

Origin, Evolution & Elements of States

A territorial area in which population is governed by a set of political authorities, & which successfully claims the compliance of the citizenry for its laws & is able to secure such compliance by its monopolistic control of legitimate force (Geoffrey K Roberts)

It is significant that though some sort of political organization has existed since ancient times, such as Greek city states & the Roman Empire, yet the concept of state as such is comparatively modern.

Concerning the absolute origin of political authority among men, history does not afford definite information, nor does it appear possible that there will ever be furnished final light upon this subject. A study of origin is always an attractive one and the work of many anthropologists has thrown a vast amount of light upon the early history of social and political institutions. Political thinkers and philosophers have tried and attempted to trace out and explain the origin of the state in various methods, according to the nature and the social condition prevailed at the time of their thinking. The state has acquired its present form through a long historical process extending over thousands of years. The state itself was the product of various factors, including religion, war, property, kinship, technical development & political consciousness. Social life came to be regulated by custom & authority. This eventually led to the evolution of the state. Sociologists have generally identified the following forms of state in the course of its historical evolution; the tribal state; the oriental empire, the Greek City- state; the Roman Empire; the feudal state.

1.1 The Tribal state

The earliest form of tribal organization of authority- command & obedience- is described as tribal state. The tribal states were usually small in size. These were governed by chiefs, often assisted by advisory councils. There was no written law and customs, traditions were regarded as law. Some of them were nomadic; others were permanently settled in definite areas. The main purpose their existence was the preservation of internal order and the waging of defensive war. Such societies have been described as pre-state societies by some scholars. In any case, they represent a primitive of social organization which was later developed into the state.

1.2 The Oriental Empire

In course of time, population increased; new techniques of productions were evolved and new source of natural bounty were discovered. A warm climate, fertile soil, abundance of water and

sunlight and vast areas free from geographical barriers, helped men to accumulate wealth and to evolve new forms of social organization and cities arose. Such areas furnishing abundant

food with little effort attracted surrounding people belonging to kinship groups. This was followed by their conflict and intermingling, which eventually resulted in the creation of state. In this conflict stronger groups won over the weaker ones the inhabitants of these valleys were bounded together into the empires of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, India and China.

1.3 The Greek City State

As civilization spread to the region around the Aegean and the Mediterranean, new geographical forms gave rise to new forms of social organization. The peculiar location of Greece helped in the evolution of a new form of political organization in the ancient days. Small communities were settled in secluded valleys, guarded by mountains and the sea, yet in constant contact with the outside world through their harbors. Quietly, they evolved their political organizations into city states. The prominent city states were Athens, Sparta, Orinth, Argos, Thebes and Attica. The Greek city states were small in size and free from despotism that fettered the earlier empires.

1.4 The Roman World Empire

After the down fall of Greek city states, the main line of political development passed to Rome. Rome became the centre of civilization. It was situated in the centre of Europe. The various settlements on the neighboring hills were soon united with Rome by conquest or by federation. This led to a fusion of various types of people. Relations of various tribes were treaty or compromise. This led to the growth of Rome's wonderful system of law. The process of conquest eventually resulted in the formation of Empire.

1.5 The Feudal system

In the Medieval Age which began in the 5th century of the Christian Era, powers began to be exercised by feudal chiefs i.e. the landlords holding big estates. This led to a hierarchical political organization with the king as the supreme lord at the top and the serfs at the bottom. The serfs were landless peasants, obliged to pass on a very major share of their produce to their feudal lords. Thus society still remained divided into lords and serfs- the exploiter and exploited classes. With the erosion of the authority of kings, the Christian church emerged as another symbol of authority. The Pope emerged as the head of the Holy Roman Empire. The authority of church and Popes challenged due to industrial revolution and change in the mode of material production. All these factors led to the dissolution of the feudal system and the emergence of new state

system

We do not know exactly the source & time of origin of state and nowhere in the history has it been recorded when the state came into existence. There were various beliefs regarding the Evolution of the state, some believe that the origin of the state lies in the hands of God,

whereas others believe it was created by Social Contract and some on single force, the family or the process of Evolution. Of circumstances surrounding the dawn of political consciousness, we know little or almost nothing. It is due to the fact that modern state is a result of very long evolution the earliest phase of which is veiled in the mists of obscurity. We may trace some impressions from the records of ethnology and anthropology to have a glimpse in to the dim past of human history. And in addition to that, we may also collect information from ancient history & sociology. But this is not sufficient to offer a logical explanation of the origin of the state. So we should depend upon the course of philosophical speculations before we have an authentic record of the historical evolution of state from its most crude to its present form. Several theories on this important subject have therefore come up that may be briefly discussed as under.

2.1 Divine Origin Theory

Divine Origin Theory is the oldest theory regarding the origin of the state according to this theory state has been directly created by God. The king is the representative of the God and is responsible to God alone & not to the people. The citizens must obey the authority of the king as he is the representative of God on earth. Disobedience to the king was not only a crime but a sin as well. The first two kings James I & Charles I had full faith in this theory. Many religious & political thinkers have also supported the theory St. Augustine & Pope Gregory supported this theory. They said “Good people get a good King & bad people get a bad King”. The theory was supported by Jewish, Christianity & Hinduism. It demanded Divine Rights Of Kings. The main points of the theory are as under:

1. The state is the creation of God.
2. King is responsible to the God & not to the people.
3. King is above the people & laws of the state.
4. People cannot oppose king & they cannot replace him.
5. Monarchy is divinely created concept and is hereditarily.

6. People cannot go against orders of the king as it is a Sin and king is the agent of the God.

2.2 Social Contract Theory

The social contract theory became the most influential & the most famous theory from late 17th to 19th century. It is considered as the very important theory regarding the origin of the state. This theory was opposed to divine origin theory of the state. This theory believes that a state was not created by God but it is the result of a social contract among the people. State is created on the consent of the people. The ideally reasonable people make a kind of social compact to establish political authority. This theory has been propounded by three eminent scholars of political philosophy - Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J.J Rousseau.

The Social Contract Theory analyzed by the three great Social contractualists can be briefly summed up as under:

2.2.1 Thomas Hobbes

State of nature: Man is selfish, egotistic and wicked; he is moved by passions- fare, pride and glory: there is no liberty, but conditions of license so that man may do what he likes; law of nature or the rule of expediency prevails that informs man to do anything for the satisfaction of his desires. Hence there is no difference between right and wrong, there is a perpetual war fare; hence nothing like science ,literature, arts, commerce, navigation, industry, knowledge, culture etc; there is continual fear of violent death; life of man is solitary, nasty, poor, brutish, and short .

Contract: Social Contract: is made to terminate the horrible condition of life whereby all individuals surrender their all rights in favor of one man { or assembly of men} who offers no pledge any kind; hence contract is unilateral , it is not binding on the sovereign-the Leviathan or the master less man. Common wealth or the state created by the Social Contract is ruled by the sovereign I.e. sovereignty is vested in the king. The existence of an all powerful king is the proof of the existence of Common wealth- society, state and Government.

2.2.2 John Locke:

State of nature: it is a condition of goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation; a condition of peace, not war. Law of Nature ensures three natural Rights to all individual relating to their life, liberty and property. The only inconvenient is that there is no machinery to give effective protection of these Natural Rights

Contract: to terminate these inconveniences people entered into a contract. Two Social contracts are made -by the first are open contract, state is created; individuals surrender only three Natural Rights for their protection by the state. Government of one man –king is created by the second or tacit agreement. The ruler makes a pledge or proper exercise of his authority, community being the state has absolute authority

2.2.3 J.J Rousseau

State of Nature: Man is a Noble Savage; he enjoys life of primitive simplicity and idyllic happiness in this period. He is actuated by his impulses, not reason, there is common possession over things, hence no distinctions between mine and thine but with the growth of civilization reason grows that creates the distinction between mine and not mine, private property system emergence to create social inequality; hence a conflict arises between the Haves and the Have-nots

Contract: A social contract has made by the people in their individual as well as corporate capacities. All surrender their all rights in favor of all, a corporate whole {body politic} is created with a full of its own desiring good of all. Sovereignty resides in the general will or will of all for the good of all.

2.3 Force Theory

The exponents of force theory were of the view that the origin of state and its development was based on force. According to this theory the state was created by force, and is the result of subjugation of weaker by stronger. It can also be said that “wars beget the king. History tells us that great empires were created by generals and wars lords. Oppenheimer has traced the origin of the state through various stages and as advocated the theory of force as the origin of the state. F..Jenks observes: historically speaking, there is not the slightest difficulty in proving that all political communities of the modern type owe their existence to successful warfare.”

The theory of force has been advocated from time to time by different institutions and individual to serve their own ends. It was advocated by Church Middle Ages to prove its own superiority. The warring clans and tribes established their authority in a definite territory .their chief became the ruler on the basis of his physical force. The state is born out of force. Exist in force and die in the absence of force. According to Bluntschli “force is an indispensable element of the organization of the state.

2.4.1 Patriarchal Theory

This Genetic theory is based on Sociological facts. Here the argument is that state is an eventual extension of the family. The first group of collective human life is the family or the household, the last is the state. The earliest advocate of the theory is Aristotle in whose view in a society of many families is called a village, and a village is most naturally composed of the descendants of one family, the children and the children's children for which reason states were originally governed by kings. Family is the first unit of social development. Historians of ancient law and early institutions have sought to study the subject of family, its composition, residence of authority in the family and its growth into the clan or tribe and eventually into the state. The name of Sir Henry Maine is important in this stage that made a detailed study of the patriarchal family system. In his view, society in primitive times was an aggregation of the families and the ancient law was so framed as to recognize the patriarchal are family groups as perpetual and inextinguishable entities. The family consisted of male his wife and his children but it was male dominated family. Maine says "The elementary group is the family, connected by common subjection to the highest male ascendant. The aggregation of family forms the Genes or houses. The aggregation of houses makes the tribe. The aggregation of tribes constitutes the commonwealth." Thus the Patriarchal theory was established on the principles three features:

1. Male Kinship. 2. Permanent Marriage. 3. Paternal Authority. 2.4.2 Matriarchal Theory

Theory believes that "maternity is a fact; paternity is fiction. The theory is supported by Mc Herman, Jenks and Morgan. According to this theory in primitive society, there existed Matriarchal groups or hordes. The kinship could be only traced through mother and there was no common male head in this system children belong to the clan of their mother. After the mother's death, the elder daughter takes over the property. According to them family leads to the formation of gens to that of tribes, the expansion of tribes to village, expansion of village to state"

2.5 Historical Evolutionary Theory

Dr. Garner has aptly stated "the state is neither the handiwork of God; nor the result of superior physical force; nor the creation of resolution of conventions, nor a mere expansion of family. The state is not a mere artificial creation but an institution or natural growth of historical evolution." According to Leacock "the state is a growth, an evolution, the result of a gradual process running through out all the known history of men and receiving into remote and unknown past." According to Prof. Gettel "like other social institution the state arose from many source and other various conditions, and it emerged almost imperceptibly." The theory believes that following factors play very important role in the growth of the state:

1. Natural Social Instinct

2. Kinship

3. Religion

4. Property and Defense

5. Force

6. Political consciousness According to Historical theory these factors played a dominant role in the gradual evolution of state. The state is historical and natural growth. The state did not come into existence abruptly. No single factor is responsible for the growth of the state but different factors contributed for the development of the state.

3.1 Elements of State

On the basis of various definitions of state, it is customary to identify the state by its constituent elements of state which include: Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. The essential elements of state are briefly discussed as under:

3.1.2 POPULATION

Population is one of the essential elements of state, as the state is a human association. There can be no state without people. There cannot be a state of animals and birds. The scholars are not unanimous with regard to population size of the state. According to Plato an Ideal state should have population of 5040. Aristotle considered 100000 too many, his view was that population should be neither too small nor too large. The view of Rousseau was that 10000 was an ideal number. There are states like India, China, USA, which are big and there are states like Monaco, San-Marino, Vatican city are very small in terms of population.

While the size of population of a state, cannot be fixed, its better if people are self- sufficient to meet all the needs of life. In any case, economic self-sufficiency is essential for the stability of a state. It is not necessary that every state must have a homogeneous population. Dr. Garner writes “the nearest approach to safe rule is to say that population must be sufficient to provide a governing body and a number of persons to be governed and off-course, sufficient to support a state organization.”

3.1.3 TERRITORY

Territory is one of the essential elements of a state. Other associations either exist within the state or they extend their sphere to several states: they do not need separate territory. But the state must possess a territory where its authority is accepted without dispute or challenge. A state comes into existence only when its population is settled in a fixed territory. With the formation of a state, citizens are allowed to exercise their rights and duties wherever they settle, irrespective of gens and tribes.

When we refer to territory of a state, we mean thereby not only the land domain over which the jurisdiction of the state extends but also rivers and lakes, the sea up to the limit of its territorial waters and the air space above it. The domain of the state is terrestrial, fluvial, maritime and aerial. Some states possess a very small territory like Vatican City, Israel, San Marino. States like Russia, China and USA have large territories.

Some writers like John Seeley hold that a fixed territory is not an essential element of a state. Duguit maintains the view that territory is not an indispensable element in the formation of a state. And also W. Willoughby maintains the same view. However such views do not find favor these days. It is realized that there will be a lot of difficulty to conduct international relations without a fixed territory of the state and hence fixed territory is a necessary condition for the existence of the state.

Territory symbolizes the sphere of sovereignty of the state. Territory provides for natural resources for the sustenance of the population of the state. Territory provides for a sense of security and immense opportunities for fuller life for its residents; it is an object of sentimental attachment –people love and worship their mother land and are prepared to make supreme sacrifices for the protection and maintenance of the territorial integrity of their state.

3.1.3 GOVERNMENT

Government is still another essential element of a state is government. According to Garner, the “government is the agency or machinery through which common policies are determined and by which common affairs are regulated and common interests promoted.” If the state represents an abstract concept, the government is its concrete form. The authority of the state is exercised by government. Functions of the state are performed by the government. Laws of the state are made, declared and enforced by the government. Justice is dispensed by the judicial organs of the government. The government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the provision of common services like defense, issue of currency, foreign relations, roads, bridges and

even transport, communications, water, electricity, health and education etc. And it is entitled to levy taxes for the provision of such services. Without government, there is chaos. There is no common organization, no common aims and common interests. According to Giddings, the government “the chief progressive organization of civil society.” there can be no state without a government. The organization of the government may be simple and its functions may be few, but its necessity cannot be defined.

No particular type of government is essential. It may vary in kind and complexity. It is the only political organization which makes an attempt to see whether the essential relationship between command and obedience has been well established. The government functions through three agencies viz., the executive the legislature and the judiciary. The executive rules over the country and enforces the laws. The legislature passes the laws which are interpreted by the judiciary. Those who violate laws are punished by the government. If two governments are formed in a country, that country is divided into two states.

No particular type of government can be recommended as essential. It varies from country to country. Democracy may be popular in India, USA, Canada, England, France, Italy,

West Germany or Japan. The dictatorship of the Communist parties is popular in the Soviet Union, China, East Germany, Poland and Hungary. Monarchy is popular in Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Britain, Sweden and Denmark. Even in countries where democracy is popular, the types of government differ. The conclusion is that no particular type of government can be recommended as an essential element for the existence of a modern state.

3.1.4 SOVEREIGNTY

Another essential element of the state is Sovereignty. Without sovereignty, there can be no state in the legal sense. It is sovereignty which distinguishes the state from other organization. Without sovereignty, there is every possibility of the forces of lawlessness sweeping away the whole of society. It is only the sovereignty who can keep all the sections of society in their proper places. It is the final authority in the state.

It is by virtue of its sovereignty that the state declares its laws and decisions and issues commands which are binding on all citizens. By virtue of its sovereignty, a state deals independently with other states. Commands of the state are treated as superior to those of any other association or institution because sovereignty is the sole preserve of the state. Max Weber writes, “The right to use physical force is ascribed to another institution or to individual only to the extent to which the state permits it. The state is considered the sole source of the right to use

violence.” Other associations are either voluntary or based on custom or necessity. The right to use legitimate coercion in its own right is exclusive to state. A state continues to exist so long as it is armed with sovereignty. If the state loses its sovereignty on account of internal revolt or external aggression, there is anarchy and disappearance of the state as such. Some writers regard “international recognition” as an essential element of the state. That implies the recognition of the sovereignty of the state over a given territory and population by the state. International recognition is only incidental to the sovereignty of the state and not a fundamental element of the state itself.

Internal sovereignty means that the state is supreme in all its internal matters. It exercises its supremacy over all the institutions and people of the state. No other state can be permitted to exercise its authority over the institutions and people of the state. In a federal government, power is divided between the Centre and the units, but sovereignty does not suffer in that case. In such a government, power is divided between the centre and the units in accordance with the constitution. In this way, the government runs smoothly and sovereignty remains an indispensable element of the state.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gauga.O.P: An introduction to Political Theory.

Dr. V. D. Mahajan: Political Theory. Garner J. W: Political Science And Government. Seeley J. R: Introduction to Political Science. Willoughby W.W: The Nature of State. Agarwal R.C: Political Theory.

Appadurai .A: “The Substance of Politics. Willoughby .W.W: A Study in Political philosophy. Johari.J.C: Principals Science of Modern political.

Gettel: Political Science. Ramaswamy.S: Political Theory Ideas and Concepts.

Power, Authority and Legitimacy Compiled by MehrajUd Din Bhat Teacher GDC, Ganderbal

Power , Authority & Legitimacy.

Concept Of Power

□□ It is regarded as one of the central concepts of political science.

□ The significance of power in the political phenomenon was brought out by the traditional thinkers like Machiavelli, Hobbes etc.

□□□ H. Lasswell defined political science as the study of the shaping and sharing of power.

□□□ Max Weber's definition of politics also implies a focus of power in the context of international politics: politics is the struggle for power or the influencing of those in power.

Meaning of Power:- A definition in "A Dictionary of Social Sciences" says: "Power in its most general sense denotes (a) the ability (exercised or not) to produce a certain occurrence or (b) the influence exerted by man or group, through whatever means, over the conduct of others in intended ways." This definition of power is deeply influenced by Max Weber's famous formulation: "power signifies any capacity to work one's will within given social

relations even against opposition, independent of what that capacity is based on." This juridical conception of power was very popular among the western writers during the 1950s and 60s.

Power is normally understood as the possession of control, authority, or influence over others, a relationship in which an individual or a group is able to exert influence over the minds and actions of others. According to Arnold Woofers, it is defined as the ability "to move others or to get them to do what one wants them to do and not to do, what one does not want them to do."

Authority is closely connected with power. It might take various forms such as political, economic and ideological. One might say that concepts like morality, ethics, religion, customs and traditions may operate as limitation on power. Politics as ‘authoritative allocation of values’ is deeply interlinked with power and authority. Most of the researchers who analyse the concept of power often start with two propositions: that in any polity some people have more powers than others, and that power is an object of desire, a ‘utility’. Power is understandably associated with honour, deference, respect and dignity. One has, of course, to distinguish the power of the man from the power of the office that guarantees authority and legitimacy. One has also to be careful about the distinction between apparent and real power. While analyzing various dimensions of power, Maslow prefers to talk about the psycho –pathology of ambition as well as mental framework of some men. He says, “Their jungle philosophy (that of authoritarians) does not change even when they grow up and come out of the jungle. It resists new facts. It is sick because it reacts to an outgrown past, rather than to the real present.” These persons are psychologically perverted ones because what they run after is nothing but an illusion. Maslow concludes that “Of course for those who actually live in a jungle like world – and there are plenty who do so today – a jungle philosophy is realistic and reasonable.” Power Implies:

□□□ Power is force, exercised by the state in the name of law.

□□□ Bertrand Russell defined power as the ability of a person to fulfill his desires or to achieve his objectives.

□□□ Power is generally thought to involve bringing about of an action by someone against the will or desire of another.

□□□ Robert Dahl described power as a kind of influence; it is exercised when compliance is attained by creating the prospect of severe sanctions of non-compliance.

□□□ All these definitions give prominence by the aspect of power which is exercised by a man or a group over an unwilling lot. Forms of power:- 1. Political power:- Politics is the resolution of conflict, distribution of power within a political community,

determines how the conflict is to be resolved. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the traditionally recognized organs of power in a state, they represent formal organs. The obedience secured by these organs backed by sanctions is important form of political power. Political Power is not the sole prerogative of the formal organs of the state but these organs themselves are responsive to the inputs received from the environment. (For example) Public opinion, popular movements and Interest groups. (informal power)

Economic Power:- Power desired from the possession of material things is called as economic power. Ideological Power:- the ideas upheld and promoted by the ruling classes in a given society regarding best system of Government constitute Political ideology.

□□□ When people are made to believe that a particular system of Government is the best system they will not challenge the authority of the ruling class.

□□□ It represents the manipulative power of the dominant classes which holds sway on the thinking and emotions of the people.

□□□ Ideology creates illusion of consent. □ The class that owns the mean of material production also controls the mental production. Class as a source of power:- (Marx and Engels). Political power grows on the roots of economic power--- have and have not.

□□□ Earlier master and slaves (Ancient times)

□□□ Lords and serfs (Medieval)

□□□ Capitalists and workers (modern). Authority While going through the definition of power which is exercised by a man or a group over an unwilling lot. They are therefore, one sided power to be effective and stable, often takes the character of authority. According to C.J. Friedrich, concept of authority implies a root of command to which obedience is rendered without any inducement, a 'social fact', and a social conduct within an interlinked, independent social structure. This type of analysis implies that the

concept of authority is a part of classical theory, according to which authority is invariably linked with other concepts of social behaviour such as morality, customs, law, natural law, contract, expediency, and utility. Authority is broadly understood as a constitutional means through which one can command

compliance or obedience and influence the behaviour of another. Whereas power is broadly concerned with the ability to influence behaviour, 'authority' is understood as the right to do so. Political philosophers over the decades have differed regarding the fundamental basis on which authority rested. However, they all agreed with the view that authority has moral dimensions. Authority is a form of constitutional power and provisions by which one can influence the behaviour of others. Power is more concerned with ability whereas authority is attached with the concept of right. Power is often identified with persuasion, pressure, threats, coercion or violence. The constitutional overtone is absent in the case of power, whereas authority has both legal and moral overtones.

Modern sociologists have approached the concept of authority from a different angle. The German sociologist, Max Weber, considers authority as a form of power, a 'legitimate power'. He analyses it as a matter of people's belief about its legitimacy. Although theoretically, the concepts of power and authority are treated as separate identities, empirically both tend to cross each other's boundary. While some researchers have considered authority as an essential feature of order and stability, others have looked at it as a symbol of authoritarianism. Basically, both power and authority are mutually exclusive concepts. Authority is widely understood as a means of gaining compliance. On the other hand, power involves the ability to accomplish goals. It might take various forms such as pressure, intimidation, coercion or violence. Authority and power are intrinsically interlinked. Authority is rarely exercised in the absence of power, and power always implies some amount of authority

Authority Implies:

- It is the capacity to secure willing obedience.

□□□ Authority ensures social acceptance and effective implementation of rules, policies and decisions.

□□□ Authority consists of two important components- Power and Legitimacy. □

□□□ Power to be effective and stable must be accompanied by the capacity to secure □ willing obedience. □□ If power is based on fear or force Legitimacy is based on respect and willing □ compliance. □

□□□ Legitimacy means when an act or arrangement which is regarded as lawful by these □ affected by it. They regard it as reasonable and beneficial for themselves as well as for □ larger group. □

□□□ It is a form of power, it is a means through which one person can influence the □ behavior of another. □

□□□ Authority is based in a perceived right to rule. □ Classification Of Authority:- □ German Sociologist Max suggested a threefold classification of the sources of Authority in a modern state. □

a) Rational- Legal Authority (b) Charismatic Authority (c) Traditional Authority.

Rational – Legal Authority:- is explicit and has the right to give orders and have them obeyed by virtue of an office held within a system of deliberately framed rules which set out rights and duties, Bureaucracy is the example of rational – Legal Authority.

Charismatic Authority:- rests on the possession of exceptional personal qualities that cause a person to be accepted as a leader. There may be qualities of saintly virtue giving their possessor religious authority or qualities of outstanding heroism, intellect and agony

that brings a following of loyal devotion in politics. The Charismatic leader has the gift of divine grace and extraordinary qualities. Lenin or M.K. Gandhi got their position on account of their Charisma and qualities. (Religious and political Sphere)

Traditional Authority:- Exists where a person, such as a king or a tribal chief, holds a superior position of command in accordance with long tradition and is obeyed, because everyone accepts the sanctity of the tradition. Right to rule as existing by tradition such as case of Hereditary or dynastic rule.

Relationship between Power and Authority

□□□ The concept of power and Authority are related ones. □

□□□ When we speak of an act giving a minister the power to do so or that we mean giving □ him authority. □

□□□ Authority involves the right to influence others, while power refers to the ability to do □ so, the exercise of power always draws upon some kind of resources. In other words power involves the ability to either reward or punish another. This applies whether power takes the form of pressure, intimidation, coercion or violence. □

□□□ Authority is Seldom exercised in the absence of power. □

□□□ To be in the authority implies the right to command obedience. □

□□□ Authority is based on power and Legitimacy. □

□□□ Power alone involves capacity to get a decision obeyed by others against their will. □ While as authority Consists of power and legitimacy. Legitimacy of an act or arrangement as beneficial to society as well as to themselves. So they willingly tend to abide by it. □

□□ Power may involve force, but service or compliance of others will best be obtained why they regard the command as right, good. Power to be effective and stable, must be accompanied by the capacity to secure willing obedience.

Power & Hegemony

□□□Victory of will power over economic power. (A.Gramei) □

□□□Though cultural and spiritual supremacy is the real source of strength of ruling class in □West. □

□□□These classes inculcate their value system in the minds of their people through the □institutions of civil society. (Capitalists) □

□□□Political society or state ---Coercion to maintain domination. □

□□□Civil society obtain consent to maintain domination through civil society, family, □school and church, rule of behavior and teach them to show natural respect to the authority of ruling classes. These structures lend legitimacy to the rule of the capitalist class. □

□□□Legitimacy□Legitimacy amounts to pronouncing what is lawful, i.e., what is in accordance □with established rules, principles or standards? It is what is related to the laws and decrees of the state, sovereign or government. It is what has the sanction of force behind it. It is what is followed, if violated, by punishment. Legitimacy is legalisation. This means that what is legal is what is legitimate, and conversely what is not legal, i.e., what is not in accordance with law, established rules, recognised norms, is not legitimate. It is in this sense that legitimacy is related to what is lawful. Literally, legitimacy means, “to make lawful On one side of legitimacy stands power, and on the other side stands authority. It is through legitimacy that power is converted to □

authority. Authority devoid of legitimation is brute force. Legitimacy makes power a lawful authority. It authorises the government to exercise power so as to rule the people. Without legitimacy, no authority can lawfully exercise power. Authority possesses power because legitimacy authorises it to exercise power. To put the whole argument simply, it may be said that a government is government only when it is legitimate. An illegitimate government is a contradiction in itself; a legitimate government is an authority in so far as it is legitimately

authorised to exercise power; power makes the government an authority after it is able to legitimise itself. Legitimacy alone makes the government/state a power; it is such a government that rules the people and extracts from the people their obedience. Legitimacy works the other way as well. Legitimacy provides an element of willingness, on the part of the people, to accept the government's power to rule the people. It is, thus, a two-way movement – authorising the government/state to rule the people in accordance with the authority vested in it and through procedures already established therein; a willing body of citizens to accept the government's authority to rule them. Delegitimation, on the contrary, robs the state to have any claim over the people to rule them, and induces no respect from the people for any such state/government.

□□ Legitimacy is the means through which power changes into authority and thus, a social order is established in the society. It is what makes the government rule over its people and it is what makes the people obey their government. Legitimacy is the meeting point between the state and the people, between the rulers and the ruled. Without legitimacy, no effective social order can be created; disorder alone would prevail where power is exercised with no legitimation of authority. All systems of government seek obedience to the laws from the people only on grounds of legitimation/legitimacy.

WELFARE STATE AND WELFARE MEASURES

Bashir Ahmad Wagay (Asst.Prof. Pol. Science GDC PULWAMA)

State comes into existence for the sake of life and continues to exist for the sake of good life (Aristotle)

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Concept of welfare state
- 3 Evolution of welfare state
- 4 State and welfare -Welfare measures
- 5 Crises in welfare state
- 6 Bibliography

1) Introduction:- Life can be very entertaining and pleasant in democratic countries because the state provides uncountable facilities in the form of schools, hospitals, roads , recreational parks and what not but imagine

A) What happens if you are ill, disabled or unemployed? Will the state help you

B) What about those who are too old or young to work? Should the state help them?

C) What about poor , vulnerable and destitutes.

The above mentioned queries are related with the issue of social justice. The concept of social justice is an ideal which can be achieved if conditions of social organization allow the authorities to adopt the necessary measures to secure the ideal. Hence the legal and constitutional character of the state contributes a lot to

2

the attainment of social justice. The authorities are duty bound to implement the idea of welfare to achieve the ideal of social justice if the state is found on the ideal of peoples welfare. In other words establishment of welfare state can provide the means for the attainment of social justice. In view of the importance of the idea of welfare state in the social setting it would be quite necessary to first understand the meaning and evolution of the welfare state doctrine.

2) Concept of welfare state:- The term welfare state has been variously defined. Some say that it is more a confused term, some attribute that it gives something for nothing. The concept of welfare state has been in constant flux from time to time & country to country depending upon the socio, economic and political exigencies. The term welfare state has its origin in the term Wohlfahr Staat (welfare state) that owes something to German word WohlfahrStaat.

A welfare state is regarded as a system wherein a minimum social responsibility for certain minimum standards of individual and community welfare are set. A welfare state undertakes to create a moral and intellectual climate for its population. In welfare state the jurisdiction of state activity is extended to subserve the general and basic needs of the citizen. The legislative policies of the state are geared towards the protection of general social interests in all possible ways. The doctrine of welfare state collectively describes a range of social policies to provide basic services such as health, education, social security etc according to the need and normally free of charge through state funding. The doctrine of welfare state is a shift from negative/Laissez Faire liberalism to positive service liberalism. It is a sort of a state that provides extensive social services to its citizens, protects weaker sections, tries to reduce the rich poor divide. The welfare state controls the economy by framing laws, nationalizes industries, maintains essential services and through progressive taxation and income redistribution tries to

reduce the disparity between the upper and lower stratas in order to harmonise the different interests in society.

3

3) Evolution of welfare state

The existence of some form of welfare is now accepted across most of the political spectrum. The later half of the 19th century produced a critique of laissez faire individualism. The laissez faire state (Nightwatchman state) was strongly subjected to fierce criticism by the Marxist scholarship. The theory of non interference was found to be inadequate towards realizing the social and economic objectives of liberalism. Laissez faire state was based on the dictum “in the good of individual lies the good of state” but in the second half of 19th century due to the emergence of big industrial centres socio-economic and political contradictions and sense of frustration among millions of people arose whose livelihood and life depended upon these corporate masters. There was wide spread unemployment and discontentment. Hence classical liberalism became a soft target on all sides. The writers like C Dickens, Ruskin, K Marx etc left no stone unturned in bringing into fore the defects and harmful effects of laissez faire state. In response to these challenges a thorough revision of classical liberal theory and reexamination of state’s role was taken by the veteran philosophers like J S Mill, T H Green, L T Hobhouse, G Cole, R M MacIver etc. This revision of classical liberalism from non interventionist state to interventionist state is known as positive liberalism or Welfare state. It was an issue of liberty vs equality debate. The welfare state is the blending of liberal democratic state and socialist state. It borrows the element of freedom from liberal democratic state and mixes it with the emphasis on public welfare of the socialist state. J Hobson defines welfare state as “a compromise between the two extremes of communism on one hand and individualism on the other hand. However it is necessary to be kept in mind that although welfare state does much for public welfare, it still leaves field for private enterprise. In real sense welfare state is a social service state and therefore instead of limiting its role to the office of policeman, it also renders the services of a physician, an engineer, a teacher and many more.

The first welfare like measure was initiated by Queen Elizabeth I’s parliament in 1601 in the form of First Poor Law. However according to A

4

Heywood the first modern welfare state developed in Germany in 1880’s under the rule of Bismarck when medical and accident insurance(1888), sick pay and old age pensions were provided. However it is held that the underlying core ideas of welfare state came from varied sources. The French revolution provided the notion of liberty, equality and fraternity, J Bentham & disciples supplied the maximization happiness principle as the aim of state legislations, Otto Bismarck and Beveridge stressed the social security and social insurance. The famous Atlantic Charter of 1941 laid down the four essential freedoms of speech, worship, fear and want. The term welfare state was first used by William Temple in 1941 to describe a state that makes substantial provision through law and administration for those in need especially the sick, elderly, disabled etc. The Beveridge report of 1942 regarded as the blue print of modern welfare state in Britain described its purpose as to protect citizens from five giants of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness and to extend this protection from cradle to grave. The strong critique of classical liberal economy by J M Keynes questioning its faith in free market influenced the statesmen worldwide including United States. In USA during 1930’s very similar motives resulted in the introduction of New Deal Liberalism by F Roosevelt that provided for social welfare. The 1960’s in USA was the high point of New deal policy in the form of L Johnsons War On Poverty (Great Society Programmes). It was an ambitious programme of

education, public services, incomes, job training etc to enable the masses to live the dignified and honourable life as full participant citizens.

4) State and welfare: welfare measures

Since the early 20th century the debate of equality vs social justice has brought into limelight the issue of welfare. In simple terms welfare means the happiness, prosperity and well being in general. It means not only mere physical survival but some measure of health and contentment as well. Welfare can be positive as well negative. In positive sense it includes the delivery of services such

5

as pensions, health, education etc while in negative sense it implies the attempt to provide services through regulation of market behaviour by setting the working hours, minimum wages, and similar other matters. In welfare debate the main focus is on social exclusion rather than the traditional problem of poverty because social exclusion is broader concept. In present day world the welfare is delivered by the govt through what is known as welfare state. The term welfare is sometimes also referred to as social welfare. The term welfare connotes the belief that govt has responsibility to promote social wellbeing of its citizens. The modern welfare states deliver welfare to their populations by following measures:-

- I) Welfare state and redistribution
- II) Social security and social expenditures
- III) Pensions
- IV) Health programmes

I) Welfare and redistribution:- Welfare state policies are based on redistribution of resources between different sections of population. Modern states have passed through several stages in providing greater public services to their citizens. Moving beyond the minimal safety net for those in greatest danger, gradually public services were extended to include larger sections of population to realize the equality of opportunity to all. For a long time the states refrained from social and economic intervention but the traumatic experience of Great Depression of 1930's and post World War II economic chaos effected the changes in traditional laissez faire doctorines. The states began to realize that markets didn't always function well and hence the governmental intervention to correct the necessary market failures was needed. In order to attain the major goals like reducing poverty, promoting equality of opportunity, social stability, social integration etc welfare states follow the policy of redistribution of resources I,e taxes and

6

contributions are collected from those who afford to and is being used to support those in need. It simply involves taking from some in order to give to others, that is why welfare state is also called Tax State. In modern welfare debate social exclusion is placed on high pedestal than poverty because it deals with the processes and conditions that detach individuals and groups from social mainstream. The concern of social exclusion is more commonly related with the pursuit of equality of opportunity and the redistribution not of wealth but of life chances.

II) Social security and social expenditures:- The social security programmes stabilize society by protecting the families and communities that form the base of society. Social security is in the interest of diverse societal groups ranging from big business to local charities for the disabled children. The welfare state ensures that some of the basic social services like health care, education etc should be collectively provided and funded because some individuals are unable to

afford such facilities for themselves. The states ensure welfare by the provision of Social Expenditures- the provision by public (and private) institutions of benefits to households and individuals in order to provide support during circumstances that adversely affect their welfare. In simple terms the sum total of all payments for public and private welfare expenditures is called Social Expenditures. As per OECD (Organisation for economic cooperation and development) the circumstances can include illness, old age, poor housing, unemployment etc. The support can take the forms of cash support e.g (pensions, family allowances etc), provision for goods and services e.g (housing programmes, labour market initiatives)

III) Pensions as welfare measure:- Pensions and health are two largest spending programmes in virtually every country. Both of them collectively constitute about three quarters of all social security expenditure in USA and

7

about 2/3rds in many European countries. The social security provisions for elderly ones were one of the first forms in many countries. These include pensions, early retirement pensions and reduced costs for things like transport and medicine. There are two ways of providing the elderly section with benefits.

A) State Pensions for General Population:- it is provided to everyone above a definite age usually 60 years and above. These benefits are neither based on earnings nor on contributions to a pension fund but simply on the factor of age and residence and on the pretext that each person is entitled to financial security in their old age.

B) Pension – Insurance Programmes:- It is based on the individual contributions to pension fund. Pension -insurance funds are increasingly found in most of the world countries. Insurance pensions are mostly paid from funds collected from the employee and employer contribution as against the general pension that is paid out of general taxation funds.

It is quite necessary to mention here that whether the pensions are met out from general taxation or from specific pension funds, it is based on the idea that the current working force is paying for the pensions of currently retired and the process goes on. A deep analysis of this idea reveals some inherent faults which demand the attention of states. For example what happens when population ages and only smaller population of working population can't afford the pensions of larger retired personells. Though some countries have floated a solution in the form of Capital Investment Scheme under which a citizen invests his pension savings during working life and lives off the pension income this generates when they retire, but this scheme is also fraught with problems like what happens if financial returns are not sufficient due to stock market fluctuations or what if someone is unable to invest much for decent pension income etc.

8

IV) Health programmes:- Just like age ill health is a universal reality. Health expenditures now account for a quarter of social expenditures in welfare states. In recent past the health expenditures have sky rocketed due to expensive medical technology and costly drugs. The health services can be organized as general and universal benefit (health for all) or as health insurance matter funded by private contributions. Health services include social security programmes to bear the costs of medical treatment and also the compensation for income loss due to ailment. The health benefits vary from country to country.

5) Crises in welfare state

Throughout the 20th century there was a sort of consensus about the necessity for some form of state welfare because of the existence of certain genuine collective ends unable to be met through voluntary action. However the model of welfare state as propounded by J Laski, J M Keynes, Beveridge etc established in countries like UK, Sweden, Germany etc revealed its inherent fallacies after about three decades. In due course of time such state became an overloaded state ridden with corruption and maladministration. During such situation and worsening economic slowdown the ideas of new brand of thinkers like R Nozick, M Friedman, F Hayek the welfare state doctrine was subjected to serious criticism. They justified the case of minimal state in their writings and paved the way for Rolling back of the Welfare state. These authors contented that due to the emergence of new challenges like environmental issues, health epidemics, nuclear weapons proliferation etc, the present state has to be strong. Their ideas gave rise to the revival of economic liberalism commonly called Neo classical liberalism. The neo liberals criticised the welfare for its coercive nature, curbing individual freedom and rights. Neoliberalism aimed at reversing the trend of big govt and state intervention. The welfare state is characterized by what they called churning whereby the services are funded by tax revenue which are then returned to the citizens in the form of compulsory services such as

9

unemployment insurance. The critics of welfare economics hold that inspite of state intervention unemployment and inflation still remain the permanent problems in welfare countries. It has also been found that welfare policies produce dependency culture which is inconducive to good citizenship. The 1990's are witness to real set back to welfare states and it is being argued that welfare states are expensive. Thus in the present crises the major point of debate is whether the state is an agency of redistribution of wealth and services from rich to poor or should it only provide safety net by establishing a minimum level of welfare beneath which no one should be allowed to fall. The present trend favors only the safety net to relieve absolute poverty.

6) Expected Questions

- Q1 What is welfare state? Describe in detail the welfare measures taken by Welfare state
- Q2 Write a detailed note on the evolution of welfare state
- Q3 Explain briefly the reasons for responsible for shift from nightwatchman state to welfare state
- Q4 How does welfare state ensure the upholding of social justice ideal?
- Q5 Evaluate the neoliberal critique of positive state.
- Q6 Critically discuss the role of welfare state in globalised world.

10

6) BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1) Political theory by A Heywood , Palgrave Macmillan, 2004
- 2) Political ideologies and democratic ideals by T Ball, R Dagger, O Neill , pearson 2014
- 3) Political ideologies by A Heywood , palgrave, 2004
- 4) Political theory, ideas and concepts by S Ramaswamy by PHI, 2015
- 5) Theoretical foundations of comparative politics by K Newton, J V Deth
- 6) Political ideologies an introduction by V Geoghegan, R Wilford, Routledge , 2014
- 7) Contemporary political theory, basic concepts and major trends by J C, Johari sterling, 2013.
- 8) Comparative politics by J C Johari, Sterling, 2004
- 9) Political theory by R Kumar, H Abbas , pearsonindia , 2012

Introduction to Political Theory. □ Lesson Title: Liberal Perspective of State □ Lesson Developer: Mr. Hafeez Ahmad Mir (Asst. Professor Political Science) Adress: Government Degree College Pulwama (Boys).

Table of Contents:

7. □ □ □ Introduction □
8. □ □ □ Perspective of State □
9. □ □ □ Ideological Basis of Liberal State □
10. □ □ □ Proponents of Liberal State □
11. □ □ □ Nature of Liberal State □
12. □ □ □ References □

1. Liberal Perspective of State

Introduction of State: The shadow of state falls upon almost every human activity. From education to economic management from social welfare to sanitation, from domestic order to external defence state shapes controls regulates supervises and authorises. The state is the pivot of political theory and politics. Even those aspects of life usually thought of private like marriage, divorce, abortion, religious worship are ultimately subject to the authority of state. State is central theme of political science. It is most powerful and most universal of all social institutions. It indeed touches every aspect of human life that is why it has captured the attention of all political philosophers since the days of Plato.

The state is a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders and exercises authority through a set of permanent institutions. These institutions are public and are funded at the public expense. It is possible to identify five key features of state.

7. □ □ □ The state is a sovereign. It exercises absolute and unrestricted power. It

stands above all other associations.

8. They are recognizably public responsible for making and enforcing collective decisions.
9. It is an exercise in legitimation. Decisions are binding on members of society.
10. It is an instrument of domination. A monopoly of legitimate violence.
11. It is a territorial association. Its jurisdiction is geographically defined. Conceptual understanding of perspectives of state. Reaching an agreement about what we mean by a state provides a basis upon which to examine a deeper problem. What is the nature of state power? What interests does the state represent?

2

From this view state is essentially a contested concept. There are number of theories each of which offers different account of its origins development and impact on society. Indeed controversy about nature of state power has increasingly dominated modern political analysis and goes to heart of ideological and theoretical disagreements in the discipline.

Does the state serve common or collective good or is it biased in favour of privileged groups. Similarly is the state positive or constructive force with responsibilities that should be enlarged or is it a negative or destructive entity that must be constrained or smashed together. Every perspective offers certain parameters. These are as under:

- Who rules? Is political participation confined to elite body or does it encompass the entire population.
- How is compliance achieved through force or through bargaining?
- Is Government power centralised or fragmented?
- Is regime open and competitive?

□□□What is the balance between state and individual? □

□□□How is economic life organised? □Liberal Perspective of State □Each perspective of state is dominated by a specific ideology. No perspective is ideology free. Liberal perspective is indeed a blend of two distinct and yet interrelated ideas within the notion of liberal democratic state. The liberal component signifies limits to state power by rejecting political absolutism backed by notion of divine rights of kings. The idea which was dominant in late 16th and early 17th centuries. The time when liberal ideas started to evolve. Following components are elements of liberalism. □

□□Individualism: It is core principal of liberal ideology. It reflects a belief in the supreme importance of human individual. The liberal goal is therefore to construct a society within which individual can flourish and develop.

3

□□□Freedom: Individual freedom or liberty is core value of liberalism. They □advocate freedom under law as they recognise that one person's liberty □may be threat or may become license. □

□□□Reason: Liberals believe that the world has a rational structure. It □encourages liberals to believe in progress and capacity of human beings to resolve their differences through debate and argument rather than bloodshed and war. □

□□□Equality : Liberals believe that individuals are born equal in terms of moral worth, equal rights entitlement and equality before law. They favour equality of opportunity. They support principle of meritocracy. □

□□□Toleration : Liberals believe in pluralism in the form of moral, cultural and political diversity. It promotes debate and intellectual progress by ensuring all beliefs are tested in a free market of ideas. □

□□□Consent: In liberal view the authority should always be based on consent. This doctrine encourages to favour representation. □

□□□Constitutionalism: Liberals see government vital for order and stability.

They are aware of the danger government may become a tyranny against the individual. They therefore believe in limited government. □Democratic Component: □People's Rule □Participation Representative Institutions Separation of powers Public Accountability □Proponents of Liberal Perspective of State, Thomas Hobbes □Hobbes laid the foundation of liberal state, though his philosophy contains illiberal features. He rejects Aristotle's belief that state is a natural which is needed for a good life and considers security and safety □

4 □ as the reasons for the state that was artificially created for specific ends.

The state according to him is an artificial body a third party and a consequence of each individual contracting with others agreeing to surrender their total powers. He deserves credit for inventing the state as an abstract entity separate from both sovereign and ruled. But Hobbes fails to carry contractarian argument to its logical conclusion by not renewing consent.

John Locke: From absolutist to a limited state.

Features of liberal state emerge properly in Locke's writing spirit form.

His first treatise is entirely devoted to showing that parental and political power are not the same. He creates state in a deliberate attempt as a legitimate political power based on consent. He regards all human authority and relationships as based on trust. He insists that a minority will consent to all things in the rule by majority through express and tacit consent. He circumvents Filmer's critique by insisting that legitimate power combines power with right or government cannot be arbitrary. All individuals have to be governed by the same ruler. Within the government it is the legislature that is supreme as people's representative with power to make laws. Besides legislature there is an executive that includes judicial power. He anticipated Montesquieu's theory of separation of power. Locke advocates a limited sovereign state as absolute power is both illegitimate and wicked. He describes a good state as one that exists for people who form it and not vice versa. His state is a tolerant state and pluralistic in nature. The state cannot demand more power on pretext of public welfare. Supreme power resides in the

people, as the people, as a community have inalienable rights to institute and dismiss a government.

Institutional Safeguard for limited State:

Montesquieu's main accomplishment has been the annunciation of ways to protect the civil society against the arbitrary power of the sovereign for absence of protection leads to despotism and any kind of civilised life becomes difficult if not possible. Montesquieu agrees and argues that to avoid tyranny. It is still necessary that government is based on law like Hobbes law is what the

5

state enacts but not arbitrary but by taking into consideration varying climatic and geographical circumstances of each community. In each community, sovereignty is divided among their authorities to ensure liberty of people. Besides Locke's legislature, there is an executive and judiciary and all three are in separate hands. Each balancing and checking the other which the U.S constitution embodies. He instructs a legislature to take into cognizance factors like people's customs, prejudices religion and traditions while codifying laws.

Nature of State Limited and Non-Interventionist State

Classical Liberal View:

The theme of classical liberal view is commitment to an extreme form of individualism. In Tom Paine's words state is a necessary evil. It is necessary at the least it established order and security and ensures that contracts are enforced. It is an evil; it restricts and limits freedom of an individual. It advocates establishment of night watchman state or minimal state. It focusses on unsympathetic attitude of state towards individuals. It believes in free market economy and in a belief that the economy works best when left alone by government. This laissez-faire view is seen as guaranteeing prosperity, upholding individual liberty as this allows individuals to rise and fall according to merit and thus ensuring social justice.

Limited to an interventionist state: The state is characterised by a more sympathetic attitude towards intervention. The state is described as nanny state. It has extensive social responsibilities. This view provides for the basis for social or welfare liberalism and believes social welfare can enlarge liberty by safeguarding individuals from social evils. J.S.Mill is the leading exponent of interventionist state. He prescribes optional areas of state interference in fields of education, care of children, relief for poor, decent standard of living. The liberal doctrine underwent a revision in the hands of Green who integrated Hegelianism with liberal individualism. Green argued that the state is an The institution whose purpose is to ensure common good. The function of a state for Green is not the maintenance of law and order but removal of hindrances in person's moral development. The state is moral because it creates conditions that enable its members to fulfil their basic potentialities.

Heywood Andrew Political Ideologies and Introduction Palgrave. □

Ramaswamy Sushila, Political Theories, Ideas and Concepts PHI □ New delhi. □

Kumar Ranajay and Abbas Hoveyda, Political Theory Pearson. □

Heywood Andrew Politics 3rd Edition Plagrove. □

Heywood Andrew An Introduction to Political Theory Palgrave. □

Mohanty Biswaranjan Dynamics of Political Theory-1 Atlantic □ New Delhi. □

Marxist Perspective of the State

Introduction

Let us first briefly understand the importance of the state and for that I will try to quote briefly one important philosopher of the history of political thought i.e. Aristotle who is in favour of the state. For Him state is natural organisation and not an artificial one. Unlike Plato's ideal state, Aristotle's state is not structural or manufactured, not a make, but is a growth, it grows like a tree. Man and woman join together to setup a family or household. The expansion of family leads to formation of village and combination of villages into a formation of city or state. Aristotle says that state is necessary as well as natural for human beings. As Aristotle argued that he who does not live in a state or who does not need a state is either beast or god. Man, outside the state loses his identity. His statement is based on logic. You can't think of 'man' (the civilized human being) until you think he is living in a 'state' otherwise he is just like other animals. Man is always interested in pursuing good life; so, he lives in a state which is indispensable instrument of good life.

Having said that, when we read Marx, his perception against state is entirely different. He views state in negative character.

For Marx Society and state are essentially two different institutions. The society is natural while state as agency of exploitation of poor by rich. Marx did not accept that state existed for the sake of good life or that it was natural organisation. The rich in order to maintain their economic and political supremacy want the state to continue.

According to Marx state is not natural and universal. The state has not always been there. It arose out of the necessity of holding class antagonisms in check but it became an instrument in the hands of economically dominant class to establish its rule. It is always an endeavour of state that proletarians i.e. Working class do not rebel against bourgeoisie i.e. capitalist class.

Marx believes society has gone through four basic stages. From earliest to latest, these are:

- Tribal,
- Communal,
- Feudal, and
- Bourgeois

Tribal society is ancient society, before civilization was highly developed.

Communal society corresponds to the ancient world, including the Greek polis and the Roman Empire.

Feudal society is that of Europe in the Middle Ages,

Bourgeois or Capitalist society is what existed in Marx's own day. This last is possibly what exists in much of the world at the present time. It is not clear whether Marx's view is that all societies must go through these four stages, or only the ones in Western Europe in which he is most interested.

To understand the evolution of these different stages, Marx has given us concept of Historical Materialism.

Historical Materialism

Historical materialism is empirical basis of Marxism. Empirical basis means gaining of knowledge by direct and indirect observation or experience. Marx called his interpretation of history "materialist" to distinguish it from Hegel's "idealist" interpretation. Where Hegel had seen history as the story of spirit's self-realization, Marx observed history as the story of class struggles over opposing material, or economic interests and resources. All social relations in any stage of history were determined by the economic conditions.

Humanity he stated had passed through four historical stages and was about to enter to fifth and final era. Each historical era had been characterised by a particular economic system (the means and relations of production), leading to a specific political system (superstructure).

The first phase of human history was based on primitive communism. In this stage all people worked together to produce their livelihood and they shared it with one another. There was no division of labour and there was no occupational specialization.

The antithesis to this system developed when people started to specialize in production of certain goods. This led to division labour and the original collectivism of society was lost. As people started to produce their specialities and they traded them for products other people produced. This led to birth of concept of private property. This occupational specialization and

concept of private property resulted in the beginnings of a class structure that created conflict within the society. This conflict led to a new era i.e. Tribal stage.

As the members of a tribe began to distinguish among themselves, they also began to develop prejudices against other tribes. Eventually after much strife, a new order was born because one tribe or a group of people, came to dominate others. The dominant people forced the dominated people into servitude. Hence, slavery became the basis of economic system in the next era. The political system of this class relation i.e. Master-Slave was Empire.

The era of slavery and empire met antithesis from the barbarian groups. Barbarian in Greek period where those people who don't speak Greek and lived outside towns. When the barbarians challenged the empire and finally prevailed over them, this gave rise to a new political-economic system, called feudalism.

Feudalism was a system in which a landed aristocracy provided security protection to the serfs and they farmed the lands of nobles. Since feudalism depended on a large number of self-sufficient manors, trade was almost completely stopped for a time. Gradually, the stability provided by the nobles and the demand for luxury items stimulated a rebirth of trade. The aristocrats, however usually looked down on commerce, so trade and its profits were left to a new class, the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie antithesis grew in strength until it finally toppled the feudal aristocracies in a series of revolutions; the English Revolution in the 1640s and the American war of independence(1775-83) and French revolution (1789-99) are the earliest best-known examples in which bourgeoisie class desired to free themselves from feudal system which encroached their personal liberty, commercial prospects and ownership of private property.

The new era initiated by those revolutions introduced the concept of capitalism. In capitalism we have again two classes, i.e. Capitalists and Proletariat class. Marx believed that tension between the two classes would intensify into a new and this time final, dialectic struggle. He believed that proletarians would overthrow capitalist system and this will be victory of proletariat class. It would be victory of exploited over exploiter. It is at this stage State will

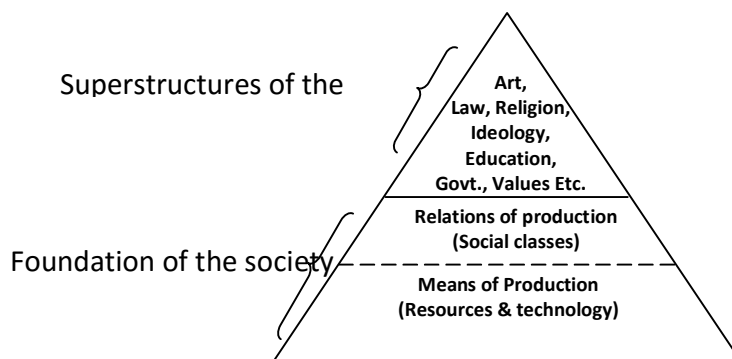
wither away. Marx believed that proletariat would not be exploitative because it would have evolved socialist mentality. In this socialist society all people would find peace and happiness.

Methodology

How different societies functioned in history in a particular way, Marx introduces to us four elements of a given society which are:

1. Forces of production
2. Relations of production
3. Political forms
4. Ideas.

His basic claim is that (1) and (2), which are commonly referred to as a society's "base" or "economic base" influence (3) and (4), which are commonly referred to as its "superstructure." In addition, within the base, (1) influences (2).



Material production requires two things. First, it requires what Marx called the forces of production. By productive forces, Marx means what people use in order to satisfy their daily needs i.e. need for food, clothing, and shelter. And the forces of production are tools and equipment as well as Labour power (Which Involves Human Knowledge and Skills). We may refer to the productive forces in general in a society as its "means of production." The Second Factor for material production requires what Marx called "the social relations of production." Human beings organize themselves in order to extract the raw materials; to make, operate, and repair the machinery; to build and staff the factories; and so on. However, primitive or sophisticated, material production requires a degree of specialization—what Adam Smith called the "division of labour" and Marx the Social Relations of Production or to use Marx's more familiar term, class relations.

FORCES OF PRODUCTION IN DIFFERENT SOCIETIES

In Primitive Hunting Society, where people used to hunt wild animals for their survival, forces of production were hunter bow, arrows, knives and other tools.

In Agrarian Society, the forces of production were seeds to be sowed, the ploughs, and other tools which are used in planting and harvesting the crops. This also includes the other tools that were utilised in separating the wheat from the chaff, pounding the grain, and baking the bread.

In Industrial Society, the forces of production are raw materials like minerals (iron, copper, coal, , petroleum, etc), and machinery for extracting these raw materials from their natural state, the factories in which these materials are turned into commodities, and transport system like trucks, , trains, ships for transporting raw materials to the factories and finished products to market.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN DIFFERENT SOCIETIES

In Hunting Society younger males used to be hunters; the role of females was household work like to bear and raise the children and transform the skins into clothing, blankets, and other useful items;

In an Agricultural Society, the social relations of production can be those who make the agriculture tools, farmers, who grind food grains, and who bake the bread.

In an Industrial Society, the social relations of production are even more complex. They include the miners who extract the ore; the railways who transport raw materials to the factory; the people who invent, build, operate, and repair the machines; the bankers and brokers who raise the capital and the investors who invest and many more.

Out of these social relations of production the different classes arise. Marx suggests that for purposes of “scientific” social analysis, we can simplify somewhat by imagining any society to contain two antagonistic classes, one of which dominates the other.

Which class you belong to depends upon your relation to the forces of production.

Simply, you belong to the subservient class if you are yourself merely a means or a force of production. If you own or control the forces of production-including the human forces-then you belong to the dominant class.

Let us discuss interplay of factors i.e. 1. Forces of production 2. Relations of production 3. Political forms 4. Ideas. Visa viz different stages of human history which show us how rich or powerful at every stage of human life have exploited the weaker sections economically as well as politically.

Communal Stage (Master and Slaves)

Marx believes a central fact of human history is the existence of social relations through which workers have been exploited by other people who owned the means of production. The key to production in communal society was the existence of slavery. Not only were tools possessed as means of production, but people were as well. They were forced to work for their owners and received little reward for their labour. The fundamental class antagonism in communal society was between masters and slaves. Marx refers to this society as “communal,” because the citizens held power over their slaves only as a community, rather than through individual ownership of them.

It is apparent that in this society, as in all others, the exploited class objected to its situation and attempted to resist, when this was possible. In this society as in all others, the remaining two elements of society, political forms and ideas, came into existence in order to keep the lower class in check. Political forms in the different stages of society are closely related to what we know as the state, although states, properly speaking, arose in Europe only in the sixteenth century. The main political forms in the ancient world, the polis and the Roman city-state, were organizations developed by the masters to suppress their slaves. If the slaves attempted to resist, the organized force of the exploiting classes was used against them.

Ideas are necessary because force alone is an inefficient means of controlling the oppressed class. A far better situation is when the slaves can be brought to believe they are somehow naturally fitted to their position as slaves, and so will not rebel against it. The masters too require

justification of their position. A set of ideas that fulfils these important functions, thereby supporting the existing class structure, is referred to by Marx as an “ideology.”

Feudal Stage

Feudal society is essentially agricultural. In feudal society the two contending classes are the feudal lords and their serfs. In this stage land is owned by the dominant class and some people are involved to this land, as serfs.

Under one typical arrangement, the serf farms two plots of land. He keeps the produce of one but must turn over that of the other to his master, who owns both plots.

The essential fact of exploitation is visible in this form of ownership as well. While serfs work endlessly, own nothing, and enjoy few fruits of their labour, their masters own all the land, and live in leisure.

Naturally, the serfs are unhappy with their lot and would rise in rebellion—as they did periodically throughout medieval history. To keep them in line, the masters have organized political force in the form of the feudal state, although once again the word “state” is anachronistic here. Regardless of what we call this institution, however, its essence is organized violence intended to keep the serfs in line.

To justify the overall system, an ideology is appealed to, in this case the Christian religion. In de-emphasizing the value of this world and stressing the importance of salvation in the next, Christianity resigns the oppressed to their fate. It also teaches obedience to higher authorities, and that God is responsible for whether people are free or slave, rich or poor. Distinctions such as these mean nothing in God’s eyes; God views all people as equal in regard to the fundamental matter of eternal salvation. Thus, both masters and serfs can accept the existing order as in accordance with God’s will.

Bourgeoise System

The forces of production in bourgeois society are industrial. Industrial production is carried on within the structure of a two-class system: the bourgeoisie own the means of production; the workers, or proletariat, own only their labour (their labour power, to use the technical term) and so work in factories for wages, to earn their keep. The working and living conditions of the proletariat during the period when Marx developed his system were horrific. These are

documented in Engels' classic *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), and in many of Marx's works, especially *Capital*. If we penetrate beneath the surface of capitalist society, we can see the fundamental fact of class exploitation here as well. The bourgeoisie own the means of production, live in relative ease, and enjoy all society's benefits. The proletariat work long hours in horrendous conditions, own little, and live in poverty and squalor. Once again, the oppressed class is not content with its lot and would rise in revolt, if it could. To keep them in line, the bourgeoisie have organized means of force, the liberal state. To justify the existing order, they have concocted a powerful set of ideas, especially the basic liberal notions of natural rights and the free market.

Marx believes that, in reality, the way society is ordered is not arbitrary. The social order has been set up in a particular way to promote the interests of the dominant class. In a class-divided society, Marx says, we will always see "ideology" operating for the benefit of the dominant class and to the detriment of the subservient class.

Questions

1. What do you mean by Historical Materialism?
2. Explain what do you understand by Base and Superstructure of Society
3. What are means of production?
4. What are forces of production?
5. Explain Marxian Perspective of State?

Bibliography

1. Contemporary political ideologies by Layman Tower
2. Political Ideologies by Andrew Heywood
3. Political ideologies-an introduction by V. Geoghegan et al
4. Political Ideologies by Terence Ball

POLITICS AS POWER

Politics, in its broadest sense means the activity through which people make decisions, arrive at conclusions and define the general rules governing them. Hence, it is essentially a Group Activity. Being a group activity, Politics is inextricably linked to the issue of Conflict and Cooperation. Arriving at a consensual decision involves management of various differing opinions, different desires and wants and opposing interests. To work for the benefit of all-Politics has to be Consensual where the group interests of various groups are taken care of. Hence, Hannah Arendt defines political power as 'Acting in concert'. Precisely due to this Politics is often referred as the process of Conflict Resolution., in which varied opinions, opposing viewpoints and differing interests are reconciled with each other.

DEFINING POLITICS

Politics is defined in various ways and it means different things to different people. There is lack of Consensus about what it means even in the Political Theorists and the Academicians. Hence, politics is essentially a Contested Concept as the term has various acceptable or legitimate meanings.

Politics is defined as the Exercise of power, exercise of authority, collective decision making, Allocation of resources, conflict resolution etc. politics is also defined as the Art of government, as compromise and consensus and as power.

Politics as Power

Defining politics as Power is the broadest and the most radical definition of power. Power view of politics sees politics at the heart of every human interaction and in every corner of human existence. Political power is all around us, visible and invisible. It is manifested in the everyday social relations, in people ideologies and their actions.

Politics is, in essence, power. The ability to achieve a desired outcome through whatever means. Robert Dahl defines power as influence over the actions of others. He argues, A has power over B to the extent that he/she can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do. Others like Steven Lukes, criticize this definition arguing that it fails to capture additional, less overt dimensions of power, like power to shape political agendas or power as agenda-setting. Another theorist of power, Harold Laswell adds a distinctly economic dimension to power, hence politics by saying, Politics is about 'who gets what, when and how'- or decisions on who gets what.

Politics can therefore be seen as a struggle over scarce resources, and power can be seen as the means through which this struggle is conducted.

Advocates of this view of politics include Feminists and Marxists. Feminists argue that the conventional definitions of politics have effectively excluded women from the political life. They criticise the notion of 'women being confined to the private sphere' of existence centred around family and domestic responsibilities. Feminists have therefore attacked the public/private divide by raising the slogan of, Personal is Political. For feminists, what goes on in domestic, family and personal life is intensely political in nature and is the basis of all other political struggles.

Marxists, on the other view politics as the part of the state Apparatus. Hence, in Communist Manifesto, Marx says, political is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. Hence, for Marxists, political power is rooted in the class system as Lenin puts it, 'Politics is the most concentrated form of economics.' Marxists can be said to believe that 'the economic is political'.

For both Feminists and Marxists, this structured nature of politics and political power has to be challenged and changed. Marxists claim that class exploitation would be overthrown by a proletarian revolution and Feminists proclaim that gender relations in society can be reordered and restructured by bringing a sexual revolution.

In contrast to above negative notions of power which see power as a tool of domination and oppression, Hannah Arendt sees power as Empowering. In contrast to Hobbes and Lukes, Arendt's positive concept of power refutes the violence and domination. Arendt formulated the concept of power distinguished from force or the mere domination. "Power", for her, "is always, as we would say, a power potential and not an unchangeable, measurable and reliable entity like force or strength". Arendt emphasizes on the concept of **empowerment**, rights, and 'power to'. In short, she concentrated her critiques of power on the concept of power qua rights.

The three dimensions of power: Steven Luke

Steven Lukes' theory of "three faces of power," presented in his book, *Power: A Radical View* is an important addition in the discussion about political power. This theory claims that power is exercised in three ways: decision-making power, non-decision-making power, and ideological power.

Decision-making power is the most public of the three dimensions. Analysis of this "face" focuses on policy preferences revealed through political action.

Non-decision-making power is that which sets the **agenda** in debates and makes certain issues (e.g., the merits of **capitalism in India**) unacceptable for discussion in "legitimate" public forums.

Adding this face gives a two-dimensional view of power allowing the analyst to examine both current and potential issues, expanding the focus on observable conflict to those types that might be observed overtly or covertly.

Ideological power allows one to influence people's wishes and thoughts, even making them want things opposed to their own self-interest (e.g., causing women to support a patriarchal society). Lukes offers this third dimension as a "thoroughgoing critique" of the behavioural focus of the first two dimensions, supplementing and correcting the shortcomings of previous views, allowing the analyst to include both latent and observable conflicts. Luke's claims that a full critique of power should include both subjective interests and those "real" interests held by those excluded by the political process.

For Lukes, the most insidious and important form of power is domination. His third dimension occurs not only where there is domination, but where the dominated acquiesce in their domination. Such acquiescence may happen in

both a thick and a thin sense (Scott, 1990): the thick sense where people actively believe the values which oppress them and the thin where they are merely resigned to them.

FORMS OF POWER

All power can be broadly categorised into three main forms. Political, economic and Ideological.

POLITICAL POWER

Political power is the power of political coercion and political authority. Force is the basis of state power and although it is only a background condition on normal civilian politics, yet its presence is the essence of any political relationship. Political coercion is exercised over the citizens by agents of government using force or the immediate threat of it, leaving the citizens with no real choice about their behaviour.

Today direct physical coercion is the prerogative of the state. Law is a set of rules according to which the state exercises its monopoly of coercive power, declared and enforced, as the only legitimate power. It is through the use of this power that policies are made, implemented and those who disobey are punished. As Max Weber says, 'State has the monopoly over the legitimate use of violence.'

ECONOMIC POWER: The attention towards the economic and ideological aspects of power was drawn mainly by the Marxist writers. The control over the will of the majority by minority is exercised not only by the compulsions of law and other physical coercive means but also in a more subtle manner. With economic power, the holder of political power may bring about the

compliance of the masses either by giving reward or something of value to those who submit or by denying wealth, income, goods and services to those who oppose the power wielders.

It is an important source to purchase submission. Its possession gives access to the most commonplace exercise of power which is bending the wills of others by straight forward purchase. Through economic reward or punishment, those who hold economic power are able to win daily submission of work lives of millions. The power theory of politics, however, underplays the importance of economic power.

IDEOLOGICAL POWER

Apart from political and economic power, there is another dimension of power known as ideological power. Liberal writers like Max Weber, Lucian Pye, Sydney Verba, Almond etc., associate ideological power with religion, education, culture, literature and history. In America, this has been called 'the opinion business' or 'the persuasion industry' through which the ideas, thoughts and values of the masses are moulded in a particular fashion so as not to be a threat to the wielders of political power. This is done through mass propaganda, means of education and mass media like T.V., newspapers, magazines etc.

An in-depth study of the ideological dimension of power has been made by Marxist writers like Marx, Lenin, Gramsci, Lukacs, Althusser, Milliband, Poulantzas, Nigil Harris, Marcuse etc. According to Marxism, ideological power acts like a mediator in the context of other powers in the society. If the economic power is to transform itself into political power, it uses ideological power as a means to achieve this goal.

Marxism has been very much concerned with the question how the dominant classes in the society; in the conditions of open competition, are able to secure their predominance? The answer was given by Marx in his familiar formulation: 'The ideas of the ruling class are, in every epoch, the ruling ideas and that the reason for this was that the class which is the ruling material force in society, is at the same time, its ruling intellectual force.' The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production.

Whereas political is the power of physical compulsion, economic power is the power of rewards or deprivation, ideological power is the power of ideas,

opinion, beliefs, culture, traditions, through which mental consciousness of the masses is controlled to produce a kind of political atmosphere convenient to the power wielders.

Thus, if we define politics as the study of power, it is the unity of political, economic and ideological aspects and it. Through the combined use of these various forms of power, politics is defined and redefined in various human societies and a mass of majority of people is controlled by a small minority.