

POLITICAL IDEAS, CONCEPTS AND IDEOLOGIES

III/IV SEMESTER

**BA
HISTORY/ECONOMICS/SOCIOLOGY/
PHILOSOPHY & ENGLISH**

Complementary Course (POL4(3) CO2)



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UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

STUDY MATERIAL

Complementary Course for

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POL4(3) CO2: Political Ideas, Concepts and Ideologies

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MODULE I

LAW , LIBERTY, EQUALITY, JUSTICE, RIGHTS, AND DUTIES.

LAW - MEANING AND DIMENSIONS

It is difficult to give an exact definition of law. Laws have different meanings at different contexts. It prescribes the general conditions of human activity in the state. It refers to body of rules which regulate and guide human conduct in various spheres of state and individual activities. It is a body of principles recognized and applied by the state through a set of institutions. They are virtually commands, ordering or prohibiting certain actions and affect everyday life and society in a variety of ways. The policies of the state are expressed through laws and disobedience/violation of laws involves punishment.

Definitions

The term law is derived from the old Teutonic root 'lag' which means something which lies fixed. In English language the term law is used to denote something which is uniform. The Oxford dictionary defines law as "a rule of conduct imposed by an authority". Some of the definitions of law are as follows:

1. Woodrow Wilson: " law as the portion of that established thought and habit which has gained distinct and formal recognition in the sphere of uniform rules backed by the authority and power of the government".
2. John Austin: " law as a command of a sovereign who receives habitual obedience from the people living within his jurisdiction".
3. Holland : " A law is a general rule of external human action enforced by a sovereign political authority ".
4. Salmond: "Law is a collection of the rules which the state recognises and applies in the administration of justice".
5. T.H.Green: " The law is a system of rights and obligations which the state enforces".
6. Pound : " The law constitutes body of principles recognised or enforced by public and regular tribunals in the administration of justice".
7. Krabbe : "Law is the expression of the judgements of value which we human beings make by virtue of our disposition and nature".

From the above definitions there are certain characteristics of law:

1. Law is concerned with the external actions of the people.
2. Law is definite and is universally applicable.
3. Law is enforced by the supreme authority of the state.
4. Law is essential for maintaining peace and order in the state.
5. Violation of law is a crime and is punishable.

6. Law is concerned with the external behavior of man.
7. Obedience of law is compulsory.
8. Law is meant for the welfare of all.

SOURCES OF LAW

According to Holland, Customs, Religion, Equity, Judicial Decisions, Scientific Discussion and Legislation are the major sources law.

1. CUSTOMS:

Customs play a decisive role in the framing of laws. It is the earliest source of law and plays an important role in its growth. Most of law spring from the customs and are recognized by the state. In every society people observe certain common rules of conduct. These rules of conduct are popularly known as customs. It may be defined "as a body of rules universally accepted and followed due to their utility". When the state came into existence it recognised some of the customs and these acquired the status of law.

2. RELIGION :

In primitive society religion played a decisive role in the framing of laws. Like customs religion has been the earliest school of law. It highly influenced and regulated the social conduct of the people. With the passage of time, the religious principles went deep into human psychology. The modern jurists had to incorporate the religious principles in the body of law. In India we can get the Hindu Law based on the Code of Manu, the Mohammedian Law based on Quran and the Christian Law based on the Bible. In ancient India, it was the duty of the King to uphold Dharma and the source of the Dharma was the Vedas.

3. EQUITY:

Another source of law is equity. It means fairness or justice. Judges in every country have contributed a lot towards the process of law making. They make new laws in the course of their judicial decisions. Sometime a case about which existing laws are silent may come up before a judge. In such case, he will give his judgement by consulting his own sense of justice and fair-play. In the words of Gilchrist, "Equity is an informal method of making new law or altering old law, depending on intrinsic fairness or equality of treatment".

4. JUDICIAL DECISIONS OR ADJUDICATIONS;

Judicial decisions play an important role in the framing of laws. Gettell said that the state "arose not as the creator of law but as the interpreter and enforcer of custom". The function of the Judge is to interpret and declare law. Through its interpretations, the Judge makes new laws and later on recognised by the state. In this way judicial decisions are another source of law.

5. SCIENTIFIC COMMENTARIES.

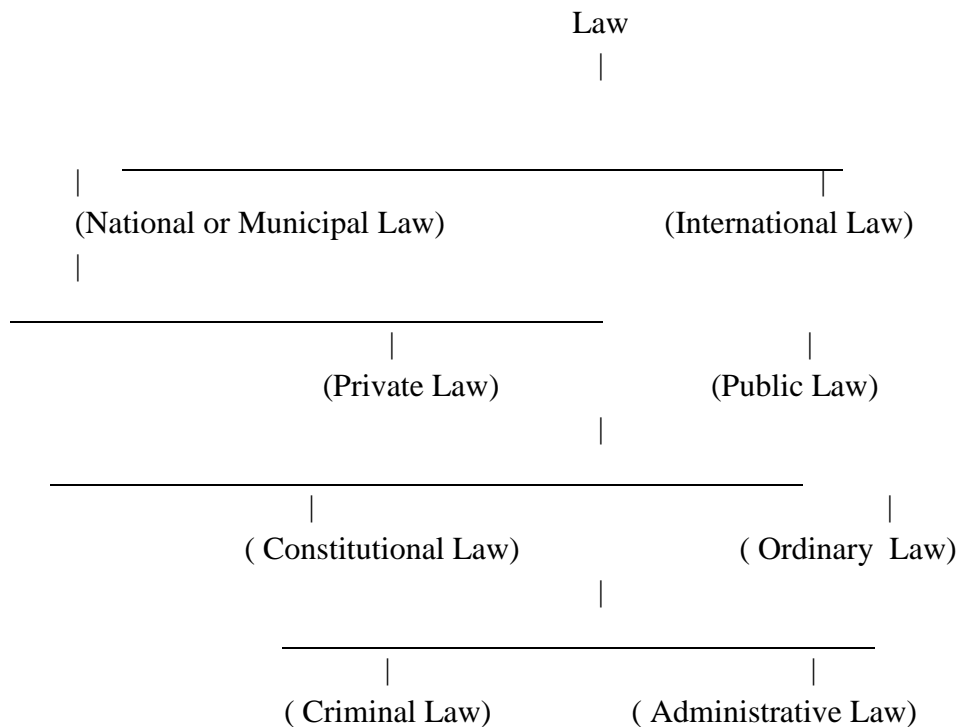
Scientific discussion and commentaries are the another source of law. The commentaries or writings of great jurists sometime become the important source of law. They are valuable for the lawyer and judge. It is referred during the discussions of a particular case in a court of law. "It provides the basis for new law, not the new law itself"

Firstly the commentary appears for the convince of argument, but later on which the authority is recognised and it becomes law. For example the commentaries of Blackstone and Coke greatly influence to British legal system.

6. LEGISLATION

Legislation is the modern and most important source of law mainly in democratic countries. Legislature constantly repeals and amends the old laws which are outdated or requires modifications. It makes new laws to meet the requirements of time. It is absorbing other sources of laws. Hence in the words of Woodrow Wilson "All means of formulating laws tend to be swallowed up in one great, deep and broadening sense, legislation". Gilchrist says " it is the chief source of law and is tending to supplant the other sources. Customs and equity are both largely replaced by legislative acts. The codification of law tends to narrow down the field of judicial decisions as a source of law and scientific commentaries are used merely for discussions".

KINDS OF LAWS



It is a body of rules which governs the relationship among independent sovereign states. These laws are not framed by any sovereign law making authority nor is any sovereign authority to enforce them. These laws are meant for regulating the conduct of various state in the world.

1. National or Municipal Law:

It is the body of the rule interacted by the state and governs the rights and duties of the citizen towards each other and towards the state within the municipal boundaries. While International Law is the law between the states, National or Municipal Law is the law within the state.

2. Public Law :

It is the law which determines the relationship between the state and the citizens. According to Holland, "the public law is concerned with the organization of the state , the limits on the functions of the government and the relation between the state and the citizens".

3. Private Law:

It is the body of rules which governs the relationship of people among themselves. It regulates and determines the relations of citizens to one another. In the words of Holland," the parties concerned the private individuals above and between whom stands the state as an impartial arbiter".

4. Constitutional Law :

It is the supreme law of the land. The laws that define, interpret and regulate the functions of the government are known as Constitutional Law. It is through these laws that various organs of the government are regulated and relation between the state and citizens are established. It may be written or unwritten and usually enacted by a constituent assembly setup for framing the constitution.

5. Ordinary Law:

The Ordinary Law is framed by the government as the part of national law by which the relations of individuals are determined. It is permanent in nature and considered to be the part of the law of the land.

6. Administrative Law:

Administrative Law is the part of public law which regulates the conduct of public officials in discharge of their duties.

Administrative Law determines the mutual rights and duties of public officials and the citizens. This law is not administered by the ordinary courts but by the administrative courts. In the words of Dicey, Administrative Laws interpret the office and the responsibilities of government servants.

7. Common Law:

Common law is based on customs, traditions, and usages. They are recognised and enforced by courts in England. When this common law attain in written form it is known as civil law.

LIBERTY

The term liberty is derived from the Latin word 'liber' which means free. It has been defined in various ways. The centre theme of liberty is the absence of all restraints and freedom to do whatever one likes. But it is not possible to have such a liberty while living in society. Man is a social animal and he is living in society. He must, therefore, adjust his liberty with due regard to the liberty of others. Regulation of human conduct and behaviour is indispensable in social life. The fundamental maxim of liberty is that law is the condition of liberty. Prof. Barker has pointed out that just as the absence of ugliness does not mean presence of beauty, so the absence of all restraints does not mean the presence of liberty. Freedom is a very precious condition without which neither the state nor the individuals can make any progress.

Definitions

1. **G.D.H Cole** defines liberty **“as the freedom of every individual to express without external hindrance in his personality.”**
2. **Prof. Seeley** defines liberty **“as the absence of restraints or the opposite of over government.”**
3. **Herbert Spencer** --**“Liberty is the freedom to do whatever one likes provided it does not injure the feelings of others.”**
4. **Gandhi**-- **"Liberty does not mean the absence of restraint but it lies in development of Liberty."**
5. 'Liberty' According to **Burns**, **“means liberty to grow to one's natural height, to develop one's abilities”**.
6. **Harold Laski** maintains, " without rights there cannot be liberty because, without rights , men are the subjects of law unrelated to the needs of personality"

NATURE OF LIBERTY

Negative liberty

Berlin defines Negative Liberty as a freedom from interference from others. It means absence of unreasonable restraints. Simply negative liberty means, the absence of coercion by individuals or institutions over interference into the private sphere of an individual. It assures dichotomy between two areas of activity, the area of public authority and area of private life. How wider or narrow are the two respective areas is a matter of discussion and determined by social and economic circumstances.

Liberty plays an important role in the development of an individual. The state should guarantee only non-interference by one with the other. So far as the choice of the individual is concerned, he must be his own master. The individualist school of thought was the main supporter of negative concept of liberty.

The major exponents of negative concept of liberty are J.S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Bentham, Smith etc.

Positive Liberty

Positive concept of liberty means that the state creates positive conditions for a good life. It demands conditions which are essential for self-development of the individuals. Every individual must enjoy the benefit of social life. In the words of Laski, "liberty means the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men can have the opportunity to be their best selves". Thus positive concept of liberty means the removal of hindrances from the way of good life and the creation of equal opportunities for all. All the modern democratic states have more or less accepted this positive concept of liberty.

Positive concept of liberty was advocated by Laski, T.H. Green, Kant, Hegel.

Kinds of Liberty

1. Natural Liberty:

Natural liberty is generally identified with unlimited and unrestricted freedom. Natural liberty according to Hobbes, is the absolute right of man in the state of nature to all things including the right to kill other man. In the social life no man enjoys natural liberty since he is subject to regulations and rules named by the government and moral pressures of society.

The advocates of natural liberty hold that man is free by nature and that it is civilization, which is responsible for his bondage. Rousseau was the chief exponent of the concept of natural liberty, and natural liberty existed in that state of nature. He says men lost his natural liberty with emerges of the state or civil society.

2. Civil Liberty:

Civil liberty implies freedom enjoyed by the people in civil society. Civil liberty is created by the civil rights guaranteed by the state. The more the civil rights, the more the civil liberty. According to Gettle, "civil liberty consists of the rights and privileges which the state creates and protects for its subjects". It is manifested in concrete terms in rights such as the right of freedom, the right of life, freedom of speech and expression, property, association, education etc.

3. Political Liberty:

Political liberties are based on the political rights of an individual and is the freedom to participate in the political life and affairs of the state. Political liberty is essentially associated with democracy and it makes a state into a democratic one. Without political liberty neither the state can be democratic nor the individual can enjoy full civil liberties. The two essential conditions necessary for the existence of political liberties are education and free press. It consists of the right to vote, right to stand for election, right to hold public office and the right to criticize the government.

4. Economic Liberty:

Economic liberty implies that the basic necessities of life should be assured to everybody. It means absence of economic disparities, exploitation, insecurity, unemployment and starvation. Economic liberty is said to be the mother of all other

liberties. Civil and political liberties become meaningless in the absence of economic liberty. In his book 'Grammar of Politics', Prof: Laski defines economic liberty thus: "By economic liberty, I mean security and the opportunities to find reasonable significance in the earning of one's daily bread".

5. Moral Liberty:

Moral liberty implies the right of an individual to act according to his conscience. It means the freedom of an individual to act as rational being. It is given an opportunity to express and develop his personality. It is possible in a democratic state and not in a totalitarian state. In totalitarian state people are expected to act according to the orders of the government and not according to their inner conscience.

6. National Liberty

National liberty implies the liberty of the nation or the country. It exists where the nation or the community is independent and sovereign. It means that, a nation which is completely free from foreign domination. Every nation has a birthright to regulate its national life as it likes. If a nation is under the control of others, no cultural, social, economic and political developments are possible.

Safeguards of Liberty

1. Establishment of Democracy.

Liberty can exist only in a democratic form of government. In a democratic government run by the elected representatives of the people, government is accountable to and removable by the people. In this system, political power resides in the hands of the people.

2. Fundamental Rights:

Another prerequisite of liberty is that there should be a supreme law of the country, namely, the constitution. These rights protect the personal liberties of citizens from the state interference. Thus constitution safeguards the liberty of the people and it is a custodian of those liberties.

3. Independence of Judiciary:

The judges are the interpreters of the constitution and the courts are the custodians of the liberty of the people. So liberty can be enjoyed only if there is an independent judiciary. It is completely free from the influence of legislature and executive. Only an impartial and independent judiciary can safeguard the rights and liberties of the people.

4. Eternal vigilance:

Lord Bryce has aptly remarked, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty". People should be conscious of their rights and duties and they should be always ready to safeguard them. They should always alert and ready to resist any irresponsible interference or encroachment on liberty from the state.

5. Separation of powers:

Another condition of liberty is that there should be separation of powers. Separation of powers is an effective safeguard for individual liberty. In the interests of individual liberty, legislature, executive and judiciary wings of the government should be vested separate and distinct organs, each independent of the other.

6. Rule of Law:

Rule of law is an essential prerequisite of liberty. It means equality before law and equal protection of law. Nobody is above law, law applies to everyone equally and violation of law will be punished equally. It also means that no person can be deprived of his life, liberty and property except in accordance with law. In the rule of law the government work must be done in accordance with the procedure prescribed by law. Thus the rule of law is an effective instrument of individual liberty.

7. Decentralisation of Powers:

Decentralisation of powers ensure a large participation of people in the democratic process of the country, reduces work load and improves the efficiency of the government and prevents the rise of dictatorship. Laski observes that "the more widespread distribution of power in the state, the more decentralised its character". So at every level of administration there should be representation of the people and that is essential for safeguarding the liberty of the people.

8. Absence of special of privilege:

Another prerequisite of liberty is that none in society should enjoy any privileges based on caste, sex, colour, religion, language, region or any other ground. If in a state when certain persons are given special privileges, the rights of the common man cannot be safeguarded. The existence of special privileges for some spoils the spirit of liberty and that creates chaos and confusion in the society. So absence of special privileges is an essential safeguard of the liberty.

9. Free and Independent Press.

This is an essential condition of liberty. A free and independent press ensures liberty of individuals. It makes available objective and unbiased news, criticizes government policies and enables the people from correct attitudes towards various problems of the day. This information helps the people to choose their representatives in elections.

10. Healthy Party System.

This is necessary in a democratic set-up as it provides choice to the people in elections. It is also an important instrument for improving the political consciousness among the people. It is the best safeguard of people's liberty as it enables them to resist unjust and cruel laws.

Relationship between law and Liberty.

Liberty exists only in a ordered state. The state frames laws and the sovereign state operates through these laws. Now it is universally accepted that laws are the protectors of liberty and liberty ceases to existence independence of law.

Law is actually the condition of liberty. First of all law provides congenial atmosphere for the smooth running civil life in society. Law punishes the criminal and defends the rights of the individuals. Secondly law guarantees the enjoyment of individual rights and duties and protect them from hinders. Thirdly, constitution is the custodian of liberty. Only the constitution that confines the authority of the state and protects the fundamental rights of the people.

EQUALITY

Equality, like liberty is also one of the fundamental pillars of democracy. The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 proclaims that “**We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal** ”. The French Declaration of Rights of Man (1789) also emphasises "Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights".

The Charter of United Nations also recognizes equality in international sphere when it says : "**The organization is based on the principles of sovereign equality of all its members**".

Equality means that all men are equal and should be entitled equal, opportunity and treatment. It was the growth of individualism that is responsible for the fresh interest in the issue of equality. In the beginning, the focus of attention was equality by birth i.e. natural equality and equality before law i.e. legal equality. In the 18th century liberalism that leads to socio- legal equality and in the 19th century economic and political equality, gained momentum.

Definitions

1. " Equality does not mean the identity of treatment or the sameness of reward . If a brick - layer gets the same reward as a mathematician or a scientist, the purpose of society will be defeated. Equality, therefore, means first of all absence of social privileges. In the second place it means that adequate opportunities are laid open to all"
-LASKI

2. " Equality is derived from the supreme value of the development of in each like and equally , but each along its own different time and its own separate motion".
-BARKER

Kinds of Equality

1. Social equality:

Social equality means that all citizens are entitled to enjoy equal status in society and no one is entitled to special privileges. There may be rational distinction in the society with regard to occupation and professions, but the feeling of inferiority and superiority should not be attached to these. It stands for all should be treated equally in the eyes of law, no discrimination on grounds of colour, caste, creed, sex, religion etc. , removal of social stigmas like untouchability. On the 10th December ,1948. UNO, declared the charter of Human Rights which laid stress on social equality.

2. Political Equality

Political Equality implies that everyone has equal access to the avenues of power. All citizens whatever may be their differences in status , education and wealth should have an equal voice in the management of public affairs and in holding public offices. Universal adult franchise is the expression of political equality. All democratic countries are based the principle of "one man , one vote , one value" is faithfully adopted. Equality of opportunity in getting elected and in holding public offices , freedom of expression and association and rights to seek redressal of public grievances are the important pillars of political equality.

3. Economic Equality:

Economic equality involves a certain level of income and removal of gross inequalities of wealth. Economic equality is the prerequisite for the existence and enjoyment of political, social and legal equality. It does not mean equal distribution of wealth, which is not practical, but prevent the concentration of wealth in a few hands. Economic condition of an individual essentially influences his political condition.

4. Legal Equality:

Legal equality or equality before law is fundamental to legal justice. Legal equality implies that all are alike in the eye of law and that are entitled to its equal protection. The rich and poor, the high and low should all be treated alike. No distinction should be made between man and man on the ground of social status, religious faith or political opinion. In short, Legal equality or equality before law implies absence of discrimination. The Rule of Law is practiced in the Great Britain and many other countries of the world.

How can we attain equality in a society?

1. Equality is attained when accidental advantages of birth and wealth are eliminated and success or failure is made upon ability and character of individuals.
2. It is realised when the law removes all discrimination based on caste, class, community, religion, race or sex.
3. Equality is achieved when equal claims for adequate opportunities are recognised and no one person, or class or community is sacrificed for the sake of another.
4. Lastly, equality is attained when the claims all to a minimum standard of education, housing, food are recognised and there is guarantee against economic insecurity.

JUSTICE

The term 'justice' is derived from the Latin word "justicia" which means joining or fitting, or of bound or tie. The concept of justice has been analysed and defined differently by philosophers, political thinkers, economists, sociologists and religious leaders. It has been changing from time to time, depending upon the conditions and circumstances prevailing in each age. It has to coordinate and draw a harmonious balance between rights and duties of the people living in the society. It is connected with the moral, social, economic, political, and legal relations of an individual with others.

According to John Rawls, "Our justice of the social scheme depends eventually on how fundamental rights and duties are assigned and the economic opportunities and social conditions in the various sections of society". Thus, the theory of justice has two meaning, broader meaning and a narrower meaning. In the broader meaning, there are two views- (a) justice is an eternal or absolute concept and (b) relative concept - differs from society to society.

In the narrow meaning of justice is associated with a legal system and legal process in a society. In this sense, it is related to the settlement of disputes through judicial bodies.

Definitions

1. " Justice consists of a system of understanding and procedures through which each is accorded what is agreed upon as fair".

- Charls Marriam

2. "Justice is the reconciler and the synthesis of political values; it is their union in an adjusted and integrated whole"

-Barker

3. " from each according to his capacity , to each according to his need" – Saint Simon

- Saint Simon

4. " All social primary goods - liberty and opportunities , income and wealth and the basis of self-respect - are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to be advantage of least favoured".

- John Rawls

Kinds of Justice or Dimensions of justice

1. Legal Justice:

This is the narrow concept of justice and is associated with the legal system and the legal procedure existing in the society. The court of law interprets the law and applies the law after hearing the parties involved in a dispute. Here, justice is what is administered by the court of law and the interpretation of the Judge is considered as an embodiment of justice. Justice in the legal sense requires the following conditions.

- a. Just and reasonable non- discriminatory laws.
- b. The administration of justice by free and independent courts.
- c. Inexpensive judicial process.
- d. Court procedure should be simplified and avoid delay in justice.
- e. There should be a Rule of Law in the country.

2. Political Justice:

Political Justice stands for a free and fair participation of people in the political affairs of the state. Universal adult franchise is the expression of Political Justice. All liberal democratic countries are based on the principle of "one man , one vote , one value" is faithfully adopted. Political institutions should be representative in character. Equality of opportunity in getting elected and in holding public offices, freedom of expression and association and rights to seek redressal of public grievances are the important pillars of political justice.

3. Social Justice:

The concept of Social Justice is based on the belief that all human beings are equal and that no discrimination should be made on the ground of race, religion, caste, sex, or place of birth.

It has three implications. (a) equal social opportunities (b) special attention to weaker sections. (c) removal of social evils

4. Economic Justice:

Economic justice implies non-discrimination between man and man on the basis of economic viability. It stands for by assuring adequate means of livelihood to all, by making provisions for adequate working conditions, for equal pay for equal work, fair distribution of resources, equal economic opportunities to all people etc. The concept of economic justice was emphasised by the socialistic thinkers.

5. Marxist view on Justice.

Marxists believe that economic justice cannot be achieved unless private property and capitalist control of production are abolished completely. They think that economic rights and economic equality along can ensure economic justice. Further, they believe that in the absence of economic justice, people cannot achieve legal, political and social justice. Karl Marx emphasises economic justice with the guiding principle "from each according to his ability , to each according to his needs".

Rights and Duties

The rights are essential for the adequate development of human personality and for human happiness. Rights are the necessary conditions for the personal, social, economic, political, mental and moral development of individuals . Rights are the social requirement of a social man for the development of his personality and society at large. Laski defined rights as "those conditions of social life without which he cannot seek, in general, to be himself at his best and every state is known by the right it maintains".

Definition

1. " rights are nothing more an nothing less than those social condition which are necessary or favourable to the development of personality".

**- Dr.
Beniprasad**

2 "right is a power claimed and recognised as contributory to common good".

- T.H. Green

3. "rights are those condition of social life without which no man can be his bestself".

- Pro. Laski

4. Rights as " the external conditions necessary for the greatest possible development of the capacities of the personality"

- Prof. Barker

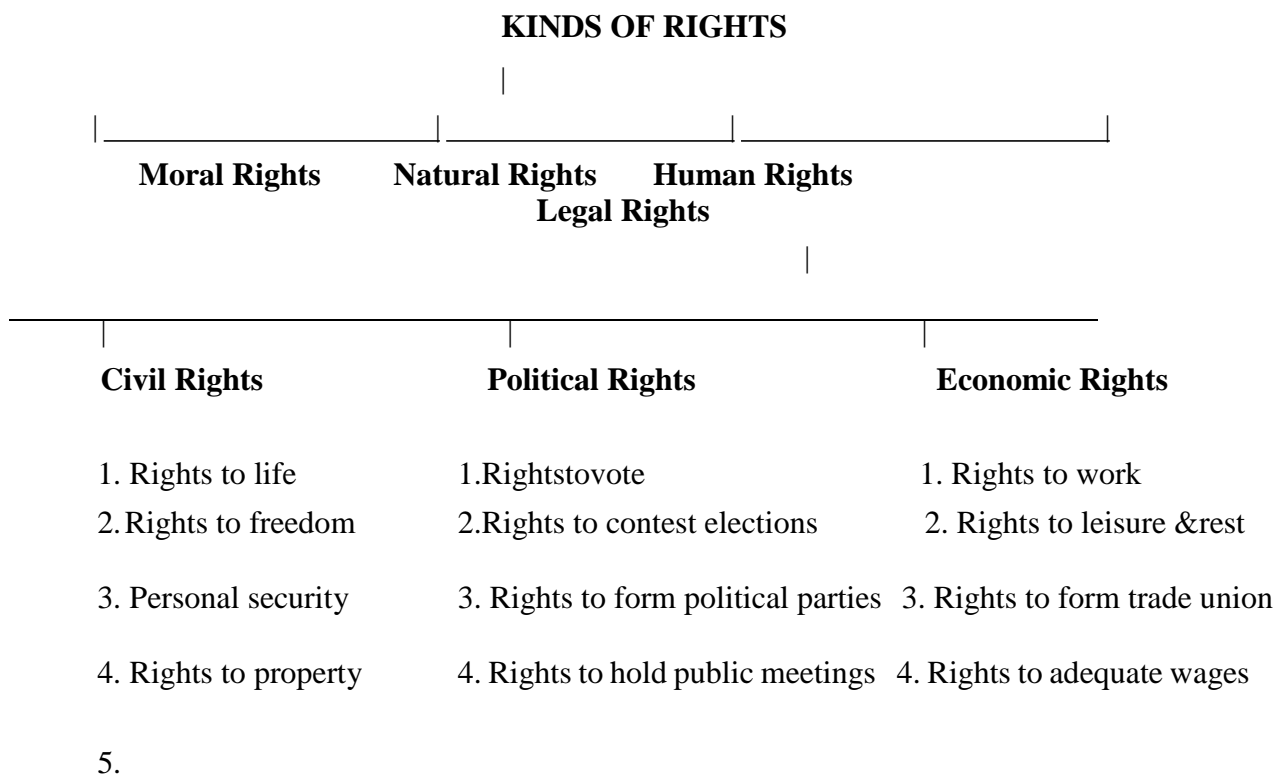
5. " One's natural rights are one's natural power".

- Hobbes

Characteristics of rights

1. **Rights are social in their application:** only by living in a society a man can satisfy his needs and realised what is best in him. The question of rights therefor arises only in society. A lonely man in a lonely island has no rights because there is no one to attack him or to encroach his individuality.
2. **Rights are related to human needs:** they are those condition or opportunities without which we cannot develop our power or latent opportunities.
3. **Rights are not absolute:** if circumstances demand certain restriction can be put on the enjoyment of rights with a view to secure the larger interest of society.
4. **Rights are not permanent:** The content of rights is changing according to the changing needs and aspirations of s society. For example before the invention of printing press freedom of expression was not considered necessary.
5. **Rights are general in character:** Rights are general in sense that opportunities for self-developments should be equally available to all. There cannot be any discrimination as far as the application of rights.
6. **Rights imply duties:** Every right has a corresponding duty. If I have a right, the enjoyment of my rights implies a duty on part of others. Rights are real only to extent to which they have been excepted by others as an obligation.
7. **Rights are relative with functions:** The number of rights possessed by an individual must correspond to the contribution makes to society. The president of a country enjoys more rights than his peon because his contribution is definitely greater than the peon.

CLASSIFICATION OF RIGHTS



- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 6. Rights to expression,
Speech & free press | 5. Rights to criticize govt:&
disobey its unjust laws | 5. Rights against
exploitation |
| 7. Freedom of assembly | 6. Rights to petition | 6. Rights to social security |
| 8. Freedom to form unions&
associations | 7. Rights to public office | 7. Rights to equal pay
for equal work |
9. Rights to equality before law and equal protection of law.

Rights are four categories: they are Natural Rights, Legal Rights, Moral Rights and Human Rights. Legal Rights further subdivided into three groups ie. Civil Rights, Political Rights and Economic Rights.

1. Natural Rights :

By natural rights we mean those rights which are enjoyed by the people even before the origin of state. According to writers like Hobbes and Locke, natural rights were those rights which are enjoyed by the Individuals in the state of nature. According to Rousseau natural rights were those ideal rights which are enjoyed by the individuals before the origin of the state. The old view with regard to nature rights is not accepted today. The only sense in which the theory of natural rights accepted is that these rights are considered to be natural and essential for the individual whether they are actually recognised or not.

2. Legal rights:

Legal rights are those rights which are secured by the state and guaranteed through its laws. Legal rights may be defined as the claims recognised by the state. These rights are enforced by the state through its police and courts. Legal rights are embodied in the constitution. Legal rights are further divided into three categories, namely civil rights, political rights and economic rights.

A. Civil rights:

They are those rights without which no civilised life is possible. Civilised life is impossible under the fear of being hurt, attacked, killed or our property confiscated. Civil rights are considered to be primary and more vital than the other two. The important civil rights are protection of life and property, right to education, right to family, right to freedom of speech and expression.

B. Political rights:

They are those rights which enable the people to have a share in the administration of the country. By exercising the political rights the individual participates in the affairs relating to the administration of the country. The important political rights given to the citizens are right to vote, the right to stand as candidate for the elections, the right to hold government office and the right to criticise the government.

C. Economic rights:

Political and civil rights are meaningless unless economic rights are guaranteed. Economic rights are the right to work, the right to adequate wages and right to reasonable hours of work. These economic conditions are very essential for the economic and political progress of man.

Moral Rights

Moral rights are based on our morality., justice, or conscience and they are not guaranteed by any legal authority . Moral rights are largely based on religious belief and the moral conceptions of the people in any society. Therefore, they differ from society to society. They arise out of man's moral sense. Ritchie defines moral rights as" the claim of an individual on others recognized by the society irrespective of its recognition by the state".

4. Human Rights.

Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings without any discrimination on ground of nationality, region, language, origin, etc. These rights are often expressed and guaranteed by law , which is in the form of treaties , customary international law and such other general principles.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR- December 10, 1948) constitutes for the most significant effort in the direction of protection, preservation and promotion of human rights in the international sphere. The UHRD has been termed "as an historic event of the profound significance and one of the greatest achievement of the United Nations".

MODULE II

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Systems Analysis - Political System, Meaning and Characteristics.

Meaning and definition

The concept of political system has assumed great importance today. Modern political scientists used the term **political system** instead of **state and government**. Talcott Parsons and Robert K Merton exercised great influence on the use of the concept of the system in political analysis. They influenced political scientists like Gabriel Almond, David Easton, Karl Deutsch and Abraham Kaplan and others.

A system is seen as an assembly of Interdependence parts (sub-systems) who interact among themselves. Interdependence implies that a change in one part influences other parts , ultimately affecting the entire system. In other words, a system is a collection of interrelated parts which receives inputs, acts upon them in an organised or planned manner and thereby produces certain outputs.

Definitions:

1. Political System as “ that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation by means of the use of legitimate physical compulsion“
-**Almond**

2. “A Political System is that system of interactions in any society through which binding and authoritative allocations of value are made and implemented”

- **Easton**

3. “ the Political System includes not only governmental institutions such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspect” - **Almond and Powell**

The concept of political system has assumed great importance today. Because it refers to the study of governments in its empirical dimensions and also from a strictly inter-disciplinary stand point. The new term political system reflects the new way of looking at the political phenomena. In the past the focus of the study of political science was on formal institutions like state and government. Extra political factors or conditions which affect political events and institutions were completely ignored. But later political scientists became aware of the fact that in all societies the formal governmental institutions are shaped and limited by informal groups, their attitude and behaviour. Since these formal factors influence political processes the study of it is also necessary. In this context the study of political system offers more comprehensive frameworks for political analysis.

According to Robert. A. Dahl “any collection of elements that interact in some way with one another can be considered a system”. E g, a galaxy, a football team, a legislature, a political party. Political system is only one such a system. Model of political system was first developed by David Easton, an American political scientist. Easton defines political system as the authoritative allocation of values, which broadly constitutes the political process. It is, in this sense that political system has been described as an open system. In other words, allocation of values is made because there are corresponding demands from the society or environment.

Almond defines a political system as the system of interaction to be found in all independent societies, which performs the functions of integration and adaptation by means of the employment

or threat of employment of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. Thus political system is not the only system that makes rules and enforces them. But it is the only system that uses compelling forces or coercive force.

Almond further explains that the political system includes not only the governmental structures such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspect. Among these are traditional structures such as kinship ties, caste groupings; and anomic phenomena such as demonstrations, riots, assassinations as well as formal organisation like political parties, interest groups and media of communication.

Political system, according to Robert A Dahl, any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent control, influence, power or authority can be called a political system.

Characteristics of political system

Almond gives five essential characteristics of a political system they are:

1. **Universality of political system:** It implies that all political system whether developing or developed have political structures. This means that they have a legitimate pattern of interaction by mean of which internal and external order is maintained.
2. **Universality of political structures:** all political system have some structures that perform some functions: though with varying degrees of frequency.
3. **Universality of political functions:** to study political system one should take into consideration the role of the factors of initiate, communication, authorisation, modification, voting, representation, Interpretation and the like with the study of non-state institutions like political parties, interest groups, elites, mass media agencies etc. That constitutes the infrastructure of a political system.
4. **Multi-functionality of political structures:** all political structures are multifunctional. In a political system the courts not only adjudicate, they also legislate. The bureaucracy is one of the most important sources of legislation. The legislative bodies effect both administration and adjudication. Political parties and pressure groups initiate legislation and participate in the national administration. The means of communication represents interests and affect the working of all the three departments of a political organisation.
5. **Culturally mixed character of political system:** all political system are culturally mixed in character. No political system is quite modern or western in the same sense as no individual is fully mature

Input-Output Analysis

Systems analysis has two derivatives namely input-output analysis and structural-functional analysis. Input- output analysis is closely associated with the name of David Easton.

Easton views the political system is basically an input- output mechanism, just as a means where by certain kinds of inputs are converted into output. It presupposes political system

as consisting of interacting roles structures and sub systems and of the underlying psychological aspects that affect these interactions .It involves a process that may be viewed as consisting of inputs from the environment or from within the political system and the production of outputs into the environment. Outputs may produce changes in the environment which in turn may affect the operations of political system.

Inputs: inputs are in the form of **demands** and **supports** each having four categories of activity .

Demands: demands are of four types. David Easton defines demands as the raw materials out of which finished products called decisions are manufactured.

1. Demands for allocation of governments and services such as wage and hour laws, educational opportunities, housing and medical facilities.
2. Demands for regulation of behaviour such as control over markets, provisions for public safety, rules relating to marriage ,health and sanitations etc.
3. Demands for participation in political system such as right to vote, to seek election, to hold office, to organise procession, to petition against public officials etc.
4. Demands for communication and information such as communication of policy intent from the political elites or display of the power of political system in periods of threats or ceremonial occasions.

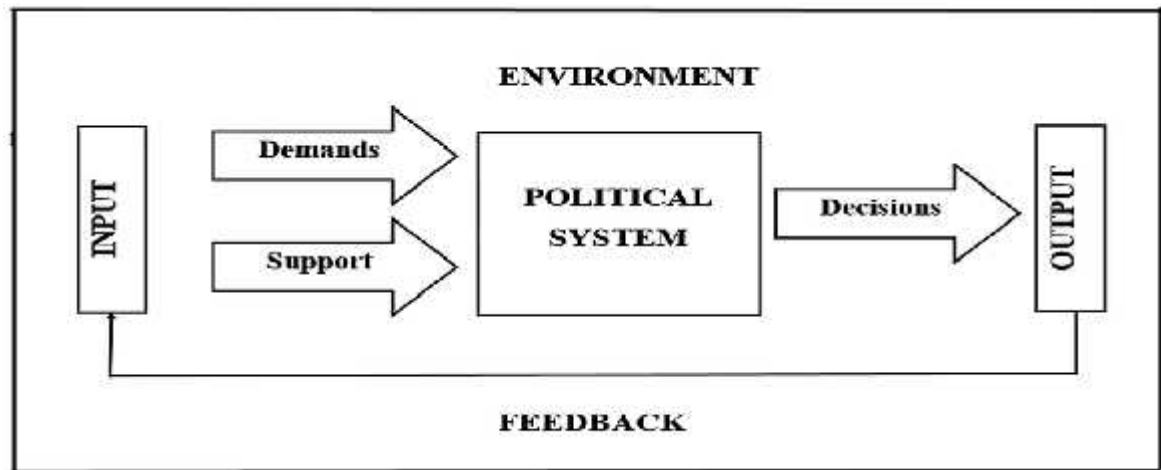
Support:- supports are divided into four types.

1. Material support such as payment of taxes.
2. Obedience to law, rules and regulations.
3. Participatory support such as voting ,political discussion, and other forms of political activity and
4. Attention paid to government communication and giving respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials.

Outputs

As demands is processed outputs flow out of the system into environment. The outputs of the political system –decisions and policies –fall into four categories and they are

1. Extractions such as taxes or personal services.
2. Regulations of behaviour.
3. Allocations or distributions of goods and services, opportunities and honour, and
4. Symbolic outputs such as policies statement, affirmations of values, display of political symbols



Feed back

Central to Easton's model of political system is his concept of feedback, which was

basically a communication process. The feedback is a dynamic process through which information about the performance of the system is communicated back to it in such a way as to affect the subsequent behaviour of the system. Outputs are not the terminal points. They feed back in to the system and thereby influence its subsequent behaviour.

The system model and its derivative input-output analysis mark an improvement on earlier approaches to political analysis. It has great explanatory value when applied to the analysis of functioning political systems. But at the same time critics point out that like structural-functional analysis, input-output analysis also tries to maintain status quo. It seeks solutions to the problems concerning persistence, adaptation and regulation of a political system.

Structural-Functional Analysis

As a derivative of the systems analysis, the structural-functional analysis is a means of explaining what political structures perform what basic functions in the political system and it is a tool of investigation. Structural-functional approach was first developed in disciplines like anthropology and sociology. In anthropology Radcliff Brown and Malinowski employed this approach in their investigation. In sociology Merton and Talcott Parsons did the same and with much more telling effect.

Structural-Functional approach seeks to discover the functions which an organism or a system must perform in order to exist or remain in operation. It then sets to find the structure but strictly in light of the function. To put it in a simple form, a student of the structural-functional approach frames a question about the particular function to be performed and would then seek the answer about the structure performing that function.

He, for instance would not ask what does the human mouth (structure) do? His question instead would be how is the human organism fed? The answer would be through mouth. His way of asking question would be how is the function of seeing perform? In short he

frames functional questions and then seeks structural answers. This is structural-functional approach; though it would have been even more apt to call it structural-functional approach.

In political science, the structural-functional theory was first applied in 1960 by Gabriel Almond and James Coleman to the study of nonwestern politics. The primary interest of Almond lay in studying how political system change from the traditional to the modern. He regards the western political system especially that of the USA and Britain as the norm and all traditional societies are seen by him as moving towards that model. In short, traditional societies have the opposite properties to the modern political system. It may also be said that they recognised a midpoint in the process of development which is called transitional. Thus political development is regarded as a change from the traditional system through a transitional stage to the modern system. The western political system is regarded as the model and all traditional societies are moving forwards to it.

Evaluation of Structural-Functional Analysis

The structural-functional analysis is applied to the whole society: its basic tenet being that parts can be understood only in terms of the whole. Talcott Parsons evolved this approach to study the social system that is treating the whole society as a system. Thus viewed a political system becomes a sub-system of the larger social system. But this approach may equally well be applied to a political system as an entity with its own structures and functional requisites. The structural-functional analysis is thus a holistic framework.

Secondly structural-functional analysis assumes that a political system reached broad consensus on its basic values, goals and commitments. But such a system is mainly the characteristics of developed countries. For a country recently liberated from colonial rule this approach may not be suitable. Structural-functionalism is therefore weak and unhelpful when applied to most of the developing countries, which are still in a process of evolving the necessary work of institutions and structures to make them an ongoing system.

Almond's analysis cannot be applied to the study of political development in communist countries. Because according to Almond's definition communist Russia does not have a political system due to the absence of autonomous structures to regulate the rule-making, rule-application and adjudication functions.

MODULE - III

MAJOR CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL ANALYSIS

(POWER- INFLUENCE – LEGITIMACY AND AUTHORITY)

POWER

Power is the vital element in the study of political science. Political science really studies how power is separated, how it is obtained, how it is retained and the various ways in which power can be expressed. Really power can be seen in all institutions and associations of society. But the specialty of the power of the state is that the state can afford to wield the strongest power since it can apply the severest sanctions like imprisonment and death penalty. The concern of political analysis is the study of power in all forms in human or social relation.

Definitions

1. “Power is ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with its own ends”.

-- Edward Shills

2. “Power is the capacity to impose one’s will on others by reliance on effective sanctions for noncompliance”.

- Schwarzenberger

Power is the capacity to affect others behaviour by the use or threat of the use of positive or negative sanction. So it is clear that power is relational and not personal property. One can have power only over others. It is from the behaviour of the people that power is assessed. Power is also situational. For example, the speaker of Lok Sabha who has power over the members of Lok Sabha in the context of parliamentary sessions does not have power over the other aspects of their social and political life. The dictators use power crudely and violent.

The success of power really depends on the capability of the power seeker. Once power is acquired the powerful tries to gain more power. Power once secured can be used to achieve a variety of ends like fame, reverence, security, respect, affection, wealth and many other values.

Charles Merriam was the first philosopher to make a detailed intellectual study of political power. He considered power as the basic concept of politics. Power is coercive and its ultimate sanction is force. Merriam’s solution to the problem of political power was its widest possible distribution. According to Russel, concentration of political power is destructive to human initiative and freedom. He observed that men who have the habit of power are unfit for friendly relation and negotiation.

In the opinion of Morgenthau, lust for power is common to all men. All politics is a struggle for power. He defines political power as “The mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the public at large. “The most effective form of political power is the legitimised authority of the political system which make and implement decisions. According to Catlin, it is human nature to desire to have

power. To Laswell political process is the shaping, sharing and exercise of power or influence in general. He defines political power as participation in the making of decisions with severe sanction. The exercise of power does not rest generally on violence, force or coercion. It may equally rest on faiths, loyalties, habits or interests.

AUTHORITY

In the field political science, authority is the legitimate power that a person or a group of persons consensually possess and practice over other people. When political power gets legitimacy it becomes authority or the institutionalised power is called authority. Authority is the rights to rule. Power, when legitimised gives rise to authority, belief that the structure, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials or leaders of government possess the quality of rightness, propriety or moral goodness and should be accepted because of this quality is what we mean by legitimacy. Thus legitimacy is the legal power to act.

Authority can be seen not only in political system but also in other social systems. For example, in a family father has authority over the children. The power enjoyed by the state is legitimate. But in the social institutions power may be divorced from authority. In the social institution we can see the exercise of authority without right and right without authority.

Authority is the recognised right to exercise power irrespective of the sanctions the power holder is able to apply. For perpetuating a power relation it is highly necessary that power should be transformed into authority. There are various means for acquiring legitimacy. One of the means is the development of an ideology. An ideology may be fully utilised by the power holder to legitimise the use of his power.

Besides the use of ideology there are certain permanent sources where from the power holder may derived its legitimacy. According to Max Weber, there are three types of authority .They are:

1. Traditional Authority 2. Charismatic Authority and 3.Rational-Legal Authority.

1. Traditional Authority

Traditional Authority rests upon the long established customs, traditions and precedents. In traditional authority the present order is viewed as sacred, eternal and inviolable. The elder or the dominant person or group, usually defined by heredity, is thought to have been pre-ordained to rule over the rest. The subjects are bound to the ruler by personal dependence and a tradition of loyalty. In modern world, traditional authority only provided the basic of rule in a few dynastic monarchies of Middle-East countries. Eg: Saudi Arabia.

2. Charismatic Authority :

Charismatic authority relies on the exceptional personal qualities, strength, magnetism, and some time supernatural qualities of a person. The charismatic personalities derive their rights to rule from their extra-ordinary qualities and they stimulate loyalty among their followers. They are inspiring figures who emerge in times of crisis and upheaval. The Christ, Gandhi, Martin Luther King or, indeed, Adolf Hitler are examples.

3. Rational-Legal Authority:

Rational-legal authority rests on laws, statutes, and rules and regulations. In this type of authority obedience is owed not an individual but to a set of the legally established principles – a government of laws, rather than men. Thus subordinates in an organisation

must obey lawful commands from their superiors, irrespective of who occupies higher offices. Modern bureaucracies are the best example of organisations based on rational-legal authority.

Type	Basic	Example
Traditional	Custom and the established way of doing things	Monarchy
Charismatic	Intense commitment to the leader and his message	Many revolutionary leaders
Legal-rational	Rules and procedures of office, not the persons	Bureaucracy.

INFLUENCE

Political influence is the suitable outcome of possessions. Wealth, health, education, charm, and other things and the skill with which they are made use of it become the major factor of influence. In other words, influence is a person's capacity to affect others behaviour in a way willed by the former. In a society resources are distributed unequally among the people, so there is an unequal distribution of influence also in such a society. In such a society wealth become major factor of the influence. In India, religion is the major factor which influence elections and related democratic sphere. Mass media communication can very well be used for influencing the people.

We can distinguish between power and influence by saying that those who have got power, they can influence the conduct of others more easily than those who do not possess any power. It is admitted that power and influence are co-related terms but influence turn into power when sanctions enter.

LEGITIMACY

Legitimacy is a similar concept of authority. It also refers to rightful power. It is used in different sense by political theorists and political scientists. Political theorists concerned with principles, they say a government is legitimate if it conforms to some moral principles- for example, that it has been fairly elected. Political scientists, on the other hand, are concerned with politics as it is. They say a government is legitimate if its citizens regard it as such. Whether a government is democratic is only one influence on legitimacy in this second sense.

Legitimacy is distinct from legality. Legitimacy refers to whether people accept the validity of a law, legality refers to whether the law was made in accordance with correct procedures, normally as laid down in the constitution.

POLITICAL CULTURE

Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. The term "Political Culture" was formulated and used first time by Gabriel Almond in fifties. According to Almond and Powell, "political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, orientations towards values and skills which are current in an entire population, as well as those special propensities and patterns which

may be found within separate parts of that population".

It may be defined by Kavanagh " A political culture is composed of attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relating to the political system and political issues. Political culture relates to people's attitudes to politics. It includes political values, ideologies, national character and cultural tendencies."

The people of a given society share a common human nature. This common nature are expressed in the form of certain values , beliefs and attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another by the processes of teaching and learning , whether formal or informal.

Political culture is a set values, beliefs , skills and attitudes within a political system operates . It is the pattern of individuals attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system. A study of political culture enables us to understand the political ideals and standards of behaviour people have set for them self in a polity. It is varying from country to country and constitutes the link between the behaviour of individuals and political events.

According to Almond and Powell political culture involves three components of orientations. They are :

- a. Cognitive Orientation: It imply the knowledge of people have about objects within their political system.
- b. Affective Orientation: It is the feeling of attachment, involvement , rejection and the like about political objects.
- c. Evaluative Orientation: It indicate their judgement opinion about the political objects, which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.

Classification of Political Culture

Almond and Powell classify political culture into three: They are Parochial political culture , Subject political culture and Participant political culture .

1. **Parochial political culture:-**It is found in simple traditional and tribal societies in which people have no understanding or awareness of the political system. The political participation or general orientation is not possible in such societies. In such societies there is very little specialisation and where actors fulfil a combination of political, economic and religious role simultaneously. Their lifestyle, attitudes political values ideologies etc. are fully determined by the tribal culture ,tribal leaders and tribal politics.

2 Subject political culture:-

In this system, people are aware of national political system or the governmental

system.. People by and large holds a passive attitude to the political affairs. It is mainly because he sees there is no role or possibility of influencing working of the system. This type of political culture is found in the subjects countries , monarchies, totalitarian, authoritarian system, etc.

3 Participant political culture:-

In such a system people are well conscious of their rights and duties. It exists in developed societies where citizens get ample opportunities to participate in the political affairs of the state. They develop a particular attitude towards the political system. political parties, pressure groups , interests groups etc. fall in this category and decide for themselves what role they can play

4 Political sub-culture

Political sub-culture is the part of political culture. In some political systems Political sub-cultures are very much predominant and because of this separatists groups and movements are developed . In a country having various races, cultures, languages, political sub-culture comes to be characteristic feature of the system. In recent years there have emerged in many countries political movements and crisis become the influence of Political sub-culture.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political Socialization is the part of general socialization processes. It is the process by which political culture is shaped at the individual level and at the community level and its transmitted from generation to generation. The process starts at an early age and continues throughout life. Political beliefs and attitudes developed in younger age, may undergo fundamental change in older age due to the contact with new education, changing social environment, new experiences in life and performance of political party. It is the process , or set of processes , through which people learn about politics and acquire political values.

Definitions

Almond & Verba: “ political socialisation is the process by which political culture are maintained and changed”.

AllanRBall: Political socialisation as “the establishment and development of belief about Political System”.

Easton: Political socialisation as “ those development and processes by which person acquire political orientation and pattern of behaviour”.

Rush: " Political socialisation is a is a process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political system which determine the reaction to political phenomenon".

There are two types of political socialisation. **They are Manifest or Direct political socialisation and Latent or Indirect political socialisation.**

Manifest or Direct political socialisation is transmitting information, values or feelings , which are clearly political. An individual learns about the political structures, its functions, political process and political ideology under the influence of his family ,

teachers or from other agencies.

Latent or Indirect political socialisation means developing a general attitude to authority as a result of the relationship with his teachers, parents or other agencies. This general attitude may transform into his political orientation. Here the non-political attitudes ultimately transform into political orientation.

AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

There are various agents of political socialisation. The most important agencies are the following.

1. FAMILY:

Family is the first important agent of political socialisation. It plays a key role in moulding the character of child and his attitude towards politics. The collective decisions in the family influence the children. The participation in decision making in the families help the people in participating political system. The children receive their primary political learning from the family. Political influence and learning are inculcated among the children by the parents. In the opinion of Almond and Powell that manifest political socialisation by the family can also have important effects. In developed liberal democracies, families are found to play very vital role in the manifest political socialisation.

2. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:

The educational institution is the second and powerful influencing agent of political socialisation. It provides manifest transmission political knowledge to students. These are the important centres of propagating political ideas , values and pattern of political behaviour. Children getting education in a particular institution may develop particular kind of mind setup. We find that all political parties consider these institutions as a fertile land of politically educate the children as per their philosophy.

3. PEER GROUPS:

Peer groups play an important role in shaping values orientations. These groups being friendly in nature can easily influence other's political views. Their interaction on political issues is spontaneous and not formal. The members of the groups are most willing to accept majority view about a political issue or value after discussion. In the liberal societies these groups are found to be active.

4. MASS MEDIA:

Mass media plays a significant role in moulding the view of the children. In many cases political view is shaped on the basis of newspapers and electronic media reports. At present their role increasing rapidly in the process of political socialisation and brought political change in number of countries. According to Lucian Pye , " Socialisation through the mass media is the best short-run technique available and it is crucial to modernization".

5. POLITICAL PARTIES:

Political party is another important agent of political socialisation. Political parties disseminate political education, ideological teaching, political knowledge and values,

mobilize political action and train political leaders. It establishes a channel of communication between the government and the people. Parties take active role and interest to ensure people's participation and make suitable people for the functioning of democratic government. In short, the progress of political socialisation, to a considerable extent, depend upon the functioning of political parties.

6. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS:

The religious institutions play an important role, particularly in the developing countries and theocracies states in political socialization. The people get easily influenced about the view of religious leaders on political issues. Religious influence is very high in Indian politics, especially in the regional politics. In India, many political leaders organized Cast and tribes association on political lines and propagate their viewpoints.

It is a difficult task to estimate the importance of different agents in socialising people. The party, media, educational institutions all mould the political culture and political socialisation.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political development is way of directional change and modernization to re-structuring the entire social, economic and political system. Development means the process of cumulative change and growth of a system. So political development refers to that process of change and growth of political system as whole. In the words of Rostow and Pye political development aims at “national political unity and broadening of the base of political unity and boarding of the base of political participation.”

Lucian Pye is the pioneer to analyse the concept of development in depth. In his book the ‘ Aspects of Political Development ‘ he explained directions of political development.

- Political development as the political pre-requisite of economic development.
- Political development as the political typical of industrial societies.
- Political development as political modernization.
- Political development as the operation of nation state.
- Political development as administrative and legal development.
- Political development as mobilization and participation.
- Political development as the building of democracy.
- Political development as stability and orderly change.
- Political development as mobilization and power.
- Political development as one aspects of a multi-dimensional process of social change.

Lucian Pye observed three basic characteristic features of political developments are:

Equality, Capacity and Differentiation.

Equality - means that all are equal before law, equal protection of law, impersonalisation of offices, holding offices based on achievement and performance rather than traditional principles. This led to a greater sensitivity on the part of the people and a wider acceptance by them of universalistic laws.

Capacity - in political system stand for the management of public affairs, control controversy or cope with popular demand. It pointed out the efficiency and effectiveness of the government.

Differentiation- implies greater structural differentiation, functional specialisation and integration of the participating institutions. That means to perform specialized functions , specialization of structures are necessary.

Samuel Huntington observed that the maintenance of political stability as the ultimate goal of political development. According to him, the two areas as the basic elements of political development.

Firstly, a high degree of institutionalisation with in a political system. It reflects high levels of adaptability ,complexity, autonomy and coherence.

Secondly, increasing level of popular participation. It guaranteed people access to the decision making process at every level of social structures.

The indicators of political development are : industrialization , urbanisation, spread of education and literacy , increasing exposure of the mass media, expansion of secular culture

,growth of modern and efficient bureaucracy , apolitical character of the armed forces , rule of law and independency of judiciary , effective legislative bodies , political and administrative decentralisation , popular participation ,increasing franchise and free elections ,national integration etc.

POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

Political Modernization is the process based upon rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of a modern society. It refers to the development of sufficiently flexible and powerful institutional framework that

should meeting the growing demands and accommodating change. According to Ward, it is characterized " by its far-reaching ability to control or influence the physical and social circumstances of its environment and by value system which is fundamentally optimistic about the desirability and consequences of this ability ". It is the systematic sustained and powerful application of human energies to the rational control of man's physical and social environment for various purposes. Huntington describes it as a multi- faced process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity. Thus Modernization is a process which means change in all the fields , social, cultural, psychological, economic and political but still it is an economic concept. It refers to change in the political culture and political institutions as a result of the process of modernization.

The major characteristics of Modernization

1. Application of technology and mechanisation.
2. Industrialization and development.
3. Urbanisation and infra-structural development.
4. Rise in national income and per capital income.
5. Increase in literacy and educational institutions.
6. political participation and social involvement.
7. Development of mass-media techniques.
8. Social mobility
9. Differentiation and decentralization.
10. Cultivation of national identity.

Modernization is a multi-faced process and it has several dimensions. At the psychological level it involves the change in the norms, values, attitudes and orientations of people.

At the intellectual level it involves a tremendous expansion of man's knowledge about his environment and the diffusion of this knowledge throughout the country through increased literacy, institutional development and mass communication.

At the demographic level, it implies improvement in the standard of living and progress towards the mobility of the people and modernization.

At the social level it has the tendency to replace the focus of individual loyalty to family and other primary groups, to voluntary associations, social participations and involvement.

At the economic level it involves the growth of market, modernisation in agriculture, improvement in commerce, development in industrialisation and widening economic activity.

In this way Political Modernization increases the capacity and capability of the political system to find and utilise the resources of the country. It also increases in the need for coordinated social action to solve all kinds of problems facing political system. Finally, it increases in political participation and political demands from the members of the society.

MODULE - IV

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

INDIVIDUALISM

The ideology of Individualism also referred to as the *laissez faire* originated in the latter part of the eighteenth century in France. Individualism arose as a reaction against the mercantilist measures of state control of industry and commerce. As a political theory individualism advocates giving maximum possible freedom to the individual and minimum of state functions.

The theory of non-intervention of the state was propagated by Adam Smith in his well-received work 'The Wealth of Nations' published in 1776. He advocated for the cause of private property and free competition. Individualism received its fullest expression in the writings of J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer. The ideology reflected the mode of thinking and aspirations of the rising middle class, who were agitated against the restrictions placed by the state on the private enterprises and were waiting to get rid of them.

Individualism regards individual as the centre of all activities in a society. Individualist advocated giving maximum liberty to the individual to determine his own affairs; for every individual knows what is good for himself. Every individual is far-sighted and he knows what he wants. Every individual avoids pain and tries to secure happiness. Individualism puts emphasis on individual liberty. Individualist consider state as a necessary evil; evil because it curtails individual liberty and necessary because man is egoistic and selfish by nature and thus needs the protection of state. For individualist, it is desirable to have the state as little as possible. For them every restraint is evil and every extension of state power injurious to individual liberty. They envisage the role of the state primarily as a protective one. Primary duty of the state is to protect the individual from violence and fraud. State has to protect the country from internal disturbances and external aggression. In all other matters, individual should be free to decide for themselves. State should leave the individuals free to do whatever he likes provided, he does not injure the freedom of others. State should step in only when individual encroaches upon the interest of other individuals or when he endangers public peace.

Various arguments have been put forward in support of individualism by the advocates of the theory. They are as follows:

The Ethical Argument: Ethical argument is that the extension of state control beyond a necessary minimum will hurt the ethical development of man. Man can develop his faculties, only if he get ample opportunities for self-reliance and initiative, but state control destroys his initiative and weakens his responsibility and character. For human personality Development, freedom of thought and action is essential. Each individual knows his interest and try to accomplish that aim, and if the state interferes in that, the individual will lose his responsibility.

Economic Argument: Individualist argue that, if left alone individual will follow his enlightened self-interest and economic prosperity would result. Free competition and private enterprise would increase production, ensure efficiency and maximize economic welfare. Free competition would enable the producers to produce at least cost, the consumers to buy at the lowest prices and the labourers to dispose of their labour to their best advantage. Thus there is no conflict between individual self-interest and social welfare. Adam Smith is the chief exponent of this argument of non-intervention. So the policy of *laissez faire* is beneficial to the individual as well as to the society. Individualist argue that state intervention in the form of licensing, fixing prices, labour laws etc., will harm the entire economy. For them state is an inefficient agency to conduct business.

Biological or Scientific Argument: Herbert Spencer is the chief exponent of scientific argument. He argues that the law of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, which operate in nature, should be allowed to operate in the case of man. In this struggle only the fittest have the right to survive. The incompetent and the weak must perish for the interest of society. State should not help the poor, Incompetent, inefficient and weak, and if the state does so, the state will be filled with such people. Any effort to regulate natural law and to modify the laws of nature by government is highly undesirable. Government should only accommodate nature and not try to modify it. State should not interfere with the process of natural selection.

The political Argument: political aspect of this theory developed as a reaction against the claims of kings to absolute power. John Locke is considered as the spiritual forerunner of individualism. According to John Locke men in the original 'state of nature' possessed certain natural rights and state was an artificial creation devised to protect the rights of man. Accordingly, the functions of state should be narrowed down to what is indispensable to protect his rights. Any further expansion of state rights would be an encroachment on the natural rights of man. Individualist support the theory of *laissez faire* not on the grounds of natural justice, but on the basis of practical reasons. They argue that modern state and its problems are so complex that it cannot be solved by the state alone. State is overburdened with its work and any additional functions will only lead to inefficiency. They argue that many functions would be better done, if left to private enterprise.

Criticism of Individualism

By the middle of 19th century individualism has lost its glory. Capitalism found its fullest expression under individualism and when the ills of capitalism began to manifest itself in society, the theory of individualism also came under severe attack. The arguments put forward in support of individualism have been shown to be weak and faulty by the critics. Major criticisms are given below:

Individualist considered state as a necessary evil. They failed to see the positive side of the state. Now it is well accepted that, state encourages the full development of personality of individuals. State helps in the realisation of good life of the people and lent a helping hand in individual's progress. Individualist have actually exaggerated the evils of state and belittled the importance of the state.

Individualism is based on the premise that every man is a best judge of himself and he knows his interest. This is true only to a limited extent. Garner observes that, in every country there exist ignorant people, who are not far-sighted and cannot take precautions against dangers of which they are not aware of. Sometimes, state is a better judge of intellectual, moral and physical needs of man than he himself is. The fact that every individual is not of the same intellectual capacity or are far-sighted means that some people will always need the special care and attention of the state.

State is necessary for social control. This aspect of state received only scant attention of the individualist. Man being a social animal depend on the state for his physical and mental development. State is the guardian of common interest and rights of man. So the state ensures that no section of society takes undue advantage of the weakness of others.

Biological or scientific argument is misleading. The term 'fittest' is relative. The survival of the fittest does not necessarily mean survival of the best. Moreover, the theory that applies in the animal world is not fit to be applied to humans. Man is the noblest of creations and cannot be equated with animals.

By the end of the 19th century the theory of individualism declined in importance and other theories began to take shape. Individualism itself acquired new dimensions in the form of modern individualism under the writings of Graham Wallas, Norman Angell, Follett and many other guild socialist. Modern individualism, like the traditional one, is a revolt against the despotism of the state but, unlike it, it focuses its attention on the group and associations, rather than on the individual. Modern individualism recognizes the heterogeneous character of the modern industrial societies. In a complicated society of today, the individual alone does not count, if he is to protect his interest, he must join some group or association for that purpose. At the same time, modern individualism condemns the omnipotence of the state and protest against the despotism of the bureaucratic government. It also criticize the tyranny exercised by the majority in parliamentary forms of government.

LIBERALISM

The doctrine of Liberalism was not propounded by any single thinker in any particular period of history. Origin of Liberalism can be traced back to the early Greek thinkers, who first evolved the two principles of classical liberalism- freedom of thought and political freedom. It is difficult to give a precise definition for liberalism. Liberalism may be

regarded as an idea, an attitude, a philosophy, or an ideology that recognizes the dignity and liberty of the individual. It may be defined as an idea committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as an organizing principle in society, and a way of life for the individual and the community. Liberty of the individual is the heart of liberalism.

The implications of liberalism may be seen in three important directions- social, economic and political. In the social sphere liberalism stands for secularism. This means basically, man should be free from the shackles of religious orthodoxy. More importantly he should have a scientific temper and a critical disposition. He should change habits and customs that have outlived its usefulness or act as a chain on his real freedom. In the economic sphere, it means man should have economic freedom- he should be free to produce, distribute, carry on trade or profession, keep or dispose his property. Here a distinction is made between negative and positive liberalism. While the former desires least possible state intervention in the economic sphere, the latter desires more and more reasonable restrictions in man's economic freedom in social interest. In the political sphere liberalism entails democratic system with separation of powers, free and fair elections, freedom of thought and expression, universal adult franchise, freedom of press and judiciary and the like.

Classical Liberalism

Liberal theory of the nature and functions of the state can be discussed under two heads: classical liberalism and modern liberalism. The main difference between classical and modern liberalism lies in the degree of restraints that should be imposed on the freedom of man.

Broadly speaking classical liberalism stood for the liberty of the individual, democratic institutions and free enterprise.

According to the classical view, the sole purpose of the state is to preserve and protect the natural rights of an individual to life, liberty and property. The state is the creation of man and the relation between state and individual is contractual. Classical liberalist view state as a necessary evil. But for the restraining power of the state there would be no social peace and order. The guiding principle of liberal individualist "is the maximum possible individual freedom and minimum possible state action". In the words of J.S. Mill "Over himself, over his body and mind, the individual is sovereign".

John Locke is considered to be the father figure of liberal tradition. According to him state exists for the people who form it and they do not exist for the state. Basis of the state is consent and it exercises its power in terms of law. The state has primarily, negative functions. The only function of the state is to remove hindrances in the way of liberty.

Classical liberalism advocated the policy of *laissez-faire* advocated non-intervention of the state in the economic activities of individuals. They consider property rights of individuals as a necessary condition of liberty and limit the power of state to regulate the social and economic life of man.

Hobhouse has mentioned nine principles of classical liberalism. These are the principles of civil liberty; personal liberty; social liberty; economic liberty; domestic freedom; administrative, geographical and racial liberty; international liberty and political liberty and popular sovereignty. It is evident that Hobhouse's enunciation of the principles of classical liberalism are not systematic and are loosely conjoined, yet it gives a fair idea of the nature of classical liberalism.

Modern Liberalism

By the middle of the nineteenth century, classical liberalism had lost its appeal. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few on the one hand and mass poverty on the other hand posed a grave challenge to the assumptions of classical liberalism. J.S Mill took upon the task of revising the liberal doctrine to present a positive view of the nature and functions of the state, which were considered to meet the new challenge. A marked change witnessed after 1860 when Mill revised his earlier views and advocated more and more state interference in the liberty of individuals in the name of public interest. Under the impact of Marxian Socialism, liberalism changed its attitude without giving up its basic faith in reason and democracy. It recognized the necessity of protective legislation and social security legislation. Mill supported state regulation of private property and public ownership of and control of natural resources of the country. Prominent among those who advocated a positive role of the state in the life of man includes Laski, Barker, Hobhouse, Mac Iver, and Keynes.

Modern Liberalism stands for three basic principles. The first principle is that the channels of social communication should always be kept open. People should have the opportunity to be fully informed on all issues. There should be no restrictions on means and the agencies of public opinion. Majority groups have no right to suppress the minority groups. The second principle is that, monopolies or oligopolies in the industries should be abolished. The key industries should be owned and run by the state. The third principle is that, education and enfranchisement can bring about peaceful change in the economic and political structure. Thus, liberalism is an attitude which stands against the restrictions on individual liberty and is a programme favouring social and economic reforms. It stands for individual liberty, democratic institutions and freedom from exploitation.

MARXISM

Marxism has exerted tremendous influence on human thought and social movements from mid- nineteenth century onwards. The main tenants of Marxism are found in the Communist Manifesto, published in 1848 and Das Capital (3volumes), the two monumental works of Karl Marx. Communist Manifesto is called the Bible of communism as it contains the most compact statement of Marx's theory.

The theory of socialism developed by Karl Marx is known as communism. It is a "dialectical theory of human progress". Marxism provides a theory of social change and a scientific philosophy which help in understanding the laws of social development. It also provides a revolutionary programme for the emancipation of the 'exploited classes' and suggest revolutionary methods for changing the existing society. It seeks to establish a 'classless' and 'stateless' society which Marx calls communist society.

Marxian philosophy came as a reaction to the failings of liberal ideology and the evils which were perpetrated by capitalism. Marxism challenged the whole liberal system based on private property, market model of society, unrestrained individualism and the capitalist mode of production. Prior to Marx, Utopian Socialist-Thomas More, Fourier, Robert Owen, Saint Simon etc., have all vehemently denounced capitalism, but they could not provide the means of ending capitalism or provide an alternative system. But it was Marx who provided both the means to wipeout capitalism and an alternative to capitalism. Marx was interested in creating a real socialist society.

The following are the main elements of Marxism:

Dialectical Materialism

Starting point of Marxism is Hegelian dialectic. Dialectic originally referred to the process in which ideas are formed and clarified in the course of intellectual debate. Dialectic is a method of discovering truth by discussion and logical arguments by considering ideas that are opposed to each other. According to Hegel, human evolution has not been in a straight line, it moved in a zig-zag way. He describes three stages of growth- Thesis, Anti- thesis and Synthesis. According to Hegel, world moves and changes constantly, and the basis of this movement is the idea or spirit. Idea begins with thesis. Contradiction to the idea appears naturally, as every stage in history give birth to its opposite and it is called anti- thesis. And now, the tussle between thesis and anti-thesis begins and the new idea emerges- synthesis. Synthesis become thesis later on and is confronted by its antithesis. This way, according to Hegel human evolution moves on.

Marx was very much impressed with the Hegelian way of explaining social evolution. He accepted the Hegelian dialectic but substituted spirit with matter. Marx regarded matter as the ultimate reality and considered material object as the basis of

this world. Marx felt that world by its nature develops in accordance with the laws of the movement of matter. He believed that different social theories and ideas which appeared at different periods of history, were merely reflection of the material laws of society. Matter is active and moves by an inner necessity of its nature. According to Marx evolution takes place through the dialectical process, ie, the matter evolves through thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis.

Historical Materialism

Historical materialism or Materialistic interpretation of history is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of development of society. It is considered as the “heart of Marxism” in the words of Plamenatz. According to this concept all phenomena of society have their origin in the material conditions of life.

To explain his concept Marx talks about base or infrastructure and superstructure. Forces of production (which include land, raw materials, tools, labour, capital and organisation) and the social relations of production (Relations of production are social relationship men enter into in order to produce goods) form the base or infrastructure. Ideas of society (political, legal, philosophical, religious etc.) and the institutions and organizations (state, church, political parties etc.) which arise on a given base, constitute the superstructure.

Marx explains all fundamental historical changes are determined by the mode of production or the economic forces. And any change in the mode of production brings about a corresponding change in the social relations of production. Major contradictions in society are between forces of production and relations of production. Superstructure of society is erected on the foundations of the productive forces. Mode of production determines the general character of social, political and spiritual process of life. Economic system thus explains the political institutions and practices of a country, its social structure its law, art, philosophy, religion and morality. A major change in the base brings about a corresponding change in the superstructure. According to Marx, the class which controls the material forces of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. According to the theory of historical materialism the ultimate cause of all social and political revolutions are to be sought in the mode of production.

Surplus Value

Doctrine of surplus value is a significant contribution of Marx and it is by this concept he explained the exploitative nature of capitalism. It is an extension of the Ricardo's theory of value, according to which value of a commodity is determined by the value of labour spent on it. And to Marx labour is the sole creator of value. But the value which the labourer gets is much lower than the value he produces. The difference between the value paid to the labourer and the value received by the

capitalist, Marx called it surplus value. This is actually the difference between the exchange value of the manufactured commodity and the price paid to the worker for his labour.

Surplus value created is appropriated by the capitalist and it is simple exploitation.

The rate of surplus value indicates the degree of exploitation by the capitalist. According to Marx the essence of capitalist exploitation is the reduction of surplus value.

Class- War

Historical Materialism gave the theory of social change and class-war describes its actual mechanism. Marx says “history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles”. He views history as a succession of struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed classes. In every age, society is divided between two major contending classes—the privileged class which owns the means of production and the toiling class which earns by working for others. These two classes are always in conflict. The “haves” (privileged class) exploit the “have-nots” (working class) to appropriate the surplus value. In class societies there will be exploitation and it is inherent in the system, according to Marx.

The present day capitalist society consists of two classes whose interests are always in conflict—the bourgeoisie (capitalist class; though the literal meaning is ‘middle class’) and the proletariat (working class). Bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat by appropriating the surplus value. Capitalist pays the workers only subsistence wage, so as to earn more profit. But as soon as the workers become conscious of this exploitation they organize and rise in revolt. There comes permanent hostility between workers and employers. According to Marx in this inevitable struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the proletariat class will come out victorious.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

After the success of the proletarian revolution and the overthrow of capitalism, it will not at once create communism, rather it will be succeeded by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This transient dictatorship is necessary to complete the task of revolution, that is, to prevent the bourgeoisie from regaining its lost power and also prepare the way for the final victory of socialism.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is a quasi state. It is a class organization and functions as a representative of the working class. It is not a free society. It will expropriate the bourgeoisie, centralize production and increase production as rapidly as possible.

Withering Away of the State

When the work of the dictatorship of the proletariat is over and all the

remnants of capitalism removed, the proletariat state becomes superfluous. At this stage the state will wither away. State is not abolished or disbanded, but it just fades away. In its place socialist or communist societies will arise- a new society without classes and without contradictions.

The new society will be a classless society. Ownership of the forces of production will be collective and members share the wealth society produces. No longer will one social group exploit and oppress the other group. This will produce an 'infrastructure' without contradiction and conflict. Dialectical principle will cease to operate in communist societies as there are no contradictions. In such a society people will follow the principle "each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs".

Appraisal of Marxism

Marxist philosophy has been criticized on many grounds.

A major criticism is that, Marxian philosophy suffers from one-sidedness. Marx exaggerated the importance of economic forces and oversimplified the complex social phenomena. According to Laski, Marxian theory is a denial of pluralism in historical causation. Bertrand Russell opines that, larger events in our political life are determined by interaction of material conditions and human passions. But for Marx economic considerations was supreme and ignored other factors.

It is pointed out that the doctrine of class war is fallacious as it is aimed more at capturing the mind of workers, than a theory regarding social relations. The capitalism in the west has not put the workers and the capitalist into hostile camps. Rather, they need each other for productive purpose. Moreover, Marx's prophecy about the increasing misery and degradation of the working class has been proved wrong. Workers are also enjoying the benefits of capitalism in the form of better working conditions and better standards of living. Marx also ignored the rise of middle class. Society is not composed of just two classes as Marx observed, but it has now three or more classes.

The concept of withering away of the state is misleading. This has not happened anywhere in the world where capitalist was removed from power. It is not right to view state as a means of exploitation as Marx did, for state is an ethical institution which provides good life to the individuals.

Finally, capitalism has adjusted itself to the changing circumstances. Now workers are encouraged in the management of industries and can be shareholders of the company they work for and has thus become partners in the business. Today it is difficult to say who is a bourgeoisie and who is a proletariat.

FASCISM

Ideology of fascism emerged in Italy immediately after the First World War. Though Italy was on the side of the victors in the war, she was deprived of the gains of victory by the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. Besides the diplomatic defeat at Versailles, Italy also faced post-war social and economic hardships. There was widespread disappointment over the result of the war. The governments formed after the war were unstable and people were looking up to new leaders who could give the country stability and restore lost prestige. Benito Mussolini arrived on the scene championing the cause of united Italy. He exhorted the masses and formed a party in Milan in 1919. By 1921 Mussolini had a well-organized fascist party under his control. In October 1922 Mussolini and his fascist party marched into Rome and occupied public offices including railways, post and telegraph offices. The democratic government of Italy failed to tackle the situation and the king of Italy invited Mussolini to form government. In due course of time Mussolini set up a fascist state in Italy.

Meaning of Fascism

The term fascism is derived from the Italian word “Fasces”, which means “bundles” denoting in ancient Rome a bundle of rods with an axe. Those were used as a symbol of authority. This term was used by the followers of Mussolini in Italy.

Fascism does not represent a coherent theory. It is a body of ideas taken from various sources and put together to fit the exigencies of circumstances. As a theory, fascism arose as a reaction against the inefficiency and failure of democratic liberalism and it stands for an absolute state.

According to Ebenstein “Fascism is a revolutionary totalitarian revolt against the liberal way of life. Stripped to its essentials, Fascism is the totalitarian organization of government and society by a single party dictatorship, intensely nationalist, militarist and imperialist”. Fascism is defined as the most anti-democratic, oppressive, reactionary, and counter-revolutionary form of dictatorship. It was a curious mix of deception, orthodoxy, hero-worship, aggressive nationalism, irrationalism and spiritualism. Fascist dictators came to power through mass action.

Salient Features of Fascism

Fascists considered state as an end in itself. State was glorified at the cost of individuals. State according to fascists is an independent entity with a real will of its own. Its existence and ends are more important than those of its individual members. They regard the state as a spiritual being and an ethical entity. They consider state “as a spiritual inheritance of ideas and sentiments which each generation receives from those preceding it and hands it down to the succeeding generation”. State has a will and personality. Mussolini calls it “the ethnic state”.

Fascists believed in authoritarian, totalitarian and omnipotent state. They were opposed to democracy, liberalism and popular sovereignty. They emphasized on duties of the citizens and not on their rights. They did not believe that the individual had some inherent or inalienable rights. Authority of the state is absolute. They did

not favour the composition of government based on universal suffrage. They were opposed to parliamentary form of government. They advocated that government should be administered by a few strong and capable men. Sovereignty rest not with the people, but with the state. Only elites are competent to speak for the nation. Masses are not competent to govern themselves. People had no right to criticize the government and their only function was to perform the duties assigned to them by the state. There was to be military discipline and blind obedience in every walk of life. According to fascists there should be only one party in the state and the government should be controlled by the leaders of that party. Fascist party alone is regarded as the conscience keeper of the state. Government should control the press and the education system. Fascist state is both autocratic and aristocratic.

In theory and in practice fascism was opposed to democracy. For them democracy is the worst form of government and compare it to a “decaying corpse”. They consider democracy as stupid, corrupt, slow-moving, impractical and inefficient. In their opinion, in democracy people are deluded to believe that they exercise sovereignty, but in reality sovereignty resides in and is exercised by irresponsible and secret forces.

Fascism glorified war and violence and emphasized on violence and lies. It defended violence as a means of achieving political ends. Violence played a major part in Mussolini capturing and sustaining power in Italy. Violence was considered morally necessary and they believed that enemies must be annihilated. They justified the mass murders in concentration camps. For them war was considered not only necessary but even inevitable. Mussolini said “war is to man, what maternity is to women”.

Fascism did not believe in reason. They consider man as an irrational animal and his social and political activities were based on that principle. Fascism was a revolt against reason. It stood in favour of superiority of the instinct over reason, action over talk. They believed in blind obedience and the leadership principle. Reason was discouraged and emotions and sentiments which were blind, and faith which was orthodox in nature, were encouraged.

Fascist were opposed to internationalism. For them “international peace is a cowards dream”. They openly advocated aggressive warfare and imperialist expansion. Imperialism for Mussolini “is the eternal and immutable law of life”. Italian expansion was a matter of life and death for Mussolini. His exhortation to the people was “Italy must expand or perish”. Duty of the state was only to itself and not to the world as a whole.

Fascist did not believe in basic human equality. Fascist society not only accepts the fact of human inequality, but also go further and affirm inequality as the ideal. In fascist code, men are superior to women, soldiers to civilians, party members to non-party members, one's own nation to that of others, victors in a war to the vanquished and strong to the weak.

GANDHISM

Teachings and principles enunciated by Gandhi received wide recognition in India and outside during his life time and even after his passing. Gandhi himself said on many occasions that he did not start any 'ism', if the 'ism' implies the existence of a set of principles or dogmas stated in set formula. Gandhi was always experimenting with truth and non-violence. There was no rigidity about his ideas, so, the principles he preached and modes he practiced never became rigid. But, Gandhi had a definite philosophy of life and also a technique of solving national and international problems. Gandhi expressed his views on political, social, economic and religious matters from time to time according to the need of the occasion and political situation. Different people collected his views and gave the name Gandhism. His ideas and ideals form a distinct school of thought, a distinct philosophy of life and is known by the name Gandhism.

Gandhi was Influenced by the writings of Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy. John Ruskin's book *Unto This Last* had an enormous influence on the life of Gandhi. Same was the case with Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience which left a deep impression on Gandhi. Gandhi was also influenced by Tolstoy, particularly his book *The Kingdom of God Within You*. Gandhi himself admitted that "its reading cured me of my skeptic ism and made me a firm believer in Ahimsa". Bhagvad gita had a profound influence on him. He was also influenced by the Bible, the Koran, Zend Avesta and the Vedas.

Now let us proceed to examine the basic principles of Gandhism.

Non- Violence

Non- violence (*Ahimsa*) is one of the cardinal principles of Gandhism. It was not just a philosophical principle or a matter of intellect, but it was a matter of the heart for Gandhi. Gandhi was an ardent follower of this principle and exhorted people around him to follow suit..

Literally, Ahimsa means non-killing; but for Gandhi it has a much wider meaning. For

Gandhi ahimsa meant "avoiding injury to anything on earth in thought, word or deed". A non-violent man should not consider any one as his enemy nor he should harbour evil against anyone. In the Gandhi's concept of non- violence, any act which injure not only an individual but also a society is violence. Ahimsa is not just a negative concept- avoiding harm to others- but it has also got a positive meaning, as it involves doing good to others . For Gandhi Ahimsa is supreme love, supreme kindness, and supreme self-sacrifice.

In Gandhi's opinion, non-violence is the quality of the brave and strong. One cannot practice it without fearlessness. Cowardice and ahimsa do not go together. According to Gandhi, non-violence is superior to violence. Victory in a non-violence struggle is sure.

Moreover, no one harbours hatred against a non-violent man. A non-violent man strikes a responsive chord in the heart and conscience of his opponent.

For Gandhi, requisites of non-violence are truth, inner purity, fearlessness, non possession and perseverance. Truth is the basic factor of non-violence. According to Gandhi, though victory in a non-violent struggle is sure, but it would not come promptly. So, an advocate of non-violence should cultivate a divine patience and perseverance.

Gandhi talks about three levels of non-violence. The highest form was the non-violence of the brave (Gandhi called it enlightened non-violence of the resourcefulness). It was the non-violence one adopted out of inner conviction, based on moral considerations and not because of any painful necessity. This non-violence was not merely political but pervaded in every sphere of life. The second level was, nonviolence of the weak or the passive non-violence of the helpless. It is weakness, rather than moral conviction which rules out the use of force. This non-violence is capable of achieving result to a certain extent, if pursued honestly and with real courage. However, Gandhi says, it is not as effective as the non-violence of the brave. Finally, there is, the passive non-violence of the coward and the effeminate. The non-violence of the coward is really violence in suspension or inactive violence. A coward runs away from danger instead of facing it, and Gandhi says, it is unmanly, unnatural and dishonourable. According to Gandhi “cowardice and ahimsa do not go together any more than water and fire”.

According to Gandhi there is nothing like failure in non-violence as there is nothing like success in violence. Being soul force, all can practice it, including the masses though they may practice it, without the full knowledge of its implications.

Satyagraha

The idea and practice of satyagraha is considered as the heart and soul of Gandhism. Technique of Satyagraha was Gandhi's unique and distinctive contribution to the world.

Gandhi called it “love force or Soul force” Satyagraha is the technique of resisting all that is evil and unjust impure or untrue by love, self suffering, and self purification by appealing to the divine spark in the soul of the opponent. Satyagraha is the opposite of coercion and it is the weapon of the strongest and the bravest. A satyagrahi seeks to resist evil through love and takes suffering upon himself, instead of inflicting the same on the opponent. A satyagrahi never injures the opponent, and always appeals to the reason of the opponent by gentle argument or appeal to his heart by self suffering. A satyagrahi aims at weaning the opponent from error by love and patient suffering. For Gandhi, satyagrahi is twice blessed, it blesses him who practices it, and also against whom it is practiced. As satyagraha is based on the concept of suffering, it serves three purposes. First it purifies the sufferer. Secondly, it helps to intensify favorable public opinion for the cause for which satyagraha is undertaken. And finally, satyagraha makes a direct appeal to the soul of the oppressor. The cause of satyagraha should be legitimate and just. Satyagraha is an effective way of resisting coercive authority by an individual or a group in a non-violent manner. Gandhi first experimented it in South Africa where he met with commendable success. After returning to India, Gandhi tried it on an extended scale in India in his struggle for national

independence. The technique of satyagraha may take many forms, like, non-cooperation, civil disobedience, fasting, Hijrat and strike.

Civil- Disobedience- Gandhi regarded civil disobedience as “a complete, effective and bloodless substitute of armed revolt” He defined it as the “breach of unmoral statutory enactments”. Gandhi was of the opinion that civil-disobedience should be practiced only by a select few and not by all. Great care should be taken in the practice of civil –disobedience to ensure that it does not lead to violence and the leader, and not the satyagrahis were to decide which law were to be broken.

Hijrat- Hijrat means voluntary exile from the permanent place of residence. Hijrat was to be done by those people who could not live without loss of self-respect in a particular place and lack the strength to defend themselves in a non-violent manner.

Fasting- Gandhi considered fasting as a very potent weapon and thus recommended great caution in using it. Fasting is meant for only rare occasions and it should be practiced only by those who possessed spiritual fitness, purity of mind, discipline, humility and faith. Fasting, Gandhi believed, “touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed”. It stirs the sluggish conscience and moves people into action.

Strike- To Gandhi, strike was a voluntary purificatory suffering undertaken to convert the erring opponent. It can be a weapon of the workers for the redress of their grievances. The strike must be non-violent and the demands of the strikers must be clear, feasible and just.

Gandhi's Views on Private Property and Trusteeship

Gandhi was not in favour of people holding property beyond their needs. He felt that people have to change their attitude towards property. Rich should be persuaded to act as trustees of property. Rich should utilize their property for the benefit of the community. Land lords and capitalists were to use their talents and riches for the good of the society. Gandhi believed that non-possession and trusteeship would lead to economic equality and equitable distribution.

Concept of trusteeship as explained by Gandhi involves the following aspects : (1) trusteeship is a means by which a capitalist order of society can be transformed into an egalitarian one (2) It does not recognise any right of private property except in as much as permitted by the society for its own welfare. (3) In trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish interest or against the interest of society. (4) There will be a fixed minimum wage as well as a maximum wage and the difference between the two will be as reasonable as possible (5) Character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.

Gandhi's view that if capitalists failed to act as trustees, their industries were to be taken over by the government. And those industries were to work for the benefit of humanity.

Workers were to be given a share in the management of industries.

Non- Violent Society

Gandhian society is a non-violent, stateless , classless and a socialist society.

Gandhi's non-violent society will be a stateless society as he does not consider state a necessity. Gandhi believes state is rooted in violence and hurts individual freedom. Gandhian society will be consisted of a number of self-contained and self-regulated village communities. Every village will have a panchayat, having full powers of administration and capable of meeting all its essential needs, even to the extent of defending itself. These self-sufficient villages will be voluntarily bound in a federation. There will be no centralization of authority and decentralization will be the marked feature of the Gandhian society. Federation will have no police or military force. There will be no big cities, law courts, jails or heavy industries. Rather villages will have cottage industries, khadi, and agriculture. Life will be simple and civilization rural. Villages will be self-sufficient and autonomous for all purpose and there will be real *Swaraj*.

Gandhian society will be socialist society. In this society every one will have food to eat and cloths to wear and every one will get sufficient work to earn his living. Gandhi expected everyone to do a bit of manual labour, even the intellectuals, so that the stigma attached to manual labour will be removed and raise the status of working class. He wanted to achieve economic equality by affecting change in the mentality of capitalist and landlords through love and persuasion.

Gandhi was realistic enough to realize that the goal of a stateless, classless society was for the present unrealizable. But he believed in the possibility of a predominantly non-violent society.

Means and Ends

For Gandhi means and ends are inseparable and both must be equally pure. For him not only the end be high and laudable, but the means should also be moral. He believed that immoral means cannot lead to truth and justice. He explained the relation between means and ends thus: "As the means so the end. The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree".

Gandhi believed that moral means will inevitably lead to moral ends. He insisted that our means must be as pure as our end. He said with regard to our means, we must take our stand on the firm and solid ground of unadulterated good. Loyalty to moral values was a supreme consideration for Gandhi. According to him , what cannot be justified by conscience, cannot be justified in political or patriotic grounds. Thus insisting upon the moral quality of means, Gandhi spiritualized politics.

Gandhi's view on Religion and Politics

Religion was the very breath of Gandhi's life. He was a seeker of truth and his god manifested Himself in truth and love. Gandhi based all his social and political doctrines on the spiritual or religious way of life. Gandhi was not prepared to separate religion from politics. In the words of Gandhi "those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means". Gandhi believed that politics bereft of religion are death-trap because they kill the soul. Gandhi did not want any political exploitation of religion.

Gandhi's belief in religion was not dogmatic; religion to him meant recognition of the superiority of moral law. He stood for a religion purified of superstitions and customs. He believed in the inherent goodness of all religions. He was a secularist and did not subscribe to the concept of state religion. His religious views were not derived out of any particular religion. His religion was cosmopolitan. He believed in the principles of Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, alike.

MODULE – V

DEMOCRACY

The origin of the term democracy can be traced back to ancient Greece. It is derived from the two Greek Words ‘demos’ and ‘kratos’, the former meaning people and the latter meaning power. Hence democracy means power of the people. There are many definitions of democracy given by various writers at various points of time. And these definitions vary in their meaning too. But now, we generally accept democracy as a form of government in which people rule themselves directly or in indirectly.

When we define democracy as a form of government of the people, we need to understand the meaning of the term ‘people’. Although the Greek word ‘demos’ is used to refer people, it originally had the meaning ‘the poor’ or ‘the many’. So, the Greeks regarded democracy as the government of the many. The classical model of democracy existed in the ancient Greek city- state of Athens in the fourth and fifth century BCE. Athenian democracy was a kind of direct popular rule, where it amounted to a form of government by mass meetings. But, here majority of the population- slaves, women and foreigners- were excluded in the whole exercise. Like wise, only in the later half of the twentieth century did most countries of the world allowed participation of all the people in the democratic process. For instance, universal adult suffrage was not established in UK until 1928, when women gained full voting rights. Only in the 1960s did African- Americans in the Southern States of USA could vote for the first time. And in Switzerland, women had to wait until 1971, to exercise their right to vote. Now, most democratic countries follow universal adult franchise, where adult people are entitled to vote without restrictions of gender, religion, caste, race, language, property or other such considerations.

Definitions of Democracy

As mentioned earlier Greeks regarded democracy as government by the many and Aristotle considered it as a perverted form of government. Modern writers generally do not subscribe to Aristotle’s view. Modern writers do not employ the numerical criterion, but emphasis that all persons who are fit to perform the duties of citizens should have a share in the governance of the state.

Seeley writes “Democracy is a form of government in which everybody has a share”.

According to S.M. Lipset, “Democracy may be defined as a political system which supply regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office”.

According to Dicey “Democracy is a form of government in which the governing body is a comparatively large fraction of the entire nation”. According to Gettell, “Democracy is that form of government in which the mass of the population possess the right to share in the exercise of sovereign power.”

Mac Iver opines, “Democracy is not a way of governing, whether by majority or otherwise, but primarily a way of determining who shall govern and broadly, to what ends”. This involves a freedom of choice in elevating the rulers and the consent of the electors that those who receive the mandate should alone rule. It means the democracy has a popular base and it hinges upon the consent of the governed.

The most popular and widely quoted definition was given by Abraham Lincoln. He defines Democracy as “a government of the people, by the people and for the people”. Government is always of the people, but it need not be by the people. Monarchies and aristocracies are government of the people but not by the people. A government by the people means that people either directly or through their representatives govern themselves and their will remains supreme on all policies of the government. Democracy is a government for the people. It means that democracy stands for the welfare of the people.

Meaning of Democracy

Democracy means rule by the people as contrasted with rule by a person or a group. It is the people who are both rulers and the ruled. It is a system of government in which everyone who belongs to the political organization that makes decisions, is actually or potentially involved. Democracy for Sartori is one in which, no one enjoys unconditional and unlimited power. In democracy, power is scattered, limited, controlled, and exercised in rotation, in contrast to autocracy where power is concentrated, uncontrolled, indefinite and unlimited. In a democracy no one can declare himself ruler, and no one can hold power irrevocably in his own name.

Democracy also means government by consent that can be elicited through elections that register voters’ decision. A democratic government is a government by the representatives of the people. Voters are free to vote, according to their choice without coercion or pressure from any quarter.

Liberty and equality are the foundations of democracy. Democracy binds people in bonds of fraternity and fraternity among people is possible, only if there is equality. It is form of government that does not discriminate people on the basis of race, language, religion, gender, class, caste or any other such considerations. Democracy guarantees individual freedom, which is essential for the expression of one’s views without fear of repercussions. But this freedom one should enjoy without hurting the freedom of others. Democracy assures social, political and economic freedom to all.

Democracy is based on the principle of tolerance. Every individual is free to have their separate ideas and ideologies and democracy does not believe in crushing them. Democracy can be successful only when minorities feel that they are not subjected to oppression by the majority and they feel that their concerns are well taken care of by the majority.

Democracy means a form of government and also a way of life.

Democracy is a way of life. Democracy is a way of line in the sense that it treats everybody equal and also recognizes the dignity of human personality. It provides equal opportunities to all, so that everybody can develop to their full potential. People in turn can then contribute to the welfare of the society. In democracy, Individual is an indispensable part of society; like organs of a human body. According to Dewey “Democracy is nearest to that social organization in which individual and society have organic relation”.

In democratic societies people are tolerant to the views of others, even if they do not agree with their views. Criticisms of all kind are tolerated and even encouraged in democracies. Decisions are taken after free discussion and criticism of all kinds. People in democracies practice values like tolerance, equality, justice, freedom, law abidingness, civil consciousness etc. Democratic society aims at the happiness of all and makes sure that no section of the population is exploited in society.

Democracy is also a form of government. It is a government of the people. People are free to participate in the affairs of the state, as there is no discrimination. Modern democracies follow indirect or representative democracy. People elect their representative and delegate power to them for a specified period. Elected representatives form governments that take care of the administration of the state. People are the ultimate source of authority in a democracy.

Democracy guarantees civil, political and economic rights to its citizens. Democracy allows rights relating to person and property. It allows maximum possible individual liberty to its citizens in matters concerning his private life. Political rights – right to vote, right to hold public office, Right to be informed about public matters – are assured to its citizens. Freedom of speech and expression along with the right to assembly and association is guaranteed to citizens in a democracy. Universal adult franchise is an essential characteristic of a democracy, where adult people are given the right to vote without any discrimination based on caste, colour, religion, sex, language or Status. Right to work, right to receive adequate wages and right to leisure are all important economic rights that are enjoyed by the citizens of democracies.

Democratic government implies people are sovereign. It is the people who decide who should govern. Governments thus formed would have to act according to the wishes of the people.

Direct and Representative Democracy

As a form of government, there are two types of democracy-

- (a) Pure or direct democracy, and
- (b) Representative or Indirect Democracy.

Direct Democracy

Direct Democracy (sometimes called ‘participatory democracy’) is based on the direct, unmediated and continuous participation of citizens in the tasks of government. Here people themselves formulate and express their will in mass meetings, which are often convened for this purpose. This device enables the public to express their own views and interest without having to rely on politicians..

Direct democracy existed in the Ancient Greek and Roman city-states. Now it has become a thing of the past. Direct democracy can only exist in small states inhabited by a few thousand people and can easily meet at a place and deliberate and formulate policies on the spot. Now, direct democracy is impracticable as modern nation-states are characterized by large population and vast territories. But, direct democracy is practiced in a limited way in some of the cantons of Switzerland even today. Direct democracy, actually, now assumes the form of referendum and initiative which are now practiced in Switzerland and the USA.

Representative or Indirect Democracy

The prevailing system of democracy is indirect or representative democracy. Here, will of the people is formulated and expressed by their representatives, whom they have delegated the power of discussion and decision making. Representatives are periodically elected by the people for a specific period. J S Mill defines representative democracy as one in which “the whole people or the numerous portion of them, exercise the governing power through deputies periodically elected by themselves”.

In a representative democracy ultimate source of authority rests with the people. They delegate this authority to their representatives for a limited period. This system is called indirect democracy because public do not exercise power themselves; they merely select those who will rule on their behalf. This form of rule is democratic only in so far as representation establishes a reliable and effective link between the government and the governed.

There are some obvious merits associated with representative democracy. One, it offers a practicable form of democracy, since direct democracy is impracticable in the modern nation-states. Two, it relieves ordinary citizen of the burden of decision making. Three, it allows government to be run by people with better education, knowledge and experience. And finally, it maintains stability by distancing ordinary citizens from politics, thereby encouraging them to accept compromise.

Conditions Necessary for the Success of Democracy

The successful functioning of democracy requires certain essential conditions. They are as follows:

(1) Sound System of Education- People should possess high level of intelligence and a good system of education can contribute much in this respect. Illiteracy makes the working of democracy difficult. Education improves the general awareness of the people and also makes them broad minded and tolerant. People should have a basic understanding about the politics of their country and its political institutions. Education provides them with the basic knowledge and understanding

about these aspects. Education also makes people aware of their rights and duties and thus, increase their civic sense which ultimately improves the quality of the individual and society. Education instills in the people qualities like discipline, selfless service to the country, fraternity etc. which are of much help in the successful working of democracy. As far as possible education should be free for all and everybody should have access to quality education.

(2) Social and Economic Equality: This is an important requirement for the success of democracy. Absolute economic equality may not be achievable, as it has not been achieved anywhere in the world. But wide inequality among people whether it is social or economic is harmful for democracy. Economic equality does not mean that everybody should be paid equal emoluments rather, it essentially means that all should have equal opportunity and there should be no discrimination. Caste and class differences, and social distance between people wreck a democracy. Democracy entails equality before law and there can be no discrimination based on caste, religion, sex or economic status. People should have the right work and government should prescribe minimum wages and ensure better working condition of the workers. Freedom from fear of unemployment, reasonable wages, lessening of disparities in income and wealth etc., help in creating a social climate in which people can actively participate in the public affairs.

(3) Decentralisation of Power And Local Self Government- Democracy works well, if there is no concentration of power. Concentration of power makes governments autocratic. With decentralization power is divided between the centre and the provinces. This relieves the centre from the burden of heavy workload and the centre can concentrate on matters which are more important. On the other hand provinces become autonomous and it increases the efficiency of the provincial governments. With the introduction of self government, people take active interest in the local affairs and provides support to the government. Participation of women and weaker sections of the society can be enhanced by reserving seats for them in the local bodies. All this contributes in the success of democracy.

(4) Sound Party System- political parties systems are indispensable for the working of democracy. Political parties aggregate and articulate the interest of the people. In a democracy differences of opinion are not only tolerated but are even encouraged. Constructive criticism has an important place in a democracy. In a democracy many parties crop up based on ideology or circumstances. So, some countries have two party system and some others multiparty system and a few countries have single party system. Party which gets the majority form the government and others make the opposition. An effective opposition plays a big role in the success of democracy as it is always vigilant and checks the ruling party, if it abuses power.

(5) Tolerance And Spirit of Unity-It is the responsibility of people to make democracy a success. For this, the spirit of tolerance and unity is needed. In a country

where there are many diversities of caste, religion, language, culture etc., the quality of tolerance among the people is an absolute necessity, if democracy is to function successfully. The people must be tolerant enough to appreciate and respect the views of others. The majority should be considerate and kind towards the minority, and the minority in turn, should not be obstinate and suspicious of the majority opinion. All arguments should be based on reason and aimed at the general welfare of the society.

(6) Written Constitution And Independent Judiciary-written constitutions guarantees the rights of the people in the form of fundamental rights. Governments of the day cannot encroach upon these rights. In countries with written constitutions, judiciary acts as the guardian of the constitution and fundamental rights of the people. Democracy will be seriously threatened, if the rights of the people are not secure. So it is absolutely essential that the judiciary is independent and free from the control of the executive. Where judiciary is not independent, people will not be sure of their rights and it hampers democracy.

(7) Freedom of Press-Another important condition is the existence of a free, fearless and independent press which is ready to criticize the government if it goes wrong. Duty of the press is to provide unbiased information to the people on the affairs of the state. People gets frustrated and disillusioned when the government makes policies by keeping people in the dark. A free and impartial press not only keeps the people in touch with government activities, but also ventilates the grievances of the people

(8) Independent Impartial and Periodic Elections-Not only the election be conducted periodically in a democracy, it should be independent and impartial as well. This go a long way in establishing the faith of the general population as well as the opposition in the system of democracy. If elections are not conducted periodically, the opposition will not have an opportunity to form government. Most importantly, the public opinion will have no value if there is no election. Another danger is that, in the absence of periodic elections, the opposition may resort to violent methods including revolution and military coups to overthrow governments.

(9) Inculcation of Faith in Democracy- Democracy succeed in a country only if vast majority of people have a genuine faith in democracy as a form of government and way of life. People should be ready to sacrifice their time and resources for the preservation of democracy. The democratic beliefs and values like worth of the individual, the need for toleration of differences and the advantage of arriving at decisions through discussions etc., should all be accepted and followed by the people.

(10) Vigilance of the People- For the success of democracy peoples vigilance can play an important part. People who are disinterested in the affairs of the state cannot be the guardians of democracy. People must cherish the principles of democracy and must have a determination to keep alive the flame of democracy.

(11) Free Expression of Opinion and Free Discussion- people should have the freedom to express their opinion without fear. Connection between freedom of discussion and democracy is straight forward. What we call public opinion cannot evolve, if there is no opportunity for free discussion and expression of one's opinion.

(12) Strong And Effective Opposition- strong and effective opposition is considered the essence of parliamentary democracy. Democratic governments may get careless and even abuse its power, if there is no opposition to point out its mistakes and expose it on the floor of the house. The fear criticism of the opposition is often enough to keep the government on the right track. Generally, opposition is consulted on all vital issues by the government. The Leader of Opposition has an important role in democracy and he is given the rank of a cabinet minister in India.

(13) Honest Administration-It is considered as an important requisite of democracy. People lose faith in democracy if the administration is corrupt and dishonest. It should have the combination of popular rule with skilled administration. The administrative machinery in a democracy must be prompt and smooth and should be free of corruption.

Basic Postulates of Democracy

Democracy, as we mentioned earlier can be direct or indirect. Modern democracies follow indirect or representative democracy. Here power lies with the people and they play a decisive part in the organization and working of government. Here we proceed to examine the basic postulates of democracy.

Government of the People

Democracy is undoubtedly the government of the people. Here people are the ultimate source of authority. In representative democracy, it is the people who decide who should govern. Representatives are chosen by the people and they are to represent the views of the people whom they represent. People choose their representatives through periodic elections that are free and fair. It is a kind of government in which those who rule are accountable to the people. People have the right to express their views and grievances without the fear of being victimized. No governments would dare to ignore the power of public opinion for the fear of becoming unpopular. In places where direct democratic devices like Referendum and Initiative were introduced people have the power to decide on legislation. This has considerably reduced the chance of governments becoming authoritarian. Recall gives people the power to call back corrupt or inefficient public officials. All this makes democracy truly a government of the people.

A free legislative bodies to make law and a government based on democratic order.

Democracies are characterized by legislatures that are elective in nature. In democracies role and functions of the legislature would be clearly laid down in the constitution. This, in one hand protect the independence and freedom of the legislature and on the other hand, prevent the legislature from exceeding its powers. A free legislature alone is not enough, it is also needed that the executive functions according to the established norms of a democratic order. Political executive and the permanent executive functions with close cooperation and the latter works under the overall guidance of the former. In democratic system permanent executives are expected to be politically neutral and the political executives to be democratic. Then only the people in a democratic system can enjoy the real freedom and rights which the democratic governments assure their citizens.

Limited government

In democracies power is not concentrated in one person or body of persons. Governments are organized into three organs- Legislature, Executive and Judiciary- each with separate set of functions and powers. Though the organs are separate they are interconnected by the institution of checks and balances. Absolute separation of powers is not practical in the working of governments or is it desirable to have in the interest of efficiency of administration. In parliamentary systems where legislature is the creator of the political executive the, principle of separation of powers is not strictly followed. In the presidential system, which is based on the principle of separation of powers executive and the legislature are kept apart. All these measures are devised to make sure that power is not concentrated in one source. Apart from this there are also certain inner checks within the organs of government. Bi-cameral legislatures are devised to check the tendency of conservatism of the upper house and the radicalism of the lower house. Likewise, in a federal system power and authority is divided and distributed between the centre and the states and this arrangement provides autonomy to the states and unity to the federation.

DIRECT DEMOCRATIC DEVICES

Modern states have adopted indirect or representative democracy as a preferred system of governance. It is based on the principle that sovereignty rest with the people and it is exercised by the representatives on behalf of the people. Democracy has come to be accepted as the best form of government compared to other forms of governments that have been practiced in various parts of the world. But, democracy is not without any short comings. In fact, critiques of democracy have listed many defects. One major defect with democracy is that, once people have elected their representatives, they have very little control over them. Same is the case with governments- once elected, people have no other option other than to wait for the next election, even if the governments are inefficient, corrupt or authoritarian. Governments often do not fulfill the promises made to the electorate during the time of elections. Worse, governments

may ignore the wishes and needs of the people. In such situations people in democracies have no proper recourse to rectify the defects. The remedy lies in introducing certain devices of direct democracy. So, certain countries like Switzerland and United States of America have introduced in a limited way, direct democratic devices like Referendum, Initiative, Plebiscite and Recall to overcome the defects of representative democracy. These devices are not a continuation of direct democracy, rather they are modern adaptations of direct democracy to meet the new requirements of representative democracy.

Referendum

The French word referendum literally means 'refer to'. Referendum is a device by which, public opinion can be ascertained by a direct reference to the people. It is a process by which verdict of the people is sought on a proposed law or amendments on which the legislature has already expressed its opinion. If it is approved by the majority of people it becomes law, and if not approved by the people the proposed law or amendment will be given up. Thus, according to R.C. Brooks, "Referendum is a device where by the electorate may veto an act which a legislative body has already passed". Munro regards referendum to be "a device where by any law which has been enacted by the legislature may be withheld from going into force, until it has been submitted to the people and has been accepted by them at the polls". Referendums are used in some states of America and in some cantons of Switzerland to a limited extent.

Referendums are of two kinds:

- (a) Compulsory or Obligatory referendum, and
- (b) Facultative or Optional Referendum

Compulsory Referendum- Certain type of bills can only become law after it has been referred to the electorate and accepted by it. Here, people can effectively prevent a law from coming into force even after it has been passed by the legislature. In Switzerland and Australia all constitutional amendments require compulsory referendum. In some Swiss cantons even ordinary bills have provision for compulsory referendum.

Optional Referendum- In Switzerland a certain number of people (usually, thirty thousand) can ask for the bill passed by the legislature to be submitted to them for referendum. The question whether a bill may be held for referendum or not, is left to the option of the people. After it is referred to the people, if it is accepted by majority of the people it becomes law and if rejected by the people the bill is given up.

We can list out many merits associated with referendum. One, it upholds the sovereignty of the people. People decides for themselves what law they need and what they do not need. It is the best way to discover the genuine public opinion as Bonjour describes it as "an excellent barometer of the public atmosphere".

Two, referendum is a safeguard against the despotism of a majority party. In democracies sometimes when a party gets a huge majority it ignores the opposition

and even the public opinion. It may bring out laws that are authoritarian. But with referendum this danger is averted as people can effectively turn down laws that are arbitrary and authoritarian.

Three, it reduces the importance of political parties and curtails partisan spirit considerably as they know it is the people who ultimately decides the fate of the bills. Even when a party has a brute majority in legislature it has to always take the people along if they wish to pass a particular legislation. This situation considerably reduces the importance of political parties.

Four, People are expected to know the intricacies of a bill before they vote. Thus, it educates the masses politically and promotes a sense of responsibility and stimulates patriotism.

The process of Referendum has been criticized on many grounds. It is argued that referendum undermines the authority and status of the legislature. When laws passed by experienced legislatures are rejected by the people, the sense of responsibility of legislatures is lost. This may result in legislatures passing laws without much care and deliberation as they know that if any defect is detected later, then it will be corrected by the people.

Modern legislations are highly complicated and technical. It may be beyond the comprehension of laymen. Referendum, therefore places before the people a power that they are not qualified to handle it in an intelligent manner.

Referendum does not truly represent public opinion, since the voters who participate in a referendum are often small. Voters develop poll fatigue when they are frequently required to participate in referendums. Often opponents take part in referendum more than its supporters. Large absenteeism is witnessed in Switzerland during referendums, which points to the fact that either the people are disinterested or they are incompetent to understand the complex legislations.

Initiative

Referendum gave people the power to approve or reject a bill that has already been passed by the legislature. In the initiative, people have the power to propose or initiate a legislation. The process of proposing legislation by citizen is called initiative. Here a certain number of voters (fifty thousand Swiss citizens can initiate a bill) can call upon the legislature to introduce, consider and pass a particular legislation. It is then mandatory for the legislature to consider the initiative and after that it must be referred back to the people for their approval or rejection. In Swiss cantons initiative is practiced for both ordinary and constitutional measures.

Initiatives are of two kinds- Formulated and unformulated.

Formulated initiative is in the form of a proper bill, complete in all respects. In this case legislature considers the bill as it is submitted to it and after its approval it is referred back to the people for their final approval or rejection. Usually, these two devices- Referendum and Initiative- supplement each other.

In Unformulated initiative, the initiative is in the form of a general demand and not in the form of a proper law. In this case in Switzerland, the legislature approves the

proposal and then it prepares its draft. It is then finally, submitted to the people for their verdict.

Arguments regarding the advantages of referendum and initiative are very similar, however, there are some additional advantages associated with referendum.

One, people willingly obey a law as it is proposed by the people themselves. There is hardly any chance for civil disobedience and disturbances when people are permitted to shape their laws. Even in cases where the legislature refuses to consider a particular law desired by the people, people can take the route of 'initiative' and bring the desired legislation. Two, it removes the danger of sectionalism. A law emanating from legislature may be backed by sectional or party interest. But when people themselves pass a law sectionalism and party interest are likely to be forgotten and the welfare of the people receives prior consideration. Three, it rectifies acts of omission on the part of legislatures. Legislatures can at times be apathetic to needs of the people and initiative is a device by which such acts of omission of the legislatures can be rectified.

As regards the disadvantages of initiative, it can be said that through initiative, authority of legislature is undermined and initiative virtually supersedes the legislature. Popularly initiated measures could suffer from the defect of unsound legislation. Bill drafted by the people are generally crude in conception, often faulty and marred by obscurities and omissions. Hence its adoption may lead to confusion, uncertainty and ambiguity. Finally, the Swiss experience shows that initiative has not improved the work of legislation. Moreover, it has failed to promote progressive legislation in Switzerland, where it is practiced.

Plebiscite

The term plebiscite is French in origin. It is derived from the French word *Plebiscitum*, which means decree (*seitum*) of the people (*plebis*). According to Leacock, Plebiscite is used for any kind of popular vote on an issue. According to strong, plebiscite is taken on a matter of political importance, chiefly in order to create some more or less permanent political condition. Plebiscite is thus, not concerned with law making and is not part of normal legal process. Rather, it is the democratic method of ascertaining the opinion of the people on a policy matter of public importance.

In modern times, plebiscite was made use of by Napoleon in 1804 to circumvent the constitution. Since then it has been frequently made use of. In the twentieth century plebiscite has been often used to ascertain the wishes of the people in connection with the right of self-determination struggles waged all over the world. Plebiscite has also been used by political leaders to get endorsement for their action when legitimacy of their acts has been in some doubt.

Recall

Recall is a direct democratic device by which voters possess the right to call back any elected officer or representative before the expiry of their term, who fails to carry out his duties faithfully or conscientiously. According to Leacock, "The system means

that all persons who hold office, must do so only so long as their tenure of office is sanctioned by the people; at any time, when a majority of the voters desire it, the office holder is removed from his function”.

The system of recall prevails in some western states of USA and in some cantons of Switzerland. In the state of Oregon even the judges can be recalled.

The Recall as a direct democratic device has many advantages. It is a very effective method to restrain the authorities from abusing power. Moreover, the authorities become more responsive to people's concerns as they know that they can be removed from office by the aggrieved section of the population. It is also a weapon against political corruption as it will not allow the continuation of corrupt and incompetent persons in office.

There are certain disadvantages associated with 'recall'. In this method the possibility of an honest officer or legislator being victimized by the people cannot be completely ruled out. Fearing victimization officers will cease to be independent and may become timorous or servile. They may lose independence of judgment, which in the ultimate analysis, will be a great loss to the public. Personal grudges may lead to recall. Interested persons having a personal grudge may exploit the people and maneuver votes into recall of an honest and efficient officer.

PUBLIC OPINION

It is not precisely known when the concept of public opinion originated, but the idea behind it had existed even in the ancient time and it commanded great prestige. The Greeks held that there was divinity in the voice of the people and the Romans used the term *consensus populi* to mean consent of the people though they applied it only in the juridical sense. During the middle ages, the dictum *vox populi, vox dei*, the voice of the people was voice of the god, was common belief and norm of political behavior. Machiavelli in his 'discourses' portrays voice of the people as the 'voice of the god.' The concept attained definite shape and political content in the work of Rousseau especially on the eve of the French Revolution. Since then it has become a democratic process and driving force of governmental actions and policies. It is considered as the guiding force of democracy.

The concept of public opinion attained much importance during the early part of the 19th century as a result of many circumstances. First of all, there was the increasing acceptance of the belief that public opinion is an essential matter of politics. This is evident from the remark of Napoleon that "opinion rules every where". Second is that, it was a time when most of the social sciences were still in the early stages of development. Thirdly, governments were relaxing censorship control over publicly expressed political criticism.

Though the term 'public opinion' is often used by all, there is no agreement as to its precise meaning and functions.

According to Morris Ginsberg “Public opinion is a social product due to the interaction of many minds. According to Kimbal Young “Public opinion consist of the opinion held by a public at a certain time”. To Leonard Dobb public opinion refers to peoples attitude on an issue when they are members of the same social group.

Public opinion can be defined as the opinion which the people in general hold on a question of common interest at a certain time.

The term public opinion is a combination of two words-public and opinion. Now, the question arises who constitute ‘people’? According to E M Sait not everyone contribute in the formation of public opinion. Minors and mentally challenged persons must be excluded. His opinion is that whole adult population, irrespective of voting rights and citizenship should share in the formulation of public opinion. And now comes the question of opinion; opinion refers to a belief which reflect peoples attitude and personality on a matter of great public importance.

Traditional concept of public opinion held the notion of political man as a rational being who distinguished between right and wrong and honest guided his decision on public matters. The enlightened opinion of people represented the will of the community and it reflected a single soul aiming at the good of all. This Homogeneous opinion was free from all taints of factional and sectional interest.

Contemporary view is that there is no single but multiplicity of opinions held by different groups. There are as many opinions as there are politically articulate groups each commanding its own public support of that opinion. Opinion of the people is seldom unanimous. And a pragmatic view is that at no time in history has absolute unanimity been achieved among the people of a state upon any weighty matter of public importance.

In the view of Rousek, public opinion implies four things. In the first place, there is a group of members or public. Secondly, these members of the group have issues of common interest about which they communicate with each other, although at times they may differ from one another to some extent. Thirdly, there is a leader or leaders of the group who take upon themselves the task of formulating opinion on certain important issues at a given time and of drawing the attention of the members of the group to that opinion. Finally, the members of the group adopt that opinion and acquiesce in the action necessitated by such opinion.

Criteria of Public Opinion

A public opinion must be public rather than individual or sectional. Individual or sectional opinion is neither public nor opinion, as it does not aim at the good of the people as a whole or even a majority of them. And an opinion must be firm and convincingly held; it must have a stabilising effect. Public opinion must be stable and enduring. Secondly, it should be an opinion held as widely as possible. An opinion cannot be regarded as constituting public opinion, if it is not shared by the dominant portion of the community. However, it does not mean an opinion of the majority, nor

is unanimity required.

A true public opinion is one which is promoted by due regard to public welfare. When a particular opinion is accepted by a huge majority and the minority is convinced of it after thorough discussion, that it is aimed at public good, it is public opinion. Lowell is of the opinion that, if the minority does not give full support or unwillingly agrees to an opinion, it cannot be termed public opinion.

Formation of Public Opinion

Public opinion formulated on matters of public importance occurs through the process of crystallization and formation. It is only a small section of society, educated, intellectually alive and well-informed citizens who show a keen interest in solving an issue, when it arises. When an issue of great importance arises, intelligent people start expressing their views and reactions on that issue. This small segment of society comprises of different groups and their thinking and solutions to an issue may also differ. They present their views to the people either by pen or word. Some views are discarded in the very beginning, some views are modified and some views get more strength. Now, a comparatively larger section of society, who are passive in politics but understand the issues involved, listen and read what elites have to say, and present their own views and suggestions. The elites think and judge the views so expressed and may modify and even correct their own views. In this process a definiteness is achieved and opinion is crystallized. If the majority of people are convinced that the opinion that had taken a final shape is for the good of the community, it becomes a public opinion. Even if the opinion so crystallized is held by a minority, it still becomes a public opinion, if it is for the general welfare of the community.

Role of Public Opinion In Democracies

Public opinion is considered as the guiding force in democracy. It is a truism that democracy means government by public opinion. Not only political parties, all groups in society, be it interest and pressure groups or even governments, generating favourable public opinion is of utmost concern of all of them. In democracies, people are regularly called upon to elect their representatives, and the party or the parties in a coalition which gets the majority form governments. So it becomes essential for all political parties to generate public opinion in their favour, if they wish to come to power. To win people in their side, parties vie with one another by placing before the electorate policies and programmes which are likely to get the maximum support of the people.

A government formed by the support of the people in a democracy cannot afford to ignore the public opinion, as they know that those who have entrusted them with power can also take back the power in the next general election. Responsibility and vigilance of people in the form of public opinion keeps the government on the right track. People's power ensure that government does not exercise arbitrary authority and ensure democratic rights to its citizens.

Public opinion plays an invaluable role in the working of political institutions

and serves as the most important agency of coordination. In the Presidential system, it smoothenes the functioning of the executive and legislative departments and brings harmony between the two, without one being responsible to the other. Public opinion also ensures that deadlock or delay arising out of disagreement between legislature and executive branches are resolved at the earliest.

Freedom of speech and expression is the most important requirement for the generation of public opinion. By giving people an opportunity to express their feelings, the governments in democracies not only provide an opportunity for the public opinion to develop but it also in a way, enhances peoples belief in democratic governments.

Public opinion enables democratization of political institutions and keeps them true to the constructive role they are obliged to perform. The premise of democracy is that people rule themselves. So it is only natural that all important public offices are run by people who are democratically elected; which means opinion of the people is the deciding factor here.

Democracy lives and thrives on public opinion, provided it is honest, forceful and vigilant. A common man cannot be expected to know the intricacies of all the important issues in a country but if he has a keen interest in the affairs of a state and an open and inquisitive mind that will help him to form informed opinion on issues plaguing the nation.

Agents of Public Opinion

There are various agents that help generate public opinion in society. Prominent among them are listed below.

Press

Print media includes news papers, periodicals, journals, magazines and such other kinds of printed matter that are circulated among people. Among these, news papers are the most prominent agent of formation of public opinion. Walter Lippmann attached so much importance to the daily press in educating people and formation of public opinion that he called it the “Bible of democracy.” Rapid spread of mass education coupled with the innovations in printing technology and better transportation have made news papers reach every nook and corner of the country at affordable prices of common man. Reading newspapers have become a habit of most people so much so that it has become part of their daily. Readers are attached to one news paper or the other which caters to their taste and leanings.

The daily press reports national and international news, proceedings of the legislative discussions and debates, major policy decisions of the government, publishes views of statesmen, eminent scholars and columnist on various issues of public importance. Presentation of facts is only part of the function of dailies. News papers also carries comments and analyses of various news that are of much importance to the country and public at large. Editorials of the news paper largely reflect the policy of the management and the taste and predilections of those to whom they are addressed. The news and views projected in the daily of his choice generally form the

basis of the opinion of the people.

News papers also functions as a forum for the expression of views and opinion of the people on matters of public importance, policies of the government and ventilation of grievances. Most news papers reserve space for the expression of such views and generally for the ventilation of grievances of the people. News papers play a vital role in the crystallisation of public opinion. No government would like to ignore the opinion of the people and they can do so only at its own peril in a democracy.

There is also the danger of press manipulating opinion by suppressing facts and distorting news. News papers nowadays are controlled by powerful media groups and business interest, and they have their own vested interests to protect. Naturally independent and unbiased reporting of news have become a casualty. Moreover dailies are dependent on advertisements for their existence and this weakens the position of the newspaper as a vehicle of dissemination of information, knowledge and opinion. Governments have also been known to control press in an indirect way by way of controlling access to facts and also by the threat of denial of government advertisements.

People

Among the various agencies that help in the formation of public opinion, the people must be considered as an important one. All people in a society does not help in the formation of public opinion. Rather, some people play a more prominent role than others. People who are involved in public affairs such as legislators administrators, journalist or politicians make or mould opinion by expressing their views on policies and events as they occur. Again there are people who are knowledgeable and experts in their own fields, who out of sense of civic duty and interest in public affairs express their views. They also have the capacity to mould public opinion. Well respected social activists, literary personalities, eminent intellectuals, scientists, public figures etc., all have the capacity to influence public opinion.

Platform

Though in modern times print and electronic media are the preferred choice of opinion makers, they have not forgotten the importance of platform to influence the views of the people. Among the most cherished rights of man are freedom of association and the freedom of speech and expression and both these rights are at the core of formation of public opinion. Public meetings provide the leaders to establish direct contact with the masses. Platform as a means of formulating public opinion assumes significance in countries with huge section of uneducated and illiterate population exists. In places where the penetration of print and electronic media is weak is also a favoured area of the leaders to use the means of platform to reach out to people. Skillful orators among the leaders can flare up emotions and choke the thought and reason of the masses and guide them in the path determined by the leader. Rhetoric is often employed by the speakers to influence the public mind. Facts are seldom discussed and realities rarely explained in public meetings. The platform is generally used as to reiterate one's own point of view and falsify those of others.

In modern times, the importance of platform has progressively been reduced with the simultaneous advancement in the reach of mass media among the people. But it is still widely used in times of elections, especially as a means to showcase the strength of a party.

Electronic media

Electronic media which includes Television, Radio, Cinema, and Internet play a very prominent role in the formulation of public opinion. Apart from being an excellent means of entertainment, Television and Radio have become an important source of reliable information for the public. In developing countries, where the percentage of illiteracy is fairly high, electronic media exert an overwhelming influence on the formulation of opinion of people. Television and radio devote a fair amount of time on the analysis of news and events. And with the advent of channels dedicated exclusively to news, the events happening in the country reach people without any delay. Parliamentary debates and discussions are followed keenly by the masses live on Television and Radio. All this has greatly aroused the interest of common man in the affairs of the state.

Of late, internet have become a very potent organ for the formulation of public opinion. Internet, especially for the youth, have become the window to the world. The advantage of internet over other electronic media is that it is not easy for the governments to impose censorship over the content in the sites. This helps in the free exchange of information and analysis of news without the fear of being victimized. The role of internet, especially that of the social networking sites, in formulating public opinion have been well established. The 'Arab Spring' that swept Middle East in 2011 saw people using social networking sites to organize mass protest against 'oppressive regimes'. Internet came in handy for the protesters when the states in West Asia imposed severe restrictions on the media in reporting events in their countries.

Political parties

In democracies political party is without doubt, the foremost agency in the formulation of public opinion. It is the endeavour of all political parties in a democracy to win the opinion of the people to their cause. Various methods are employed by the political parties to generate public opinion. Parties regularly organize public meetings where the leaders of the party through their oratorical skills and intelligent arguments try to convince the people and formulate opinion desired by the party. Apart from public meetings parties they also conduct seminars, release books, pamphlets, leaflets, reports, pictures, , posters etc., to generate opinion. Parties also indulge in agitations, demonstrations, strikes etc., to highlight issues that needs the support of the people.

Legislature

Legislature reflect as well as mould or shape public opinion. It is a place where opinion of the people is reflected through their elected representatives. All shades of opinion

and different interest representing various sections of the society finds its expression in the legislature. Parliament act as a deliberative body, where public affairs of high importance are debated and discussed. This arouses the interest of the common man and help in the generation of opinion.

A bill in parliament goes through ‘three readings’ and passes through different stages including legislative committees. A bill passed in one house is transferred to the other house for its consideration. People get enough time to know about the proposed bill and people can propose suggestions through proper channels. Opposition parties may force governments to amend or modify or even drop the original bill if there is considerable public opinion against the bill.

Educational institutions

Educational institutions such as schools, colleges and universities exercise indirect influence on public opinion. These educational institutions act as training grounds that mould responsible citizens of the future. Apart from reading books and attending lectures students take part in symposiums, seminars, debates etc. Thus as part of the curriculum when students learn about their country and world they change their prejudices, views and outlooks. They develop new convictions based on their better understanding and wider knowledge. The views and outlook of their teachers also influence the students in moulding opinion on the issues they come across. Students acquire civic consciousness and generally become aware of their rights and duties. Education inculcate in them an attitude of inquisitiveness and independent thinking which enable them to develop opinion on vital issues concerning the nation.

Interest and Pressure groups

Interest and pressure groups also play a vital role in the formation of public opinion. The aim of these groups is to protect and promote specific interest. Pressure groups exert pressure on the government to receive decisions that favour the interest of the group. To achieve this objective one of the favoured tactics employed by pressure groups is to generate favourable public opinion. So, interest and pressure groups are always in the process of generating public opinion as they know that no government can ignore the public opinion for long.

Government

Government also tries to create public opinion in favour of their policies and programmes by propaganda and publicity. Every modern governments have a well functioning department for information and publicity. They try to project the achievements of the government to impress the people and create public opinion in support of the government.

Propaganda

Propaganda has an important role in the formation of public opinion. In every country there are numerous groups that compete with each other for protecting and promoting their interest. These groups know that the best method to build up influence in the realm of public policy is to indulge in activities of propaganda. So every group has its own publicity and propaganda wing and try to influence people to one's own

views through various methods which it thinks fit. Even governments indulge in propaganda to counter the criticism of the opposition and to explain and to convince people the positions taken by the government. According to Walter Lippmann, “the most significant revolution in modern times is the revolution that is taking place in the art of creating consent among the governed. Within the life of the new generation now in control of affairs, persuasion has become a conscious art and regular organ of popular government.”

Various methods are employed by these groups ranging from open and straight forward methods to outright hidden and dubious methods. Sometimes propaganda involves much of falsehood but in a democratic country falsehood is taken head on by counter propaganda. Even if some agencies propagate falsehoods or distort facts that would be countered by other agencies by revealing the true state of affairs. In this way propaganda plays a positive role in society.