yoke & attained independence.
- 2nd reverse wave: Democracy collapsed in many 3rd world countries with the exception of India & India emerged as island of democracy outside Western world.
- 3rd wave: With the end of Cold war & collapse of the Soviet Union, many Eastern

European countries adopted democracy & democracy became almost universal with few exceptions like China, North Korea & Arab world (Arab exceptionalism).

Arab Spring could have been the 4th wave but, unfortunately, ^{due to} geopolitical interests of superpowers, Arab Spring turned into Arab Winter (more instability in the region)

→ Why democracy has survived in India?

- Democracy is often considered as western obsession not compatible with Asian values. However, acc. to Amartya Sen, it is wrong to think so. In his book 'Argumentative Indian', he has shown that Indian tradition has always been democratic & there is tradition of deliberation & public reasoning & to substantiate, his argument, he has given the example of Buddhist assemblies. Acc. to Amartya Sen, the values of pluralism, tolerance also reflects democratic tradition in India.
- Reasons why democracy have survived:
 - 1) Preference of Elites

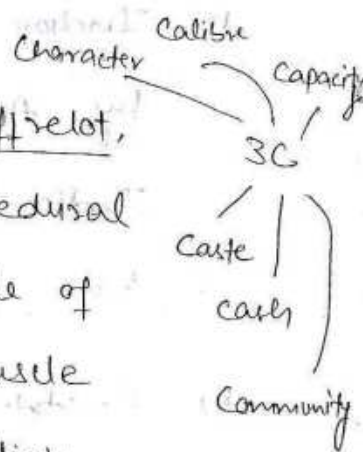
Indian leaders like Nehru had strong faith in democracy & his strong faith ensured that India remain democratic.

- ii) Legacy of National Movement : Indian freedom movement wasn't just movement for liberation from foreign rule, it was one of the largest Civil Rights movement. Hence, Indians are conscious of rights of people.
- iii) Legacy of British which introduced institutions of Parliamentary democracy & established the system of rule of law.
- iv) Indian tradition of democracy as explained by Amartya Sen in his book 'Argumentative Indian' that Indian tradition has always been democratic.
- v) Constitutional provisions like freedom of press, independent Election Commission & independence of judiciary.
- vi) Size of the country & diversity : Acc. to various political scholars, no other system could have worked in India due to its size & diversity.

vii) Strict separation b/w civil & military administration.

- Acc. to Fareed Zakaria, the chances of success of democracy is higher in the societies where rule of law is established first & UAF introduced later. It means constitutionalism should precede democracy. For eg: In Britain, the Rule of Law became part & parcel of British political culture much before the introduction of UAF. While democracy collapsed in III World countries because of the absence of democratic culture.

- Acc. to western scholar, Christophe Jaffrelot, Indian democracy has remained procedural & in India people are not under Rule of Law. Still there is use of money & muscle power in Indian elections & hence India's procedural democracy is far from perfect & still for India there is a long way to go before India gets recognition as substantive democracy.



21st Sept, 2022

→ Theories of Democracy (C.B. Macpherson)

- Macpherson's work on democracy is the most exhaustive work & he has studied all the practical models of democracy & later he has given his own theory of democracy.
- Macpherson is liberal egalitarian also known as critical liberal as he is critical of the inequalities prevailing in the liberal societies.
- On the basis of his exhaustive research, he has classified theories of democracy into 2 types: classical & contemporary. Within classical theory of democracy, he has differentiated b/w protective & developmental theory of democracy. Within contemporary theories, he has differentiated b/w Elitist & Pluralist theory.

The scholars of protective theory of democracy are Locke & Bentham. Scholars of developmental theory: J.S. Mill.

Elitist theory of democracy - Schumpeter
Pluralist " " - Robert Dahl

• Features of Classical theory of democracy

Classical theories are normative in nature as (value-based)

they are emphasising on values of democracy & they look towards democracy as empower-

-ment of masses. Thus classical theories of democracy emphasise on substantive aspect of democracy.

- Protective theory of democracy proposed by Locke & Bentham.

Protective theories proposed the protective model as they looked towards democracy as a means to protect the rights of people as acc. to Locke, govt is a trustee of power vested in it by the people for protection of their natural rights i.e. right of life, liberty & property.

- Developmental theory of democracy by Mill.

He has seen democracy as a system which gives opportunity to the development of human personality & Mill believes that the freedom of speech & expression is necessary for development & only democracy provides

this opportunity

- Features of Contemporary theories

Acc. to contemporary theories, classical theories have overlooked the real world of democracy.

That the contemporary theories are empirical i.e. observation based. They are based on empirical understanding of democracies. Thus

contemporary / modern theories focus on

procedural aspect of democracies i.e. the electoral form of democracy. & these theories have ignored the substantive aspect of democracies.

- Elitist Theory of Democracy

- ✓ It is based on Elitist theory of power which states that power remains in the hands of elites & masses aren't capable of exercising power. Acc. to elitist scholars, it is neither possible nor desirable that masses exercise power. Acc. to the elitist theory, masses play only a limited role i.e. election of elites.

✓ Acc. to Elitist scholars, the Elitist theory of democracy isn't incompatible with Elitist theory of power as even in Socialist State, monolithic elites exist & hence people don't have choice.

✓ Acc. to Schumpeter, the Elitist theory of democracy is like economic or market model of democracy as democracy is like a market, voters are like consumers & politicians are like entrepreneurs. People vote for those parties & leaders that will give them max. benefits. Hence if a country is having free & fair elections, it is enough to suggest that it is democratic. The elitist scholars have not given any importance to substantive aspect & they have only focused on the procedural aspect. Acc. to Robert Michels, oligarchy is the Iron Law as power keeps flowing from one set to another.

- Pluralist theory of democracy is Pluralist theory of power.

• Weakness of Modern theories of democracy

Modern theories focus only on the procedural aspect. While Elitist scholars have suggested

that power lies with top leaders of political parties. The pluralist scholars have suggested that power lies with interest pressure groups. Hence Macpherson has used the term Schumpeter-Dahl axis which suggests that both theories meet at one place & both see democracy just as a procedure.

- Macpherson's theory of democracy ^{Radical theory as it combines classical with modern}
- ✓ Macpherson has appreciated the classical ^{modern} theories as they emphasized on substantive aspect of democracy i.e. empowerment of masses. However, the classical theories have ignored real world of democracies
- ✓ Macpherson has criticized contemporary theories for ignoring the substantive aspect of democracy & only focusing on the procedural aspect. He has used the term 'Schumpeter - Dahl axis' by which he means that there is not much difference b/w elitist & pluralist theory of democracy.
- ✓ Acc. to Macpherson, it is wrong to claim

the monopoly of liberalism over democracy.
as there can be other models of democracy.
He has acknowledged one-party Communist
model as democracy subject to the condition
that there should be intra-party democracy.
He has also acknowledged the one-party
dominant system found in many III world
countries as examples of democracy subject
to the condition that there should be mass
support to public programmes.

✓ Thus, acc. to Macpherson, West can't claim
monopoly over democracy & neither the
western model is the perfect one.

✓ He has further investigated the reality of
democracy in Western liberal societies &
came to the conclusion that there is no
equitable distribution of power & even
Western liberal societies aren't egalitarian
& they are far from being perfect.

✓ Macpherson has drawn distinction b/w 2
types of power : Developmental &

Extractive Power.

Developmental power refers to man's ability to use his own capacity for fulfillment of his goals. Extractive power stands for the power over others i.e. man's ability to use others' capacities to extract benefit for himself.

- ✓ Acc. to Macpherson, in liberal societies, democracies capitalists have max developmental & extractive power. Acc. to him, liberal democracies should move towards a system where no one should have extractive power & all should have equal developmental power i.e. equal opportunity to do what they want to do. The concept described by him as Creative freedom. Thus, acc. to Macpherson, in an ideal society, no one should have extractive power & all should have equal developmental power. This view of Macpherson comes near to Amartya Sen who believes that democracy & development are interlinked & Amartya Sen has described development as freedom.

→ Democracy & development

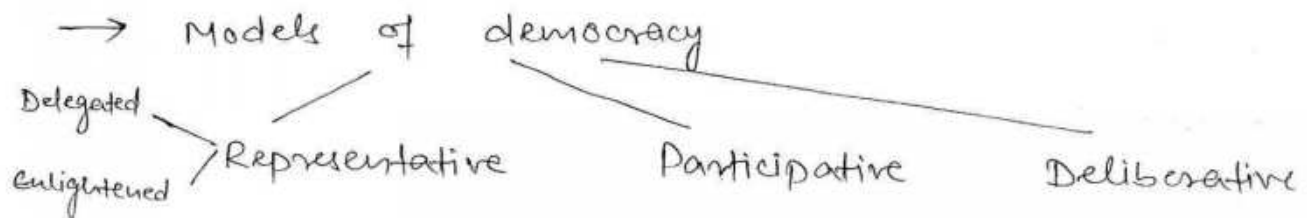
- Lee Kuan Yew believes that democracy is western obsession & it isn't compatible with Asian values.
- He has compared Indian model of development with China's model of development & he has proposed that developing countries should follow China's model & acc. to him, India will never be able to achieve the goals of poverty alleviation & development as acc. to him, the main obstacle is democracy in India. Acc. to him, democracy brings indiscipline it leads to corruption. & in democracy, leaders go for populist policies.
- Acc. to him, India will remain a nation of unrealised potential because Indian Leadership lacks the right mindset for development.
- However, Amartya Sen has countered view of Lee Kuan Yew & he has also rejected the view that democracy is western obsession. In his book 'Argumentative India' he has said that democracy has always

been part of Indian tradition.

- Sen has acknowledged China's achievements in terms of eradication of poverty & human development. However, acc to Sen, absence of democracy isn't the only factor behind China's development.
- Acc. to Sen, the most important factor is the role of leaders in China, their political will as Chinese leadership understood that China will not be able to take benefits of economic reforms without capacity building of masses. Chinese leaders understood the wisdom of Adam Smith as Smith held that rate of economic growth is directly proportional to quality of labour.
- Acc. to Sen, the thesis of Lee Kuan Yew is based on many questionable assumptions as acc to Sen, democracy can't be the only factor behind India's poor performance & failure of development can't be attributed to democracy.
- Sen has given example of Botswana which has shown higher economic growth despite

being democracy & Sen has suggested that democracy is better for crisis management.

- In his study of Bengal famine during British rule, he came to the conclusion that the reason of it wasn't absence of food but lack of responsible govt in India.
- Acc. to Sen, after Independence, India has not suffered from any major famine whereas large no. of people have died due to famines in China & thus Sen believes that democracy has its intrinsic value.
- Acc. to Sen, it will be wrong to believe that people give priority to economic rather than political rights & it is wrong to believe that democracy can be postponed for faster economic growth. Acc. to Sen, not only democracy is conducive for development, development also needs to be democratized. i.e. there can't be sustainable & inclusive growth without empowerment of masses.



1) Representative Democracy

- " is when people don't directly participate but they elect their representatives on their behalf. Rise of modern nation states with modern complex societies has led to rise of representative democracy worldwide & considering the complexities of modern way of life, representative democracy has become inevitable.
- The necessary institutions for representative democracy are:
 - a) free & fair elections
 - b) party politics
 - c) presence of interest pressure groups
- One of the major challenges of rep. democracy is how to ensure representativeness i.e. how to reform the electoral process so that the interest of different sections can be represented as the simple majoritarian system could turn into tyranny of majority. Hence, there has been movements to shift from majoritarian model of electoral system towards proportional

system as it will make democracy more consociational

- The scholars of representative democracy have often debated on the models of representation & the powers of representatives. The 2 models of representation are: Delegated & Enlightened.

The scholars of delegated representation are Locke & Bentham & those of enlightened model are J.S. Mill & Adamant Burke.

- Delegated model suggests that representatives can't be given power or freedom to make any decision & representatives should stick to the mandate given to them by people. As acc. to Locke, representatives don't have original power. Govt is trustee & power is vested in it by people for protection of their natural rights. Thus acc. to this model, representatives exercise only delegated power. As acc. to Bentham also, it is the person who knows what is best in his self interest.

- Enlightened representation

J.S. Mill has given greater liberty to representatives

as Mill has believed they have greater experience
Hence they should be given more flexibility
though Mill was fearful of democracy turning
into tyranny of majority, hence he has
suggested multiple reforms - proportional rep.

• Acc. to Burke also, parliament is assembly
of nation & it is not a place to advance
narrow personal or constituency interests.

• Critics of Representative Democracy

- Acc. to Rousseau, Englishmen are free only once
in 5 yrs. Rousseau was inspired by direct
democracy found in Geneva. His idea of
general will is based on necessity of direct
participation of people.

- Indian leaders like Gandhi advocated party-less
democracy as he believed that parties promote
immorality. Gandhi compared parties with prostitutes
& Gandhi's concept of Swaraj is based on idea
of democratic decentralisation & instead of
representative democracy, Gandhi favoured
Panchayati Raj.

- M.N. Roy also believed that political parties
pursue unethical practices & hence for

purity of politics, he has emphasized on radical democracy [inner freedom → Macp. : creative freedom
Radical theory of demo.]

29th Sept, 2022

ii) Participative Democracy

- Democracy in its original sense is a govt based on the participation of people in governance. Participatory democracy is prerequisite for good governance. Good governance isn't possible without responsible citizens.
- There are 2 forms of participative democracy:
 - a) Based on ideas of liberalism
 - b) " " " " Marxism also called leftist model of democracy
~~not interested~~
- Based on ideas of liberalism also known as institutional model of democracy. Leftist Model of democracy is also known as radical model of democracy. They aren't interested in institutions.
- ↳
- The term "radical" comes from Latin Radix which means roots. Thus radical democracy implies the grassroot democracy & their aim is to give greatest voice to people standing at lowest

level of society. Radical democrats aren't interested in institutionalised form of democracy & they are in favour of politics of protest. For eg: The protest movements by the tribals or sub-altern class can be categorised as Radical democracy.

It is acknowledged that participative democracy is necessary for sustainable development & inclusive growth under Agenda 21. The second ARC has strongly recommended the citizen centric govt to achieve goal of good governance in India. The Sarkaria & Punchhi Commission set up by GOI have even suggested that democratic decentralisation is the best way to address regional aspirations & secessionist threats.

Methods to make democracy more participative:

- i) Right to Recall
- ii) Right to Information
- iii) More powers to Gram Sabha
- iv) Social audits to ensure transparency & accountability
- v) Increasing the role of civil society
- vi) Increasing the voting %age

Note: Participative democracy needs that govt should invest in capacity building of people & create

conducive environment for people's participation.

• Scholars of Participative democracy

- i) Aristotle : Acc. to him, it is an obligation on the citizens to participate in affairs of city-state & he even excluded those from status of citizenship who are not able to participate. He held that common people deliberating together can arrive at better decisions than experts acting alone.
- ii) Hannah Arendt : Acc. to her, participation in civic affairs is a true human condition because man is *zoo politikon*.
- iii) Rousseau : He is a supporter of direct democracy.
- iv) Gandhi : He has favoured party-less democracy & he has given the model of Panchayati Raj
- v) M.N. Roy supported Radical democracy
- vi) Another scholar who supports radical democracy is Habermas

—
iii) Deliberative democracy

Deliberation means discussions + debates. Democracy has to be deliberative. & democracy itself

contains the idea of deliberation & that's why acc. to various scholars, there is no need to add the prefix deliberative before democracy.

- The very idea of democracy is a form of govt where laws are formulated through the process of rational debates.
- The features of deliberative debates are rational debates & collective participation.
- Democracy differs from theocracy & autocracy. In theocracy, the basis of law-making is religion. In autocracy, law is the dictate of individual person. In democracy, law is the outcome of collective participation through rational debates & discussions.
- Around the ~~are~~ world, there is decline in ^{deliberative character of} democracy. & people are forgetting the deliberative aspect of democracy leading to the rise of demagogue & ultranationalist leaders & democracy has been reduced to head counting principle.
- Democracy isn't the game of numbers but it is about the right arguments & there has a decline of deliberative chambers around the world. Hence scholars have emphasised on necessity of

deliberation & discussion as integral feature of democracy & there is no need for explanation of deliberation & democracy.

• Scholars of deliberative democracy

- i) Aristotle : Acc. to him, people deliberating together can arrive at better decisions than experts acting alone.
- ii) J.S. Mill : He has given emphasis on freedom of speech & expression.
- iii) John Rawls : He has given the concept of public reasoning & acc. to Rawls, it is essential for decision-making in democratic society.
- iv) Amartya Sen : He believes that there should be public debates without which govt will never give attention to imp. issues. Acc. to Sen, there is lack of debate on issues of health & edu in India, hence these issues are ignored by govt.
- v) Hannah Arendt : She has emphasised on human action & acc. to her, action is speech & real freedom can be realised only by participating in political affairs.

vi) Habermas: Habermas has given 3 concepts:

- a) Concept of Public Sphere
- b) Concept of Ideal Speech Situation
- c) " " Communicative Action

a) Concept of Public Sphere: He believes that the only way to make legitimate political policies is through participation in public sphere. Public sphere is a place where people come together to discuss common concerns.

b) Concept of Ideal Speech Situation: Ideal Speech Situation represents following features:

- Everyone should recognise other person's right to speech
- There is no other force except the force of arguing.
- Everyone has equal chance & right to speak
- Whatever ideas are expressed are honest & natural.

c) Concept of Communicative Action

Acc. to Habermas, communicative action takes place when people interact with each other in public sphere in ideal speech situation.

vii) Joshua Cohen: He has given 8 features of deliberative democracy:

- a) People have accepted that deliberation is the only deciding factor in formulation of policies.
- b) Existence of non-coercive environment where each person understands & give respect to other person's capacity to speak.
- c) There is respect for pluralism.
- d) Deliberation will be source of legitimacy.

Conclusion

Deliberative democracy rejects the view that democracy is just the head counting principle. Majority can't be the fundamental principle as democracy stands for justice, fairness & human dignity. In a democracy decisions should be result of rational debates & discussions & priority needs to be given to debates over voting & voice over choice. Thus, deliberation is the heart & soul of democracy.

→ Globalisation & democracy

- Globalisation denotes a borderless world. It also means de-territorialisation. The question is whether globalisation is strengthening democracy or not.
- Democracy as a form of govt means empowerment

of masses. The question here is whether globalisation has contributed towards empowerment of masses or not. Empowerment denotes the capacity to do what one wants to do. It gives the state of well-being.

- Acc to various political scholars, globalisation has strengthened the rich at the cost of poor. It has increased the inter-state & intra-state disparities. It isn't pro poor & it hasn't benefitted the masses.
- Thus even though the number of democracies has increased in the world, the world isn't becoming democratic. The institutions of global governance^{or} like UN, IMF, World Bank suffer from democratic deficiency & there is lack of transparency, accountability & representation in these institutions. These institutions are bureaucratically managed.
- At present the highest level of organisation which is democratically elected is nation state & globalisation has weakened the capacity of nation state to formulate policies of their choice.
- Acc to David Held, globalisation has weakened the capacity of nation states & he has given

cosmopolitan model of democracy as acc. to him there is a need to establish democracy at cosmopolitan level. & he has suggested the following reforms to address the deficiency of democracy:

- i) Increase voting rights in institutions like IMF & World Bank & in the longer run, steps need to be taken to set up world govt as UN is still far from being the World Govt.
- ii) Make institutions like IMF & World Bank more accountable
- iii) Reforms in UNSC to make UN more inclusive & democratic.
- iv) Strengthen the freedom of press.

• Joseph Stiglitz in his book 'Making Globalisation Work' has also emphasised on necessity of reforming the institutions of global governance.

Globalisation led to spread of democracy but then it started imposing 'one-size-fits-all' notion of democracy

23rd Sept, 2022

⇒ RIGHTS

- Rights of a man is a modern concept as during Medieval times, the theory of Divine Rights of King was prevalent. This theory was replaced by Theory of Natural Rights of man in modern times. American & the French Revolution asserted the natural rights of man.
- During Medieval times, kings used to have absolute right & there was no limitation on powers of the king. The perception was prevailing that people should obey even the bad king because this is the way God aims to punish their bad deeds.
- In its origin, right is anti-Statist concept i.e. Rights limit the power of States. Not only it limits State's power, it also limits the power of society. & it is assumed that man has rights & State has duties.
- Marxists consider the concept of Rights as concept of Liberal Discourse & Marxists consider the concept of Right as Bourgeois concept as acc. to Marxists, it is based on false consciousness.

that the interest of man is in conflict with interest of society & that's why Marxists don't emphasise much on Rights, they give more emphasis on duties.

- Kanal Vasak has divided rights in 3 generations:
 - a) 1st Generation : Civil & Political rights (Liberal country)
 - b) 2nd Gen. : Socio-economic rights (Socialist country)
 - c) 3rd Gen : Community rights
(enjoyed in multicultural societies)

Note: Multiculturalism & democracy is the order of the day. Multicultural society that fails to cultivate the spirit of multiculturalism may eventually dis-integrate.

If the majority is ready to absorb cultural heritage of others into its own culture, it will set up a healthy tradition. Those who plead for so-called purification of Indian culture by insulating it from influence of other culture run the risk of heading towards moral degeneration of India. In a multicultural society like India, it is necessary to maintain identities of various cultural groups for realisation of democracy & social justice & it is necessary that people belonging to different

cultures should be given due recognition & representation in decision-making processes.

• Hohfeld has given different interpretation to concept of Right.

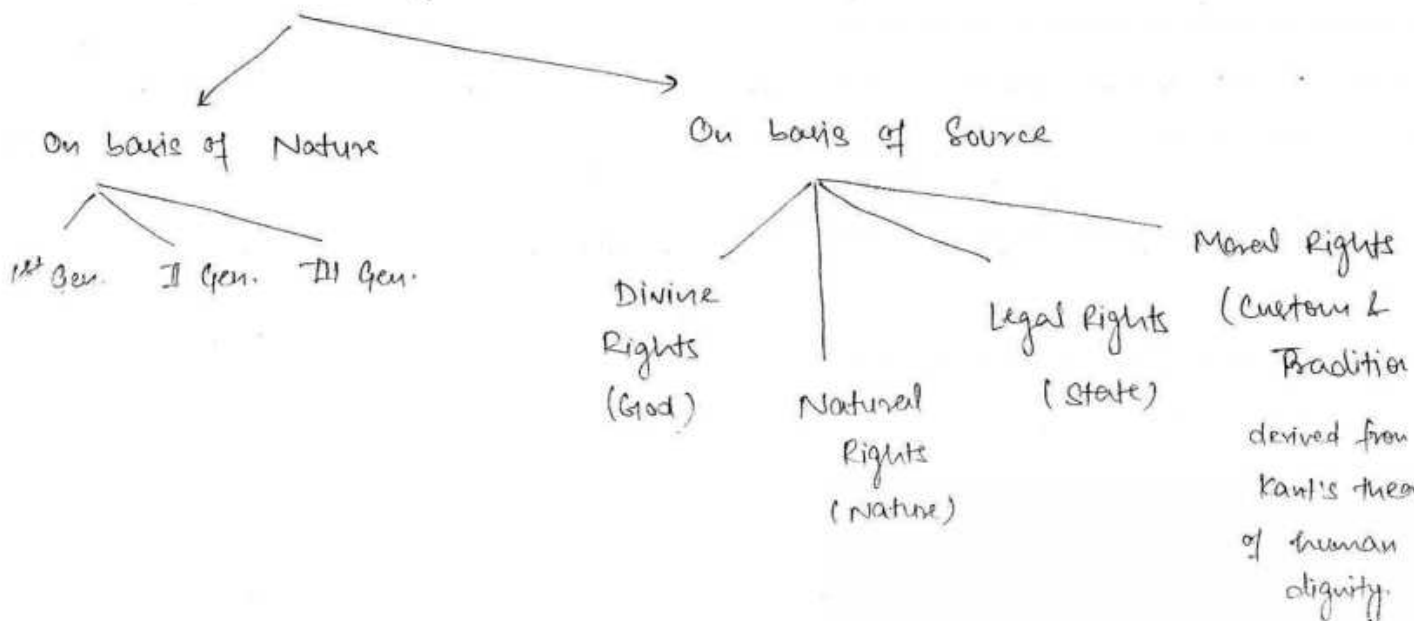
i) Right is a claim or entitlement: It means right is claim of a person & it enforces duties on others.

ii) Right as a liberty: It means giving freedom to pursue what one wants to do.

iii) Right as power which limits the authority of a state

iv) Right as an immunity means right is a type of protection which man enjoys against society & state.

→ Types of Rights



→ Theory of Right

↳ Theory of Natural Rights

- John Locke is considered as originator of theory of Natural Rights. Acc. to him, source of Natural Rights is nature or God rather than State. Since State has not given these rights, State can't deprive a person of these rights. Thus, acc. to this theory, intuition i.e. reason rather than institution is the source of right. American Declaration of Independence & French Declaration of Rights of Man & Citizen are based on the idea of Natural Rights.
- Acc. to US Declaration of Independence, Natural Rights are self evident truths & every person has right to life, liberty & pursuit of happiness given to him by God.
- Natural Rights are fundamental to human existence & man can't be deprived of his fundamental rights. (Natural rights & fundamental rights are not given by State. & Natural Rights are FRs & Constitution is guarantor of these FRs not their source).

[The theory of Natural Rights is basis of theory of Human Rights]

- The theory of Natural Rights have been advocated on basis of 2 approaches: Social Contract & Teleological argument.

- Social Contract:

Acc. to Locke, man was enjoying Natural Rights in state of Nature & reason in man teaches him not to harm the life, liberty & property of others & these rights are inalienable & man has not transferred these rights to State.

- Teleological argument by Thomas Paine & T.H. Green:

Green believed in concept of Natural Rights but he didn't accept theory of Social Contract as he found it illogical. Acc. to him, there is no justification to impose the contract entered by the previous generation on successive generations.

Hence, he has suggested teleological basis of Rights as acc. to Paine, man is different from animal.

hence man should possess certain rights which gives him opportunity to lead life as humans.

Similarly, Green has supported theory of Natural Rights on basis of teleological argument as in

Green's words, "Human consciousness postulates

liberty, liberty involves rights, rights demand State"

- Criticisms: Theory of Natural Rights is criticised by
 - i) Theory of legal Rights

scholars who support legal theory of ^{legal} rights i.e.

Hobbes & Bentham. Acc to theory of legal Rights, man was not enjoying any right in state of Nature & what man was having in state of Nature was power & not Right & in state of Nature, might is Right.

• Acc to Hobbes, only when state comes into existence, establish law & order, man started enjoying rights & thus the real source of origin of Rights is state & not nature & acc to Hobbes, man's ability to enjoy right will be shaped by state's capability or capacity to provide rights. as said by Hobbes. "Man has liberty only where law is silent".

• Legal theory of rights became the dominant theory of rights till WW II. It is only after WW II that there is a revival of theory of Natural Rights in the form of theory of Human Rights.

• Bentham is also supporter of theory of legal Rights & in the words of Bentham Natural Rights are non-sense. They are just imaginative character (chimer). Acc. to him, Natural Rights are anarchical fallacies

& acc. to Bentham, Natural Rights are terrorist language as they provoke rebellion. Acc. to him, there can't be absolute rights. Rights are the creatures of law & theory of Natural Rights of man is as dangerous as the Divine Rights of King.

iii) Conservative Theory of Rights

- Edmund Burke, like Bentham, is also critical of theory of Natural Rights. He doesn't believe that rights are self evident truths & acc. to Burke, Rights are product of customs & traditions as acc. to Burke, men can enjoy only those rights for which there is sanction from society.
- Acc. to Burke, Natural rights are metaphysical abstraction as they are based on religion or theology like Divine rights. Thus, acc. to Burke, it is custom rather than nature that is the source of rights. Burke was critic of French Revolution as it had challenged the existing order. Acc. to Burke, instead of going for some untested theory, we should go for reforming the existing systems gradually.
- Acc. to Burke, Natural rights do not bring the consciousness of duty & discipline towards society. Burke's theory of rights i.e. rights based

on customs & conventions is backed by communitarian & cultural relativist scholars. The theory of Natural Rights, acc. to Communitarians is based on concept of abstract individual or atomistic man whereas acc. to communitarian scholars, man is situated self. Acc. to MacIntyre, believing in the theory of Natural rights is like believing in witches & unicorns.

in Theory of Rights by Laski (welfare liberal)

Acc. to Laski, "rights are necessary conditions without which no man can seek in general to be at its best."

"Every state is known by the rights it maintains."

"Social order not based on right is the order based on sand."

"Rights are the claims which are not empty of duties."

Laski's theory of rights is also known as functional theory of rights or social democratic perspective of rights.

24th Sept, 2022

→ Human Rights

- The concept of Human Rights originated after WW II based on the experience of atrocities committed by Nazis on Jews. Till WW II, the principle of sovereignty of State was considered sacrosanct, hence there was no scope of intervention by international community in domestic affairs of State. (Art 2 of UN Charter prevents UN intervention in domestic affairs of State).
- It is to be noted that UN is based on Westphalian notion of sovereignty acc. to which state is sovereign & no external institution can interfere in domestic affairs of the state.
- However, it was realised that there is a need to dilute the principle of State sovereignty & need to recognise international community.
- In case the state violates the rights of its citizens it becomes the responsibility of international community to come forward for protection of human rights.
- The world accepted UDHR on 10th December, 1948.
- International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights adopted in 1966.

International Covenant on ^{Economic, Social & Cultural} Socio-Economic Rights in 1966 ; together these 3 constitutes international Bill of Rights

- Human Rights is one of the most energizing ideas of our times & human rights is based on 2 theories :
 - i) Theory of Natural Rights by Locke
 - ii) Kant's theory of human dignity. (^{source of} Moral Rights)
- Acc. to Locke, Natural Rights are self evident truths & acc. to Kant, man is different from animal, man possesses reason, hence all humans deserve to be treated with respect.
- Human rights are based on the assumption that man enjoys certain rights ab initio (that whether State recognises these or not, humans hold these rights).
- Acc. to theory of human rights, irrespective of caste, class, gender, creed, nationality, there are some basic minimum rights that should be available to all because of being born as human. Hence whether the state recognises or not, it is assumed that human possesses these rights.

• Fundamental theme of human rights is idea of universalism & this is the reason why this concept is one of the contested issues in human rights discourse. In present times, there are 5 features of human rights & each feature of a matter of controversy:

- i) Equality
- ii) Universality
- iii) Inalienable
- iv) Permanent
- v) Individualistic

Equality: Since all are humans all need to be treated equally. It means all should be given equal rights. This very first characteristic makes human rights highly controversial as in most of non-Western countries, women don't have equal status to man. For activist of human rights, not giving equal rights to women means treating ^{women} human less than ^{human} women. Women Rights are most controversial aspect of human rights as one of the main agendas of Human Right is the rights of women. As Hillary Clinton held that Human Rights are Women Rights & she has strongly advocated for feminist foreign policy.

However, human rights activist of non-Western countries believe that such advocacy of equality is imposition of western values (differential equality is sought).

- **Universality:** By definition, the idea of Human Rights is universalist. It implies that these rights must be applicable around the globe & all should possess these basic minimum rights. However, there is no agreement on what rights are to be qualified as basic minimum. The universalism of Human Rights is being contested by communitarian scholars, cultural relativists & leaders of non-Western world. The politicians of Asian countries like Lee Kuan Yew & Mahatma Mohammad have called for Asian values & these leaders have suggested cultural relativist perspective rather than universalist perspective. Acc. to these leaders, the theory of Human Rights is based on western discourse, not conducive for non-Western societies.

However, the western scholars consider that emphasising on Asian values is a discourse to justify authoritarianism or soft authoritarianism. Acc. to Amartya Sen, the argument of Asian values is too simplistic as

it can't be said that there is one Asian value or Asia is a homogenous space.

[Asian leaders emphasise that socio-economic rights should have primary while western world emphasise emphasis should be on civil-political rights.]

- Individualistic: Human rights are given to individuals & it is based on the concept of atomistic man. Though 3rd Gen of Human Rights recognises community or group rights & the concept of atomistic rights is criticised as Bourgeois concept by the Marxists. & it has been criticised as abstraction by communitarians & cultural relativist. The individualistic argument is contested by those who believe in Asian values as Asian values are communitarian, collectivist. If western values talk about freedom, Asian values are based on discipline & respect for authority of elders.
- Inalienable: Human Rights are inalienable because deprivation of these rights means forcing a person to live like animal i.e. denial of human existence.
- Permanent: Human rights are enjoyed on permanent basis rather than once.

- The theory of Human Rights is one of the most contested issue in world politics. Though there is an agreement that there should be recognition of human rights, however there is no agreement on what should be considered as basic human rights. Some of the theoretical debates centered around the following issues:

theoretical
debate:

- i) Definition of human : There is no consensus on definition of human as ~~with~~ one of the contested issue is whether terrorist should be regarded as human or not and they have human rights or not.
- ii) When Human life begins as there is debate over abortion rights as it is debated whether human life begins after birth or in mother's womb.
- iii) Who should be guardian of Human Rights?
States are supposed to be protector of human rights. However, the concept of human rights is anti-state as it weakens the power of State. Also, there are controversies w.r.t. manner of implementation as States have gone for selective implementation.

For eg: US intervened in Iraq against govt of Saddam Hussain & in Libya against Gaddafi for violation of human rights but have ignored Human rights violation of Palestines by Israel. Thus, human rights have emerged as a discourse to attain geopolitical objectives.

- Philosophical debate: an Universalist assumption of HR. Value pluralists, Cultural relativist & multiculturalist have challenged the Universalist assumption of Human Rights.

26th Sept, 2022 → Value pluralism

There is a debate & lack of consciousness that what basic rights are to be given to the people. Major discontent arises that in the name of universal values, Western countries have promoted western values which has been seen by others as an attempt of cultural imperialism.

- Isaiah Berlin is a supporter of value pluralism & he is a supporter of negative liberty & he defines liberty in terms of absence of external interference. & he views positive liberty as the totalitarian idea.
- Acc. to Berlin, value pluralism have to be differentiated from value monism & value relativism. Value monism

believer in supremacy of one particular value. Eg: Liberty is supreme value for liberals while for socialists it is equality. Value relativism means ^{value} neutrality i.e. indifference towards values. Value pluralist prefers one particular value over other yet exercise toleration & they believe that every value has its own importance.

- Thus, for Berlin, toleration rather than liberty is the core value of liberalism & acc. to Berlin, toleration is the substantive part of liberalism. Acc. to Berlin, there can be different ways of life & each may be equally valuable for the people adhering to these values. Hence, we have to be tolerant towards different ways of life & values.
- Berlin has explained value pluralism through an example where he has compared a housewife's life with a nun's. Acc. to Berlin, both value their lives & both believe that their life is morally superior.
- Acc. to Berlin, there may be a person who believes in primacy of liberty over equality. It means people may have different preferences. Also, acc. to Berlin, there is no consensus on the value of liberty as some believe in positive liberty & others believe in negative liberty.

Similarly, equality has different meaning from equality of opportunity to outcome. Thus, acc. to Berlin, values are inherently pluralistic & they are incommensurable i.e. they can't be quantified or measured.

- Thus, acc to Berlin, if we can't quantify values, we can't fix the order of priority. Thus Berlin is critical of Rawls as Rawls in his theory of justice has given Lexical order in which he has given priority to liberty over equality of opportunity & equality of opportunity over difference principle. However, acc to Berlin, there can't be hierarchy of values Hence, state shouldn't try to impose any specific way of life.
- Though Berlin has talked about value pluralism yet he believes that there are some generic values which are upheld in all the societies. Eg: Value of honesty, courage, bravery. It is to be noted that value pluralism is a theory of meta ethics rather than normative ethics.
- Value pluralism is a practical approach to remove confrontation. West should not impose their values on the rest. The best way to remove the conflict is dialogue amongst civilisations as ^{imposing} human rights & democracy at gun point can do more harm.

We can quote Voltaire to emphasise on meaning of toleration. "I strongly disagree with what you say, but I will defend to death your right to say."

→ Multi-culturalism

- It is an approach to deal with question of minority. It means what should be the approach of a country in handling the rights of minorities. In order to protect the interest of minorities, scholars have proposed the idea of multiculturalism. Prominent scholars of multiculturalism are Will Kymlicka & Bhiku Parekh.
- Their argument is that there is a need to recognise different ways of life, customs & traditions & there is a need to better accommodate the interest of minorities.
- Hence, multiculturalists will oppose neo-fascist trends for eg: policies like ban on wearing of veil by various European govt. Multiculturalists also support the approach of toleration.

Why multiculturalism has become need of the hour?

i) Socio-economic exclusion of minorities

Minorities are the non-dominant sections of society & almost in every country, minority suffers from

exclusion from developmental process.

- ii) Emergence of majoritarianism. In the context of growing terrorist incidents, western countries are imposing restrictions on immigration & there is resentment against minority community.
- iii) In age of globalisation, the world has come much closer & people are interacting more. There is greater movement of people & the societies have become more diverse. It can ^{either} lead to clash of civilisations as people are getting more conscious of their identities or it will lead to emergence of cosmopolitan world order but that requires values of pluralism, toleration & respect for human dignity. Multiculturalists are inspired by pluralists & communitarians & acc. to multiculturalists, culture is the intrinsic part of human personality. It is not possible to respect a person but disrespect his culture.
- iv) Multiculturalists oppose homogenisation & they suggest diversity is good. Just like biodiversity is good for ecology, social diversity is good for society.

Hence the idea of multicultural citizenship has been proposed as the idea of universal citizenship appears limited. It is to be noted that Indian

Constitution formally adopted the idea multicultural citizenship as it recognises the special rights of minorities as fundamental rights.

- The views of Will Kymlicka in his book 'Multi Cultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights' has suggested that the govt should protect the rights of minorities & they should give following rights to minorities i.e. polyethnic religious &
 - a) Polyethnic rights i.e. cultural right
 - b) Special Representation rights (Reservation in legislature)
 - c) Self-governance rights i.e. more autonomy to those who are concentrated in specific geographical area.

It is to be noted that he gave his theory

around 90's whereas Indian Constitution is already following multicultural approach as multiculturalism prevails in philosophy of Constitution as the Indian Constitution recognises all these rights.

However Will has suggested that these rights to be given to the national minorities & not to the immigrants or refugees as acc. to Will, immigrants have voluntarily chosen to live in the country of immigration. hence they should adopt value system

of the country where they are immigrating

Acc. to Will, if state will start giving these rights to refugees, it would lead to more displacement.

Thus, instead of giving special rights to refugees, international community must force the home govt to respect & protect the rights of minorities.

- Will was influenced by Rawls as Will also believed that there is a need to offset the disadvantage faced by the minorities because it is not a matter of their choice to be born as a member of minority community.

- Will believed that multiculturalism is the logical extension of liberalism as only liberal countries can accommodate diversity.

- Views of Bikhu Parekh ^{given} in book 'Rethinking Multiculturalism'

- On the issue of immigration

- ✓ He hasn't found any logic in not extending the special rights to non-citizen minorities.

- ✓ Acc. to him, it is wrong to believe that culture & religion will not matter in case of immigrants but will matter in case of national minorities.

Acc. to him, there is no logic of depriving non-nationals of such rights as culture is

part & parcel of person's identity.

✓ He has applied the approach of J.S. Mill i.e. Harm Principle wrt. the rights of minorities. Acc. to him, if any custom or tradition doesn't harm the others, State should permit the minority to follow such practices. As acc. to him, there is no harm if schools allow Muslim girls to wear scarfs. He also suggests that in the name of nationality, majoritarian customs & traditions should not be imposed on minority & acc. to him, universal principle governing human society can't be based on value system of a single civilisation, it has to be based on dialogue among civilisations.

✓ He is optimistic that when people belonging to different civilisations will enter into dialogue, they will arrive at some common values & he believes that human dignity is one such value which can be accepted by all.

→ Cultural Relativism

• The concept is attributed to Franz Boas. Acc. to him, culture is intrinsic part of human's personality

↳ every culture is rational & we can't establish primacy of one culture over other. Cultural relativism overlaps with philosophy of communitarianism as communitarianism suggests that man is situated or embedded self & man's perception of right & wrong is never independent of his community.

∴ Values, knowledge & behaviour of people must be understood within their own cultural context.

- If UDHR is based on the theory of ^{cultural context} Natural Rights, Cultural Relativist perspective comes near to Buske's conservative theory as acc. to Buske the source of rights are customs & traditions.

- Cultural relativist interprets UDHR as an attempt of cultural imperialism i.e. imposition of Western values & that's why they demand for relativist perspective rather than universalist.

→ Criticism of multiculturalists & Cultural Relativists.

- Criticism by feminists

Susan Muller Okin held that multiculturalism is bad for women as in every culture there is discrimination against women & women are having inferior status. Hence, there is a need to recognise the universalist approach of Human Rights to address gender equality.

- Criticism by Liberal scholars
- Acc. to Amartya Sen, multiculturalism is not good for national unity in long run & it will lead to ghettoisation of society.
- Brian Barry : Too much of consciousness of culture will lead to mobilisation of people on such issues which ultimately result in failure of achieving developmental goals as multiculturalism will lead to politics of identity & it will sacrifice politics of development.
- Chandran Kukudae : Acc to him, multiculturalism overlook the fact that there are subjugated minorities within minorities eg LGBT. If state doesn't intervene in the name of respecting the rights of minorities, such minorities will get exploited.
- Criticism by cosmopolitan scholars
- Jeremy Waldron & Seyla Benhabib held that multiculturalism prevents emergence of cosmopolitan culture as it is based on the assumption that people don't have the capacity to understand & adopt each other's culture.