

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ  
ಮುಕ್ತಗಂಗೋತ್ರಿ, ಮೈಸೂರು ೫೭೦ ೦೦೬

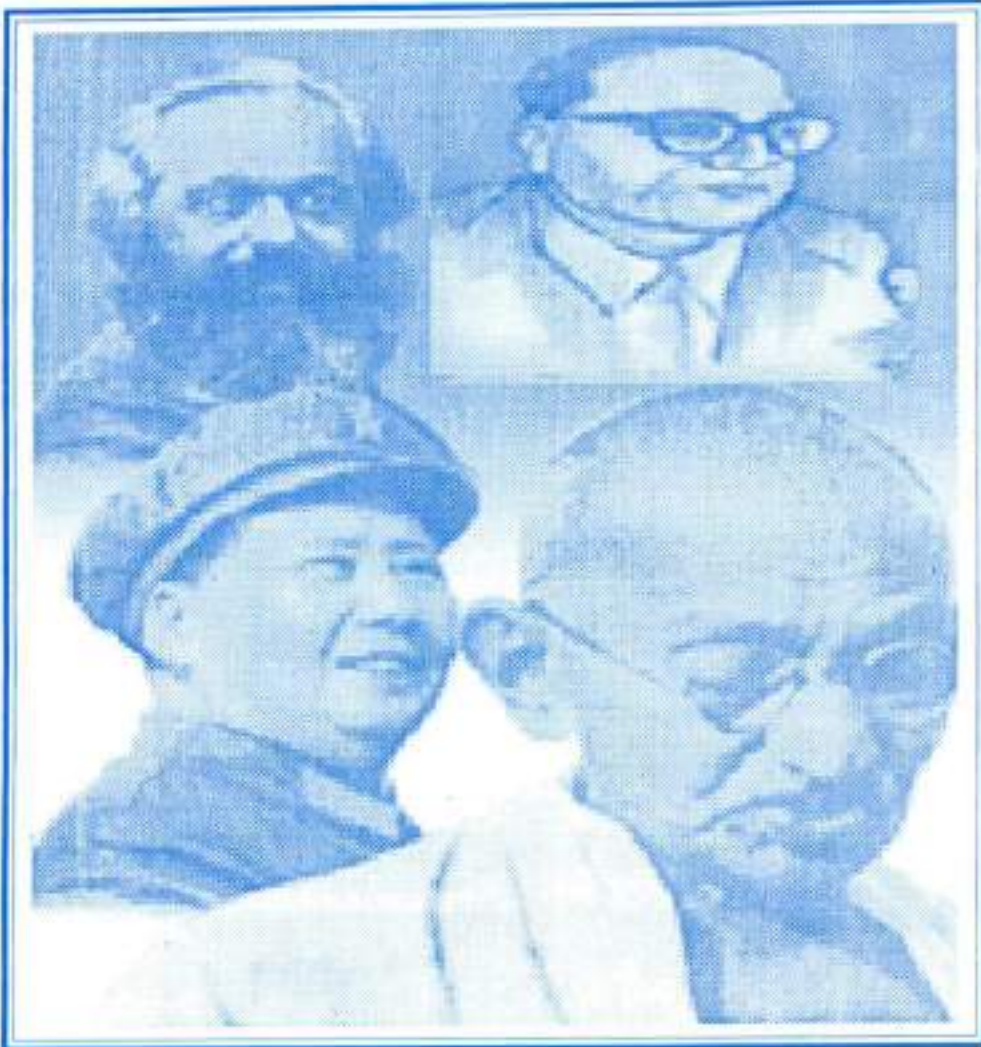


KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY  
Mukthagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

**Political Science**  
M.A. (Final)

**English Medium**

**Recent Political Theory**



**Course - III**

**Block - I**

# KSOU NATIONAL INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION



Karnataka State Open University (KSOU) was established on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1996 with the assent of H.E. Governor of Karnataka as a full fledged University in the Academic year 1996 vide Government notification No./EDI/UDV/dated 12<sup>th</sup> February 1996 (Karnataka State Open University Act – 1992). The Act was promulgated with the object to incorporate an Open University at the State Level for the introduction and promotion of Open University and Distance Education Systems in the education pattern of the State and the Country for the Co-ordination and determination of standard of such systems.

- ❖ With the virtue of KSOU Act of 1992, Karnataka State Open University is empowered to establish, maintain or recognize Institutions, Colleges, Regional Centres and Study Centres at such places in Karnataka and also open outside Karnataka at such places as it deems fit.
- ❖ All Academic Programmes offered by Karnataka State Open University are recognized by the Distance Education Council (DEC), Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), New Delhi.
- ❖ Karnataka State Open University is a regular member of the Association of Indian Universities (AIU), New Delhi, since 1999.
- ❖ Karnataka State Open University is a permanent member of Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), London, United Kingdom since 1999. Its member code number: ZKASOPENUINI.
- ❖ Karnataka State Open University is a permanent member of Asian Association of Open Universities (AAOU), Beijing, CHINA, since 1999.
- ❖ Karnataka State Open University has association with Commonwealth of Learning (COL), Vancouver, CANADA, since 2003. COL is an intergovernmental organization created by commonwealth Heads of Government to encourage the development and sharing of open learning distance education knowledge, resources and technologies.

**Higher Education To Everyone Everywhere**



**Karnataka State  
Open University**

**Political Science  
Course III**

## **Block**

**1**

### **Introduction**

---

#### **Unit 1**

**Ideology - Meaning, Characteristics and Significance**

**1 to 21**

---

#### **Unit 2**

**Pluralism - Meaning and Growth**

**23 to 36**

---

#### **Unit 3**

**Controversy between Monism and Pluralism**

**37 to 51**

---



---

**Course Design and Editorial Committee**

---

**Prof M.G. Krishnan**

Vice-chancellor and Chairperson

Karnataka State Open University

Mukthagangotri, Mysore - 570 006

**Prof S.N. Vikram Raj Urs**

Dean (Academic)-Convenor

Karnataka State Open University

Mukthagangotri, Mysore - 570 006

---

**Dr. T.D. Devegowda**

Reader and Chairman

Dept of Pol.Science,

Karnataka State Open University

Mukthagangotri, Mysore - 570 006

**Course Co-ordinator**

---

**Course Writer**

---

**Dr. R. Harish**

Reader, Dept of Pol.Science,

Karnataka University

Dharwad

**Units 1 - 3**

---

**Developed by Academic Section, KSOU, Mysore**

Karnataka State Open University, 2013,

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced in any form, by mimeograph or any other means, without permission in writing from the Karnataka State Open University.

Further information on the Karnataka State Open University Programmes may obtained from the University's office at Mukthagangotri, Mysore-6

Printed and Published on behalf of Karnataka State Open University, Mysore - 6 by  
**Registrar (Administration).**

---

## **Introduction**

### **Course III Recent**

### **Political Theory (Concepts and issues)**

The subject Recent Political Theory is prescribed as one of the courses of Political Science in M.A (Final). In view of the growing importance of the study of concepts and issues of recent political theory, it is offered as one of important branches of the study of Political Science in some of the Universities in India and abroad. In this course, you study the ideology, liberalism, pluralism the various theories of law, Socialism, democracy, communism and so on.

It is well known that all Governments, Political, Economic, and Social Systems are the product of Social, Political and Economic theories. The change of governments and systems invariably take place in accordance with the variation taking place in concepts and issues. Therefore the study various concepts and issues in recent political theory has become indispensable to have an insight into the rise and fall of any government or system based on the divergent concepts like Socialism, Communism, democracy and so on. With this backdrop, the study of Recent Political theory in Political Science has become all the more important.

The Course III is structured in accordance with the self instructional mode (SIM). It has blocks which contain units dealing with various aspects of Recent Political Theory.

**Dr. T.D. Devegowda**

**Chairman**

**DOS in Political Science**

**KSOU, MGM, Mysore-6**

## **Block I**

Block I contains 3 units from 1-3. Unit 1 explains the Ideology - Meaning, Characteristics and Significance. Unit 2 explains Pluralism - meaning and growth. Unit -3 explains controversy between Monism and Pluralism.

---

**UNIT-1    IDEOLOGY-MEANING, CHARACTERISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE**

---

**Structure**

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Ideology : Meaning and Characteristics
- 1.3 Ideology : its varieties
- 1.4 Ideology : its significance
- 1.5 Ideology : revisited
- 1.6 Conclusion
- 1.7 Let us sum up
- 1.8 Key words
- 1.9 Some useful Books
- 1.10 Answers to Check Your Progress



---

## **1.0 Objectives**

---

After going through this unit you will be able to

- \* Understanding the meaning of Ideology
- \* describe the Characteristics of Ideology
- \* discuss the significance of Ideology.

---

## **1.1 Introduction**

---

Liberalism, Marxism and Evolutionary Socialism are the dominant ideologies of the present day world. All of them had their origin in England and Europe and had been concerned with the socio economic, political and cultural aspirations of the individual which emerged from such massive movements as the Renaissance, the Reformation and the industrial revolution. All the three ideologies aimed to bring about socio economic transformation in consonance with the needs of industrial and technological societies. Whereas liberalism believed that its objective would be attained through the principles of individual liberty, rights, rule of law, constitutionalism, democracy, secularism, capitalism, reason, science and progress, Marxism rejected the capitalist base of liberalism and asserted that the freedom of the individual could be achieved only through the establishment of a classless and stateless communist society. It presented a revolutionary programme for the emancipation of the working class and called the workers of all countries to unite and overthrow the capitalist order by a violent revolution and establish a proletarian state so that conditions for a classless society could be created. Evolutionary socialism attempted to synthesize liberalism and Marxism. While agreeing with the Marxist aim of establishing a socialist society, it rejected its revolutionary method and preferred the liberal, constitutional and democratic methods of achieving it. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and particularly, after the second world war, the distinction between the reformist type of liberalism and evolutionary socialism blurred day by day and both of them merged into what is called the welfare state.

A unique phenomenon of the international order after the second world war has been the division of the world into three broad categories known as three worlds. The first world consists of England, Western Europe, USA, Canada, Australia and Japan. These countries



believe in the liberal ideology of individual rights and civil liberties, constitutional government, liberal democracy, capitalist economy and social mobility. From the industrial and technological point of view, these are the most advanced countries of the world. The second world consists of the USSR and East European countries. These countries consciously adopted the Marxist theory of social and political change and through centralized planned economy, collective ownership of the means of production and a regimented society have attained considerable social and economic progress. The unique feature of these countries is that they achieved tremendous socio economic changes during the 20<sup>th</sup> century itself and that also during the last 50 odd years. The third world consists of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America other than the countries of Western bloc or the socialist bloc. The third world consists of more than 100 countries with 45% of the world population, 48% of the area, 14% of the gross income, and with an industrial production of around 8%. It comprises of those states and territories which exhibit neither developed capitalist nor developed socialist economies, many of which have emerged from colonial and primitive rules. The three world theory consists of the comparative analysis of economic and political conditions of the three worlds and an attempt to understand the third world in proper perspective. However, according to Scruton, the distinction among the world is political rather than economic. It might consist of the reluctance or inability of the third world to fit comfortably into either of the major political blocs and its tendency to act as a self developed political system. According to Sargent, the third world countries are trying to find a third way of development which is neither capitalist nor communist. Capitalism is rejected because it is associated with the colonial rulers who ruined their economies. Communism is rejected because it is authoritarian and because many of the third world leaders rejected the central concept of Marxism class struggle. Thus, Ideology is not only a dominant politico Economic term, but also, a powerful thought that commits the believes to Isolate and Identify themselves on certain firm tenets, the Impact of which could be far reaching. Ideologies are normally represented through an Idea, but it can also be represented through a song, symbol, training belief, faith etc.,

---

## **1.2 Ideology: Meaning and Characteristics**

---

Ideology or doctrine is a type of political theory which upholds a certain political

system is its broadest sense and the values and ideals that sustain it, as the final proximation of the human mind to an ideal arrangement, and, therefore, claiming this finality seeks to realize it. The test of a political ideology lies in its application. Thus, Preston King says that an ideology will either involve the actual application of a coherent system of political ideas to a political system in such a way as to direct its activities or it involves the serious distinction of making this application. In other words ideology refers to an action related system of political ideas in the sense that they are sets of ideas concerning change or defence of existing political structures and relationships. Ideology involves commitment and action as a part of the political process. It may or may not possess a logical or philosophical character at all but it must possess a political character, content without which it cannot be described an ideology a guide to direct political action.

The real meaning of ideology differs from that of certain other terms that are mistakenly regarded as interchangeable with it. For instance, ideology and mentality cannot be taken as analogous terms. While an ideology is a system of thought which has been intellectually worked out and organized usually in written form by scholars and intellectuals or with their help, mentality denotes a way of thinking and feeling which is more emotional than rationalized something like a cast of mind. Ideology and political philosophy cannot be regarded as synonymous terms. Political philosophy evokes reflection and understanding while ideology is more likely to imply commitment and action.

Keeping in view the essential fact that a political scientist cannot base his entire analysis on empirical knowledge alone and that he has to choose and approach his particular field of specialization equipped with the values and attitudes of his own political culture that will affect his political analysis we may pinpoint certain general characteristics of the term political ideology as under:

Ideologies are not the same as value and attitudes of the political culture. They are programs for action and instruments of evaluation. They are a response to and a means of defending or changing existing political systems, they provide a language to conduct an examination of political process.



It is not the content of the ideologies alone that distinguishes one from another, it is the function of the ideology within the political system that creates differentiation. Ideological emphasis is a significant characteristic of the totalitarian states, but in liberal democracies the role of the underlying ideologies is often less obtrusive but no less important in different respects.

Ideologies do change, but this is not necessarily due to their being corrupted or to the death of their role in the political process, nor are the changes simply the result of the political opportunism. An ideology is impossible to translate directly into practice there has to be accommodation to political realities, a translation which may result in ideological splits between former ideological colleagues and a distortion of reality to fit the ideological interpretation. It may be that ideologies need enemies to establish their credibility:

Ideologies may be classified according to their role in relation to the political system as rightist or leftist, reactionary or progressive, conservative or revolutionary, reformist or radical and the like no political system is, however, absolutely free from the bond of ideology. It is a different thing that the adherents to the ideology of liberalism may claim and cry for the end of ideology.

It is the ideology that constitutes the keystone of the arch of a political party or a group. It may be asserted that a scuffle between two leaders (as Stalin versus Trotsky) in Russia, or between two groups (as between Maoists and Liuists in China), or between two countries (as Soviet Union and China) is conducted within the framework of ideological arguments.

A study of the term political ideology, after keeping in view its general characteristics and diverse ramifications, shows that ideological politics is doctrinaire, dogmatic, transitory, prescriptive polemical and propagandist, partisan, combative and destructive whose appeal is in the nature of a religious belief, which would not suffer either doubt or criticism. It is the creed or character that makes it thoroughly impervious to scepticism or a to a critical scrutiny.

The above explanation gives an impression that ideologies attempt to be a description of political reality and a blueprint for action. The function of the ideology, in this way, becomes



either to bring about a change or to justify an existing political system. A student of comparative politics is thus concerned with the subject of political power in respect of its distribution between the people and their rulers. The result is that, according to a writer on comparative politics, ideologies are as much a factor instability and political unity as a source of challenge to existing political structures. They can be used to support the dominant political elites and to disarm their political rivals, and they can be useful in diverting attention from difficult internal problems. Above all, they are a means of legitimizing the government and the policies of that government.

Thus, the term Ideology refers to a faithful thinking which is expressive in terms of its agenda for action to realise the goals set forth before a faith. Its characteristics therefore clearly ... that Ideology is not only an abstract Idea, but also a concept complete with concrete methodology for action.

Ideology as understood above does not only help to legitimate a political system by its expressed faith in a methodology of action but could also vary in its approach. Here, are some of these varieties presented to strengthen your understanding of the Ideology.

### **Check Your Progress - 1**

*Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

#### **1. Discuss the meaning and characteristics of Ideology.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### **1.3 Ideology: its varieties**

---

**Ideology of Liberalism:** Opposed to the ideology of totalitarianism, whether rightist or leftist is the ideology or philosophy of liberalism that stands for the values of freedom,

democracy and humanism. Its assumptions may be said to lie in the paraphernalia of a democratic order having representative government, responsible executive, socio economic and political checks and balances, independence of judiciary and rule of law. It has three fundamental assumptions limited government, pluralistic society, and unlimited scope for human choices. The government operates in a world of autonomous, spontaneously self creating, voluntary associations at a margin of social activity. The society has a pluralistic character. It implies that it is made up of a host of autonomous sections and associations, but to believe that each enshrines value or interests dear to its members. Fundamentally, the scope for choices implies that truth is a matter of individual conscience where all consciences are held by an act of faith, to be equal either in the sight of God or in the sight of man. Two working conclusions follow from this, namely toleration and the qualification of majority rule.

The real difficult problem about the ideology or trend of liberalism finds place in its essentially flexible character that takes it to the pole of being thoroughly democratic on the one hand to that of being authoritarian on the other, despite the fact that the three assumptions of liberalism cannot be found in all countries of the world on account of varying political cultures. Democracy involves more than the existence of a particular political structure. Historical evidences are there to confirm that the American and the British systems of government could easily evolve into dictatorship of the executive in the absence of an organized opposition, free elections, a free press and deeply rooted traditions of individual rights. Democracy can work only when the values associated with it particularly those relating to speech and opposition are fully understood and accepted by all the people. This in turn is dependent upon a whole cluster of social conditions.

It is on account of the recognition of this fact that liberalism stands for justifying government control over the liberties of the people in varying degrees according to the exigencies of social interest realizing this essential fact, a great liberal thinker like John Stuart Mill endorsed. A people may be unwilling or unable to fulfil the duties which a particular form of government requires of them. A rude people, though in some degree alive to the benefits of civilized government, to be really advantageous to them, will require to be in a considerable degree despotic to be one over which they do not themselves exercise control, and which



imposes a great amount of forcible restraint upon their actions.

It is, however, as a result of either misunderstanding or deliberately distorting the real state of affairs that some writers like Daniel Bell have spoken of the end of ideology in liberal democratic societies. The issue of economic development has come to stay in the forefront and the state of political stability has almost become a well settled phenomenon. The people have developed firm faith in the institutions of their political culture and as such, they have nothing to fear in that regard. However, the issue of economic development has come to be the main goal that they want to achieve by living within the broad framework of a well established democratic system. It is for this important reason that there is hardly any difference of opinion between the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties in the United States and not so basically hostile relationship between the Conservative and Labour parties of Great Britain. In spite of all this, it would be a mistake to say that the ideology which was once a road to action, has come to a dead end.

In this important direction, the fact is that the shackles of ideology have become a bit loose with the result that while the liberals have taken to diverse stands that often makes them look like ideologically neutral, the socialists and the communists have likewise, shown their proneness towards a gradual acceptance of the liberal democratic political values. All this should be interpreted not as an end or decline of ideology but as a change from one position to another.

It indicates that, like the world itself, the ideology is also in a state of constant flux that may be discerned even in the changing behaviour of the socialist and communist parties of various major countries like France, Italy, Germany and even the Soviet Union. As Bell says The actual ideological standing of various parties may be the subject for a more detailed debate and may demand terminological variations, but the important point is that this sort of movement does not necessarily imply the end of ideological adherence, and that the supporters of the end of ideology arguments have in fact, made this mistake because of their narrow definition of ideology as a concept interchangeable with revolutionary utopianism.



Ideology of Fascism: Opposed to Marxism are the ideologies of Fascism (also Nazism) having a totalitarian character and liberalism pertaining to a democratic model. Both may be treated as rightist in the sense that they are opposed to the substitution of the present order by a new one and that too by means of a bloody revolution. The common point between the ideologies of Marxism Leninism and Fascism, however, finds place in the fact that both subscribe to the system of totalitarianism and, in this respect, both are basically different from the ideology of liberalism which attaches sanctity to the principles and norms of democratic order. A student of comparative politics is, therefore, concerned with the role of three ideologies having points of resemblance and difference between one another without agreeing with this observation of some critics that liberalism cannot be given the place of an ideology.

The ideology of Fascism as it developed in Italy desired, what the founder father of this doctrine Benito Mussolini said, a Corporate State Laying emphasis on the essential characteristics of this state, Mussolini said: Three conditions are necessary for the full, complete, integral and revolutionary fulfillment of the Corporate state: a single party by means of which there shall be effectuated political control as well as an economic control and which shall be above the competing interests a bond which unites all in a common faith. Nor is that enough. We must have as well as the single party, the totalitarian state the state which absorbs in itself, to transform and make them effective all the energy, all the interests and all the hopes of the people. The third is to live a period of the highest ideal tension While Mussolini pinpointed the word Corporate State, Hitler did the same for Idea that signified the exclusive and unassailable leadership of the supreme leader. As, in a mood of resentment, Hitler said that every member of the party has to do what the leader orders. The Leader incorporates the Idea and alone knows its ultimate goal.

The ideology of Fascism has two essential characteristics totalitarianism and Marxism. Its totalitarian characteristic is constrained in these words of Mussolini: Fascist conception is for the state, and it is for the individual in so far as he coincides with the state, and it is for the individual in so far as the universal conscience and will of man in his historical existence. Similarly, Hitler leader of the Nazi party in Germany, said that the individual is transitory, the Volk is permanent. The position of this single echo is exclusively determined by the interest of the



volk as a whole. The whole ideology of Fascism is dominated by the dogmas of sovereign state and irresistible government. All particularistic interests of individuals must be suppressed by an omnipotent, hierarchical organization of the nation. A citizen's political obligations are more important than his rights. This is the Fascist totalitarianism which recognizes no sphere of individual life as immune from political authority. The true Fascist says Gentile, is Fascist in his home, school and work shop as well as in his politics. The keynote of Fascism is contained in these words of Mussolini. Nothing against the State, nothing over it, nothing beyond it.

Fascism pertains to the category of rightist totalitarianism in view of the fact that it stands for the protection and promotion of the interests of the bourgeois class and also patronises religion that as the communists say, goes to the exclusive advantage of the same class. Both Mussolini and Hitler made serious plans to destroy the Soviet Union. Thus, it is said that Fascism is anti Marxism which seeks to destroy the enemy by evolvment of a radically opposed and yet related ideology and by the use of almost identical and yet typically modified methods, always, however, within the unyielding framework of national self assert in and autonomy. It is on account of the rightist character of Fascism that it is seen as conservative in that it is counter revolutionary.

As already pointed out one important point common to both ideologies is that they stand for totalitarianism a form of political order that crushes individual liberty, tolerates no opposition, desires complete state centralization, glorifies the nation and emphasizes the idea of state as a power system, exalts conditions of world war and denounces conditions of peace and tranquillity and has no faith in the ideals of liberalism and humanism. In other words, both ideologies stand for a non democratic system about which Bernard E. Brown thus observes. All non democratic regimes, whether autocratic or totalitarian, reject democratic assumptions concerning the value of criticism and the uses of representative institutions. In contrast to traditional autocracies, a modern totalitarian state secures the participation of the masses not just the palace circles in some great endeavor. Totalitarian states are always in movement, since inaction permits the opposition to rally. Coercion and terror are used against opponents, but the legitimacy of the regime in the long run depends upon popular identification with the goals of the leadership.

**Ideology of Marxism:** According to Marxism, all fundamental historical changes are determined by the means of production or economic forces. A change in the means of production brings about a corresponding change in the relations of production. If the hand mill creates a society with the feudal lord, the steam mill creates a society with the industrial capitalist. It creates the two classes in the society the have and the have nots while the former are the rulers exploiters and oppressors, the latter are the ruled, exploited and oppressed. The function of Marxian ideology is, therefore, to explain the nature of social relationships and to suggest ways so that the present bourgeois society is substituted by a new socialist order. The rule of the bourgeoisie is thus to be replaced by the rule of the masses the workers, artisans, peasants and all those who toil. For this reason, Marx exposed the liberal myths that surrounded the political institutions of modern societies and he accused all social theorists who analyzed social relationships in terms of power, as victims of the illusions of the epoch. He criticized them for accepting as truth what was, in fact, part of the ideological support of the ruling class.

Marx lived and wrote in the nineteenth century that was the age of capitalism, it was his orthodox disciple Lenin who saw the development of capitalism into the final phase of imperialism and thus he made Marxism up to date by adding his interpretation. While Marx predicted in his communist Manifesto of 1848 that the law of dialectical materialism would automatically operate to bring about the doom of capitalism, Lenin gave a peculiar twist to this prophesy by adding that in the changed conditions of the twentieth century, revolution would have to be created and the party of the workers and peasants would play the role of a vanguard in the bloody revolution whose object would be to bring about a socialist society. The ideology of Marxism Leninism, therefore, takes the society as a theatre of struggle going on between the two rival classes of the exploiters and the exploited and desires its substitution by a new order that has a classless character during the transitional phase culminating into a condition of statelessness in the final phase of socialism. The function of ideology is thus to understand political reality in terms of the doctrine of class war according to which the class conflict between the have and the have nots would inevitably end in the victory of the larger classes, the proletariat, and this triumph would usher in the classless society.



The essence of the ideology of Marxism Leninism may be seen in a statement of Finer. He says that it has three variants firstly, that society is monistic and therefore minority or sectional rights must be eliminated. It is denied that the government ought to recognize and accept the existence of various sections of society and undertake to conciliate the claims of one as against another on the contrary, only one section of society the proletariat and its allies is worthy, and the government has the duty of suppressing all other sections and governing in the interests of this worthy section alone. Secondly, a government so functioning is supposed to be doing it in the name of some transcendent end of something which has been described as a consummately value one to which all individuals and groups in society, and present generation as against future generations, must be subordinated. In the communist case, this consummately value is the realization of an ideal social system, called communism, on an international scale. And, in pursuing this ideal Marxist philosophy suggests that the government of the state is simply giving history a push since the laws of society, as discovered by Marx and Lenin, indicate that the transition to communism is an ineluctable trend in society. Thirdly, these laws of society are held to be scientifically demonstrable, and so, instead of judgments on society and morals being regarded as matters of individual choice of conscience, they are held to be matters of scientific certainty. Thus, an insight into the varieties of Ideologies will help us appreciate the finalities of its significance and characteristics

---

#### **1.4 Ideology: its significance**

---

A study of political values within the framework of a science of ideas or ideology, as generally understood, has a significance of its own in the field of comparative politics in view of the fact that in every type of political system, policies are formulated and decisions made within a value framework. It is the comparative study of different value and belief systems that involves an attempt to explain why the substantive contents of ideologies such as conservatism in Great Britain, liberalism in the United States, fascism in Italy and Spain, Nazism in Germany, socialism or communism in the Soviet Union and China etc. Vary from one extreme to another. Allied with this is the issue that a comparative study of ideologies should explain why the same social groups in certain countries of the world develop different ideologies pertaining to the promotion of their specific interests. These differences and

similarities can only be accounted for in terms of such factors as the effectiveness of political parties, the existence of habits of compromise, the tradition of political leadership, the productivity of the economy, and so on. The study of ideological trends among key groups like those of the army and the intellectuals is especially important during periods of rapid political change. The nature and intensity of ideological conflict provides valuable clues to the degree of stability and instability in a given system. Thus, virtually every aspect of a political system can be illuminated by examination of the relationship between groups and ideologies. Thus, the significance of Ideologies grew in the midst of wars once after the first world war and later during the end of the second world war, when most of the Imperialist nations ..... their freedom. In these two contexts, two things speak of the significance of Ideology. In the first instance, when countries like Italy and Germany, .... with fascism the face of Ideology was masked with "self pride", Nationalism" etc, which was more apparent and dangerous as it turned out to be. In the post world war, the Ideological significance was hidden and divided between nations that chose their path in post imperialist .... to be there socialistic or democratic or mixed. However, in the modern days, freedom as an Ideology is masked with greater threats. Thus the significance of Ideology in different forms and content has been quite presenting even to this day.

### **Check Your Progress - 2**

*Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

#### **1. Evaluate the significance of Ideology.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....



---

## 1.5 Ideology: Revisited

---

Let us now look at the conception of power or authority that provides a framework of decision making to Ideologically oriented movements in German history. Here we are concerned with two approaches that are basically opposed to one another. While the approach of elitism stands invariably for the rule of the minority over the majority, the approach of Marxism does the same for the substation of the rule of the class by the rule of a classless society. The essential point of difference lies in the nature of the Ideology the ruling authority believes in. Thus, while elitism adheres to what Michels calls, the iron law of oligarchy, Marxism stands for what parry terms the concept of the mass. The approaches are however, inter connected in the sense that one cannot be understood without knowing the other, for both are essentially concerned with the distribution of political power but in different set of Ideological moorings.

Elitism, that was described by its ardent protagonists like Pareto, Mosca, Burnham and C.Wright Mills as a formula assert that political power is unevenly distributed in society. It resides in the hands of a very small minority or a group of chosen few that is known as the elite. The ruling class is always an elite and when ever there is a change in the ruling class, it means the replacement of one elite by another. The sources of power of the political elite are many like military, economic and religious, though the factor of organizational skill may be said to have its own importance. Though there are points of difference among leading elitist writers in this direction, there is agreement that forms of representative government are merely disguises to cover minority. There are problems of who actually constitute the political elite and whether it is defined narrowly or widely also there are differences on the means of recruitment, but there is unanimity on the inevitability of the minority rule.

The principle of elitism thus rejects the findings of earlier political scientists who had concerned themselves with the assumption of government as a rule of the people, whether few or many. Mosca says that past political thinkers where less concerned with determining constant trends in human societies than with the arts by which an individual, or a class of individuals, might succeed in a achieving supreme power in a given society and in thwarting the efforts of other individuals or groups to supplant them. In the name of his historical

method Mosca asserted that previous generations lacked the accurate knowledge of history, since they ignored this incontrovertible truth that political power was always held by the very few people. Following the same trend, Michels said that the law of oligarchy which he formulated on the basis of the facts of experience was inevitable and an essential characteristic of all human aggregates and historical evolution mocks all the prophylactic measures that have been adopted for the prevention of oligarchy.

In brief, the doctrine of elitism rejects the proposition that political power is held by the people or even by a class of people. Summing up the ideology of elitism, parry observes, government in a democracy was certainly of the people but only of the ruling class. The supposed law which required refutation was that asserted by socialists according to which a classless, egalitarian society would be the inevitable out come of the class conflict which had characterized all previous history. The law was a mere pious hope which deceived the lower classes in society, but at the same time significantly bolstered their confidence.

Fundamentally opposed to this is the Marxian view of political power. Here the emphasis is on the word class. The forces of history find their tangible embodiment in the contending social classes. Hence, the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle. The dominant class does not capitulate once its economic basis becomes important and its political role obsolete. As freemen and slaves in the slave society and lords and serfs in the feudal age, were contending for the seizure of power so the capitalist and the working classes are at war against each other in the present bourgeois system. The socialist society would emerge out of the present one and then this class war would come to an end with the establishment of a classless society. Thus, the need for a revolution in which the working class would seize the reins of the state remains for the Marxists an article of faith.

The ideology of Marxism, therefore, contends that political power is always in the hands of the socially dominant class. Once it was with the freemen then with the feudal lords, now it is with the capitalists. The religion of the workers is to struggle for the seizure of power so that the bourgeois class rule is replaced by the rule of the proletariat. In this way, Marxian ideology offers to the working class a hope it also presents what appears to be and what is claimed to be a science of society that explains the nature of class relationship within



the existing and all hitherto existing societies and predicts the eventual inevitable dominance of the working class to be followed in turn by the replacement of the rule of a class by the rule of a society without the classes of the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the oppressed. Such an assurance must have seemed all the more urgent, since the working class is already armed with an ideology masked as a science of social revolution. It is said in a tone of its appreciation. The comprehensive character of Marx's social analysis was unrivalled. The status of politics and political leadership, the role of the middle class and of representative institutions, the character of ideology, the situation of the masses all were within the compass of scientific socialism.

Political parties are said to be the most important ideological carrier and interpreter. It is the factor of ideology that provides comprehensive theories of politics and that makes it unnecessary to deal with individual issues on their individual merits. As Beer and Ulam observe, Ideologies are like theoretical sausage machines one feeds in problematic meat at one end and out comes a string of policy sausages at the other, beautifully integrated and consistent. And because they obviate real thought on individual issues they can become terribly necessary under certain conditions, particularly when the political system presents an unusually large number of unsolved issues, or, putting the same point another way, when an unusually large area of behaviour is subject to political decision making.

Broadly speaking, political parties, from the standpoint of their ideological foundation, may be put into two kinds rightist and leftist. While the rightist parties are those that stand for the maintenance of the status quo or desire very slow and peaceful changes, the leftist parties stand for breaking the status quo and advocate rapid and violent changes. There are a number of intermediate varieties between these two poles. For instance, the rightists or conservatives may be either traditional or authoritarian and the leftists or radicals may be either liberal or authoritarian all assuming diverse nomenclatures as socialist, democratic socialist, liberal democratic etc. It is also possible that there may be a party having no ideology but organized and working on populist lines. The congress party of India offers a unique example in this regard. What is peculiarly noticeable in this regard is that even some communists have been accused by their critics of being sold to bourgeois elements. The name of the Communist

Party of France may be cited here about which a critic has said. Not at any moment did the Communist party and the C.G.T. further an uprising. Not at any moment did they wish to torpedo the Gaullist government whose foreign policy corresponds to their fondest wishes and which permits their progressive integration into French society. Obviously they would have taken care of the state if it had been handed to them. But their constant objective was not to make a revolution but not let themselves be outflanked on their left by the students, by the Maoists, by the young workers.

As pointed out above, Indian national Congress affords the peculiar cases of a party without ideological moorings. It has a distinctly amorphous character keeping which in view it is described as a platform and not a party by its critics. Once it was essentially a freedom movement. Being in politics in the pre independence days almost meant being in Congress for reasons of high idealism, prestige and spirit of service in the cause of the country. The same trend has continued even after the advent of independence, no matter in adopted the ideal of socialistic pattern of society in 1955. The triumph of this party under the stewardship of Nehru and its resurgence under the leadership of Mrs Indira Gandhi has been owing to this important reason that it has been like an Aristotelian party, a party, of the middle way, if it was to survive and succeed. And the Congress political leaders became moulded as a man of the centre normally permitting himself the luxury of only a shade of emphasis on one side or the other.

Thus, the role of ideology in comparative party systems is made from a sociological standpoint, it may be found that the stiffness of ideological bond has declined owing to transformation in social and economic spheres. Prof. Otto Kirchheimer has referred to this as the emergence of the unified middle class society, which includes the working class, civil servants, white collar workers, and professionals. Agreeing with the view, Brown says. On the one hand, the old independent artisan and shopkeeper is disappearing. The new middle classes tend to gain their livelihood in some kind of bureaucratic enterprise (whether public or private), within which they have a degree of autonomy. They have lost the independence, or illusion of independence, which in the past gave them a consciousness of superiority over workers. On the other hand, percentage of national wealth allotted to the working class has



vastly increased. Members of the working and middle classes have thus come to experience the same kind of social discipline and to share the same aspirations, values, tastes, dress and the leisure time habits. They seek a larger portion of the national income in order to better enjoy a common way of life. Politics thus becomes a matter of slicing up the cake, not debating whether to bake something else and Thus the Idea of revisiting of Ideology was to give you as students of political theory some more examples of how Ideology as a strong “thought .. “ is the liberals and conservatives alike.

### **Check Your Progress - 3**

*Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

#### **1. Write a critical essay on Ideology.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### **1.6 Conclusion**

---

Though the issue of the end of ideology became very prominent in the 1960s, it may be found that leading social and political theorists of the West have interpreted the situation in different ways. A look at the writings of sociologists like S.M. Lipset, B. Moore, H.Marcuse, H.S.Hughes, H.Kenniston and J.Meynaud shows that the end of ideology has been identified with several related and unrelated situations like de radicalisation, de ideologisation and de motivationalisation of politics. Lipset has paid to much importance to the fact of pragmatism in this regard commitment to which has blurred the distinction between the right and the left. He has confined his attention to the doctrine of Marxism in his study of the term ideology and thus come to hold that the end of ideology and the decline of marxian revolutionary ideas

amount to the same thing. Others like Meynaud have confused the whole debate by coining the phrase of ideological pluralism, in advanced countries resulting in the situation of ideological appeasement. In the view of C. Wright Mills, ideology is like a mood and for this reason, any political reflection that is of possible public significance is ideological. Haber contends that the alleviation of mass discontent by government action has brought about the end of a revolutionary alternate.

The critics of the end of ideology theory deprecate the efforts of the bourgeois writers of the West in the name of offering a new ideology to preserve and justify the discredited capitalist system. In particular, the Marxists call it a new ideology in the age of welfare state allowing political pluralism, decentralisation of power, mixed economy and parliamentary democracy. Such contentions drew inspiration from the philosophy of status quoism and pragmatism and thus, instead of exposing the hollowness of the intellectual systems of the bourgeois world, endeavour to distract the attention of the progressive social and political theorists from the real state of affairs. In fact, the end of ideology theory is an ideology of an end to maintain the base intact by slight modifications in the superstructures.

---

### **1.6 Let us sum up**

---

Though it is true that there may be cases where the element of ideologies either are absent or very weak as the basis of political parties and groups that struggle for giving stability or strength to a political system or to bring about a change in it, it cannot be overlooked that political ideas and values that constitute the moorings of an ideology have a significance and a relevance of their own. One may disagree with Dante Germino's thesis of ideological reductionism, or may find fault with the positivism of August Comte who said that men have walked out of the theological and metaphysical stages when they were under the influence of supernatural ideas. Among recent writers, one may also refer to Easton and Cobban who have spoken of the decline of ideology and moved ahead more and more in the direction of factualism and hyperfactualism. Thanks to the contributions of writers like Michael Oakeshott, Hannah Arendt, Bertrand de Jouvenel, Leo Strauss and Eric Vogelin that the place of ideology in political theory has been re recognised.



The significance of ideology in the study of comparative politics is thus well borne out in the observation of Prof. Ball. "Thus, to claim that political values are irrelevant to the functioning of the political system is like canute ordering the water to recede. Political ideas bring together discoordinate demands into a more coherent pattern producing order and arrangement. Most of all they provide a criterion of relevance, a yardstick by which to judge political aspirations and actions. This is not to deny that they also provide a camouflage to hide materialistic aims within a mass of value loaded generalizations most political actors claim a wider relevance for their demands than mere self interest, yet even this is a significant aspect of the political process. Political ideas allow the expression of preferences, the basis and source of these ideas may be relatively unimportant for an analysis of the system. The truth or falsity of the ideas themselves is a matter for theologians and political philosophers, we are concerned with their political significance. Hence this write up.

---

### 1.8 Difficult words

---

Camouflage	-	concealment
Totalitarian	-	authoritarian
Analogous	-	Corresponding
Assumption	-	postulation
Exigency	-	urgency

---

### 1.9 Some useful Books

---

K.Seshadri	:	Studies in Marxism and Political Science, New Delhi: Pecople's Pub., 1977.
Dante Germino Beyond Ideology	:	The Revival of Political Theory, New York: Harper and Road, 1967
Martin Selger: Ideology and Politics, London	:	Gearge Allen and Unwin 1976.
V.P.Varma	:	Modern Political Theory, Delhi: Vikas, 1975.

---

## **1.9 Answer to Check your progress**

---

### **Check your progress - 1**

1. See section 1.2

### **Check your progress - 2**

1. See section 1.4

### **Check your progress - 3**

1. See section 1.2 and 1.5





**Structure**

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Sovereignty- A brief history
- 2.3 Sovereignty – Various theories
- 2.4 Pluralism Meaning and Growth
- 2.5 Laski's views on pluralism
- 2.6 Mc Ivers views on Pluralism
- 2.7 Let us Sum Up
- 2.8 Key words
- 2.9 Some useful books
- 2.10 Answer to Check your progress



---

## **2.0 Objectives**

---

This lesson is written to let you understand the importance of classical theories like pluralism in an age where multicultural societies are increasingly becoming a reality raising debates about the “absoluteness”, of the sovereign power of the state as a myth. In this lesson you are expected to understand the importance of pluralism, its meaning and growth. At the end this lesson you will be able to understand the importance of sovereignty, its various theories and different view points about pluralism.

---

## **2.1 Introduction**

---

Today’s states are sovereign states. According to the legal notion of the state, sovereignty is one of the essential elements of the state and it is the possession of sovereignty which distinguishes the state from other human institutions. The word ‘sovereignty’ is derived from the word *supernus* which means supreme.

There is not much controversy about the definition of sovereignty among the Western political thinkers. In its essentials, it is the supreme power in the society, an absolute power which is above all individuals, groups classes, class interests, and institutions a power which controls and regulates all of them. In contemporary society, this supreme power is possessed by the state. Many political thinkers have defined the term sovereignty. According to Bodin, it is the supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law. According to Grotius, ‘sovereignty is the supreme political power. Thus this concept of sovereignty for a long time reigned supreme, until it was challenged. The details of this can be read in the following paragraphs.

---

## **2.2 Sovereignty; A brief History**

---

The notion of sovereignty as the supreme power on a definite territory is modern and its emergence is connected with the rise of modern nation state. It does not, however, mean that the ancient and medieval ages were unaware of the idea of sovereignty. What is important is that the particular sense in which sovereignty is used, was never reemphasized in the past, even though the modern notion had its roots in the past.

The Greeks had their self sufficient communities and had known not only the supreme authority of the king, but also that of the whole community. They talked of law as their master. The classification of the constitutions by Aristotle was based upon the supreme authority in the hands of one, few or many. During the Roman period, the people were regarded as the supreme authority willed them to do so. But the immediate roots of sovereignty are in the medieval period and feudal system. The sovereign was synonymous with the finality of authority, with the dawn of modern nation states when the power of the feudal lords was broken, the kings became sovereign.

Similarly, we also find the glimpses of sovereignty in the religious hierarchies of middle ages. According to Lord Bryce, the chiefs of the religious monasteries were also called sovereign. Along with the rise of the supreme power of the pope, there also emerged the idea of the supreme power of the king. When the Popes were all powerful, the authority of the kings became merely its shadow. Thus, the Growth of Sovereignty is mainly in the medieval period in the west subject to the kind of society that existed.

---

### **2.3 Sovereignty; Various theories**

---

One of the important features of sovereignty is its ability to appeal to different senses differently. As a result it was not only defined variously, but also was given different nomenclature to explain the content of such a concept. Hence the following.

#### **Legal Sovereignty**

The legal view of sovereignty was propounded by Bodin and Hobbes and was developed by Bentham and Austin. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Bodin found in the monarch of France an absolutism to which the people could look for protection and who was a means and source of unity of the French state. He was seen as the author and dispenser of law. Bodin made use of these tendencies of the period and developed a theory of sovereignty as the supreme power over citizens and the subjects unrestrained by law. It was absolute the source of law, but not bound by it. It was (Sovereignty) to him perpetual, indivisible and indestructible. However, though above law, Bodin did not consider the sovereign as above all laws. He was still subjected to the laws of God, laws of nature and that of nations. Bodin



thus recognized certain limitations to the sovereign.

Thomas Hobbes on the other hand, made the most logical and comprehensive exposition of sovereignty in which there was no place for ethics. In the social contract, the sovereign is not a party to the contract and the individuals give all their powers unconditionally to the former. The sovereign is made not only absolute but also irresponsible, not bound by any law, human or divine. His will is law because he, in his person, represents the people also. According to Hobbes, the sovereign power is essential in every state, it is indivisible and unlimited and illimitable. This is because without sovereign, there would be no order or good government .

After Hobbes, the concept of sovereignty was interpreted according to time and circumstances until it was given concrete shape by Bentham. Bentham defined sovereignty in terms of supreme law making power. He emphasized that the source of law is not natural law but sovereign.

The perfect theory of legal sovereignty was formulated by John Austin (1832). In his book, Lectures on jurisprudence, he writes If a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of society then that determinates human superior is sovereign and that society (including the human superior) is political and independent. Law is the command of the sovereign, a command given by a superior to an inferior. All members of the society are dependent upon him. Sovereign is the maker of all direct and indirect laws.

In short, Austin's theory has three fold implication (a) state is a legal order in which there is a definite authority acting as the ultimate source of power; (b) its authority is unlimited. It may act wisely or unwisely honestly or dishonestly, ethically or unethically, for the purpose of legal theory, the character of the state is unimportant; (c) command is the essence of sovereignty. Sovereignty is absolute, all comprehensive, permanent, exclusive, inalienable and indivisible element of the state.

### **Political Sovereignty**

Whereas Hobbes was the profounder of legal sovereignty which was further clarified by Austin. John Locke's name is also associated with political sovereignty. In his book Locke

talks of three powers;

- (i) authority of the civil society which is the ultimate authority,
- (ii) authority of the legislature, because people elect the legislature;
- (iii) associated with legislature, the authority of the executive.

According to Locke, sovereignty lies with the Government but behind it and above it is the ultimate power of the civil society. That means the sovereignty is of two kinds: one of the government and the other of the people. But both sovereigns do not function simultaneously. In ordinary circumstances, the sovereignty is exercised by the government. So long as government behaves normally, the sovereignty of the people lies dormant. But once the people realize that the representatives are misusing the authority or the trust posed in them, they can exercise that authority and can bring a change in the government.

By providing the concept of political sovereignty, Locke justified the theoretical basis of Glorious Revolution that ultimately accepts the fact that it is the people who are sovereign. Legislature is sovereign in the legislative process, and representatives of the people and king being a part of the legislature is supreme executive. Montesquieu also divided the powers of the government under three heads: legislative, executive and judicial, and emphasized their separation and autonomy. In the hands of Montesquieu the idea of sovereignty became the idea of liberty and a convenient tool to attack the absolute concept of Austin.

The uniqueness of these supreme powers of government and the people is clarified in the context of Legal and political Sovereignty. While the legal sovereignty is the supreme law making and law enforcing body, there is, behind it, the will of the people which is the ultimate and final source of all authority.

### **Popular Sovereignty**

The idea of political sovereignty was converted into popular Sovereignty by Rousseau. According to him, sovereignty means that people are the ultimate source of all power. In the political theory of Rousseau, people is a geographical category. Both state and the sovereignty of the state are part of the people. People is able to govern itself. This quality of the people



governing itself is expressed by Rousseau in his concept of General will i.e., a particular society comes into existence only when it has some universally accepted principles of justice. These principles of justice are sovereignty. The individual of the people, in his personal capacity while sharing sovereignty is citizen, and while obeying the laws is subject. The civil society is a public personality, it is moral and a collective institution, which while passive, is state, while active, is sovereign and in relation to others is power. The General will is sovereign. Being the repository of common good, it only can give ultimate commands. Being a part of General will, it is inalienable and indivisible. According to Rousseau, sovereignty means three things: (i) individual can attain his personality and freedom only by following the General will, (ii) Real will is the General will, (iii) General will is the state.

The theory of popular sovereignty is very attractive because it gives all power to the people. The voice of the people is considered as the voice of God. But the difficulty is in defining what is people? Does it mean the indeterminate mass of the population or does it mean the electorate. However, the notion of popular sovereignty does contain valuable information which is relevant in the modern democracies and welfare state. In brief, they are (i) government does not exist for its own good, It exists for the good of the people; (ii) if people's wishes are deliberately violated, there is possibility of revolt; (iii) easy means should be provided for the legal way of expressing public opinion, (iv) Government should be held directly responsible to the people through means such as frequent election, local self government, referendum, initiative, recall etc., (v) government should exercise its authority directly in accordance with the laws of the land and not act arbitrarily.

These are in fact some of the major theories of sovereignty which are important in the current context.

---

## **2.4 Pluralism: Meaning and Growth**

---

So far you have as a student read and perhaps understood the background for the growth of pluralism.

It is therefore important to understand the fact that, pluralism as a political thought grew basically out of the dominating theory of sovereignty. Several factors such as the

changing times, new waves of socio economic development, rise in the facilities such as transportation and communication have contributed to these changes. Enlightenment in the society when sets in, especially if it is in transitory process during that time, it invariably picks up new Ideas and sought to develop itself.

Such changes when set in a society it is but natural to expect certain challenges to the existing authority. It was this tone of Ideas, that one notices in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the voices vociferously said, that the state was one among the many associations that were functional in a society and not the only association.

Similar was the argument of those who went out to say that the laws in any society was actually the manifestation of sum total of social concerns expressed in the form of tradition customs or practices. It was these customs, traditions practices which in a way controlled the behavior of individuals in a society, and restricting anarchic situation "Might as right," was thus, controlled by these age old systems of rules and regulations, which every member of a particular group obediently followed. It is in the light of this argument that sovereign power was challenged by those who disagreed with the view that law as not the will of the sovereign. It was their contention that law was existing much before the sovereign and the that were put in a different frame as time passed by. In these argument one notices the growth of pluralism as a voice opposing the theory of sovereignty.

It is these voices of dissent that argued further to state, that the sovereignty theories did not hold good in the context of a 'state' being in the inter national situation. They were of the opinion that 'state' could be a sovereign only inside a territory, so long as there were no voices of dissent or revolt. However, the same can not be true, if the state were to assume its sovereign power in the context of other nations. The other nations might or might not respect this attitude of the so called 'state'. Thus, undermining and sidelining the superiority of the "state its monopoly."

That apart the arguments of pluralists were in favour of demolishing the age old ideas of omnipotent state and therefore their argument at all levels were packed with criticisms.

Thus, if one observes the background for the emergence of pluralism. One would see



it as a deliberate attempt at weakening the theory of sovereignty both in its historical and Local context

**Meaning:** Since pluralism emerged as a new political thought, many writers belonging to different disciplines have contributed to its emergence. More important of them are political sociologists and historians. Therefore in order to understand the meaning of the world pluralism it is better that we understand the definitions of this and draw the essence of it later Lindsay for example argued, that the state is only one of the many other associations and organizations which possess corporate personality and the will of their own. Similarly, McIver argued that the difference between the state and other associations is that the other associations are voluntary and they lack the instrument of ultimate coercion. Thus, a survey of the varied expressions about defining pluralism gives an impression that it is opposed to the "sovereign" supremacy.

While acknowledging its power and other manifestations, 'pluralism' carries a meaning that, it is one of the view point that defines sovereignty. Connoting with in it, a new wave of thought, a new political theory and a distinct expression of a more liberated society.

### **Growth**

Pluralism and the pluralist theory of sovereignty had its origin in the writings of German writer Gierke and an English writer Maitland in the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century and were developed by Figgis, Sidney Webb, Lindsay, Duiguit, Krabbe, Barker, Laski, McIver etc. The writers criticized the traditional theory of sovereignty mainly on three grounds, namely, (I) state is only one form of association among the many existing in the society, (ii) law is not the product of sovereignty, and (iii) state is not sovereign in the international relations. In their attack upon the theory of legal sovereignty, the pluralists contended that apart from the state. There are other essential associations in the society. Man's social nature finds expression in numerous groupings, pursuing various and diverse ends religious, social, economic, professional and cultural. These interests are fulfilled through various groups and associations like church, family, party, business firm, market etc. These associations arise spontaneously and naturally and their essential functions in the society are independent of state determination.

These groups exist prior to the state. The pluralists maintain that these association, should have functional freedom and the state is but one among the many associations. Hence, they argue for a system which would recognize the complete autonomy of such associations. On the whole, the pluralists advocated the autonomy and freedom of the varied groups and associations professional, political, economic, religious, educational etc and pleaded for the limitation of the state sovereignty. It is in the light of this plea that the Rise of pluralism is seen and understood.

### **Check Your Progress - 1**

*Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

#### **1. Examine the circumstances leading to the growth of pluralism.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### **2.5 Laski's views on Pluralism**

---

Harold J. Laski is one of the important advocates of pluralist theory of sovereignty. He played an important part in the formulation of the pluralist theory in the early years of his career. His formulation implied a complete reversal of the classical political tradition based upon the monistic theory of sovereignty.

According to Laski, Austin's theory of sovereignty which is internally supreme, which issues orders to all men and all associations within a fixed territory, and which is subject to no legal limitations needs a critical analysis from three points of view historical, legal and political. On historical basis, Laski points out that state and the sovereignty of the state were the result of the religious struggles of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the state became incarnate in the Prince.



The sovereign state emerged to vindicate the supremacy of the secular order against religious claims. The atmosphere in which sovereignty was born was the period of crisis. It was in the period of disintegration that Bodin and Hobbes felt that if the state is to live, there must be in every organized political community some definite authority which should command universal obedience and that allegiance might be secured if legal superiority was vested in the sovereign organ. The principle of the sovereign state thus represents a historical and not a legal fact. The sovereignty emerged at a particular juncture of history to fulfil certain needs of the time. On the other hand, any study of the working of the state will be compelled to concern itself with the history of the limitations upon the exercise of power. The absolute state has never become permanent. Sovereignty has always been historically conditioned by the environment it encountered. It is successful only when it is responsible. The legal sovereignty is wrong so long as it defines the concept as unlimited and irresponsible.

From the legal point of view, Laski does not agree that the state is purely a legal order, that its authority is unlimited and command is the essence of law. He writes that the modern state is engaged in works which cannot be reduced to command. No organization has in fact unlimited force and sovereignty is compelled to will things desired by bodies in law inferior to itself. Nowhere the sovereignty has unlimited power and all attempts to assert have resulted in the establishment of safeguards. Even the Sultan of Turkey was bound by a code of conduct of traditional observance, obedience to which was compulsory. To think of law as only command is to strain the definition to the verge of decency. Law has the character of uniformity in which command is put out of sight. As the society becomes organized, the sovereignty becomes little more than a machine for registering the decisions arrived at elsewhere. Moreover, the discovery of sovereignty in a federal state is an impossible adventure. In short, Austin's sovereignty is difficult to find because it postulates for the sovereign the possession of qualities which cannot in fact be exercised.

Politically, unlimited power is nowhere existent. Attention has always to be paid to a number of varying influences which go to shape the nature of the sovereign will. For practical purposes, the will of the state is the will which determines the boundaries within which other wills must live. The will of the state is that of government as that will is accepted by the

citizens over whom it rules. Hence the will of the state cannot be irresponsible nor the state has permanent right to power. Every government must submit itself to the judgement of those who feel the consequences of its acts.

Almost all the pluralist writers have made a clear distinction between state and society their functions and nature. They point out the diversity and complexity of the social life which, according to them, need not and must not be controlled by the single command of the sovereign. The nature, functions and organization of the society are different from that of the state. Laski writes that the state does not set out to compass the whole range of human activities. There is a difference between state and society. The state may set the keynote of the social order but it is not identical with it Nor does it exhaust the associative impulse of man. It is only through the expression of one self through the social institutions that man's life finds creative satisfaction. To give expression to the various impulses and to fulfil the purposes which are common, man builds associations like family, religion, cultural associations etc. These associations support and imply functions. An association is an attempt to advance some interest and has a function to serve. The state does not call it into being. It is not dependent upon the state. It grows as a natural response to the environment. It has a personality of its own and enables the members to find channels of satisfied activity which would be absent otherwise. Associations like family, church, business firm, trade union, political party, friendly societies, golf club, research bodies are instances of their place in the society. Such associations, writes Laski, evoke a loyalty which goes down to the very root of man. The only difference between the state and other associations is that the associations are voluntary. They lack the instrument of ultimate coercion. The authority of an association is based upon the living and spontaneous trust it can command. Loyalty is won and not imposed.



## **Check Your Progress - 2**

*Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

### **1. Evaluate the views of Laski on Pluralism.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### **2.6 McIver's views on pluralism**

---

According to McIver, Austin and other supporters of legal theory of sovereignty have interpreted sovereignty as an extreme master servant relationship. Their account is more applicable in a slave plantation than to actual political life. In political sphere, the grades of sovereignty correspond to the forms of control. Mere obedience, coercion and penalization are not adequate description of sovereignty. He writes sovereignty is not simple final power, free and unconditional over human beings as the will of an over ruling God. On the other hand, it is an exercise of a function, limited and dependent upon the function . It is an attribute of an association and no more absolute than the association itself. McIver complains that the theory of state has too long been dominated by the legal sovereignty. The legal theory, according to him, is too formal. Legally, that state may be unlimited but it does not make it absolute. Political law is only one form of regulation and the state is only one organ of the community. Again, the problem with legal doctrine is that it talks of power and not in terms of service power is only an instrument of service. It is only the ability to serve that counts. No one regards the service of the state as unlimited and hence the conception of unlimited sovereignty is dangerously false. Considering the state as an organ of the community, McIver writes that, The state commands only because it serves, it owns because it owes. It creates rights as an agent of the society. The servant is not greater than the master. To

exercise the functions, the state needs and receives certain powers. These powers should be limited because the functions are limited. According to McIver, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the nature of both state and sovereignty have changed now the emphasis is on limited and relative character of sovereignty. This doctrine is the result of the triumph of democracy. In today's industrial society, real power is exercised by numerous associations in the society which has confounded the idea of a single all comprehensive authority. We have arrived in an age when the sovereign power is told what it may or may not do. It is so instructed in the constitutions of every modern state. Moreover, the limits of the sovereign power are very much marked in a federal state. Thus McIver concludes that the principle of sovereign power cannot be studied in the old terms and a new concept of sovereignty is called for. This in itself is represented as the pluralist thought.

### **Check Your Progress - 3**

- Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.  
2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

#### **1. Write a summary of the pluralism political thought.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### **2.7 Let us sum up**

---

Well, dear students, you have so far read and understood the concept of pluralism, its meaning and growth including specific critique of sovereignty by Laski and McIver. All this gives you a clear picture of what pluralism is all about let us therefore sum it up.

Pluralism is basically a point of view that discuses and disowns the theory of sovereign supremacy. It has originated in the middle centuries matching the time of the decline of



monarchy. It assumes that state is one of the many associations in the society, for the welfare, of the citizens, with certain extra powers. They would like the state to therefore limit itself while dealing with the society. This political thought co-inside the growth of democracy and liberated societies. Hence the expression "one among equals", to recognize state, but not necessarily attributing it with large powers. This is basically a realistic approach to understand state as against its glorification.

---

## 2.8 Difficult words

---

Multicultural	-	Many culture
Distinguish	-	characterize
Feudal	-	Land lord
Universal	-	General
Advocate	-	upholder

---

## 2.9 Some useful books

---

- Harold Laski : The problem of Sovereignty, London, 1917.
- Hsiao K.S. : Political pluralism-A Study in Comparative political Theory, London Kegan Paul, 1927.
- Lord Bryce : The Nature of sovereignty in Studies in Jurisprudence and History, 1946, Vol I
- David Nicholls : Three varieties of pluralism, Macmillan, 1974, London

---

## 2.10 Answers to Check your progress

---

### Check your progress - 1

1. See section 2.4

### Check your progress - 2

1. See section 2.5

### Check your progress - 3

1. See section 2.3, 2.4 and 2.7

**Structure**

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Monism; the beginning
- 3.3 Rise of pluralism
- 3.4 Arguments favoring pluralist thought
- 3.5 Arguments favoring monism
- 3.6 Monism; A critique
- 3.7 Controversy discussed
- 3.8 Let us sum up
- 3.9 Key words
- 3.10 Some useful books
- 3.11 Answers to Check your progress



---

### **3.0 Objectives**

---

This Unit on the controversy between monism and pluralism is in fact an extended argument of the theory of sovereignty. After going through this lesson you should be in a position to differentiate between monism and pluralism. At the end of this chapter you should be able to define monism, identify the features of pluralism and also understand the controversy surrounding monism and pluralism.

---

### **3.1 Introduction**

---

Austin's theory of sovereignty discussed in the preceding Unit, is also known as the monistic theory of sovereignty because of its belief in the centralization and unification of authority, and absoluteness, all comprehensiveness and indivisibility as the essential characteristics of sovereignty. The theory has been the target of criticism by many political thinkers, sociologists and historians right from the day of its inception. The pluralist theory of sovereignty arose as a protest against the monistic theory of sovereignty in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20 century. It was a protest against the absolute and all powerful state a democratic protest to control and limit the sovereign power of the state and an attempt to divide it among the various autonomous groups and associations existing in the society. It opposed a centralized and all powerful state and urged division of power along the lines of functional democracy. The state, it contended, is neither absolute nor a unity. It cannot have monopoly of obedience. The state is important but not everything. It is only one among equals. With this brief introduction let us understand further.

---

### **3.2 Monism; beginning**

---

Against the monistic theory of sovereignty, pluralism is defined as state in which there exists no single source of authority that is all competent and all comprehensive, namely sovereignty, no unified system of law, no centralized organ of administration, and no generalization of political will. On the contrary, it is a multiplicity in its essence and manifestation, it is divisible into parts and should be divided. Similarly, it explained that, It is a state of affairs in which a multiplicity of groups or institutions are operative within the society. Pluralism can be contrasted with monism in which one institution is predominant, and dualism in which two state and church are dominant. Pluralism is based upon the conscious recognition of the essential quality of the modern society viz, variety of associations within it.

The notion of sovereignty as the supreme power on a definite territory is modern and its emergence is connected with the rise of modern nation state. It does not, however, mean that the ancient and medieval ages were unaware of the idea of sovereignty. What is important is that the particular sense in which sovereignty is used was never reemphasized in the past, even though the modern notion had its roots in the past.

The Greeks had their self sufficient communities and had known not only the supreme authority of the king, but also that of the whole community. They talked of law as their master. The classification of the constitutions by Aristotle was based upon the supreme authority in the hands of one, few or many. During the Roman period, the people were regarded as the supreme authority willed them to do so. But the immediate roots of sovereignty are in the medieval period and feudal system. In the hierarchy of feudalism, each feudal gradation holder was a suzerain in his domain and sovereignty meant over lordship. The sovereign was synonymous with the finality of authority, with the dawn of modern nation states when the power of the feudal lords was broken, the kings became sovereign.

Secondly, we also find the glimpses of sovereignty in the religious hierarchies of middle ages. According to Lord Bryce, the chiefs of the religious monasteries were also called sovereign. Along with the rise of the supreme power of the pope, there also emerged the idea of the supreme power of the king. When the Popes were all powerful, the authority of the kings became merely its shadow. Kings of England, France, Spain were subordinated to the Pope. But during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, when, as a result of Renaissance and Reformation, the authority of the Pope began to decline, this vacuum was filled by the kings who increased their power tremendously. With the rise of nation state, these kings began to be called monarches. There was no dearth of supporters of such kings. Machiavellian and Marcilius of Pauda supported the powerful kings. Bodin and Thomas Hobbes gave a theoretical basis to this absolute power which was interpreted and reinterpreted by the subsequent political thinkers. Whereas Hobbes expounded what we call as the legal view of sovereignty, which was later sophisticated by Bentham and Austin, his successor John Locke drew attention to another sovereign power the power of the parliament and the power behind the parliament i.e. the community. This was later defined as political sovereignty, Rousseau gave the theory of Popular sovereignty through his concept of General Will. The legal view of sovereignty was fiercely attacked in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the supporters of Pluralist theory of sovereignty in the writings of Laski, McIver, Barker and other. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, liberalism defined



sovereignty as the legitimate power of the state to resolve conflicts, bring unity in the society, establish law and order and make way for peaceful social change. Marxism, on the other hand, defined sovereignty as the class power of the state and like state, believed in the abolition of the concept of sovereignty under communism. It is this kind of anti-monism, anti-sovereign authority, that brought to focus the debate of monism and pluralism while, the social conditions that prevailed during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century conditioned the growth of Monism.

### **Check Your Progress - 1**

**Note:** 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

#### **1. Explain the beginning of Monisms.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### **3.3 Rise of Pluralism**

---

Pluralism and the pluralist theory of sovereignty had its origin in the writings of German writer Gierke and an English writer Maitland in the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century and were developed by Figgis, Sidney Webb, Lindsay, Duiguit, Krabbe, Barker, Laski MacIver etc. The writers criticized the traditional theory of sovereignty mainly on three grounds, namely, (i) state is only one form of association among the many existing in the society, (ii) law is not the product of sovereignty, and (iii) state is not sovereign in the international relations. In their attack upon the theory of legal sovereignty, the pluralists contended that apart from the state, there are other essential associations in the society. Man's social nature finds expression in numerous groupings, pursuing various and diverse ends religious, social, economic, professional and cultural. These interests are fulfilled through various groups and associations like church, family, party, business firm market etc. These associations arise spontaneously and naturally and their essential functions in the society are independent of state determination. These

groups exist prior to the state. The pluralists maintain that these associations should have functional freedom and the state is but one among the many associations. Hence, they argue for a system which would recognize the complete autonomy of such associations. With the abandonment by the state of any claim to be the sole, compulsory form of association or the sole representative of the general interests of man. Both Gierke and Maitland enunciated the real personality of group with a distinct agency in the working out of law. The group has some privileges and obligations which are independent of the state's formal sanction. Durkheim pleaded for the freedom of vocational groups to regulate society's economy because state as a general scheme of life is not adequately competent to undertake the particular specialized task of economic control. Figgis criticized the state for invading the proper sphere of essential social groups such as church, trade unions, local community and family. Barker maintained that groups exist before there is any legal act of incorporation or creation. Lindsay asserted that groups exist because of their homogeneous character and in spite of stronger loyalty of the state. Laski maintained that groups are real in the same sense as the state is real. On the whole, the pluralists advocated the autonomy and freedom of the varied groups and associations professional, political, economic, religious, educational etc and pleaded for the limitation of the state sovereignty.

The concept of law as laid down by Austin's theory of sovereignty was the principle factor for the rise of pluralism. The pluralist writers like Krabbe and Duguit objected to the entire approach and held that law as such is superior and anterior to the law of the state. Duguit maintained that the basis of law making is not command but social solidarity. People obey the law not because it is command but because it is good for them and the society, and for social security. The state is not above law, but it is law which stands above the state. The state does not command but humbly serves. Law emanates from many sources and Duguit called it legal decentralization. Similarly Krabbe also maintained that law is independent of and superior to the sovereign. It is not the command of the sovereign, but the outcome of the sense of right of the majority of the community constituting the state. Law is the product of the society, its origin lies in the social good and is obeyed because of social utility.

Krabbe carried the idea of law into the realm of international relations and pleaded that the sense of right should be extended to international relations as well and to that extent the legal power of the state should contract. In the context of First world War, it was felt by many pluralist writers that the concept of external sovereignty was a major cause of war.



Many pluralist writers demanded that some kind of international order should emerge, the laws of which should be binding upon the states. They rejected the external sovereignty and favored limited sovereignty limited by international law, treaties, customs and conventions. The establishment of League of Nations after the first world war and that of United Nations, after the second world war proved the authenticity of the pluralists point of view.

With the emergence of federal governments, the monistic theory of sovereignty had to face practical difficulties. Pluralists argued that in a federal state, sovereignty in the Austrian sense of the term becomes futile. In the federal state, the powers of the central and the state governments are divided by the constitution.

Thus, the demand of a liberal democratic state instead of a legally absolute state, demand of political and popular sovereignty instead of purely legal sovereignty, need for law as an instrument of welfare rather than command, need for adjustment of sovereignty in the federal states, and above all, the concern for the freedom of the individual which could be secured only by preserving the political, economic, social and cultural diversity were the major factors for the rise of pluralism and the pluralist notion of sovereignty.

---

### **3.4 Arguments favoring pluralism**

---

The pluralist notion of sovereignty was supported by many political scientists, sociologists and historians in England, Europe and America, and it emerged as a strong movement in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its main supporters were Mainland, Figgis, Lindsay, Barker, GDH Cole in England Gierke, Duguit, Krabbe in Europe and William James, Miss Follett and R.M. MacIver in America. All these writers attacked the monistic theory of sovereignty and found it not only inadequate but useless in the context of changed historical situation. For example, Lindsay argued that the state is only one of a number of other associations and organization which possess a corporate personality and will of their own. He reached the conclusion that if we look at the facts, it is clear enough that the theory of the sovereign state has broken down. Similarly, Barker wrote that no political concept has become more arid and unfruitful as that of sovereignty. In the same vein, Laski wrote unlimited and irresponsible state is incompatible with the interest of humanity and sovereignty of the state will pass as the divine right of the kings held its day. Krabbe declared that the notion of sovereignty is now no longer recognized among civilized peoples and sovereignty should be expunged from political theory. Duguit regarded sovereignty as a fiction without value and



reality and passed the judgement that the sovereign state is dead or is on the point of dying. The best exposition of the pluralist theory of sovereignty is however, found in the writings of Harold Laski and R.M. MacIver to which we now turn.

Harold J. Laski is one of the important advocates of pluralist theory of sovereignty. He played an important part in the formulation of the pluralist theory in the early years of his career. His formulation implied a complete reversal of the classical political tradition based upon the monistic theory of sovereignty.

According to Laski, Austin's theory of sovereignty which is internally supreme, which issues orders to all men and all associations within a fixed territory, and which is subject to no legal limitations needs a critical analysis from three points of view historical, legal and political. On historical basis, Laski points out that state and the sovereignty of the state were the result of the religious struggles of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the state became incarnate in the Prince. The sovereign state emerged to vindicate the supremacy of the secular order against religious claims. The atmosphere in which sovereignty was born was the period of crisis. It was in the period of disintegration that Bodin and Hobbes felt that if the state is to live, there must be in every organized political community some definite authority which should command universal obedience and that allegiance might be secured if legal superiority was vested in the sovereign organ. The principle of the sovereign state thus represents a historical and not a legal fact. The sovereignty emerged at a particular juncture of history to fulfil certain needs of the time. On the other hand, any study of the working of the state will be compelled to concern itself with the history of the limitations upon the exercise of power. The absolute state has never become permanent. Sovereignty has always been historically conditioned by the environment it encountered. It is successful only when it is responsible. The legal sovereignty is wrong so long as it defines the concept as unlimited and irresponsible.

From the legal point of view, Laski does not agree that the state is purely a legal order, that its authority is unlimited and command is the essence of law. He writes that the modern state is engaged in works which cannot be reduced to command. No organization has in fact unlimited force and sovereignty is compelled to will things desired by bodies in law inferior to itself. Nowhere the sovereignty has unlimited power and all attempts to assert have resulted in the establishment of safeguards. Even the Sultan of Turkey was bound by a code of conduct of traditional observance, obedience to which was compulsory. To think of law as



only command is to strain the definition to the verge of decency. Law has the character of uniformity in which command is put out of sight. As the society becomes organized, the sovereignty becomes little more than a machine for registering the decisions arrived at elsewhere. Moreover, the discovery of sovereignty in a federal state is an impossible adventure. In short, Austin's sovereignty is difficult to find because it postulates for the sovereign the possession of qualities which cannot in fact be exercised. Conceding that law is an important factor in the life of the state, Laski does not agree that it is mere command on the other hand, it is build one the general social environment and expresses the necessary social relations of a state at some given period.

Politically, unlimited power is nowhere existent. Attention has always to be paid to a number of varying influences which go to shape the nature of the sovereign will. For practical purposes, the will of the state is the will which determines the boundaries within which other wills must live. The will of the state is that of government as that will is accepted by the citizens over whom it rules. Hence the will of the state cannot be irresponsible nor the state has permanent right to power. Every government must submit itself to the judgement of those who feel the consequences of its acts.

Almost all the pluralist writers have made a clear distinction between state and society their functions and nature. They point out the diversity and complexity of the social life which, according to them, need not and must not be controlled by the single command of the sovereign. The nature, functions and organization of the society are different from that of the state. Laski writes that the state does not set out to compass the whole range of human activities. There is a difference between state and society. The state may set the keynote of the social order but it is not identical with it Nor does it exhaust the associative impulse of man. It is only through the expression of oneself through the social institutions that man's life finds creative satisfaction. To give expression to the various impulses and to fulfil the purposes which are common, man builds associations like family, religion, cultural associations etc. These associations support and imply functions. An association is an attempt to advance some interest and has a function to serve. The state does not call it into being. It is not dependent upon the state. It grows as a natural response to the environment. It has a personality of its own and enables the members to find channels of satisfied activity which would be absent otherwise. Associations like family, church, business firm, trade union, political party, friendly societies, golf club, research bodies are instances of their place in the society. Such

associations, writes Laski, evoke a loyalty which goes down to the very root of man. The only difference between the state and other associations is that the associations are voluntary. The lack the instrument of ultimate coercion. The authority of an association is based upon the living and spontaneous trust it can command. Loyalty is won and not imposed.

---

### **3.5 Arguments favoring monism**

---

The perfect theory of legal sovereignty was formulated by John Austin (1832). He was an English jurist. There is no place for history or morality in his analysis. In his book Lectures on jurisprudence, he writes If a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of society, then that determinate human superior is sovereign and that society (including the human superior) is political and independent Law is the command of the sovereign, a command given by a superior to an inferior. All members of the society are dependent upon him. Sovereign is the maker of all direct and indirect laws.

The above passage of Austin can be explained as follows:

- (i) For the purpose of sovereignty, there has to be a determinate human superior in the society. No general will or the laws of nature have any bearing on the concept of sovereignty. The sovereign must be definite, visible so that people can recognize in him the supreme power of protection. For the purpose of law, an unmistakable personality is essential. He must be human, no God and His power is associated with the state. Human law is the subject of state activity.
- (ii) The definite human superior must not be in the habit of obeying a like superior. Sovereign power must not be a condition in which it has to abide by the decision or order of any other power. Sovereign must also receive a sort of permanent obedience from the majority of those over whom he rules. The temporary acquisition of power does not make a man sovereign because nowhere the people, habitually obey him. Sovereignty not only involves submission of the many, but also its permanence. It has to be habitual. Continuous and regular.
- (iii) The power of the sovereign is legally unlimited and absolute. The sovereign cannot be forced to act in a certain way by any command except his own. He makes his own limits.



- (iv) Sovereign power is a unity. It is inalienable and indivisible. It is inalienable, i.e., if the sovereign authority parts with its sovereignty, it cannot of its own will resume it. It is indivisible, i.e., it cannot be divided between two or more persons or body of persons acting separately, for if so one would be limited in some way by the other. Which would be a superior power and, therefore, the real sovereign. Division of sovereignty is the destruction of sovereignty.
- (v) Law is the command of the sovereign. It is a command obliging the subjects to do or refrain from doing certain acts; failure to do so is penalty. The sovereign himself is not limited by any positive law because he himself is the creator. Within the laws, as Hobbes pointed out earlier, there is nothing like unjust command. The sovereign being unlimited he has the legal right to will whatever he may happen to desire.
- (vi) In short, Austin's theory has three fold implication (a) state is a legal order in which there is a definite authority acting as the ultimate source of power; (b) its authority is unlimited. It may act wisely or unwisely honestly or dishonestly, ethically or unethically, for the purpose of legal theory, the character of the state is unimportant; (c) command is the essence of sovereignty. Sovereignty is absolute, all comprehensive, permanent, exclusive, inalienable and indivisible element of the state.

Thus, Austin, theory supports his 'monism' concept, endowing sovereign the omnipotent powers.

**Check Your Progress - 2**

*Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

**1. Discuss the arguments in favour of Monism.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### 3.6 Monism:A critique

---

Within the narrow legalistic views, the Austrian theory is the correct analysis of what flows from certain definite assumptions. But these assumptions make it worthless as an explanation of the modern state from political point of view. The theory can be criticized on the following grounds:

- (i) According to Bryce, Austin's theory of sovereignty does not suit the modern democratic states. Such an absolute sovereign can be found only in two types of states: in the absolute state like the Czarist state of Russia, or in a state where the parliament is absolute like that of Britain. In the modern democratic states which are ruled by constitutions and where the political authority is decentralized, it is difficult to find a determinate human superior in the Austrian sense of the term. Even in the context of Britain, Austin's analysis was wrong because in the Parliament of England, sovereignty laid in King in Parliament which meant King, House of Lords and House of Commons. Austin did not give any importance to the House of commons. Again the discovery of sovereignty in a federal state is an impossible exercise because all the authority draw their power from the constitution and are coordinating authorities. It is very difficult to say, for example, in the context of America, whether the President is sovereign or the Congress is sovereign because both of them derive their power from the constitution. Ultimately, it is the power which can amend the constitution which can be called supreme. Although, it is difficult to find a sovereign in the Austrian Sense, yet its existence cannot be denied. It is possible to find ultimate sovereign in an authority beyond which there is no appeal. According to Sir Henry Maine, the theory also does not apply on the developing and under developed countries because the concept of law (which according to Austin is the command of the sovereign) is not fully developed in such societies. In these countries, most of the laws are based on customs and traditions which are the result of the common consciousness of the people of which sovereign is a part and which the sovereign cannot change as and when he likes. Hence the greatest confusion and difficulty with regard to Austin theory is its purely legal character and the location of sovereignty from legal point of view. This cannot be solved unless we see sovereignty in the political and historical contexts.
- (ii) Austin's theory is also criticized because it is alleged that it leads to tyranny. Austin himself was very much conscious about it but he felt and he was right that there can be



no hierarchies in sovereignty. The purpose of the supremacy of laws was to reform the society through the state and not to establish the tyranny of laws. According to him customs, traditions, conventions and divine laws are not above the man made laws, nor are they independent of it. They are all under the legal sovereign and hence subordinate to it. He never wanted that sovereign should rule the country tyrannically. As follower of Bentham, he took up the utilitarian idea of maximum good of the maximum number.

Thus we can conclude that in political theory, the chief effect of Austin's work was to attach an exaggerated importance to the juridical aspect of sovereignty. Clarity of organization does indeed imply that responsibility should be definitely located somewhere. But the idea that government is merely a certain determinate person set apart to rule, and towards him the subjects have merely a habit of obedience is grossly inadequate to explain the part that other institutions play in politics.

---

### **3.7 Controversy discussed**

---

The views about the state and the role of autonomous associations in the society call for a new attitude to the problem of sovereignty. Laski avoids the term sovereignty and uses the term authority instead. Authority, of course, involves the exercise of power by persons and there is no doubt that the number of persons legally entrusted with this power is likely to remain small. But what is important is not who is the legal sovereign but the relations established by them in order to make their decisions the result of the largest empirical induction. According to Laski the authority of the state must be built from the experience of all persons affected by its exercise and this involves a reinterpretation of the doctrine of consent in politics as well as a reinterpretation of the theory of representation. As an example of reinterpretation of consent, Laski recommends that the legislation. Instead of being based on the expert knowledge, should be based upon the experience of those affected by it. The making of law should not be confined to a single class in the community but should permit due attention given to the interests affected by it, making the consent to be secured the consent of those who alone know what the interest effectively is. Authority is a function of relations and it derives its validity from the way in which the relations are organized. Respect for law can never be guaranteed unless the decisions are based, not upon the fear of the sovereign, but on the range of experience that they span. Authority imposed from without cannot achieve that effect. That is why, Laski feels that there is a point at which the administration of the decisions must be decentralized if it is to be creative.



The foundation of modern democratic government, according to Laski, is the active sharing by citizens in its process. When we speak of the will of the government, it is democratic government where efficient administration is recognized as the diffusion of power which creates responsibility. It is, for example, legitimate to allow a town to decide whether it requires public transport. Functional devolution creates a corporate sense of responsibility. It is a training in self government.

In such a perspective, it becomes clear that if the state is to be a moral authority, it must be built upon the organized acquiescence of its members. This demands scrutiny of government orders, it implies a right to be disobedient, though it can be exercised only within margin. No government can fulfil its purpose of rebellion is a habit but it is equally true that no community can fulfil its purpose, if the government is not limited in a variety of ways. It must answer at periods. It must answer so that it is powerless to touch certain fundamentals. It must be legally responsible for its mistakes. The authority of the modern democratic state should also be responsible. As a part of political responsibility, Laski suggests that ways for removing the people having authority in government should be prescribed institutions for consolation should be organized, and equality among the citizens should be secured. Laski further recommends that the state should possess a vigorous and independent judiciary. The government must be responsible to the courts. Only when judiciary is accorded the special prominence can it act as the guardian of freedom. Again, responsibility can and should also be secured through critical publicity. The freedom of people depends upon the quality of news supplied to them. The press must be free to attack authority in whatever manner it thinks fit. Another way is to bring about approximate economic equality in the community because the possession of wealth means the power to determine what is produced for consumption and if the society is divided between rich and poor, it is obvious that the will of the state will be weighed against the interests of the poor. Any state which hopes to be permanent must abrogate the struggle for bread. In spite of the fact that state is an essential institution, Laski does not admit its preeminence. For him, the state is to an end, it is a means to an end which is realised only by enrichment of the members lives. Its power and allegiance can only depend upon what it achieves for their enrichment. Authority and power of the state must seek the widest possible distribution. Thus this controversy of monism with the power of the state and the concept of sovereignty in the centre provides an insight into the whole discourse of this controversy and leaves rest to the perception of the readers.



### **Check Your Progress - 3**

*Note:* 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

#### **1. Discuss the criticisms against monism.**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

---

### **3.8 Let us sum up**

---

Dear Students, so far you have understood the varied dimensions of this controversy. Lets us now sum it up and say that Monism was a valid theory closely related to monarchy. But with the advent of new forms of governments and enlightenment of the people in these societies, there was a threat to monism leading to the growth of pluralism. Which was diametrically opposed to monism. Thus, in modern democratic and increasingly capitalist states, pluralism is more an acceptable concept and hence the study.

---

### **3.9 Difficult words**

---

Possession	-	ownership
Abrogate	-	abolish
Advent	-	arrival
Hierarchy	-	power structure
Domain	-	area

---

### **3.10 Some useful books**

---

John Austin	:	Lectures on Jurisprudence (1832) Lecture VI.
Ilyas Ahmad	:	The First principles of Politics, Allahabad publishing House, Allahabad, 1957

- Stephen L. Wasby : Political Science- The Discipline and its Dimensions, Scientific Book Agency, Cultutta, 1970.
- F.C Coker : The Attack upon State Sovereignty in Merrium and Barnes.
- 

### **3.11 Answers to Check your progress**

---

#### **Check your progress - 1**

1. See section 3.2

#### **Check your progress - 2**

1. See section 3.5

#### **Check your progress - 3**

1. See section 3.6







# Karnataka State Open University

Mukthagangotri, Mysore - 570 006

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as an instrument of democratizing education.

*National Education Policy 1986*







# KSOU

Higher Education to everyone everywhere  
ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ಎಲ್ಲೆಡೆ



ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ

ಮುಕ್ತಗಂಗೋತ್ರಿ, ಮೈಸೂರು - 570 006

**Karnataka State Open University**

Mukthagangotri, Mysore - 570 006 Website : [www.ksoumysore.edu.in](http://www.ksoumysore.edu.in)