

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

**MASTER OF ARTS - POLITICAL SCIENCE  
SEMESTER- I**

**WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT  
CORE 101  
BLOCK-1**

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## UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

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## **FOREWORD**

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavors.

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# WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

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# **BLOCK 1 – WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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## **Introduction to the block**

Introduction of Political Science is also known as political theory. The study of politics and power from domestic, international, and comparative perspectives is political science. Basically, understanding political ideologies, political system, process of behavior all group of people, class, government, diplomacy, law, strategy, war, liberty, justices, property rights and the power of enforcement laws by authority.

**Unit 1:** The Early Political Thought -why political thought is necessary?

**Unit 2:** The Contract Arians- the role of Contract Arians.

**Unit 3:** Utilitarian's and After changes- in the political thinking of people.

**Unit 4:** The Continental Thinker- Continental Thinkers concerned with its history.

**Unit 5:** Marxist Political-Thinking analysis of history, society, and the state.

**Unit 6:** The European Union-.in world affairs been established with the aim of ending persistent.

**Unit 7:** Sustainable development issues and challeng-. methodological issues about definitions and measurement of sustainable development.

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# UNIT - 1: THE EARLY POLITICAL THOUGHT

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## STRUCTURE

- 1.0 Objectives
  - 1.1 Introduction
  - 1.2 What is Political Thought?
  - 1.3 Difference between Political Thought, Theory and Political Philosophy
  - 1.4 The framework of Socrates, Plato
    - 1.4.1 Important Schools of Political Theory
    - 1.4.2 Issues in Western Political Thoughts
  - 1.5 The Republic and the Laws
  - 1.6 Aristotle
  - 1.7 Politics & Machiavelli: Republicanism and Humanism
  - 1.8 Characteristic of Western Political Thought
  - 1.9 Let Us Sum Up
  - 1.10 Keyword
  - 1.11 Questions for Review
  - 1.12 References and Suggested readings
  - 1.13 Answer to Check Your Progress

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## 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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- History of, Political thought is history oriented. It is the political history of a time. Political thought begins when there is an awareness of the possibility. The world in which we live today and will live tomorrow.
- The five elements Normative, Empirical, Institutional, Historical, and ideological. Introduction of Political science also known as political theory. The study of politics and power from domestic, international, and comparative perspectives is political science.
- Basically, understanding political ideologies, political system, process of behavior all group of people, class, government, diplomacy, law,

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strategy, war, liberty, justices, property rights and the power of enforcement laws by authority.

- The great thinker of Western thought had particular emphasis on political philosophy.
- Western philosophy is the philosophical tradition of the Western world and the great thinkers that has motivated to think the problem of social and political order. How human being can live together in harmony and avoid the danger of non - violence and fear of civil conflict.
- While some of political scholars believe that concepts are static, political thought asks how they are originated and to what effect. What steps should government take? What do citizens owe their government? When should citizens overthrow when there is an illegitimate government?
- Plato never speaks as a character in them, although as we know that he was present at the trial depicted in the Apology of Socrates and absent for the conversations of the Phaedo.

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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

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Political thought begins once there's associate degree awareness of the possibility of accomplishing various political arrangements from the current one. Ever since organized life began with the invention, of agriculture, slowly totally different varieties of political organizations began. preponderantly this kind was autocracy however the traditional Greek civilization was marked by a noteworthy form of political forms, mirrored by Aristotle's study of 158 constitutions and elaboration of the various typologies of political systems. It's for the prevalence of wide diversity and discussion that western political thought begins with the Greeks and continues until the current.

Political thought means that the 5 following things:

- a) Exposition of ideas, values and proposals for influencing policy, dynamical it and rewriting it drastically for total break and a brand-new



- starting. The whole classical tradition of western political thought provides a good selection handling the higher than propositions.
- b) Five ideology deals with political structure and establishments like dealing -with the theories of the state, 'division of power, legal frameworks, varied varieties of illustration and links with different social sciences.
  - c) Political philosophy within the normative go after what ought to be instead of what's during a massive macro framework.
  - d) Political thought may be a key element of the discipline of politics providing it the fundamental ideas and tools with those tile different sub-areas of the discipline are in and of it coupled.
  - e) Comparative studies of different kinds of political theories originating and expanding with, different civilizations like the western political thought, Indian or Chinese political thought.

The word theory refers to a body of logically collected and analyzed body of information. And Politics as we all know is regarding several things as well as relationships among people and teams and categories and therefore the state, and state establishments just like the judiciary, forms etc. Therefore, one definition of ideology given by David Weld sees ideology as a network of ideas and generalizations regarding political life involving concepts, assumptions and statements regarding the character, purpose and key options of state, state and society, and regarding the political capabilities of human beings. Andrew Hacker defines it as 'a combination of an impartial seek for the principles sensible of excellent of fine} state and good society on the one hand, and an impartial seek for information of political and social belongings on the other'.

Study of Public Administration and Different approaches Political Science is a comprehensive subject or field of study of which political theory is only a sub-field. Political Science includes everything: political thought, political theory, political philosophy, political ideology, institutional or structural

framework, comparative politics, public administration, international law, and organization, etc.

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## 1.2 WHAT IS POLITICAL THOUGHT?

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Political thought is the description of the political ideas of a host of political philosophers from beginning to the end. It is the sum-total of ideas on matters relating to politics, state and government as expressed by the thinkers. It is historical in nature because it is described as history. It analyses, examines and evaluates issues that have a universal concern and are of perennial interest even though each political respond to a particular political reality. It is written keeping the larger public in mind and is not confined to ivory towers for an intimate link is established between the political process, institutions, events and actors. Usually political theory flourishes in times of crises which act as stimulus though it is not necessary that all crises lead to political theorizing.

Political thought is the description, analysis, expression, and evaluation of the philosophies of the philosophies of a political tradition. It is a tradition in so far as it comes to us as a body of thought. It is the sum-total of what stays on, and an accumulation of what is changed and what continues. It is what keeps responding to our circumstances. What becomes outdated is not the part of the tradition.

Political thought attempts to identify values and norms and makes them an inseparable part of a particular political trend. Western political thought, if we wish to identify its magic themes, evolves and revolves around values such as liberty and libertarian, democracy and democratic tradition, equality and egalitarian. Political thought as it has existed and/or exists in India, for example, seeks to establish ethical/moral values in politics, spiritualism, cooperative living etc. It is written keeping the larger public in mind and is not confined to ivory towers for an intimate link is established between the political process, institutions, events and actors. Usually political theory

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Political thought is primarily the study of the 'state. Its studies society insofar as society influences the state as political life in the social life, though independent is inter-dependent. Similarly, it focuses on economics institutions and process insofar it influences the political order and process. It also takes into consideration ethical questions for ultimately it is concerned with a just and good political order.

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### **1.3 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLITICAL THOUGHT, THEORY AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**

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Political theory is sometimes treated equally with political thought, but it is important to understand that they do not understand the meaning of the same thing. Political thought is a generalized term involving questions related to a group and state over a person or persons or a community or

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state. Any person expresses his views whether he is a professor, journalist, writer, novelist, poet, etc. and certainly if he is a politician who impacts our lives and he is concerned about state and governance and related questions. If he is, then he is getting entangled in political thought. His ideas may or may not include a theory if it is not a systematic logical hypothesis advanced to explain the historical and political phenomena related to the political governance of state and government. Political thought is thus always of individuals or groups whereas a political theory is one that is self-contained and self-explanatory or speculation or theory that attempts to answer questions and predict history and possible events in the future. Of course, this theory is always the creation of some individual thinkers. Barker remarked that while political thought is the imminent philosophy of an entire era, political theory is the imagination of a particular thinker.

### Check your progress 1

**Q1.** Describe political thought in your own words.

.....  
.....

**Q2.** What is the difference between Political Thought and Theory?

.....  
.....

### **POLITICAL THEORY AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**

Philosophy is really thinking on anything and everything in search of truth and knowledge. When this search is done on political subjects, we call it political philosophy. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a theory to propose and to distinguish between political philosophy and political thought. So, while political theory is a part of political philosophy, most political philosophy is very broad and does not necessarily include any theory.

Thus we can say that political philosophy is the study of fundamental questions about state, government, politics, freedom, justice, property, rights, law and enforcement of any legal code by law, etc.: what are they, why (or if ) They need, which legitimizes the government, what rights and freedoms it should protect and why, how it should be taken and why, what is the law and for which duty citizens are exempted from legitimate government, if any, and whether or not to be legally overthrown whenever possible. We often refer to "political philosophy" as a general approach, or a specific morality, belief, or point of view, about politics that does not necessarily relate to the entire technical discipline of philosophy.

Political philosophy is often related not to contemporary issues but to more universal issues in the political life of man. But a political theorist is mostly looking at contemporary political life and when he is interested in explaining the nature and purpose of the state and general questions, such as the realities of political behavior, to describe and understand the real relationship between the states is also watching.

Role of power in citizens and society.

While studying political science one feels that political theory should be complemented by political philosophy. Otherwise, it appears barren and irrelevant.

### **POLITICAL THEORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Political science is a broad subject or field of study in which political theory is only a subfield. Political science includes everything: political thought, political theory, political philosophy, political ideology, institutional or structural frameworks, comparative politics, public administration, international law, and organization, and more. Some thinkers have emphasized the science aspect of political science and they suggest that

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when political science is studied with scientific methods, political theory is to the extent that a part of political philosophy is not considered as political science. Because political science has no place for abstract intuitive conclusions or speculation, it depends on political philosophy.

Political theory is neither pure thought, nor pure philosophy, nor pure science.

### **SOME BASIC CHARACTER OF POLITICAL THEORY**

1. Political theory is usually built on the individual thinker based on his moral and intellectual position and, while formulating his theory, he is generally explaining the events, happenings and mysteries of the political life of mankind. The theory may or may not be considered true, but it can always be considered another theory. In general, we find that the political theory of an individual thinker is posed as a thinker in a classic work such as that of Plato in his Republic or A Theory of Justice.

2. A political theory attempts to give clarify questions related to mankind, the society formed by them and history and historical events in general. It also suggests ways to resolve conflicts and sometimes advocates for revolutions. Predictions are often made about the future.

3. Political theories thus sometimes provide not only explanations and predictions, but sometimes actively influence and participate in historical events, when they propose a particular type of political action and The line of action is widely adopted. The great positive liberal thinker Harold Laski remarked that the work of political theorists is not merely of the details, but also of what should happen.

4. Political theory is also generally discipline-based and it is thought that the subject of study will remain the same as theorist, philosopher, historian, economist, theologian or sociologist etc.

5. Political principles are also often the basis of an entire ideology. Liberal theories became the basis of liberalism and Marx's theory became the basis of Marxist socialist ideology. A political theorist proposed by a thinker usually also reflects the political ideology of the thinker. This is why when there are conflicts between ideologies, it debates the principles underlying those ideologies.

### **ISSUES IN POLITICAL THEORY**

Issues that have gained prominence in political theory have changed over time. Classical and early political theory was mainly concerned with the discovery of a morally perfect political system and focused on questions such as the nature and purpose of the state, on the basis of which political authority should be exercised and the problem of political disobedience. The rise of the modern nation-state and changes in the economic structure and the Industrial Revolution gave rise to new priorities and focused on individualism and freedom of its relationship with the individual and society and the state. Issues such as rights, duties, liberty, equality and property became more important. Gradually it also became important that the relationship between one concept and another such as freedom and equality or, justice and freedom or, equality and property.

### **RELEVANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY**

We as human beings live together as social beings and societies where we share resources, jobs and rewards. We are also individuals who need some basic human rights. Therefore, the process of mobilizing the state and society becomes important for maximizing harmony and prosperity and allowing conditions for individual self-realization. It is therefore important to facilitate the unity and integrity of human society or the collective needs of society political theory to try and find solutions to problems in the process. Relevance lies in developing different approaches to the nature and purpose of the state, the basis of political authority and the best form of government, in terms of the relationship between the state and the individual

**Notes**

in terms of their fundamental rights. Apart from this, political theory also seeks to recognize the moral value of a political state and to establish moral norms to suggest alternative political systems and practices.

**In short, the relevance of political theory lies in the following:**

- In explaining and providing details of political event
- helps in selecting political goals and actions for a community and
- helps provide the basis for ethical decision making.

Furthermore, it has to be remembered that states face challenges of poverty, corruption, overpopulation, and ethnic and racial tensions, environmental pollution, etc., at least in contemporary times. This is not to mention international problems like conflicts etc. To study the present and future problems of the political life of the society and suggest solutions to deal with those problems. David Held remarks that the work of a political theorist is too great in its complexity because, in the absence of systematic study, there is a danger that politics will be left to ignorant and self-seeking people who are in search of power. Thus, if one has to think systematically about the nature and purpose of the state and the problems of government in view of the socio-political reality and to keep ideals and political philosophy in mind, one has to follow the path of principle.

**Check your progress 2**

Q3. What is the major issue in political theory?

.....  
.....

Q4. Write down the Basic Character of Political Theory.

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## 1.4 THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCRATES, PLATO

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Politics refers to political activity. It is an activity that helps a citizen to participate in the structure and functioning of government. It is an activity that helps political parties to seek people and then govern. It is an activity through which political power is sought, maintained. It is the activity of manipulation and bargaining to gain and exercise power. Therefore, it is rightly called an art of the possible.

Politics is thought of. When we move politics from its uniqueness to comprehensiveness, we enter the field of political thought; When we take politics from its fleeting and day-to-day form to its long-term and sustainable form, we lay the foundation for political thought. Political thought answers, in general, to questions related to politics, the state, political activities, state policies, and its functions, to various political philosophers, over the years. It tries to find permanent or proximate solutions to the problems of the state facing politics. Political thought not only discusses the state, but also its highest form; It examines various theories of the origins of the state, not only through the philosophy of political thinkers. It seeks to develop a coherent theory about the origin of the state that appeals to our argument. The day-to-day issues relating to the nature of the state, form of government, the function of the state, political power become issues to be discussed by the political philosophers. References to Machiavelli's emergent questions became specific questions of statecraft for the protection of the ruler. Marx's attempt to analyze capitalism is a question of politics, but in the process of analysis, if Marx builds a socialist and communist society after capitalism, it becomes part of political thought.

Political thought derives data from politics. Politics introduces political activities for discussion by thinkers. Political thought, and on the other hand, gives direction to activities related to politics. For example, politics during the Stuart periods in England, became the basis upon which Hobbes

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and Locke built their philosophy, Hobbes tried to prioritize freedom and the right of Locke, creating just the reverse, that is, giving rights to freedom. Marx analyzed and studied capitalism and tried to get more truth in the process, and after that keeping in mind the medieval and early history, was not only trying to know the function of the movements of capitalism, but A new vision of political thought was also created, known as the materialistic interpretation of history. Political philosophers are born in a particular political environment; They study the atmosphere and, in turn, create a new political environment, a new philosophy.

### 1.4.1 Important Schools of Political Theory

The most important schools of political thought that have stood in importance and have stood the test of time to say:

1. Classical Political Theory
2. Liberal Political Theory
3. Marxist Political Theory
4. Empirical Scientific Political Theory
5. Contemporary Political Theory

**Classical political theory:** Political theories beginning in the 6th century BC. And developed through the Greeks, Romans and early European Christian thinkers and philosophers known as Classical Political Principles. Among the Greeks, Plato and Aristotle are two thinkers who are studied and have great influence to date. Philosophy was deeply dominated by classical political theory and the whole focus was on taking a holistic approach to discovering the most general truth. Therefore, there was no clear distinction between philosophical, religious and political issues and political science or the idea was not separately recognized as a discipline. Political theory was concerned with investigating issues, asking important questions, and serving as a defender of the conscience of politics. The underlying discovery was to reach the best possible form of government. The state and government were also seen as a tool for realizing the moral goals of man and society and

promoting the good. Thus, the state was supposed to work as some kind of promoter to promote high moral standards among the members of the community. There was some debate about whether personal good should be a priority or a general good.

**Liberal Political Theory:** With the historical period referred to in Europe as the Renaissance and the Reformation, which was followed by the Industrial Revolution, the dominance of the classical tradition ended. This new philosophical wave was led by Hobbs, Locke, Thomas, Jefferson, Thomas Penn, Jeremy Bentham, JS Just as thinkers did. Mill, Herbert Spencer and a host of other authors. The main thrust of the liberal tradition was the rights of the individual and the state was regarded as a contract only to benefit from conflict resolution mechanisms between individuals that provide for the rule of law. The main objective of the state in the liberal tradition is to help individuals realize their fundamental inalienable rights. In fact, liberal thinkers went on to say that when the basic contractual relationship between the individual and the state is breached, individuals have not only the right, but the responsibility to revolt and establish a new government. Social control is best protected by law. The new liberal principles also rejected the idea of the common good and a biological community and instead advocated that government should rule as little as possible for supreme rights and to free it from political, social and economic sanctions as much as possible. needed.

**Marxist Political Theory:** The fundamental changes that resulted from the Industrial Revolution brought inequality and a large section of poor industrial workers emerged. The basic liberal position supporting total economic freedom was challenged by Karl Marx and Engels and their followers, who proposed in the late nineteenth century what they called 'scientific socialism'. Socialism predated Marx's theory, but he gave it a strong theoretical foundation. Marx introduced a new way of looking at the history up to that time and suggested that the task of knowledge is not only to understand the world, but to change to improve the social life of

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mankind. For him, he suggested a revolutionary path. He suggested that in order to win the basics of life for its emancipation, the working class must handle the means of production and the means of production must be controlled by the state. This acquisition would need to happen through the revolution he suggested as the upper class would use the power of the state to crush any effort for the liberation and liberation of the lower classes.

Marxism also states that rights, freedom, equality, justice and democracy are enjoyed only by the rich and virtuous classes in capitalist liberal democracies as the state is controlled by the upper classes, who use the institutions of the state as a tool for class exploitation Do as. He believed that genuine freedom and equality can only be achieved in a classless and stateless society. Thus, while liberal theory provided the theoretical basis for the capitalist free market system, Marxist political theory provided the basis for the establishment of a socialist state through revolutionary action.

**Empirical-Scientific Political Theory:** According to this new school of thought the task of political theory is to formulate and organize the concept of the science of political behavior in which empirical research is emphasized more than political philosophy. Behavioral scientists suggested that a political theorist should articulate and critique systems of concepts that have a specific relevance to political behavior.

Behavioral schools differed fundamentally from all previous schools because they suggested that the function of political theory is only to explain political phenomena and to explain further than that and to predict the future. It is not to make philosophical and moral decisions.

### 1.4.2 Issues in Western Political Thoughts

Western political thought, since its inception from ancient Greece, has had to deal with a wide variety of issues, and each philosopher has governed

them from his own angle. In fact, the political philosophers have, at times, disagreed over the solutions, but what is important is the continuation of the issues that have captured their intentions. The major issues related to politics (i.e. the content of the Western political tradition) have been a concern of political philosophers. By attempting to find solutions to these political issues, political theorists have not only given Western political thought a direction, but also a unity of thought processes. The importance of Western political thought lies in the attempt by political philosophers to recognize political issues, and provide solutions, thus providing political ideas with meaning and a vision. Sheldon says, "This designation of certain activities and systems is political, the way we think about them, and the concepts.

We work to communicate our comments and reactions ... none of which is written like things, but is a legacy arising from the historical activity of political philosophers. He calls these political issues: the power relationship between government and the subject, nature. Problems created by political authority, social conflicts, the aims and objectives of political activities, and the character and utility of political knowledge.

Works on political theory have been written by political philosophers from time to time, and belong to a particular time, and yet they are timeless. They are timeless because they live all the time and are beyond their time. They are timeless because they are relevant in all ages — ages, present and future. They are timeless because they highlight problems that are problems for the time to come: corruption in politics was a problem in Plato's time, and it is still a problem today. The tasks are timeless as they deal with issues faced in every era. They are timeless because the subjects they touch reflect in all situations at all times. They are timeless because they live forever.

Work on political theory is not outstanding because what is expressed in it is original, a 'who called it first' type. All the words did not belong to them, such as 'class', terms class struggle, 'proletariat', i.e. bourgeoisie '

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revolution ', surplus value ', which Marx used, Isaiah Berlin says. The person who used them, because they have been used before by many scholars. But that was not what goes to Marx's credit. Marx's contribution to giving these words new and definite meaning lies, and above all, a new political idea built upon them. What is original may be an important factor, but what is important is an understanding of a political situation and giving to the world, a new interpretation. This is where Mam is of importance to any political philosopher, and for that matter.

Political texts have contributed greatly to the development of specialized language expressed through words, symbols, concepts, and have become the terminology of political, philosophy. The concept of 'common will' used by Russo is an example of such terminology. The state of nature ', and civilized society' and words like these are other examples, these works done in politics by many philosophers have enriched our literature.

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## **1.5 THE REPUBLIC AND THE LAWS**

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As this observation makes clear, the center of Plato's republic is a contribution to morality: a discussion of what virtue justice is and why a person should be just. Yet because Socrates links his discussion of individual justice to an account of justice in the city and claims how good and bad cities are arranged, the Republic also considers political questions. Not that morality and politics end the concerns of the Republic. The account in books seven through seven is how an equitable city and a person are in possible theory is an account of how knowledge can govern, including discussion of which knowledge and its objects. In addition, the poets' indictment includes extensive discussion of art. This article, however, focuses on the ethics and politics of the Republic of Plato.

This article attempts to provide a constructive guide to the main issues of ethics and politics in the Republic. Two assumptions shape their organization. First, it assumes that Socrates requires an initial understanding

of the question for an account of ethics and politics in the Republic, and Socrates uses tactics to answer the question. Second, it assumes that politics in the Republic is based on moral psychology in the Republic, and that the former is discussed more profitably than the latter.

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## 1.6 ARISTOTLE

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Plato an aristocrat by both birth and temperament was born in democratic Athens, at a time when it was engaged in a deadly war against Sparta-The Peloponnesian War. The war lasted for about 28 years and resulted in the fall of Athens. On his father's side, Plato traced his descent from Codrus, the last of the tribal kings of Athens, or even from the god Poseidon, and on the mother's side, from that of Solon, the great law-giver.

Plato was a child, when his father, Ariston, died, and his mother Perictione married Perilampids, an associate of Pericles, the statesman. As a young man, Plato had political ambitions, but he became a disciple of Socrates, accepting his basic philosophy and dialectical style of debate: the pursuit of truth through discussions and dialogues. In fact, Plato was disillusioned the way things were going around. He was invited to join public life when the Spartan government, the Rule of Thirty.

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Rule of Thirty, and later by the returned democratic faction, the former entrapping Socrates on charges of corrupting the youth, and the latter executing him on charges of impiety. All this convinced Plato that all politics are evil if not given proper management and direction. Plato himself writes in the Seventh Letter, supposed to be his autobiography, saying: ‘eager though I had been at first to go into. After Socrates' execution in 399 BC, Plato, fearing for his safety, and in all disillusionment, set himself for long travels temporarily abroad to Italy, Sicily, and Egypt.

Generally speaking, a citizen is' one who has the power to participate in the intentional or judicial administration of any state 'and for this purpose he has defined a state which means a body of citizens. Enough for life '. According to him the aim of the citizen is the salvation of the community.

Place, legal capacity, birth, and upbringing - as markers of static qualities and/or status - do not demonstrate the ability of citizenship in Aristotle's view. He has linked the concept of citizenship to the activities of a citizen rather than to any social status. He defined community as a constitution and, sharing in a constitution, he said that it seems that one is eligible for citizenship. Thus, Aristotle's emphasis on activity is a self-contained trait and practicing citizenship, he says, makes one a citizen. He also explicitly stated that a person cannot play the role of a citizen (and is, therefore, a citizen) in a void but a specific community system or governance. Therefore, Aristotle pursues his investigation of citizenship and asks who is the citizen or elite of democracy. Being a citizen is regime-dependent because sharing in a constitution largely depends on the laws, education and other social and political institutions of that particular constitution. These "externalities" contribute to making all citizens. Thus, in his view, citizenship is a complex combination on the part of civil practitioners and the part of social and political institutions.

Civic identity is, then, a product of doing and making, where doing is a kind of self-making (by sharing in the constitution, makes oneself a citizen) and



dictated by law, education, and other institutions. Accident and force must be excluded when examining the nature of the citizen because they make irrelevant what is at the heart of both forms of civil identity: the dynamic and interpersonal relationship between identity and action between the doer and the karma. Citizens are shared not only by their particular or individual activities but in a constitution, in other words, their collective activity. Civil activity creates social and political institutions that contribute to giving citizens in the first place. If acting as citizens is the job of citizens then they do so not only in their activities but also in their collective action by which they create social and political institutions for themselves which in turn helps to create them. Citizenship is a matter of individual self-determination activity and is participation. By collective action, sharing in their constitution, citizens help create institutions that, as institutions, guide them, but do not fully determine their activity. As a product of civic activities, these institutions become legitimate and thus binding on each citizen and the entire community.

Aristotle excluded women, working farmers, shopkeepers, artisans, mechanics, and citizens from slavery. For example, when dealing with citizens who should be enslaved, they have pushed aside who have been enslaved by accident or force. Aristotle makes the same conclusion in the case of slavery as he draws in the case of citizenship: if a citizen is a citizen being a citizen, he is also a slave to being a slave. If being a citizen is to be understood in terms of civil activity, then being a slave is to be understood in terms of slave activity. If the activities are (how this is directed by social and political entities, but nothing accidental, forced, or biological) defined the nature of a citizen.

The activities of a slave become a slave.

Aristotle said about the qualities of a citizen that a citizen should know how to govern and how to obey. Citizens have to participate in governance and therefore must have the requisite knowledge and capability. He incorporated

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the excellence of a citizen from both a ruler and a ruler into the 'knowledge of rule over the freeman'. He believed that one who has never obeyed can never be a good commander and a good citizen should be capable of both.

Aristotle's plan consists only of those who are financially independent men with the experience, education and dedication to active participation in the duties of a citizen. Furthermore, he argued that all citizens need to govern and should be governed in turn. He argued that equality is the need to treat all individuals equally but equally. This is justice. Therefore, one citizen was equal to another citizen and should be treated in the same way, but a slave is only equal to another slave and needs to treat the other slave equally, therefore not a citizen. He also said that the ownership of property should be reserved only for the citizens as they need to live in good conditions and women and slaves and mechanics and others who are not producers of the property can have no share of the property.

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## **1.7 POLITICS & MACHIAVELLI: REPUBLICANISM AND HUMANISM**

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Among his two most important works, "Prince" is an analysis of the political system of a strong monarchy, while "Discoveries on Lives" of a strong republic. In the first one, the theme is a princely successful creation. By one person, in another, it is the creation of a kingdom of migrating citizens. But in both, the center of his thought is the method of those who wield the ultimate power of power rather than the original relation of the state in which the essence state exists. He looked at things from the ruler's perspective and patronized the state, not the governed, but the excellence of its constitution was its main idea. He writes about tiles. The mechanisms of governments by which state calls are strengthened. And politics that can expand its powers. Errors also point to a strong collapse. In the words of Sabine: "The purpose of politics is to preserve and increase political power, and the standard is fully judged by its success in doing so. It is often used efficiently to achieve the ends of the ruler. Discusses the benefit of morality

that is known, and it is one that is primarily responsible for its evil. But for the most part, Italian as non-moral the stem is not immoral." One thing that would be immoral. For a person, if necessary, can be done by the ruler or emperor, in the interest of the state, as appropriate. Their indifference to morality can, therefore, be explained in terms of political expediency.

he terms republicanism did not exist in the classical period itself, but the word was Publica, which means "public thing" or "public matter". During this period many theorists were writing on political philosophy, such as Aristotle, Polybius, and Cicero, and their ideas became the essential core of classical republicanism. The ideology of Republicanism blossomed during the Italian Renaissance, most notably in Florence when many writers looked back to the classical period and used their examples to form ideas about ideal governance. Among his later reflections was Niccol Machiavelli (1469–1527) who was said to have resumed classical republicanism.

### **CONCEPTION OF BARON**

"Civilian Humanism" in its original incarnation meant to further develop Meineke's project exploring the intellectual roots of Machiavelli's in the soil. The Italian humanist thought. To show the relevance of humanists to Machiavelli, the Baron needed to correct a misconception of mankind that prevailed. In his time (eventually derived from Burkhardt): that humanists were rootless Literacy, metropolitan people who traveled from court to court, had little interest. No commitment to politics and any political ideology. It was normal to dismiss them Saying that his influence of copying ancient writers made him irretrievable, Unknowingly and unread: "having nothing to say, they called it endless" as a historian of the time he was the epigone of the long-dead Masters, Out of History, Unpolite Menschen. Against this view, Baron argued -Primarily based on his study of Leonardo Bruni - that a central current the humanitarian movement, within civilian humanism, was indeed highly patriotic and committed to a Republican idea. Civilian humanism was the opposite of cosmopolitanism.

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Civilian humanists expanded a republican political ideology State, not religious right, value font. Civilian humanist ideology of Quattrocento represented the opposite of a feudal, considered other ideology Inherited from the

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### **1.8 CHARACTERISTIC OF WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT**

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It is a classic because it is "through itself" class, "A. First rank and work of acknowledged excellence ". Classics in Plato's works have been associated with Marx in political thought. world classics indicates 'conversation of many voices', 'a dialogue' Dissemination of attitudes and interpretations of reality as a work. Work on political theory is written through political Philosophers from time to time, and belong to clear time, and yet they are timeless. They are timeless because they live and live all the time Beyond his time. They are timeless because they are relevant in all eras, present, and future. They are timeless because they expose troubles Which are troubles for the time to come: Corruption in politics was one the problem in Plato's time, and it is still a problem today. Tasks are is timeless because they deal with issues faced in every era. They are timeless because the subjects they touch reflect in all situations at all times. They are timeless because they live forever. Work on political theory is not outstanding because what is the original expressed in it is, 'one who said it was the first kind'. All such terms as 'class', 'emphasis about class', 'proletariat', 'bourgeoisie', 'revolution', 'surplus' Price ', which Marx used, says Isaiah Berlin, they were not his, that is, he was not the first person who used them, because they have been used through many scholars first. But that was not what goes to Marx's credit. Marx's contribution There is a new political meaning in giving a new and definite meaning to these situations.

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### **1.9 LET US SUM UP**

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Political thought can be understood as a description of political thought from the ancient Greeks as a loss of political philosophy if we are trying to find out what it is in the West. It is the aggregate of ideas as matters relating to politics, state and government which are presented by thinkers from time to time. It is a description of the idea of political theorists. It is like the West, a history, a tradition and a culture. It is not a complete political science because it denies its historical basis. It is historical, logical, ideological, inseparable and methodological. Western political thought is rich in its content. It has helped to follow political processes, utility of political institutions. It has given Western tradition values such as democracy, nationalism, freedom, justice and all the two parallel pillars - idealism and realism, on which most political theories rest with theorists. Work. Western political theory is objective, enlightened, ethical and instructive. Wolin Finale; "... Since the history of political philosophy is ... an intellectual development in which successive thinkers have added new dimensions to the analysis and understanding of politics, in examining that development it is not so old of political education.

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## **1.10 KEYWORDS**

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1. **Revolutions:** Revolution has been central to the formation of the modern world.
2. **Republicanism:** republicanism & recognition theory are significant currents in relations between citizens and state.
3. **Statesman:** an experienced politician, especially one who is respected for making good judgments.
4. **Dialectical:** a way of discovering what is true by considering opposite theories.
5. **Fundamentally:** forming the base, from which everything else develops.

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## 1.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) What is political thought? Distinguish political thought from political theory and political philosophy?
- 2) Describe the nature of the western political thought.
- 3) What are, in your opinion, the major contents of political thought?
- 4) Amplify the significance and relevance of western political thought.
- 5) In what way does Machiavelli's works reflect his times'?
- 6) Critically analyze Machiavelli's Political theories.

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## 1.12 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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- 1) Iain Hampshire Monk, A History of Modern Political Thought
- 2) David Boucher and Paul Kelly (eds.), Political thinkers from Socrates to the Present
- 3) C.B. Macpherson, The Political theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke
- 4) Leo Strauss, Thoughts on Machiavelli
- 5) David McLellan, The Thought of Karl Marx.

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## 1.13 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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I. 1. Political thought is the description of the political ideas of a host of political philosophers from beginning to the end. It is the sum-total of ideas on matters relating to politics, state and government as expressed by the thinkers. It is historical in nature because it is described as history. It analyses, examines and evaluates issues that have a universal concern and are of perennial interest even though each political theorist responds to a particular political reality. It is written keeping the larger public in mind and is not confined to ivory towers for an intimate link is established between

the political process, institutions, events and actors.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.1)

2. Political theory is sometimes treated equally with political thought, but it is important to understand that they do not understand the meaning of the same thing. Political thought is a generalized term involving questions related to a group and state over a person or persons or a community or state. Any person expresses his views whether he is a professor, journalist, writer, novelist, poet, etc. and certainly if he is a politician who impacts our lives and he is concerned about state and governance and related questions.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.2)

II. 3. Issues that have gained prominence in political theory have changed over time. Classical and early political theory was mainly concerned with the discovery of a morally perfect political system and focused on questions such as the nature and purpose of the state, on the basis of which political authority should be exercised and the problem of political disobedience. The rise of the modern nation-state and changes in the economic structure and the Industrial Revolution gave rise to new priorities and focused on individualism and freedom of its relationship with the individual and society and the state. Issues such as rights, duties, liberty, equality and property became more important.....(answer for Check your Progress-2 Q.3)

4. A political theory attempts to give clarify questions related to mankind, the society formed by them and history and historical events in general. It also suggests ways to resolve conflicts and sometimes advocates for revolutions. Predictions are often made about the future.

Political theories thus sometimes provide not only explanations and predictions, but sometimes actively influence and participate in historical events, when they propose a particular type of political action and The line of action is widely adopted. The great positive liberal thinker Harold Laski remarked that the work of political theorists is not merely of the details, but also of what should happen. ....(answer for Check your Progress-2 Q.4)

## Notes



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# UNIT - 2: THE CONTRACTARIANS

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## STRUCTURE

2.0 Objectives

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Hobbes and Locket

2.2.1 Contribution

2.2.2 Political issue

2.3 Possessive Individualism

2.3.1 Traditional Political Philosophy

2.3.2 Difference between Individualism Libertarian Group

2.4 Contribute to Enlightenment

2.5 Let Us Sum Up

2.6 Keyword

2.7 Questions for Review

2.8 References and Suggested Readings

2.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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- Political thought is a combination of the philosophy of many people the political philosopher must face their time.
- Every political philosopher discusses political Thoughts of his time and the age he lives. It is in this sense that it is claimed that each philosopher is a child of his age.
- This encourages each philosopher as well through his circumstances Source of Inspiration. He is also a symbol of his age, in this sense. His philosophy time is a symbol of lies.
- His thoughts are his views on many Political concepts. Political thought becomes political thought. Through political philosophy.

## Notes

- Political thinking is history oriented. This is political history investigation time, it is history vertically and horizontally. After discussing several assumptions, we discussed the concept of justice.

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## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

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Thomas Hobbes is one of the most colorful, controversial and important figures in the history of Western political thought. In his lifetime he was almost unanimously condemned for atheism, the blasphemous Thomas Hobbes being one of the most colorful, controversial and important figures in the history of Western political thought. In his lifetime he was condemned almost unanimously for alleged atheism, blasphemy and profanity and was known as the demon of Malmsbury. He was confronted with the MPs he opposed and 'by the royalists whom he suspected to support, because his views were quite in line with both the principle of popular representation of MPs and the Stuart doctrine on political grounds of lapse. The extent was out. The authority is of kings. His status as a great philosopher and political thinker was not fully recognized until the 19th century. The philosophical radicalization of the English utilitarian and the scientific rationalism of the French Encyclopedic are incorporated into Hobbes's mechanical materialism on a large scale, his nominalism, radical individualism and psychological egoism. Emphasizing his influence on utilitarian thought, Sir Frederick Pollock explicitly remarked that the best formulas of the greatest number had been made as a hook to be inserted into the nostril of the Leviathan so that it would bind on the chariot of utility. And can be exploited. By the mid-20th century Hobbes was acclaimed as "the greatest writer on political philosophy" produced to English-speaking people (Sabine: 1963, 457) according to Michael Oakeshott: "Leviathan is the greatest, perhaps. Sole, a masterpiece of political philosophy in the English language "(1960, viii).

Hobbes, who was an English political thinker, comes first among the compromises related to the origin of the state. During Hobbes's time,

England was going through a transitional state. There was a state of civil war, which had a great impact on Hobbes's political and social life.

If it is said that all his thoughts are the result of the same situation in which he grew up, then it is not surprising. When Charles I was hanged in the Civil War, the incident had a profound impact on Hobbes's life. It is on this basis that he expressed his view of the state. Hobbes, while describing the natural state, described the human tendency negatively and established a ruler who would protect his life as well as a fool, ignorant and selfish people. Also, restrict and give stability to the government.

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## **2.2 HOBBS AND LOCKET**

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### **1. PRINCIPLES OF THE STATE'S ORIGIN:**

Hobbes considers the origin of the state to be the product of human nature and its needs and says that if man was peaceful by nature and lived without any supreme power, then there is no need for governance but man is not like that, he is his feelings and cannot keep his emotions under control, his selfish circles continue to sow the seeds of struggle.

Therefore, naturally, there is a need for a person or community of people who keep humans under control and discipline them. It is necessary to have strong power to fully comply with human orders and punish them for violating them so much that they can "speak to human emotions in the language they understand and that is fear and self-interest." To establish such a general power, it is necessary that to establish the effect of one desire in place of many desires, according to the natural law, all persons shall confer their rights and powers to one person or an individual assembly, they will give all their wishes to one person. Surrender to the will of Hobbes finds such power or power only in the state which is representative of the wishes of all persons and in which it is the ability to conduct according to the most prudent and punish those who do not. According to Hobbes, the state comes into existence as a result of a social settlement. The

## Notes

establishment of the kingdom is described in the 18th chapter of "Leviathan".

"A state is established when many people compromise with each other that all people will consider the actions of the person or group of people whom their majority has chosen to represent. "This agreement is made as if each person has said to each person that - "I dedicate this person or this group of people the right and power to govern themselves on the condition that you too Dedicate it in this way." In this way, the whole community becomes united into one person. This is called 'state' or 'civics'. According to Hobbes, this is the birth of the great 'Leviathan' or deity whose grace and security rests in the shadow of the imperishable God. Hobbs says that after this agreement everyone's rights are given to a specific person or community and He became sovereign and his subjects. Since the sovereign was not a party to that agreement, his powers remained unlimited.

There were no conditions in this agreement because having conditions could create a feeling of uncertainty and mistrust which could lead to a quarrel and if it was not settled, chaos would spread again and the natural state would arise again. Now the people have no right to protest against the brutal atrocities committed by the sovereignty because the intention to go against the rule is, He had to return to the natural state which could not happen, so his power and desire remained final.

### **2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGREEMENT:**

#### **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGREEMENT: NATURE OF SOVEREIGNTY:**

**In the features of Hobbes's agreement, we will consider the following points:**

- The participants of the agreement are not any type of party or institution; they are individuals who have been enjoying the society and natural rights while living in a natural state. This contract is not a contract

between a superior and inferior or between a sovereign ruler. It is an agreement between equivalent individuals which they make with their free will power. It is a contract that results from the prudent calculation, not fear.

- The sovereign authority of the state is the artificial creation of the agreement. Sovereignty is the creation of a rich authority that distinguishes between civilized political society and the primitive state of nature. Society is the result of the state and the state is the result of a predominant government, which comes out based on agreement. Society and political society in the same form has no existence apart from 'Leviathan'. According to Hobbes, there is no difference between state and society and also between state and government.
- The power of sovereignty is unlimited and its rights are unbridled by not being included as a party to the agreement. Sovereignty is not entrusted with any condition. The sovereign does not wish to use his power according to the wishes of the people or with his consent. Therefore, even if he behaves in an autocratic manner, he cannot be blamed.
- Sovereignty is the source of laws. The rule or method is its order. Sovereign orders cannot be held irregular because they are the essence of prudence and moral conduct. The right to do justice, war or treaty with nations and other powers is fully vested with sovereignty. He also has the right to select and appoint government officials.
- This agreement is permanent because everybody establishes a state of their own and hands overall authority to sovereignty. Therefore, it is necessary to follow the orders of sovereignty by those individuals. If this does not happen, the agreement will be breached. Reaching social settlement and returning to a state of complete anarchy forces them to obey orders, and increases the powers of a sovereign ruler.
- Hobbes says that there may be revolutions in the country, but there is no other way to depose the authority of a legally appointed sovereign officer, that by consensus everyone decides to return to the state of nature.

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- Minorities have to follow the orders of the majority while implementing the agreement and even after that. The minority has no right to object to the election of a sovereign officer by a majority. If a minority of people continue to be anti-Raj dharma in the election of the ruler, they have to remain outside the civil society and the majority prefer to remain part of the state, then it can be said that they have silently accepted the will of the majority. The minority has no right to revolt against the majority. The basic purpose of the agreement is to protect the life of the person from internal or external encroachment. The right to self-defense is the heart of Hobbes's philosophy. At the time of the agreement, a person hands over all the rights of his life to the sovereign ruler. Therefore, sovereign authority cannot harm the life of a person.
- Although according to Hobbes's social agreement, there can be one person, two persons or many people who are rich in prominence, Hobbes prefers the rule of one person only. Vaper says "Hobbes believes that the 'other man' who is a beneficiary of the pact means that he should be the king of the ruling power. As a man, he would be selfish like other men, but the subject power of one man would be cheaper than the subject power of many men. But the personal prejudices of the ruler are of no importance in Hobbes's plan. Not a biased autocratic king of an autocratic state. "As long as it is accepted that 'Leviathan' has unbridled power, then the question of whether Leviathan is one or many is secondary."

### **CRITICISM:**

- Although Hobbes's theory of social settlement is the most unique from which the situation at that time can be imagined, he is not free from criticism.

### **It can be criticized based on the following arguments:**

- 1) The compromise of individuals is not a right of independence for them. In contrast, Hobbes becomes a bond of servitude in

his hands. They completely lose their freedom and in return, they get nothing but chains.

- 2) He can also be criticized because individuals give up their right to change their rulers forever. The ruler once elected may prove to be corrupt but people will not be able to remove it as they will be afraid to return to the state of nature.
- 3) Everyone has powers of judicious decisions when making compromises. They know what they are doing. They also know all the implications of the agreement. They also know that they have made an agreement to protect their lives, yet we do not understand why Hobbes is insisting on the creation of an almighty authority to implement the agreement.

**Characteristics of the Agreement: Characteristics of the Agreement:  
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  4. Sovereignty is the source of laws. The rule or method is its order. Sovereign orders cannot be held irregular because they are the essence of prudence and moral conduct. The right to do justice, war or treaty with nations and other powers is fully vested with sovereignty. He also has the right to select and appoint government officials.
  5. This agreement is permanent because everybody establishes a state of their own and hands overall authority to sovereignty. Therefore, it is necessary to follow the orders of sovereignty by those individuals. If this does not happen, the agreement will be breached. Reaching social settlement and returning to a state of complete anarchy forces them to obey orders, and increases the powers of a sovereign ruler.
    - 1) Hobbes says that there may be revolutions in the country, but there is no other way to depose the authority of a legally appointed sovereign officer, that by consensus everyone decides to return to the state of nature.
  6. Minorities have to follow the orders of the majority while implementing the agreement and even after that. The minority has no right to object to the election of a sovereign officer by a majority. If a minority of people continue to be anti-Raj dharma in the election of the ruler, they have to remain outside the civil society and the majority prefer to remain part of the state, then it can be said that they have silently accepted the will of the majority. The minority has no right to revolt against the majority.
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heart of Hobbes's philosophy. At the time of the agreement, a person hands over all the rights of his life to the sovereign ruler. Therefore, sovereign authority cannot harm the life of a person.

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It can be criticized based on the following arguments:

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10. He can also be criticized because individuals give up their right to change their rulers forever. The ruler once elected may prove to be corrupt but people will not be able to remove it as they will be afraid to return to the state of nature.
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agreement to protect their lives, yet we do not understand why Hobbes is insisting on the creation of an almighty authority to implement the agreement.

12. Sovereignty is the deciding and controlling of votes and policies: According to Hobbes, the power of sovereign power rests not only on the body of the person but also on the thoughts and beliefs of the people because the peace and order of society depends on the thoughts and beliefs of the people, which is its sole purpose to maintain.
13. Sovereignty regulates human property rights and functions: Hobbes has rejected the property bond imposed by Bodin on the sovereign. According to him, the sovereign is the creator of property because he establishes peace and order in the society, as a result of which people are able to earn money.
14. Wealth is produced from wealth. Hence the sovereignty has the right to legislate on property. He is the creator of the property and is also entitled to taxation and to take property of the subjects. It is not necessary for him to take public acknowledgment of the taxation.
15. Sovereignty is inseparable and inalienable: According to Hobbes, the power of the sovereign cannot be divided, nor can any part of it be vested in anyone other than the sovereign. The ultimate power of exercising its various powers lies in it, because the failure of the administration of governance cannot be possible.
16. Who has the power of sovereignty or who will use it?

Like Hobbes has also differentiated the systems of governance based on the fact that the sovereignty is inhabited somewhere? If sovereignty is vested in one person, then the form of governance is monarchy, in some individuals it is a democracy and, in all people, it is democracy. It is futile to talk of mixed or limited governance because sovereignty is inseparable. Hobbes has considered the monarchy to be the best because firstly it has the personal and public interest of the king and the state, and secondly, the stability of governance is found in it more. Although the monarchy has a

tendency to give money and rights to the benevolent characters, this trend of oligarchy and democracy increases greatly.

**Locket**

Hobbs and Locke have different views which can be better studied in the backdrop of the English Civil War. Marx is understood in light of the growing capitalism of European / Western society. It has grown and is growing, and in information, will always grow.

It has evolved into a specific method; every subsequent philosopher Criticizes / criticizes earlier philosophies or political views Philosophical, and in the process constructs its own philosophy. Aristotle did this With Plato; Locke did this with the film; Bentham with Blackstone; John Stuart Mill, with Bentham; Marx did this with Hegel, Adam Smith, Proudhon. Hence Western political thinking has grown; It moves on to polemics, it changes, but it has sustained. It continues from the days of Plato and Aristotle. No wonder if it is then said that all philosophy is a footnote to Plato. Plato and Aristotle Jointly given the basis on which the entire fabric of Western political stands idea; Political idealism and political realism have two bases Western political philosophy from which many other related colors arise. This it is not easy to identify what is in Western political thought. Effort, in fact, it would be arbitrary. However, the major content of Western Political Thought, to make a point, can be said.

**Political institutions and processes;**

Political Idealism and Realism. Western political thought, political institutions, and political processes Western political thought deals mainly with political institutions and Procedures related to them. If political theory is related or related is relevant to politics, political thought, as it is, from the writing of Hosting political philosophers is related to political power, that is, in which it is inherent and how it is used, and for which objects it exists.

## Notes

Political Thinkers from earlier days to present have done these Questions related to politics: Plato was more interested in the state as it should then Aristotle, who devoted all his power to the best practical state. Ancient Roman theorists talked about the role of nature and law Administration. Along with medieval church theorists, political power was created to work under divine law, divine law under natural law, natural Law under perpetual law. Early contemporary political theorists were relation with supreme power. Contractors were eager to answer Questions like how the state came into subsistence and why people believe Law. Whereas political philosophies treat institutions as they were, and as they should / should be, Marx saw them in materialistic positions. On lying, Sabine said,

"An important function of political thought is not merely to describe what a political practice is, but also to clarify what it means. In showing what a practice means, or what it should mean, can be political theory.

Change what is there. "Political philosophers have tried to understand the political the institutions of their time have given them meaning and in doing so; there are suggested ways to change them. Therefore, we can say that the political Considered with institutions. Also, and this is important, later philosophers suggested changes in its Institutions, stability, political philosopher, Sabine maintained to use it.

Languages, a 'connector', are a 'realtor' who weaves political fabric. Western political thought dominates equally, right from the beginning, with interest in political processes as to how and why political power.

### **'Political philosopher'**

Were mainly concerned about what a state is or does not do, but are concerned with how a state is once entrusted with power, it uses it. In other Languages, political ideas have been along with the revision of political If we want to give it a word, the rule of law, that is, the process of how to use

political power. Rule of law means that there should be a law governing people, and not the man who rules. It is stereotypical, arbitrary, and ignorant of Totalitarian rule. It justifies power and its use. Rule of law, as one the concept has its own definite characteristics: the law is to be enforced Impersonal; It cannot be used as a means of obtaining individuals; this the requirement should be applied indiscriminately, although it is a function of investigation. It is forbidden to self-rule by circumstances, specialties. People use more power than others; will have to answer General norms of society and balance; conform to because '. Plato's ideal republic was built.

Contemporary materialist philosophy urbanized in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, beginning in subsequent generations of Machiavelli. This philosophy leads to republicanism, more in the original spirit of Machiavellian, but with the encouragement of Catholic author Machiavelli's realism and innovation to manage one's destiny, rather than accepting full emphasis on war and politics are done not only was the result of innovative economics and politics, but also contemporary science, leading some commentators to say that 18th century Enlightenment included a "humanitarian" mediation. Machiavelli's power is important in many important figures in this endeavor. For example, Bodine, Francis Bacon, Algernon Sydney, Harrington, John Milton, Spinoza, Russo, Hume, Edward Gibbon, and Adam Smith. Although he was not always mentioned through the name as an inspiration, because of his controversy, he is considered a power to other leading philosophers, such as Montana, Descartes, Hobbes, and Locke.

**Check your progress 1:**

Q1. Write two character of State's Origin of Hobbes.

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Q2. State in own words, what is Nature of Sovereignty?

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Q3. Who has the power of sovereignty or who will use it?

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Q4. What is essential to good government?

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**2.2.1 Contribution**

**Criticism and evaluation of Hobbes's ideas:**

While Hobbes's ideas remained unacceptable, he was widely criticized everywhere. Monarchists, parliamentarians, religious thinkers all became his critics. The supporters of autocratic monarchy were suspicious of their principle of self-will and the removal of divine doctrine. Supporters of Parliament were angered by his indefatigable conservative monarchy. Religious thinkers were happy with his anti-religious belief and system. The democrats considered him immoral and thought-corrupt. Individualists were afraid of declaring individual-autonomy and fundamental rights in the state. Rationalists were disillusioned with his theories and ultra-rationalistic. Scientists considered his words to be Pandora's box. Psychologists considered his depiction of human nature to be misleading, exaggerated and flawed. The legalists considered him to be narrow, ignorant and persecutor. Leek and Rousseau were also against him. "

Clarendon even burned Hobbes' book, saying, "I have never found a book that is so full of treason, treachery, and treason." According to Murray, "Hobbes's biographer could find only one supporter when his enemies were numerous." "

**The following arguments can be made about Hobbes's criticism:**

17. Hobbes's first blame is that his portrayal of human nature is inappropriate, exaggerated, and unilateral. Hobbes's assertion of man as antisocial and anti-social is against Aristotle's naturalistic theory that a human being is a social being who possesses divine qualities like compassion, sympathy, cooperation, love, sacrifice and self-respect.
18. Hobbes's story of social contract is highly illusory. Man comes to a state of making some kind of agreement only after fixing his position. Social talk can only be understood when humans are relatively developed. When humans are completely antisocial, selfish, quarrelsome and violent, how did the social feeling of compromise emerge in them and how did they become law-loving and humble citizens? In the words of the vehicle - "Hobbes states that the natural state is that state of conflict in which each person is at war with all others. Manpower and deception are special properties of this state. In this situation there can be no place for perceptions of wrong, justice and injustice. There is no mutual association in all of these, but there can be no association with its expiration. How can it be believed that a demon-possessed person with such qualities can enter or even wish to enter a state in which his former position is completely opposite, i.e. a situation or state in which the place of war May there be an empire of peace, abandonment of animal power and fraud, and truth and justice which are the basis. Just as a Hobbes cannot change its color, the blood-soaked person described by Hobbes cannot become a peace-loving worker." There are deep bits of truth in the criticism of the vehicle.
19. The only option to save the Hoban society from anarchy is the supreme and autocratic rule, but this assumption is not correct. Before him, there was a history of medieval Europe in which the ruling power was divided between church and state. At that time there were conflicts but there was no natural state of chaos. The situation was much improved compared to the natural condition. At that time the principle of

## Notes

indivisibility of sovereignty did not exist. At present, there have been daughters in the three principal organs of sovereignty rule in the United States, but there is no anarchy. Modern history is proof that there is no anarchy in mixed and constitutional regimes.

20. In order to keep the royalty autocratic and infinitely powerful, Hobbes kept it separate from the parties involved in the agreement. Logically, such a one-party agreement is inconsistent. The agreement is always on two sides. Then even this agreement cannot be breached, this is contrary to human logic.
21. Hobbes does not make any distinction between the state and the government whereas these are two different entities. If the public tries to put an end to an autocratic king by rebellion, then he does not falter at the root of the state organization. She only changes the government. Hobbes sees no difference between the state's arbitrariness and the government's arbitrariness.
22. Hobbes's legal considerations are also very narrow. He seems to be satisfied with only the upbringing of the method. Whether people believe in the law or not, they will have to follow the law, but it should be that people also believe in the law and follow it. No matter how much Hobbes has been criticized, political thinking owes him great value. He is the first English thinker to produce a detailed and systematic method of political science. Sovereignty may have been rendered earlier, but he gave the first clear description of an absolute and unlimited sovereignty. His views on sovereignty and law had grown beyond Bodi.

The concept of his sovereignty and legislative law was developed by the great 19th century thinker John Austin. In fact, it was Hobbes who gave the form of sovereignty that continues to this day. It has been ensured by Hobbes's contract theory that the state is paramount, whose orders are compulsory for citizens and residents of the state. One cannot object to the practicality of this opinion that to establish peace and order, strong and strong governance is required. Hobbes was the first thinker to introduce the



theory of state origins. Although the origins of the kingdom were depicted by the covenant earlier, its origins were also considered divine. Hobbes did a great job of destroying and corrupting the mystical glorious character of the state presented by the proponents of the divine doctrine. He clearly stated that the state is not a result of divine will but a result of human will. Thus, he declared the state a humanitarian institution. The traditional reputation of natural law has been abolished, denied the possibility of divine knowledge, and there remain only independent beings who are themselves exploratory to the orders of social life.

The political system has been denied the sacred character. If that divine miracle is no longer there, then Saint Paul, by his sermon - "Whatever power is given by God", had inscribed on the heart of all Christians.

According to Vaper - "It is not an accidental event that Catha is as indebted to him there as Hobbes's thoughts about happiness." The coming progeny has often differed with him, but there will be no exaggeration to say that he found a mine in which it is good to dig because a valuable metal comes out of it. "Hobbes also has importance from the point of view that he contradicted the old belief in justice and said that justice is created by law and justice is not a reflection of law. In fact, he attracted the then political philosophers and scholars by his strong arguments and has forced them to go deeper into his theories.

### **2.2.2 Political Issue**

He began with the man in his original position, or "state of nature", to develop his principles of government. Where they differed was in their perceptions about human behavior and uniformity of behavior. Starting with their very different beliefs as a "state of nature", they came to different conclusions and provided different prescriptions for the government of the Society.

## Notes

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) developed their political theories in a time of religious, political and social upheaval in England. He was well aware of the scientific and philosophical concerns of his time. Hobbes was classically educated but later in life became interested in scientific thought and metaphysics. Locke was a physician and a member of the Royal Society. He shared an enlightening view of the world. God was the first cause for him, but his scientific understanding of cause and effect shaped his outlook, not only of the physical objects in the natural world and how he interacted but also of individuals and how he interacted in society. Hobbes published *Leviathan, or The Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil* in 1651, writing that his book was "plagued by the disorders of the present day." (*Leviathan*). Locke published two treatises of government in 1690 to justify the 1660 struggle and the 1688 revolution. This was a time when there was a huge political upheaval. The certainty and stability conferred by the emperor's divine authority were removed. There was a need for the creation of new certainties with the government legitimizing the Church and bringing stability back to God. Both Hobbes and Locke were making social, political, and religious statements as a result of the Puritan Rebellion and the Civil War. More importantly, they intended to create forms of government that had intellectual integrity and allowed legitimacy to the political structure after the revolution and allowed the removal of the old order. They reasoned with their understanding of the principals before each human interaction, using scientific method and both came to powerful rational conclusions.

### **Social Contract**

Before the Civil War in England, the government was democratic. It divinely appointed kings and commanded their subjects to obey them. The government was placed as God rather than a human contradiction. "Subordination" was a contract of principle stating that the ruler should provide justice and protection for his subjects for his obedience. James I, King of England (1603–25), in his *True Law of Free Monarchies*, accepts

that the King should behave honorably, but if he did not do so and break his side of his contract, which would subject his subjects. This is not free from obedience.

Enlightenment, the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, looked away from religious or religious-based thinking to an inquiry founded on scientific reasoning. Enlightenment saw the development of social contract theory of which Hobbes and Locke were the principal exponents. The principle of social contract is essentially an ethically justified agreement between individuals through which organized society is brought into existence. It is used as a means of demonstrating the value of government, political obligation and authority over a particular geographical area. The classic form of social contract theory suggests that there is a statutory society from which people refrain from entering into social contract. The social contract obliges citizens to respect and obey the state in exchange for stability and security, which only a system of political governance can provide.

Natural law theory successfully reflects mechanistic scientific theories by Enlightenment figures such as Galileo and Newton. Natural law theory stated that there were immutable principles of law that existed as part of the natural world that define what is right, proper and good for man. These were discovered by the use of the principal cause and all men were subject to these laws. States or other sovereign entities could achieve legitimacy and legitimacy only if their laws were consistent with these natural laws.

The state that man had created for his protection in the state of nature was not new, but was opposed by the Church in favor of divine authority. John Locke, of the Church of England, drafted in 1606, said, "If any men will confirm that the first men run up and down the wild creatures accept no superiority over each other unless they require government. Is not experienced and consequently should be taught to all. Civil power is naturally cut off with

their consent ... and there is no ordinance of God which they have Done incorrectly. "

The revolution in England saw the end of rule with divine authority. The state can now be regarded as a social structure devised by man, rather than as a condition of man as fixed by God. As an artwork, it can be studied and improved. Hobbes, Locke, and others were free to consider the development of political structure from the starting point of man to the state of nature. In Bes Leviathan 'Hobbes called the case for absolute sovereignty, while in' Second Treaties of Government 'Locke argued for the defense of a parliamentary government and a limited liberal state.

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### **2.3 POSSESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM**

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The current study suggests that the difficulties of modern liberal-democratic theory may be deeper than one might think that there was a central difficulty in seventeenth-century original individualism, rooted in its merits. Its qualitative quality is found in its conception of the individual as essentially the master of his own person or abilities, nothing to society for him. The individual was neither seen as moral, nor as a large social part, but as his own master. The relationship of ownership, a vitally important relationship for more and more men, determines the real possibility of realizing their true freedom and their full capabilities, was read back into the person's disposition. Personally, it was thought, he is independent because he is the master of his person and abilities. The human essence is freedom from dependence on the will of others, and freedom is an act of possession. As masters of their abilities, the society becomes an equal person related to each other and what they have gained from their practice. There is an exchange between proprietors in society.

The individualism that identified is of a specific type; this is "individualism". Here we have the heart of the principle of individualism: the person only as his master which frees man from dependence on the will

of others. Dependence on others means freedom from any relationship with others except those relationships that a person voluntarily enters from the point of view of their interest. The person is essentially the master of his own person and abilities, for which he does nothing for the society. Although the individual cannot separate the entire this property in his own person, he can set aside his capacity for labor. Human society consists of a series of market relationships.

Since freedom from the will of others is what makes man a human being, each person's freedom can be limited only to the obligations and rules that are necessary to secure equal freedom for others. Political society is a human contradiction for the protection of its individual and for the property of the individual in commodities, and (therefore) for the maintenance of the ordered relations of exchange between its possessor persons.

Philosophical theories built on that ideology, which determine the shape of beliefs, but are equipped to identify or critique those beliefs. Highlighted the explanatory challenge of exploring these underlying assumptions: "Where an author may assume that his readers will share some of his beliefs, there is no need to determine them at these points in his argument, where We do, not automatically share "Those who believe they feel they should have been asked to make the argument complete".

### **2.3.1 Traditional Political Philosophy**

Hobbs, Locke, the Levelers, and Harrington were famous philosophers. The British tradition of political philosophy expresses a particular ideology that is pre-philosophical. Ideology (subjective individualism) is a very specific concept of a person's roles in their social world. Philosophical theories built on that ideology, which determine the shape of beliefs, but are unfit to accept or criticize the explanatory challenge of discovering these beliefs: based on some of their beliefs, there would be no need to establish them. The points in our argument where we, who do not automatically share those

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beliefs, think that they should have been asked to make the argument complete”

### **What is the social context of this ideology?**

This is the reality of market society:

These assumptions adequately coincide with the actual relationship of market society.

Provide an intellectually strong basis for a liberal democratic state - a state that recognizes the value of the individual, as well as the social obligations that we all value to each other and which are brought about through state social programs Should be expressed. Originally, interested in helping formulate a political theory that gives a powerful ideal basis for social democracy. Interpretation of Hobbes's philosophy provides an interesting discussion of "models of society" that deserve attention. He suggests that Hobbes formulates three models of society: customary or status society; Simple market society; and near the market society.

### **2.3.1 Difference between Individualism Libertarian Group**

It is currently portraying the relationship between individualist individualism and conservative libertarian political groups. The Tea Party seems to be a contemporary descendant of this ideology. Taxation is theft; The state has no legitimate role beyond protecting personal safety and property; Government regulation of private business activity is an unethical intrusion on freedom and property; Individuals have freedom and property that cannot limit the state; Individuals have what they have and owe nothing to society or other citizens. Justice is done only by protecting the property of individual citizens.

The most complex model is the society of the property market, which defines the allocation of work, rewards for work, enforcement of contracts, individual rational maximization, property of the individual in their labor,

personal ownership of land, individuals want more utility or power, the difference of individuals is energy, skills, or property. With these positions (including institutions and actors), we have a certain type of social make get. This is an "aggregation dynamics" argument. In other words, it is a micro-to-macro argument up to the struts of Coleman's boat.

A person presents the following questions here. If the Newtonian revolution primarily attracts Knowledge of the criticism of Russo: the science of man Question other physical principles, but leaves it on the table as if man had spiritual and teleological concepts, then why have we started discussing enlightenment with it? The answer is double. First, if some philosophies inspire enlightenment, for example, to John Locke, it is because they express a similar respect in relation to the limits of human knowledge. An important consequence of this would be to ask whether key concepts such as soul or personal identity lie within those limits. Second, and as a result of the shaking of the foundations of these key concepts, Enlightenment philosophers will seek new terms to imagine the nature of man. Inspired by the Newtonian Revolution and, above all, its predictable power, they will be ready to discover properties in which the same predictive power can be used.

Russo attacked Enlightenment, in an award-winning essay written in 1749 on the question: "Has the progress of science and art contributed to corrupting or purifying morality?" Rousseau argued that science was not saving but bringing moral waste on us. Progress was an illusion. All that appeared was actually regression. The arts of civilized society served only low 'cast flowers above the chain-in-bore. The development of modern civilization neither made men happy nor neglected virtue. Virtue was possible in an ordinary society, where men lived nomadic lives. Modern sophisticated society man was corrupt, and more and more sophistication were more corruption.

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For temporary material benefits, he also changed his religion and refused to donate to people. In 1744 he went to Paris; tried my hand at various. Theater, opera, music, poetry was creating much success. Nevertheless, his personality opened the doors to the best salons in Paris for him, where he met prominent encyclopedias as well as influential, attractive women, with whom he maintained close contact with many. But he never gave up the purity, purist background of the upper-class family.

Russo lived at a time when the autocratic feudal order ruled by Louis Sol ruled France. Political power, privilege, and social prestige was the monopoly of kings, clergy, and nobles, who lived extraordinarily at the expense of those engaged in serious battles of existence. It was also denied a decent living by the king's corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy, dissatisfaction prevailed and a desire for change created an atmosphere of disregard. Sharing dissatisfaction and a desire for change was a newly emerging class of the French bourgeoisie, which also restricted the existing order for its development and joined hands with the peasants.

The French Enlightenment played a major role in shaping climate and in the sense of discontent against the Essen regime was judged everything on the basis of logic and experience alone. Essentially it was attacked by many things, which were given to the Church and to France, including traditional political institutions. Russo shared some enlightened views, but not completely. So far philosophers have expressed their faith in man as a free agent, as desired change, Rousseau was with him, but had not shared his idea of progress inherent in his modernity and respected for rationality More than he realized. Rousseau believed that what was wrong with modern man was that he had lost touch with his feelings. Philosophers' insensitivity to feelings and emotions led them to rebel against 'reason'.

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## **2.4 CONTRIBUTION TO ENLIGHTENMENT**

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The topics introduced in his award-winning essay were further developed in his second essay in 1754 "What is the origin of inequality between men, and was authorized by natural law"? The second discourse, as this essay is called, is a narrative of man's decline — how his nature became twisted, distorted, and corrupted with the rise of civilized society, which in turn required the rise of the institution of private property and. The need to institutionalize social inequality through law 'and protect it. Here, Rousseau is expelling 'natural man' and attacking so-called 'civilized men'. The problems were not with the man, but the nature of the society in which he was living. Tracing the collapse, not because of noble work but was guided by two instincts — a tendency toward self-love or self-preservation, and sympathy or temperamental instinct. The state of nature, which was one of innocence, did not last forever. Over time, the great adventurer who lived in isolation discovered the usefulness and utility of labor. Yet without giving in to their primitive dispersal, men sometimes began to cooperate and form a degree of provisional order. Later the men began to build a shelter for themselves and the family stayed together, with a stage. But as lie consolidated his earlier social relations, he gave himself to labor and thought, namely, to the use of logic and language. It brought the first fall for man, soaking him from the joy of a 'patriarchal platform', even as the pursuit of a division of labor, able to pass from a subsistence economy to an economy of productive development. The emergence of agriculture was indeed a great revolution, but iron and corn, which brought civilized men to ruin humanity. The cultivation of the earth led to the enclosure of the land, and this gave rise to the idea of property, as Rousseau said in a famous statement: "The first man who fell! A piece of land, took it upon himself!" Mine is "and got people simple enough to believe, who was the true founder of a civilized society".

Once men began to claim property, the inequality in men's talent and skills led to inequality in fortune. Money enabled stone people to enslave others; the very idea of possession aroused men's passions and provoked competition and conflict.

A philosophical defender of mixed government is been seen. For Adams, Machiavelli restored the empirical cause of politics, while his analysis of factions was Admirable. Adams likewise agreed with the Florentine that human nature was irreplaceable and inspired by passion. He also accepted Machiavelli Believed that all societies were subject to a cyclical era of development and decay. For Adams, Machiavelli simply lacked a clear understanding of the institutions

Essential to good government.20th century 20th-century Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci performed brilliantly Inspiration is inspired by Machiavelli's writings on ethics, ethics and how they relate State and Revolution in his writings on Passive Revolution and how a Society can be manipulated by controlling popular perceptions of morality.

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## 2.5 LET US SUM UP

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Although it classifies him as an enlightened thinker, in many ways he advocated enlightening ideas, Rousseau is highly critical of enlightenment and modernity in general. Russo thinks that civilization corrupts humans. He equipped civilization with arrogance and arrogance. Russo believed that what was wrong with the modern man was that he had lost touch with his feelings. Rousseau's relation to rationality is with equal or greater respect for emotion.

Criticizing the civilized society of his contemporary times, he pointed out that a social system was established to protect personal interest and property; That private property was at the root of social inequality, injustice and exploitation and such a civil order was contrary to human nature.

Since society was inevitable; The man could not unaware himself to return to the forest; And the realization of the nature of man depended on the nature of socialization, his task was only to suggest the principles on which

a socio-political system was found which would be conducive to the attainment of human freedom. Russo fulfills this task in his social contract, in which Russo forms the necessary political society. This ideal political-socialism is established through a social contract, in the image of a community that has a common will, which is sovereign and which always aims for general good, comes from all and all. Equally applicable. In General Will's theory of Russo, liberty and rights are automatically merged, as there is no tension between the two. The earlier principles, which were based on individual separatism, and the need to preserve and protect private interests through the establishment of an authority, failed to properly assimilate authority with freedom because it contained flawed principles of man and society were included.

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## 2.6 KEYWORDS

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1. **Sovereignty:** *Sovereignty* is the full right and power of a governing body over itself, without any interference from outside sources or bodies.
2. **Reconciliation:** Reconciliation between two people or countries who have quarreled is the process of becoming acquaintance again.
3. **Enlightened:** to provide someone with information and understanding, or to explain the true facts about.
4. **Revolution:** a change in the way a country is governed, usually to a different political system and often.
5. *Liberty:* means the freedom to practice their religious or political beliefs.

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## 2.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." Explain and examine Rousseau's attempt to bring about reconciliation between liberty and authority.
- 2) How far is it correct to say that Rousseau's Sovereign is Hobbes' Leviathan with its head chopped off?
- 3) Evaluate Rousseau as a critic of civil society?

- 4) What is man's natural state of nature according to Hobbes?
- 5) Write a short note on John Locke's ideas on Consent, Resistance and Toleration.

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## 2.8 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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- 6) C.B. Macpherson, The Political theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke
- 7) David Boucher and Paul Kelly (eds.), Political thinkers from Socrates to the Present
- 8) C.B. Macpherson, The Political theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke
- 9) Leo Strauss, Thoughts on Machiavelli
- 10) David McLellan, The Thought of Karl Marx.

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## 2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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I.

1. The sovereign authority of the state is the artificial creation of the agreement. Sovereignty is the creation of a rich authority that distinguishes between civilized political society and the primitive state of nature. Society is the result of the state and the state is the result of a predominant government, which comes out based on agreement. Society and political society in the same form has no existence apart from 'Leviathan'. According to Hobbes, there is no difference between state and society and also between state and government.

The power of sovereignty is unlimited and its rights are unbridled by not being included as a party to the agreement. Sovereignty is not entrusted with any condition. The sovereign does not wish to use his power according to the wishes of the people or with his consent. Therefore, even if he behaves

in an autocratic manner, he cannot be blamed.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.1)

2. The origin of the state to be the product of human nature and its needs and says that if man was peaceful by nature and lived without any supreme power, then there is no need for governance but man is not like that, he is his feelings and cannot keep his emotions under control, his selfish circles continue to sow the seeds of struggle. Therefore, naturally, there is a need for a person or community of people who keep humans under control and discipline them. It is necessary to have strong power to fully comply with human orders and punish them for violating them so much that they can "speak to human emotions in the language they understand and that is fear and self-interest." Language of " to establish such a general power, it is necessary that to establish the effect of one desire in place of many desires, according to the natural law, all persons shall confer their rights and powers to one person or an individual.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.2)

3. Everyone has powers of judicious decisions when making compromises. They know what they are doing. They also know all the implications of the agreement. They also know that they have made an agreement to protect their lives, yet we do not understand why Hobbes is insisting on the creation of an almighty authority to implement the agreement. Sovereignty is the deciding and controlling of votes and policies: According to Hobbes, the power of sovereign power rests not only on the body of the person but also on the thoughts and beliefs of the people because the peace and order of society depends on the thoughts and beliefs of the people, which is its sole purpose to maintain.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.3)

4. Rule of law, as one the concept has its own definite characteristics: the law is to be enforced Impersonal; It cannot be used as a means of obtaining individuals; the requirement should be applied indiscriminately, although it is a function of investigation It is forbidden to self-rule by circumstances, specialties. People use more power than others; Will have to answer General norms of society and balance; Conform to because '. Plato's ideal republic was built.

## Notes

Ethics, morals, and how they relate to the state and revolution in his writings on the passive revolution, and how to link a society through controlling popular conceptions of morality Can be, it inspired a lot. ....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.4)

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## UNIT 3: UTILITARIAN'S AND AFTER

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### STRUCTURE

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Who are Utilitarian's?

3.2.1 Critical Evaluation

3.2.2 The people performing actions for social utility

3.2.3 Ideal Utilitarian

3.2.4 Conclusion

3.3 Methodologies

3.4 Criticism

3.5 Bentham's ideas of Utilitarianism

3.6 Utilitarianism as the social reformers

3.7 Understand Mill's responses with regard to Bentham's idea of Utilitarianism.

3.8 Let Us Sum Up

3.9 Keyword

3.10 References and Suggested Readings

3.11 Questions for Review

3.12 Answers to Check Your Progress

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### 3.0 OBJECTIVE

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- The economic theories of utilitarianism were necessarily published in 1776 by Adam Smith's classic work The Wealth of Nations.
- Political theories of classical utilitarianism emerged mainly from Bentham's rationalist view and deep skepticism of the "sinister interests" of them all. In power and as a counter check he advocated annual elections, secret voting and recall.
- But Bentlee mite did not satirize the conjecture of a mechanical formula of "all kinds of" pushpins' "to understand all pleasures and all pains

alike" and his most famous disciple, John. Stuart Mill himself admitted that he was "Peter" who denied his Peter the Master.

- "In his writings, the first great criticism of Benthamite Utilitarianism emerged and with the influence of Wordsworth and other romantic poets, he tried to work out the synthesis of rationalism and romanticism. In the process, he changed the entire basis of Benthamite utilitarianism.
- Claiming that there is a great difference in happiness and that all Pleasures were not of equal value because the dissatisfaction of a Socrates is more valuable than the satisfaction of a fool.
- J. S., Mill's importance lies not only in his criticism of utilitarianism, but in his rich contribution to liberalism by his memorable defense of freedom of expression and individualism and the defense of liberal society as an essential precondition for liberal society.

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### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

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As James Mill decided to teach his son at home himself, the father was denied the usual experience of going to regular school. His education did not include children's books or toys, as he started learning Greek at the age of four and Latin at the age of eight. By the time he was ten years old, he had read many of Plato's dialogues, arguments and history. He was familiar with the writings of Euripides, Homer, Polybius, Sophocles, and Thucydides. He can solve problems in algebra, geometry, differential calculus and higher mathematics. His father was so impressed that John Stuart could not remember his mother's contribution as a child. At the age of thirteen, he was introduced to a critical reading of English classical economists and at the age of fourteen published the Elementary Textbook in Elements in Political Economy (1820). Thomas Carlyle (1795 – 1881), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), Isidore Auguste Conte (1798–1857), Goethe (1749 – 1832), and Wordsworth (1770 – 1850). They came to poetry and value. Art. He reviewed Alexis de Tocqueville (1805 – 1859), a two-level review of democracy in America in 1835 and 1840, a book that left full impact on him.



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## 3.2 WHO ARE UTILITARIAN'S?

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Utilitarianism is the most powerful and persuasive approach to authentic ethics in the history of philosophy. Although not fully clarified until the 19th century, the Proto-Eutherian positions can be understood throughout the history of moral theory. While many varieties of this view are under discussion, utilitarianism is generally held to the idea that morally right action is the action that produces the best. There are several ways to understand this general claim. One thing to note is that theory is a form of consequentialism: right action is understood in terms of fully produced outcomes. What separates utilitarianism from egoism has to do with the scope of the relevant results. On a utilitarian view, a person needs to maximize the overall good - that is, consider the well-being of others as well as their own good. The Classical Utilitarian, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill identified good with pleasure, so, like Epicurus, were hedonists about value. He also said that we need to maximize the good, that is, 'avail the best amount for the greatest number'. Utilitarianism is also distinguished by fairness and agent-neutrality. Everyone's happiness is equal. When one maximizes the good, this good is perceived as fair. My good count for someone else's good. Also, the reason I have to promote overall good is to promote good to someone else.

### 3.2.1 Critical Evaluation

The subjugation of women (1869) begins with the revolutionary statement, "The principle that governs existing social relations between two sexes - legal subordination from one sex to another is in itself wrong, and now the main obstacle for a human being The reform is and should be "replaced by the doctrine of absolute equality," Mill's women's contract for the 19th-century marriage contract for women's legal There was a reference to subjugation. According to this law, married British cannot hold any property in their name, and even if their parents have gifted any property

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belonging to their husband. Unless a woman She was legally separated from her husband, (a difficult and expensive process). Even though she was separated from him, her earnings were officially with her. By law, the father and mother, not just one the couple had a guardian of their children. Mill also cited the absence of laws on marital rape to prove the inequality practiced by the British at the time. Contradiction Mill It was found that in the modern era, the principles of freedom and equality were being emphasized on women in other areas, yet they were not applied to the status of women. No man believed more in slavery, yet women were sometimes considered worse than slaves and accepted beyond question. Mill wanted to explain the resistance that women have for equality to the general acceptance of the principles of equality and freedom. We first defeated the arguments of women's subordination and then provided our arguments for women's equality.

The first argument about women's inequality, which Mill rejected, was historically a universal practice, so there must be some justification for it. In contrast, Mill showed that other so-called universal social practices such as slavery were rejected, so perhaps this title would also be unacceptable given women's inequality. Mill also said that by the existence of something, one could argue for the purity of that thing, only if alternatives were tried, and socially, they were never on equal terms. Inequality of women was shielded from slavery and political absolutism, not because it was justified, but because only slaves and autocrats were interested in capturing slavery and autocracy, among all men, Neil argued, the subjugation of women.

A second argument for women's inequality was based on the nature of women - women were naturally said to be inferior to men. Mill replied that one cannot consume arguments about women's inequality based on natural differences because these differences were the result of socialization. Mill was generally against using human nature as a basis for any claim because he believed that human nature had changed according to the social environment, in Mill time, Mill also reported that men Despite being treated

differently from, there were many women here. History 'showed an extraordinary aptitude for political leadership. Mill cited examples of European queens and Hindu princesses.

The third argument refuted by Mill was that there is nothing wrong with the subjugation of women because women willingly accept it. Mill said the claim was completely wrong - many women wrote against women's inequality and hundreds of women were already demonstrating for women's suffrage on the streets of London. Furthermore, since women had no choice but to live with their husbands, they feared that their complaints about their situation would make them worse. Finally, Mill also claimed that since all women were brought up from childhood to convince them that "their character is much opposite than that of men, not self-control, and self-control by government, but subjugation, and yielding to the control of others," It was not commented that some women voluntarily accepted this subordination, but so many women opposed it.

The final point, against which Mill argued, is that in order for a family to function well, a decision-maker is needed, and the husband is best suited to be this decision-maker. Mill objected to this argument - both husband and wife being adults, there was no reason why the husband should make all the decisions.

After refining all these arguments for women's inequality, Mill wrote: "There are many individuals for woolen. It is not enough that there is no just or legitimate defense of inequality; they should be told that it ends has gone." What will be the benefit out of this? "The question was whether giving society equal rights to women would benefit society? In a positive response, Mill elaborated on the four social benefits of women's equality. "The first advantage will be that the family will no longer be a "school of autocracy". According to Mill, the patriarchal family teaches all its members how to live in the hierarchy.

### 3.2.2 The People Performing Actions For Social Utility

Milt's version of utilitarianism also differed from Bentham's, in that he weighed in on the effectiveness of internal sanctions such as crime and remorse that serve to regulate our actions. It is an off-shoot of the various ideas of human nature adopted by Mill. We are beings who are social feelings, feelings for others and not just for ourselves. We care about them, and when we harm them, it causes painful experiences within us. When one considers himself to be the agent of that loss, negative emotions are focused on oneself. One feels guilty for what he has done, not for what he does to the other. Like external forms of punishment, internal sanctions are critically important for appropriate action. Mill also believed that natural features of human psychology, such as a sense of conscience and justice, underlie motivation. A sense of justice, for example, resulted in very natural impulses. Part of this feeling involves a desire to punish those who have harmed others, and this desire in return is "... a spontaneous uplift from two emotions, both natural in the highest degree ...; self-defense, And the impulse of a sense of sympathy. "Of course, he goes on, justification should be a separate issue. The feeling is naturally there, but it is our 'enhanced' meaning, our ability to incorporate the well-being of others into our thoughts and to make wise decisions, which gives it the perfect ideal power.

If one can show that a perceived right or duty is harmful, then one has shown that it is not genuine. One of Mills' best-known arguments to this effect can be found in his writings on women's suffrage when he discusses the ideal marriage of partners, noting that ideals exist among individuals of "farming faculties" who are one Affect the other equally. Improving the social status of women was important because they were capable of these cultured faculties, and denying them access to education and other opportunities for development is an important source of happiness. Furthermore, men who deprive women of the opportunity for education, self-improvement, and political expression fall out of the base objectives, and the resulting pleasures are not those that are of the best kind.

### 3.2.3 Ideal Utilitarian

Few purposeful states in the world are intrinsically good, and in Moore's view, beauty is just such a state. He used one of his infamous thought experiments to make this point: he asked the reader to compare the two worlds, one was perfectly beautiful, one filled with things that complement each other; The second was a disgusting, ugly world, "everything is the most disgusting to us". Furthermore, humans are not, one imagines, appreciates the surrounding environment or hates the world.

He was actually a bit nervous on this issue, but always disagreed with Hedonism, even when he held that beauty to himself, he was not intrinsically good, he also believed that praising beauty should really be in the world, and is not the result of confusion. Moore further criticized the view that pleasure itself was an intrinsic good because it failed a type of isolation test that he proposed for intrinsic value. If one compares the universe to the empty universe, the empty universe will attack better. This is true, even though there is a good deal in the universe of sorrows, and no pain. This seems to indicate that what is necessary for good is at least the absence of bad intentions. Victims' happiness, based on their wishes, is left to harm others - they are not good in spite of happiness. Note that this radical departure from Bentham assumed that malicious pleasure was intrinsically good and that if anything bad was not associated with happiness, it was perfectly good. One of Moore's important contributions was to advance the view of organic biological unity or 'ore organic whole' value. The principle of organic unity is not clear, and some disagreement as to what Moore meant to represent it. Moore says that 'organic' is used "... to denote the fact that a whole has an intrinsic value that is different from the sum of the values of its parts. Therefore, for example, one cannot determine the value of a body by adding the value of its parts. Some parts of the body can only have values related to the whole. He actually waffled on this issue a bit, but always disagreed with Hedonism in that even when he held that

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beauty all by itself was not an intrinsic good, he also held that for the appreciation of beauty to be a good the beauty must actually be there, in the world, and not be the result of illusion.

Moore further criticized the view that pleasure itself was an intrinsic good since it failed a kind of isolation test that he proposed for intrinsic value. If one compared an empty universe with a universe of sadists, the empty universe would strike one as better. This is true even though there is a good deal of pleasure, and no pain, in the universe of sadists. This would seem to indicate that what is necessary for the good is at least the absence of bad intentionality. The pleasures of sadists, in virtue of their desires, to harm others, get discounted - they are not good, even though they are pleasures. Note this radical departure from Bentham who held that even malicious pleasure was intrinsically good and that if nothing instrumentally bad attached to the pleasure, it was wholly good as well.

This principle in Moore - particularly as applied to the importance of actual existence and value, or knowledge and value, provided utilitarian's with tools to meet some significant challenges. For example, delude happiness would be severely lacking in Moore's view, especially in comparison to happiness based on knowledge.

### 3.2.4 Conclusion

Utilitarianism has undergone a variety of refinements since the early 20th century. It has become more common to identify as 'its consequentialist' since the middle of the 20th century as very few philosophers fully agree with the approach proposed by classical utilitarian's, particularly in relation to hedonistic value theory. But the influence of classical utilitarian's has been profound - not only within moral philosophy, but also within political philosophy and social policy. Bantam asked, "What is its use?", A cornerstone of policymaking. This is a completely secular, forward-looking

question. The articulate and systematic development of this approach to policymaking owes it to classical utilitarians.

Let us look more carefully at what Mill had to say about the first ceremony. Mill began his discussion on the subject with the fact that he told Bentham's of sinister interests. How does Representative Government ensure that the general interest of society is being pursued rather than the partial and sinister interest of the lonely group or class? Even though Mill was a distillate between Short Ten and Long Ten interest, he was certain that every person and every class is the best judge of their interests. He ridiculed the idea that some predatory creatures may not be aware of their 'real' interests, given the current habits and propositions of these people, which they choose are their real interests. It is then believed that participation in the political process should be as comprehensive as possible so that every person has to ask the Comptroller, General Administration and thus to protect their interests. It is on this basis that Mill demolished the right of women to vote. He advocated the extension of the franchise, which could include all people who could not read and write, did not pay taxes or were for relief.

While his belief in participation advocated for a broader construction of the franchise, his belief in competence recommended him plural voting. The franchise should not be widened without plural voting. Plural voting meant that with everyone having at least one vote, only individuals would have more than one vote because they were, for example, more educated. It earned an 'educated bachelor's degree, which awards at a lower level, two votes to a skilled laborer and two to a foreman, and at the top, to professional men, writers, and artists, public officials, university graduates. As five. And members of learned societies will ensure plural voting will ensure that a better caliber of deputies is elected, and therefore the general interest will not stem from the poor quality of members of Parliament.

Mill sought to integrate his two principles into other institutions of military democracy. Take the House of Representatives for example. Mill said that

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this body should be 'a group of complaints and a group of opinions'. Every opinion present in the nation should have a voice; this hot wave is a better chance to protect the interests of every group. At the same time, Mill argued that this body was neither suited for the business of law nor that of engineering. The legislation was to be prepared by codification integration made up of a few competent legal experts. The administration must be in the hands of the bureaucracy, an institution with an innate capacity to meet the given goals to find skillful efficient means. Mill's arguments employed two types of competent instruments.

What about the government's second goal, which makes citizens intellectually and morally, better? Then, it is a representative government, based on a combination of participation and capacity, capable of improving the quality of mental, moral and practical aspects of its citizens. Let us look again: some specific institutional changes eliminated by Mill. He wanted to replace secret voting with open voting, that is, everyone should know how someone has voted. For Mill, tile franchise was not a right of anyone within the meaning of tile, for example, a right to property, which implies that one can dispose of one's property in any arbitrary instances.

**Check your progress 1**

Q1. Define Utilitarianism.

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Q.2 Write about women's inequality?

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Q.3 What are the measure are taken for social utility?

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### 3.3 METHODOLOGIES

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Act utilitarianism is often seen as the most naturalistic interpretation of the utilitarian ideal. If our aim is always to produce the best results, then it is reasonable to think that in each case of deciding what is right to do, we must consider the available options (i.e. what actions can be done), predicting their results. Do, and approve the action that will produce the best. While there are situations in which utilitarian analysis focuses on the interests of specific individuals or groups, the utilitarian moral theory requires that Peter Singer make ethical decisions based on "equal consideration of interests". Utilitarian moral principles are then important. Consider that when we calculate the usefulness of actions, laws, or policies, we should do so from an unbiased viewpoint and not from a "partisan" viewpoint to ourselves, our friends, or others we specifically care about. Bentham is often cited as the source of a well-known utilitarian axiom: "Every person has more than one, no more than one." If this unbiased view is seen as essential to a utilitarian ethic, it is specific to both self-interest and partiality. The groups would be dismissed as deviations from utilitarian ethics. For example, the so-called "moral egoism", which states that morality requires people to promote their own self-interest, will not be dismissed as either a false morality or morality at all. While a utilitarian way to determine people's interests may show that it is rational for people to maximize their own well-being or the well-being of the groups they favor, utilitarian ethics is a criterion for determining will reject what is morally right or wrong.

Both utilitarian and rule utilitarian agree that our overall objective in evaluating functions should be to make the best results possible, but they differ about how to do this. Utilitarian's of the Act believe that whenever we are deciding what to do, we must take action that produces the greatest net utility. In his view, the principle of utility - whatever will produce the best overall result - should be applied to a case by case basis. In any case, the correct verb is one that produces more utility (i.e. produces more welfare)

than other available functions. Rule utilitarian adopts a two-part which emphasizes the importance of moral rules. According to Rule Utilitarian's, a) a specific action is morally justified if it conforms to an equitable moral rule, and b) a moral rule is justified if its inclusion in our moral code will yield greater utility than other possible rules (or no rules at all). According to this perspective, we must judge the morality of individual actions in terms of general moral rules, and we must judge particular moral rules by observing whether their acceptance in our moral code will produce greater goodness than other possible rules. The key difference between the act and rule utilitarianism is that act utilitarians directly apply utilitarian theory to the evaluation of individual actions while rules apply utilitarian theory directly to the evaluation of utilitarian rules and then by following or disobeying those rules of individual Let's evaluate the tasks.

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### 3.4 CRITICISM

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Critics of act utilitarianism raise three strong objections against it, as discussed earlier. According to these critics, work utilitarianism

- A) approves works that are clearly wrong;
- B) reduces trust among people, and
- C) is very demanding because it requires extreme levels of sacrifice to people.

The rule utilitarian act agrees with these criticisms of utilitarianism and tries to explain that rule utilitarianism is not open to any of these objections.

Critics of the act utilitarianism claim that it allows judges to inflict severe punishment on innocent people when doing so would maximize utility, allowing doctors to kill healthy patients if, by doing so, they could reduce a person's limbs. Use can save more lives, and allow people to break promises if they bring a little more than they can keep the promise will create.

Utilitarian's of the rule state that they can avoid all these allegations because they do not evaluate individual actions, but rather support rules whose acceptance maximizes utility. To see where their focus is on the rules, consider which rule would maximize utility:

a) a rule that allows medical doctors to kill healthy patients so that they can transplant their organs for transplantation. Use which will cause death of a large number of patients. Without these organs; Or

b) a rule that forbids doctors to remove healthy patients' organs in order to benefit other patients.

The same logic applies equally to a judge's case. There is a criminal justice system to protect people from the harm of others, we authorize judges and other authorities to impose severe punishments on those who are guilty of crimes. It aims to provide people with overall protection in their jurisdiction, but it requires that criminal justice officers only have the right to arrest and imprison those who are actually convicted. They do not have the authority to do whatever they think will achieve the best results in special cases. Whatever they do must be constrained by rules that limit their power. Act utilitarian's can sometimes support the intentional punishment of innocent people, but the rule's utilitarian will understand the risks involved and oppose a practice that allows it.

In each of these cases, the rules may agree with critics of utilitarian work utilitarianism that it is wrong for doctors, judges, and the promise to harm their patients, punish and punish innocent people, and Break promises. The rule utilitarian approach emphasizes the value of general rules and practices, and shows how compliance with rules often maximizes overall utility, even if in some individual cases, it needs to be done that produces less utility.

Critics also attack Utilitarianism's commitment to a fair view of equality and interests. One implication of this commitment is that whenever people want to buy something for themselves or for a friend or family member, they

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must first determine if they want to donate their funds to help the strangers. Can people be born who are seriously ill or weak? If buying things for ourselves can be done more thoroughly than helping strangers or people take care of them personally, then act utilitarianism requires us to use money because work utilitarianism requires fairness and equal consideration for the needs and interests of all people. However, almost everyone believes that we have special moral duties to those we hold and hold dear. As a result, most people reject the notion that morality belongs to us. Treat those we love and are no different from those who are absurd. In a famous article, Peter Singer defended the view that people living in affluent countries should not buy luxuries for themselves when the world is full of poor people. According to Singer, a person should keep donating money until he or she needs a donation, until the donor reaches a point where others benefit more than they give. Economics claims that the rationale for using our wealth is to help the vulnerable rather than to benefit ourselves and we care to prove only one thing to the people:

Two reasons explain why this is incorrect.

First, it fails to recognize the moral legitimacy of giving special priority to ourselves and those we know and care about.

Second, since too much everyone is strongly motivated to take action on their behalf and the people they care about, a morality that forbids it and requires the same view as strangers, demands a lot more.

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### **3.5 BENTHAM'S IDEAS OF UTILITARIANISM**

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John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was a follower of Bentham, and for much of his life, he greatly admired Bentham's work, even though he disagreed with some of Bentham's claims - particularly on the nature of 'happiness'. It is assumed that there was no qualitative difference between only quantitative

ones. This left him open to many criticisms. First, Bentham's Hedonism was very egalitarian. Simple-minded pleasures, sensual pleasures, were simply good, at least internally, then more refined and complex pleasures. T. V. The joy of drinking beer is certainly not as much as solving a complex math problem, or reading a poem or listening to Mozart. Second, Bentham's view that there was no qualitative difference in happiness also left him open to the complaint that in his view, human happiness was no more valuable than animal happiness and, third, that he was committed to the corollary that animals were moral positions. According to the spirit of bondage, was similar to humans. Both are bad at harming a puppy and harming a person, however, most believed that harming the person was worse. Mill called for a change in theory that could accommodate those types of intuitions. To this end, Mill's hedonism was influenced by perfectionist intuition. Some pleasures are more appropriate than others. Intellectual pleasures are greater, better, than those which are merely erotic, and which we share with animals.

In theory, Bentham lists fourteen types of simple pleasures that advance man, including feelings, wealth, skill, power, benevolence, and the joy of masculinity. Reducing pain also means that there are more pleasure-twelve types of pain that individuals want to avoid, for example, pain of the senses, or a sick name.

What is a pleasure so moral about a person's demand? Rather than a theory of ethics in response to Bentham's accusation of utilitarianism, there is in fact a theory of selfish psychological dynasty that utilitarianism does not propose that one wants only an enjoyment. In order to decide whether to act in a particular way, one has to be impartial among one's own pleasure and among all those affected by that act. "... if all happiness is either the pleasure of the agent or the happiness of others", then we can clearly show that utilitarianism is related to the happiness of others. Let us take the example of punishment. If there is some utility for punishment, and for the utility to produce happiness, then the punishment will not be on the person

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who is gladly publishing. Instead it will make others happier that the crime is committed again. It is true that continuity for Bentham is an 'imaginary' entity — nothing is done by individual members ignoring it. "The interest of continuity is then ... the sum of the interests of the many members who make it." It is true, however, that the interests (happiness) of others are to be counted as self-interest.

The context of one's action determines the cycle of individuals affected by it. For government officials, all members of their state are affected by their actions, so the government has to calculate the balance of Man and pain across the country; Scale. A private person only has to consider the happiness and suffering of those directly affected by his action. Thus, government is co-government about happiness or welfare; all its citizens, and the individual have to think about the happiness of individuals other than Mill, which then makes utilitarianism a moral principle.

Bentham identified four general objectives for human action. The pure social purpose of philanthropy goes to only a few individuals. Such a philanthropist pursues the happiness of others even at the cost of his own happiness, an individual acting out of the quasi-social motive of love of prestige or admiration, pursuing the happiness of others, when it is itself as well Promotes The majority of mankind acts for the purpose of their selfishness, when the pursuit of one's happiness is taken care not to cause the pain of others but to pursue their happiness. Finally, there are some individuals moved by these social motives, who experience bliss by hurting outsiders.

Bentham provided a calculus to determine the balance between pleasure and pain frontal in any action. According to this brilliant calculation, one must give a numerical value of intensity, duration, certainty or uncertainty, and uniqueness or foresight of the happiness and suffering of persons affected by one's actions, and one must take action only when there is value Happiness is more than the value of sorrow. A social, creator who in the

mastery of the act that produces pleasure, as well as the purity and extent of pleasure. In calculating pleasure and pain, one must keep in mind that both from which the object is the source of pleasure / pain, 'as well as it is from the person whose pleasure/pain is being calculated. This means that everyone has to be counted as one, and to write happiness from a meaningful activity such as the history of Egypt.

Man wants happiness, his own and that of others. They should seek happiness, their own and others. However, exploring is one thing; The question is how they can get what they want. In general, what is the need for humans to reach the happiness they are seeking? Human happiness, for Bentham, depends on the services that men provide to each other. The government can ensure these services by creating a system of rights obligations political society exists because it is necessary to force the government to submit to individuals.

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### **3.6 UTILITARIANISM AS THE SOCIAL REFORMERS**

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Rule utilitarianism seems contradictory. It says that we can always produce more beneficial results by following rules than by performing individual tasks whose results are as profitable as possible. This suggests that we should not always perform individual tasks that maximize utility. How could it be that a utilitarian would support?

Despite this contradiction, rule utilitarianism has its appeal, and its focus on moral rules may seem plausible. The rules of morality can be illustrated by considering the utilitarian approach to the rules of the road. If we are preparing a code for drivers, we can adopt either open-ended rules, such as specific rules like "drive safe" or "stop at a red light," from 30 miles per hour in residential areas Do not travel too much, "do not drive drunk," etc. The rule "drive safely", act like the utilitarian principle, is a very general rule that drives in every circumstance. Leaves it up to individuals to determine the best way to travel. More specific rules that require stopping at

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light, driving at speeds exceeding 30 miles per hour or driving drunk are prohibited for drivers. It does not give discretion to decide what is best to do. They simply tell drivers what to do or not to do while driving.

The more rigorous rules-based system leads to greater overall utility, the reason being that people are judged by the fact that they work best when driving a car, given that they are very bad. Having specific rules maximizes utility by limiting drivers' discretionary decisions and reducing how drivers can endanger themselves and others.

A rule utilitarian can state this by considering the difference between a stop signal and a yield signal. Stop refusing drivers to pass through the intersection without stopping, even if the driver sees that no car is coming and thus there is no danger of stopping. The yield sign allows drivers to stop non-stop until they judge that approaching cars is dangerous to drive through the intersection. The main difference between these signals is the amount of discretion they give to the driver.

The stop sign rule is like a utilitarian approach. It tells drivers to stop and does not allow them to calculate whether it would be better to stop. The yield sign act is like utilitarianism. This allows drivers to decide what needs to be stopped. The act's utilitarian's saw the stop sign as too harsh because it required drivers to stop when nothing bad would be stopped. The result, they say, is a loss of utility every time a driver stops at a stop sign when there is no danger from oncoming cars. The rule utilitarian would answer that they would reject the stop sign method a) if people could be counted on to drive carefully and b) if traffic accidents caused only a limited amount of damage. But, they say, none of this is true. Because people often drive too fast and are inattentive while driving (because they are, for example, talking, texting, listening to music, or getting tired), we cannot trust people how to safely. Have to drive in addition, the cost of accidents (i.e. disorganization) can be very high. Accident victims (including drivers) may be killed, injured or incapacitated for life. For these reasons, rule utilitarian's support the use of stop signs and other non-discretionary rules



under certain circumstances. Altogether these rules generate more utility because they prevent more abnormalities (from accidents) than "unnecessary" stops.

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### **3.7 UNDERSTAND MILL'S RESPONSES WITH REGARD TO BENTHAM'S IDEA OF UTILITARIANISM**

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The debate between Act utilitarian and Rule utilitarianism highlights several important issues of how we should make ethical decisions. Act Utilitarianism emphasizes the many individual characteristics of specific contexts and situations that create ethical problems, and it presents a single method for dealing with these individual cases. Rule utilitarianism emphasizes the recurrent characteristics of human life and how similar needs and problems arise repeatedly. From this point of view, we need rules that settle with types or classes of verbs: killing, stealing, lying, cheating, and taking care of your friends or family, punishing people for crimes, helping people do. Doing, etc., both of these approaches, however, agree that what we do is right or wrong, what is the main determinant of what we do or our moral code is and our level of well-being of people what is the effect of an ethical approach?

Thus, a carefully stated, utilitarian conclusion, it would seem; The opinion that secrecy can justify an action that would not otherwise take place should, therefore, keep itself comparatively secret; And similarly, it seems expedient that the principle of esoteric ethics is expedient that one should keep himself restrained. Or, if it is difficult to maintain concealment, then it may be desirable that Common Sense abrogate principles that are expedient to restrict to an enlightened person. And thus, a utilitarian can, on utilitarian principles, wish that some of its conclusions are generally rejected by humanity; Or even rude should be kept separate from its system, yet the inevitable uncertainty and complexity of its calculations give it the possibility of poor results in its own hands.

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It acknowledges that utilitarianism can be self-destructive; It is, that it may be best if people do not believe it, even if it is true. Furthermore, it produced a critique of Bernard Williams' theory (1995) that the theory truly reflected the colonial elite of Sedgwick's time, it was 'Government House Utilitarianism'. Interest in his comment may reflect a broader view. The educated are considered better policymakers than the uneducated.

An issue raised in the above comment is relevant to practical deliberations in general. What the people of a given doctrine, or the proponents of a given rule or a given policy - or even the proponents of a given one-way action, have to consider - what people think Will protest as they think the same people do. For (under complete and proper reflection, for example)? This is an example that appears in accounts of practical deliberation in reality/hegemony. From the example above, we have people who advocate telling the truth or people who believe the truth, even if the effects are bad because the truth is misused by someone else. On the other hand, are those who recommend not telling the truth when it is predicted that the truth will be misused by others to achieve bad results. Of course, it is the case that truth should not be misused, its misuse can be avoided and is not inevitable, but misuse is entirely predictable. Sedgwick recommends that we follow the course that we predict will result in the best results, as data for our calculations may fail in some other way - either bad wish. Because of being, or simply not being able to reason effectively. Anxiety Williams is not a concern with utilitarianism (Driver 2011). Sidgwick explains that if it is bad to hide the truth, because 'types of government houses, for example, usually engage in the self-deceptive logic of their policies (which seems completely plausible), then no one should do. And yes, it affects our intuition a lot.

Sedgwick raised issues that are too deep for our basic understanding of utilitarianism. For example, the way the doctrine of utilitarianism was first characterized was severe uncertainty. The difference between total and average utility predominates. He raised this issue in the context of

increasing numbers of people (or sentimental beings) and increasing population levels:

Then, suppose that the average happiness of a human being is a positive quantity, then it seems clear that, enjoying average happiness is incomplete, utilitarianism instructs us to make it as great as possible to enjoy the number. But if we consider it possible that an increase in the number will be accompanied by a decrease in average happiness or vice versa, a point arises that is not only seen formally but seems ignored by many utilitarian's. If we resort to utilitarianism to finalize the work, then ultimate happiness is, happiness over the whole, and happiness of no man, unless considered as the whole element, it is as follows, If the additional population gets absolute positive happiness, then we want to weigh the amount of happiness gained from the extra number over the amount lost by the remainder. For Sidgwick, the conclusion on this issue is not simply to strive for greater average utility but to increase the population to the point where we maximize the number of individuals who are currently living and average happiness is Quantity. So, it seems to be a hybrid, total-average view. This discussion also raised the issue of policy regarding population growth and will be followed in the most detail by later authors, most notably Derek Parfitt (1986).

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### **3.8 LET US SUM UP**

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The debate between Act Utilitarianism and Rule Utilitarianism highlights several important issues of how we should make ethical decisions. Act Utilitarianism emphasizes the many individual characteristics of specific contexts and situations that create ethical problems, and it presents a single method for dealing with these individual cases. Rule utilitarianism emphasizes the recurrent characteristics of human life and the ways in which similar needs and problems arise repeatedly. From this point of view, we need rules that deal with types or classes of actions: to murder, steal, lie, cheat, take care of our friends or family, punish people for crimes, people to help, etc. Both of these perspectives, however, agree that what we do is

right or wrong, is the main determinant of what we do or our moral code and what is the impact of our moral outlook on the level of welfare of the people.

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### 3.9 KEYWORDS

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1. **Rationalism:** rationalism is the epistemological view that "regards reason as the chief source and test of knowledge" or "any view appealing to reason as a source of knowledge or justification".
2. **Intersection:** Perspectives of the intersection of faith and political engagement.
3. **Utilitarian axiom:** Utilitarian morality says that what is good for people is defined by what they value, not by what someone else values.
4. **Skepticism:** the doctrine that true knowledge or some knowledge is uncertain.
5. **Subjugation:** the action of bringing someone or something under domination or control.

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### 3.10 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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- 1) Bentham, Jeremy, 1789 [PML]. An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- 2) Mill, John Stuart, 1843. A System of Logic, London: John W. Parker.
- 3) C.B. Macpherson, The Political theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke
- 4) Leo Strauss, Thoughts on Machiavelli
- 5) David McLellan, The Thought of Karl Marx.

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### 3.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW:

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- 1) What did Mill mean by the statement that "the family is a school of despotism"? Explain his claim that children who grow up in such families cannot be good democratic citizens.
- 2) One of Mill's arguments for women's equality is that it will make so many women happier. Is it a good idea to try to get rid of injustice by making an argument about happiness?
- 3) How would you choose between a natural right and a utilitarian defense of individual liberty?
- 4) Does it make sense for Mill to say that after food and clothing, liberty is a 'want' of Human nature? Does not this claim go against Mill's own historicist position on human nature?
- 5) What do you think of the utilitarian idea that a moral pursuit is impartial between his own happiness or the happiness of his loved ones and the happiness of strangers?
- 6) How does Mill attempt to subsume justice and rights under the concept of utility? What do, you think of this attempt?

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### **3.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

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I. 1. Utilitarianism can be defined as utilitarianism is an ethical principle that advocates actions that promote overall happiness or happiness and reject actions that cause malaise or harm. A utilitarian philosophy, when directed to make social, economic or political decisions, aims at the betterment of society. "The best amount for the greatest number of people" is a maxim of utilitarianism. Philosophy is associated with Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, two philosopher British philosophers and political thinkers.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.1)

2. Women's inequality was based on the nature of women - women were naturally said to be inferior to men. Mill replied that one cannot consume arguments about women's inequality based on natural differences because these differences were the result of socialization. Mill was generally against using human nature as a basis for any claim because he believed that human

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nature had changed according to the social environment, in Mill time, Mill also reported that men Despite being treated differently from, there were many women here. History 'showed an extraordinary aptitude for political leadership. Mill cited examples of European queens and Hindu princesses.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.2)

3. The development of classical utilitarianism then it will be a desire to see useless, corrupt laws and social practices. An important ethical principle was employed as an important tool to accomplish this goal. What is the truth about making an action or policy morally good or morally right? But developing the theory was also influenced by strong ideas about what was wrong in their society. For example, some laws are bad, analyzing why they were bad. The only thing he found bad was his lack of utility, his unhappiness and the tendency to create misery without compensatory happiness. If a law or action does not do any good, it is not a good deed.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.3)

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# UNIT - 4: THE CONTINENTAL THINKERS

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## STRUCTURE

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction to Continental Thinkers

4.2 19th and 20th century philosophical thinkers

4.2.1 Analytic and the continental distinction

4.2.2 Individual autonomy of Kant

4.2.4 Moral theory

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4.8 Foucault Power and Governmentality

4.8.1 Definition of power according to Foucault

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4.10 Let Us Sum Up

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4.13 Questions for Review

4.14 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 4.0 OBJECTIVE

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- Continental Thinkers is strangely concerned with its history. Scholars of other disciplines often weigh the validity of earlier ideas and draw upon previous thinkers and researchers.
- Only in philosophy, however, is it part of disciplinary education and adopting a stance on the (perceived) difference between historiography and advancing systemic issues.
- An important historical dividing line between so-called analytical and continental philosophy has been his different approach to history and this divergent view reflects the difference between historiography and addressing systemic issues.
- While "continental" philosophers often advance philosophical issues by working with and through the ideas of past thinkers, "analytic" philosophers often do so, rather than as a separate subfield of viewing history as epistemological Science has little to contribute to current issues in the philosophy of language or philosophy of mind.
- Historians also sometimes distance themselves from the continental appropriations of past thinkers because these thinkers must be taken on their own terms and in the context of the previous world.

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## 4.1 INTRODUCTION TO CONTINENTAL THINKERS

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Although aesthetics by itself is an important area of research in the philosophical tradition, aesthetics is often considered to be of lesser value than other areas of value theory such as language, philosophy, epistemology, metaphysics and ethics and political philosophy. The most important analytical philosophers have not written on aesthetics at all. Matters are very different in continental philosophy, where aesthetics has been given an important place by almost every major thinker and tradition. There are undoubtedly important additional philosophical reasons for this - such as the importance of art in European education and tradition and the



French model of philosopher as philosopher-writer - but at the same time there are clearly philosophical reasons as well. In the analytical tradition, meaning and truth are often regarded as exemplary by the formal structures of logic, science, and language, while in continental philosophy, art has often played the role of mimicking meaning and truth. In this way, art becomes mad for a philosophical activity, because it is thought to produce meaning and truth, and aesthetics takes an important place because it is seen as a branch of philosophy is part of. Gives access to some central concerns. Furthermore, when the analytic tradition moves from other concerns to abstract questions, the Continental tradition emphasizes art and historicity and sociality, thinking about its role in epistemology and metaphysics and its role in culture and wants to ask questions about value. Politics, and everyday life. However, unlike analytical aesthetics, there is no consensus about the central themes of debate in continental aesthetics. Instead, this field of aesthetics can be approached according to major traditions and thinkers, following a mode of organization typical of continental philosophy. This article gives a similar overview in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The ideas developed by each are often highly specific, yet they have influenced and reacted against each other (and these points of contact are marked within the article). Most of these developments have occurred in significant relation to modern and nineteenth-century aesthetics, particularly exemplified by the works of Immanuel Kant, G.W.F. Hegel, and Friedrich Nietzsche. Kant's *The Critique of the Power of Judgment* (1790) has been particularly important in shaping debates in later continental aesthetics, on the one hand where it concerns other areas of philosophical concern, such as etiology and applied philosophy.

Some facts are about first thinkers. The "contemporary continental thinkers" discussed in the volume are French theorists. In one essay Heidegger is gratefully offered to characterize Locke's views on property, and in a second essay waving Gadamer in general and hand, not to explain Kant, the chief philosopher discussed in the essay *Is interpreted*, but to fill it. Author's views on freedom/morality and language. Another notable fact is that Deleu

has six of the sixteen essays as major continental thinkers. This frequency reflects the position that Deleuze is regularly the only contemporary French thinker to incorporate modern philosophies, such as Spinoza, Leibniz, Hume (as well as Bergson and Nietzsche) on Kant, and famous works on lesser-known writings. Althusser is a contemporary theorist in the next largest number of essays (three).

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## 4.2 19<sup>TH</sup> - AND 20<sup>TH</sup> - CENTURY PHILOSOPHICAL THINKERS

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In 19th century John Stuart Mill, has influential and presented as English - speaking philosopher in British philosopher theorist. The beliefs of the 19th century relate to the era of progress and progress. His philosophies were not reasonably ruined or vindicated, but simply came from traditions and feelings that had previously been largely ignored. The 19th century thinkers unstated that the value of an object was exceptional, connected to a specific taste, unique, personal, and spontaneous. He discovered the hidden meaning of things and nurtured them in the system of thought. When speaking of some 19th century philosophers, the first name that strikes the mind is Karl Marx. A German philosopher, Marx's theories about society, economics and politics are today collectively known as Marxism. Together with fellow German philosopher Friedrich Engels, he printed various works which have influenced the intellectual, economic and political history of the world. Another famous 19th century philosopher was John Stuart Mill. An English political economist and civil servant, he was one of the most influential thinkers in the history of liberalism who made extensive contributions to social theory, political theory, and political economy. Other prominent philosophers of the period include Thomas Hill Green, Oberon Herbert, Josiah Royce, etc. Glance through this section to update yourself with knowledge about the famous 19th-century philosophers.

While Romantic historians tried to copy the impulsive and holistic aspects of Wolf, the influence of their methodological rigor was shared by two rival

schools of thought regarding the opportunity of information in ancient times: Squillions and Sucralose. J.G.J. Herman (1772–1848), along with his followers Karl Lachemann (1793–1851) and Moritz Hornet (1808–1874), led the sparafilolone in Leipzig. For him, acquaintance of antiquity primarily concerns the state of its veracity. If hard evidence was sacrificed, it was repaid by the more widespread sense of real life of antiquity. While this was sometimes disregarded by historians of historiography, this debate gave rise to two sets of widely influential fields: the demand for difficult evidence of Spectro philology of 'scientific' historiography in the mid-19th and mid-20th centuries. Were the pioneers; the sanctity of true science formed the basis of serious work in archeology, anthropology, numerology, epigastria, and many other historical disciplines.

For Bentham, then, the term "natural right" is "a perversion of language". It is "vague", "emotional" and "semiotic" and has chaotic consequences. At best, such a "right" can tell us what we should do; It cannot serve as a legal restriction on what we can or cannot do. The term "natural rights" is abstruse, Bentham says, because it states that there are general rights - namely, that there are no rights over a specific object - so that anyone who chooses will have a claim on it. The effect of exercising such a universal, natural "right" would be to quench it entirely in the right way, because "every man has a right no man has a right." No legal system could mean with such a broad concept of rights. Thus, there can be no universal consultant in the sense suggested by the French declarations. In a cognizant protest against the Hege lists, it was also stated that their common address - 'Back from the back!' - The addition of recognition was absent from both practicing historians and positivists, this knowledge automatically scrutinized by the subject's pre-given paradigms. Also found out.

This included his argument that all expressed historical agency is one of three indicators of mental states: measurement of judgment, action, and experience. To recognize the workings of history, it is to understand how this trio - described as an internal lens men - is used in all empirical features

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of the human world. An advantage over natural scientific interpretation of physical objects, this descriptive understanding is aided by analogs that we can draw upon with a thoughtful of our own internal experiences. We have an inherent type of sympathetic awareness of historical events because the agents involved in them are psychologically motivated in ways not to completely separate themselves.

Heinrich Rickert accepted attempt to provide an outline of Winelands' methodological distinction as well as a different historical argument. But Rickert insisted, more to him, the psychological dimension of history writing. What a historian held as interesting, or what they substitute for presenting a practical infinity of potential historical merit, was not a cause but a psychology of value. And because historiography was value-driven, any attempt to build its individualist foundation was not unreasonable but impossible. These pragmatic interests do not force history to be resolved only in relativistic consistency, Rickert thought, because human nature was sufficiently uniform to allow for inter-subjective hypnotic accounts, even if never in direct directive sense. as well. Not proof the direct impact of post philosophy of history is not as clear as that of communications or scientific. But the notion that history is a type of inquiry with its own methodology, logic of verification, and standards of postponement in various ways. This presupposes our approach to particular texts and, last, the past as a whole.

In the late 20th century, continental philosophy of history drew its consideration to epistemological inquiries about ancient fiction literature. Nietzsche's replication on history is again a central influence; in precise he argues that there is no direct or objective communication between the world of truth and the proposition, but a historically contingent result of the continuing struggle between the interests of interpreters. Thus, attitude should concern itself with this historical inquiry and how these truths function against the background of their historical facts.

As there has been diversity in inland philosophy, it would not be arbitrary to say that all thinkers and schools in one way or another have fixated on history. And they have mostly been in the context of two different conceptual societies: historicity and closed-mindedness. The first interrogation explains how not only can we gain acquaintance of the past, but also to what extent our effort to know the past is a living or active activity. As humans, we are unique in the animal world because we are constantly encumbering our past as well as our future, not forgetting the events that would be better buried on one side, and unable to ignore it Should be Become ours on the other. History is not the only thing we study resolutely, but an experience through which we must live and from which we seem to be without conscious control, affecting ourselves for a variety of spiritual reasons. In profundity investigation for this experience.. And their existence moves towards a common future: death. As Dawson himself is constantly involved in the project of coming out of his past and moving into his future as a place of possibilities, in which he can act alone. As if a permanent part of man is its historical truth.

### **4.2.1 Analytic and the Continental Distinction**

Analytical philosophy is concerned with investigation - analysis of thought, etymological, lucidity, acquaintance, mind, etc.; whereas continental philosophy deals with amalgamation - blend of innovativeness with history, entities with humanity, and submission speculation with examples that there are no thinkers in analytical philosophy who write political philosophy or consider history's blessings to be wrong. There is a need to appreciate the history of Western philosophy by A Theory of Justice by John Thallus or Bertrand Russell. On the other indicator, it is not that continental philosophy has nothing to subsidize to logic or language; Hegel wrote extensively on logic and Heidegger on language. Many philosophers, if they are all-inclusive, can be found to make this line more unclear. Therefore, we should be cautious in our generalizations, realizing that any definite claim is likely to be received at the best time. In the previous section, some of

Hegel's major influences are mentioned; But Hegel was not influenced only by the great thinkers of the past. The French Revolution overthrew the old oppressive feudal order, anticipating the vision of a new society for the values of freedom, equality and fraternity. The values of freedom and fraternity particularly influenced his writing. The subjugation of the German state by Napoleon disillusioned him and he set out to solve the perennial political problems of the states. The reconciliation he advocated in his writing is unique and ironic in many ways.

### **4.2.2 Individual Autonomy Of Kant**

As we can understand, Hegel's writings indicated that many philosophers and thinkers of the past influenced him. Hegel borrowed his dialectical method from Socrates. So the ancestors of the Hegelian theory of dialectical idealists can be traced back to these two great Greek thinkers of the past. Some influence of Aristotle's teleology on Hegel can also be understood. Teleology is a theory of knowledge according to which an object is understood in terms of its end or purpose. For example, the end or purpose of a watch is to tell the time. Therefore, telling the time is the true end or the true nature of the purpose of seeing. Like Kant, Hegel did not authorize individuals to oppose or oppose the state or the laws made by it. There are also traces of Rousseau's influence on Hegel. Like Rousseau's General Will, Hegelian thought, soul or reason is infallible. Like Rousseau, Hegel gives priority to the public interest more than the private interest. You may remember that Rousseau differentiated between real will and rational will.

### **4.2.3 Moral Theory**

Hegel's greatest influence was a new discipline, the philosophy of history, a method of pretty historical development with the belief of inevitable progress. In this, he not only influenced, but also influenced Saint-Simon, Comte and Toynbee. His overall intellectual influence expanded from Marxism to existentialism leading to contradictory claims, criticisms, and

worship. Karl Popper saw him as a precursor to 20th-century fascism. Kauffman reacted to Popper, stating that Hegel was not a radical individualist, but certainly not a totalitarian. Both Avenair and Marcuse consider with Kaufman a comparison between Fukuyama, the continuing influence of man; And Hegel declares Hegel's victory, because modern liberalism does not abolish the "desire for recognition", but "transforms into a neglected rational form".

The classical tradition ended with Hegel, as McIntire saw that a new elemental became possible after him. This is reflected in the fact that Hegel began a period of being reflected in political theory. As the last of the Titans, Hegel's influence is an important component in contemporary political philosophy.

#### **4.2.4 Contemporary Human Rights For Personal Autonomy**

This implies that for Hegel all states are rational as far as they represent different stages of reasoning. By doing so he took a conservative position as tantamount to saying that everything that happens is a manifestation of the cause. No event occurs unless held by reason. Therefore, every event happens according to a rational plan. He considered the kingdom as the "March of God on earth" or the last incarnation of reason.

The state, for Hegel, is the earliest expression of reason as it emerges as a synthesis of family (thesis) and civil society (antithesis). The family meets man's biological needs — food, sex, and love. It is the first expression of the soul but it cannot fulfill the higher or more complex requirements for which we need a civilized society. While the basic feature of the family is a unity based on love, civil society is essential for the fulfillment of its competing interests and the satisfaction of various human needs, especially economic needs that the family cannot meet. Civil society is organized on the basis of the physical needs of an individual, who are not completely private and yet

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are primarily self-relations. It is less selfish than family. This is avoided by disintegration as men begin to realize that their needs can only be met by recognizing the claims of others. Civil society educates the person where he begins to see that he can get what he wants only what other people want. It is not a complete biological unity. Such unity is realized only when the tension involved in the contradiction between family and civil society is transformed into the final synthesis of the state. Civil society looks after the physical needs of Lulunan beings and, therefore, Hegel sees it as a state in its embryonic form. The state looks after the universal interests of the entire community and it acquires a biological character.

### Check your progress 1

Q.1 What are the assumptions of the liberal approach?

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Q2. What is Moral theory according to Hegel?

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## 4.3 WHAT IS A LIBERAL THEORY?

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In international relations, communication theory is considered as an integral part of thinking of social liberalism. Unlike realists, who look at internal relations exclusively in terms of the study of relations between the governments of sovereign states, sociopolitical liberal's state that it is also about trans-nation relations, that is, people, groups belonging to different countries and the relationship between the organ. Jenny's Rosenau defines transnationalism as "processes by which regime-driven international relations are compliant with relationships with private individuals, groups and societies that can and do have significant consequences for the conduct of events". As is clear from the above definition, the notion of community and the process of interdependence are considered important elements of



international relations. The underlying assumption of communication theory, which forms the notion of transitive's, is that as internal movements grow, distant people join and their governments become interdependent. This leads to a situation that makes it more difficult and is a serious proposition for states to take unilateral action and avoid cooperation with neighbors. That states not only become wary of the escalating costs of war, but also emphasize the goal of making neighboring countries an internal communal community. The Karl Dictionary is considered to be the main proponent of communication theory, or perhaps additionally in internal relations, the communication style. This method attempts to connect different types of declarations and transactions between societies, given the flow of international transfers such as trade, tourists, letters, and immigration. The central argument of the communicative approach articulated by Deeley is that a higher level of relationship between societies would promote social relations that would be minimal compared to non-supplementary to war. Such transactions would, it is argued, lead to the ultimate development that gives solidarity to Deutsch security people or integrated socio-political systems. Integration in the contest that a "sense of community" has been achieved and people would have to agree that their conflicts and problems could be resolved "without resorting to large-scale physical force". Deutsch identifies two major subcategories of security communities that are amalgamated and pluralistic. He said that these two are characterized by the absence of inter-community tests, among the amalgamated security communities, Deutsch believes that the United States fits the bill because its unified central structure central political control over a continent-size region is. Enables to be sustained. On the other hand, pluralistic security communities lack such central political authority. However, various national units, which together form a pluralistic security community, avoid fighting each other and thus do not need to strengthen their borders. The North American continent and Western Europe, early large areas, are considered good examples of pluralistic security communities. From the point of view of communication approval. Integration is seen as a process leading to political integration and as the end

product of that process — the amalgamated and pluralistic security community.

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#### **4.4 BASED ON CRITICAL EVALUATION OF BOTH ORIGIN AND THE ROLE PERFORMED BY THE STATE**

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Liberals are not locked up to resolve conflicts in international organization. Perhaps there are diverse components within liberalism in the form of variations to lecture on the issue of conflict in the intercontinental system. Nevertheless, in return for what causes all the components on the role of humanitarian objectives and rationality in securing international aid, it will, in turn, help resolve conflicts between various government actors. Furthermore, it is the harmony between them, which separates liberals from the realities who consider conflict a permanent feature of world politics. While realists believe that the recurrence of war is a necessary condition for resolving conflicts, liberals' stress that conflicts can actually be resolved by force of international cooperation without resorting to coercive means. In contrast to realists, as noted above, who believe that the existence of a hegemonic (dominant) power is a prerequisite for cooperation, liberals are of the view that the medium of non-peer bargaining based on the recognition of mutual interests Support can be obtained from where liberals differ from each other, how it is known. As you have probably already seen, different varieties of liberalism, as discussed above, approach the issue of resolving conflicts differently under complex interdependent conditions, international actors are becoming increasingly more important resulting in military forces becoming less useful instruments of policy. As a result, international relations are increasingly like domestic politics. As seen: "Different issues generate different coalitions, both within governments and within them, and involve different types of conflicts. Politics do not stop at the water's edge". Thus, interdependent liberals argue that military force is becoming increasingly redundant in most of these conflicts. Other sources

of non-military power such as "negotiation skills" are becoming increasingly more important.

Critical Theory has a slender and a comprehensive connotation in philosophy and in the history of the social sciences. "Critical Theory" in the slender wisdom entitles some peers of German philosophers and social thinkers in the Western European Marxist tradition predictable as the Frankfurt School.

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## **4.5 WHAT ARE DIFFERENT TYPES OF THEORY?**

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The focus on democracy today functions as a state of collaborative, contemporary-world and transformational movement. The best way to show that critical theory is a detailed morphological view is to monitor the German modality and its resonance. For Mark and his generation, Hegel was a predecessor in the illustrious institution of philosophers who were steadfast in giving us humanity and a safe acquaintance of history on its own. The issue for the left Hegelian and Numeral was then for the overarching on Hegelian "theory" philosophy, and Numeral argues that it can only make philosophy "practical", in which humanity considers its ideals in the sense of variations. It turns out that once the cause was purely social and historical, historical mistrust manifested at the same time, leading to pragmatic and philosophical claims that were pragmatically and culturally interrelated. Critical theory transferred a redundant version of this concept, which is philosophy navigation with human and social sciences. When doing so, it may relate empirical and interpretive social science to traditional claims of Saturn, ethics and justice, which have traditionally been the object of philosophy. While it emphasizes the rules and ambivalence of universality found in the philosophical tradition, it does so in the context of a particular type of empirical social research, with which it is possible to understand such authentic claims in the current historical context.

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Attempt: Criticism is a form of criticism of ideology, which when generalized, lays down the life-orientation stance as another ideology. To push harder. Yet in an important philosophical project, serious theorists unite, this example illustrates the great differences between the first and second generations in relation to the true justification of social criticism.

Enlightenment is not enough to reconstruct the rational content of modernity because the issue is not to affirm its universality, but its self-critical and exemplary potential. If the issue is the self-correcting capacity of enlightenment, then two questions arise: how is it underestimated? Where do we find out the practice of this ability? This is the "enlightenment problem", the solution of which is twofold: the realignment of human capabilities that have the sensitivity that is built into them and to tie the operations of enlightenment institutions to their successful practice conditions.

Against this skeptical prediction of the first generation of Critical Theory, it can be said without exaggeration that Habermas's theory of communicative action from knowledge and human interests is to develop a humbler, decadent, empirical account of the philosophical claim. For universality and rationality.

### **Check your progress 2**

Q.3 What is Enlightenment.

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## **4.6 WHAT IS HEGEL'S THEORY?**

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Hegel remained in a magnificent institution of proper thought capable of giving us safe information of humanity and antiquity. The case for Left Hegelians other than Marx was then someone else for the speechless Hegelian "academic" philosophy, and Marx believes that it can only do so

by changing the "pragmatic" idea by which the social appreciates their ideals we do. Once the cause was carefully removed and made ancient, mistrust appeared at the same time, an attempt to revive spiritual rights about customs and motives for archeology and morally adjustable forms of life. Life-threatening thought developed a non-skeptical variety of this beginning, which closely linked human and social knowledge. Under such a burden, it can connect the raw and informative social sciences to the claims of certainty, morality and justice, traditionally the realm of philosophy. While it sees the importance of normative and universality motivations found in ethical behavior, it does so in the context of a specific type of experimental social inquiry with which to appreciate such authentic claims within the current historical context. If it is, it has to cooperate. Having presented two main versions of this concept of philosophy, I give a shining example of how this cooperative relationship between philosophy and the social sciences works in critical theory from the point of view of key figures who developed it. Tried: Criticism ideology is a form of criticism that, when generalized, takes the critical stance as another ideology. Emphasis lets threat. Even though the Critical Theorists are united in a common philosophical project, this example illustrates the large differences between the first and second generations regarding the authentic justification of social criticism.

While in the modern era, where the philosophy expresses its distinctive role in kin. Although "under the laborers" was a miser for Locke's philosophy, for Kant it was a long position.

#### **4.6.1 How Hegel Defined the State**

Since everything is fundamentally determined by everything, as opposed to the Locke theory of the externality of associations, this principle is called, 'the organic theory of truth and reality'. Kala Karma explains the principle with an example. The meaning of a painting cannot be understood by analyzing the chemical constitution of the canvas, although the image cannot exist without it. Nor, can we escalate it by studying each part of it, though each part has an artistic connection to

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the rest. It is a part of the whole and the real reputation of this whole is more than the sum of these different parts. The whole logically determines the appeal of each part and in turn each part subsidizes to the whole. In the same way, a man's personality is determined by what he is currently, but not by his parents' biologically inherited traits, his relatives, teachers, sports mates, colleagues, other people and the human race itself. Therefore, he knows that it is not beyond absolute space and time, but it is in space and time, in its infinite, all embracing thought. Hegel's uniqueness is demonstrated in the use of the words - 'abstract' and 'concrete'. He explains that it is more 'concrete' to understand the functioning of the leaf in relation to the tree or to see the experiences of the individual as a member of society, while examining it under a microscope or gaining knowledge of the leaf based on the person's experiences Separate example as 'abstract'. That means, if we look at anything apart from its relationship, then we are seeing it in 'abstraction' and vice versa, if we consider it in our biological relation, then we 'see it momentarily'. According to Hegel, there is no truth other than the whole truth. Therefore, absolutism is 3, synthesis of soul and objective soul because reality is rationality. The knowledge of the Absolute is actually the Absolute, who knows himself through the finite soul of man. Hegel believes that this absolutism is the ultimate reality, which in time goes through various stages of development and becomes conscious of itself for human reasons. Nevertheless, it is absolute topical, eternal, embracing all, self-fulfilling.

### **4.6.2 Hegel's Community and Individual Freedom**

Political activities are their development and their development. The material with which political thought is concerned is 'politics'. Therefore, politics becomes the very soul of political thought. What does Plato discuss in his republic? The Republic is about justice in the state and the individual and thereby creating an ideal state. Aristotle's politics is about the possible, desirable and best practical situation. Locke states in his two texts of government that people are given the main end of uniting in a common nation, and the main end of the state is about protecting people's property and limiting the powers of a state. Mars, in his many writings, tried to find a classless and a statutory society from which. According to him would usher

in the real freedom of man. Therefore, it is clear that political thought is the study of politics as expressed in the works of political philosophers.

Politics refers to political activity. It is an activity that helps a citizen to participate in the structure and functioning of government. It is an activity that helps political parties to seek people and then govern. It is an activity through which political power is sought, maintained. It is the activity of manipulation and bargaining to gain and exercise power. Therefore, it is rightly called an art of the possible. It is about power, as Lass well observed, who gets what, when and how. Politics, as an activity that helps secure political power, exercises it and maintains it, is the focal point of all political thought. '

Analysis Capitalism is a question of politics, but in the process of analysis, if Marx builds a socialist and communist society after capitalism, it becomes part of political thought.

Political thought derives data from politics. Politics introduces political activities for discussion by thinkers. Political thought and second hand give direction to activities related to politics. For example, during the Stuart Periods.in England politics, Hobbes and Locke built the LIP based on their philosophies, Hobbes trying to give liberty and authority to Hobbes, working just the opposite that is, giving freedom, a prime place for authority. Marx, in analyzing and studying capitalism and in the process of achieving more, and then keeping

Medieval and early history was not only trying to unravel the function of the movements of capitalism, but also creating a new vision of political thought, which history is known as materialistic interpretation. Political philosophers are born in a particular political environment; They study the atmosphere and, in turn, create a new political environment, a new philosophy

### 4.6.3 Hegle's Philosophy of State

Existence is all-inclusive, including that it is a state of 'not being as well as being'. Everything happens within itself, unlike us. It is impossible to imagine anything at the same time without conceived to the contrary. We cannot think of finiteness without considering infinity, or without considering time. For an argument each thesis has its own life and death, love and hatred, day and night, youth and old age. The whole of nature is a harmony of opposites and Hegel's dialectics suggests that any thesis means that it has an opposing thesis and that the two are united in a higher synthesis in which the opposition between the two is assimilated and a ligature. In unity falls to away. Absolute thought undergoes a dialectical phase of multiple tests - each of which has its own thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis. In the thesis, a certain aspect of reality is revealed and in the opposing thesis, an opposite aspect appears and both are synthesized in a higher synthesis. Synthesis again gives rise to a new triad and that too in turn another. Thus, there are triads within the triad and there are still other triads within it. Hegel tries to prove it by a logical deduction. Therefore, the order of dialectics is considered purely logical. The Hegelian dialectic, usually presented in three stages, consists of three stages of development - a thesis that gives rise to its response, the anti-thesis that resolves through a synthesis thesis and the tension between the two and conflicting Denies Hegel has used the terms Essence or intermediate to thesis and negative or mediate to anti thesis and concrete to synthesis. If the position, time and 5 reflections about a particular moment or idea are considered as incomplete and opposed. In the logic course, this opposition emerges in further reflection and time and again shows that it is incomplete. Despite their incompleteness and negative characteristics, namely what they lack, there are some positive promising and complementary features in both the situation and the opposition. These features and manifestations in a higher composition in which position (thesis) and opposition (anti-thesis) are elevated and reproduced constructively are called synthesis. Thus, Hegel's dialectical method exhibits a systematic tri-rhythmic process until it culminates in complete thought. The first basic try of this logic is Being



Nothing and Being. Hegel believes that our mind always moves from the more general and abstract to the specific and concrete. The most common concept we can make about things is - 'they are'. Although different things have distinct and different qualities, they all have one thing in common. That means their existence. Therefore, the most common concept is that our brain can formulate. For any specific thing to be logically preceded it represents determination for things or that is basically without features. Hegel's concept begins with the concept of being and is the thesis. Therefore, each organism is an organism and each part in it is governed by the central life principle. This means, a living organism in its constitution is not only mechanical and physical, but also something else. That means there is life in it. The higher concept, mind is the union of matter and life. Mind or subjective emotion is the synthesis of matter and the development of life. Therefore, the presence of a well-developed mind or ego constitutes the distinguishing feature of human existence, which cannot be found at the lower levels of nature. In man this mind is capable of controlling both the physical body and the principle of life in man. In fact, the mind is the union of both matter and life in man, which may be due to self-consciousness. Hegel calls this self-consciousness - mind or soul. So, the Absolute Mind which is itself in nature to the outside world, returns in itself to finite persons who participate in their rational thought. In this way, the antagonism between matter (thesis) and life (anti-thesis) is overcome at a higher level known as the subjective mind (synthesis). This brings him to the third part of the system called *Philosophy of Mind*. In this third part, Hegel deals with the cultural experiences of mankind that clearly set out the elements of his dialect. The core of this part is the quarterly subjective feeling (thesis), which refers to the inner workings of the human mind and a sense of purpose that represents the mind in its external incarnation in social and political institutions and becomes over-the-top and antagonistic. Knowledge stands absolute as its synthesis. Hegel has pointed out that even in the understanding of subjective feeling, there are within the *trad*. We can try to understand this subjective feeling through different branches of knowledge. This concept of right has three

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implications - right to property (thesis), right to contract (anti-thesis) and right to punishment (synthesis) respectively. The right to property gives every person the right to own certain property for the subsistence of his own life and family. At the same time, each person should recognize that other persons should also have equal rights. A human being aware of his rights and duties becomes aware of the fact that his own happiness is tied to social happiness. If society is in the form of total threats, then the person of that society is also affected by it. Therefore, work should be done for the progress of the whole society, which can be called the concept of social morality. The doctrine of objective spirit consists of a law within the meaning of the Quarterly which Hegel defines as 'a person and respects others as a person 'which is similar to Kant's second "hierarchical imperialist" -' every human being. Treat, which includes itself as an end in itself and not a means to benefit someone else. 'In other words, and respect yourself and respect others and do not exploit anyone'. Although, there is a clear distinction between man and society, Hegel tries to show that man finds the perfection of being within and between individuals and achieving relationships between them. The unity of reality finds the most prosperous expression at the human-society level. For Hegel, society is not a mere construct, but a biological character as it expresses and fulfills itself through the lives of individuals. Man being a self-conscious person has certain moral abilities and equal obligations to his fellow human beings. When subjective rights and conscience become prudent in social institutions such as family and state, social morality emerges. The entire field of human behavior - both individual and collective - is described as a part of the real and therefore essentially rational. Hegel sees social institutions not as the creation of man, but as the product of the dialectical movement of history, of the expression of the objective of rational reality. Our consciousness about that says, Hegel is achieved progressively because the mind moves from art to philosophy to religion. Art gives a conscious form to the idea by imparting to the mind, with idols, buildings, music or poetry. In the object of art, the mind represents the perfect as beauty. In other words, man sees the expression of divine beauty through these erotic means. Thus, art

becomes his thesis of dialectical method. Since no erotic form can adequately convey spiritual truth, it undergoes its antagonistic thesis in dialectical art. Religion holds an intermediate position between art and philosophy. Religion and philosophy are basically the same subject matter representing the knowledge of 'God', which is eternal, what is God and what flows from nature. However, philosophy supersedes the pictorial form of religion and rises to the level of pure thought. In philosophy, the Absolute thinks of himself through the mind of the philosopher. At this stage, there will be no difference between the finite and the infinite, because the finite becomes one with the infinite, which is the highest level of development a person can achieve. Finally, in philosophy, according to Hegel - the thinker is absolute, the subject matter of thinking is absolute and the medium through which absolute thought is also absolute. Hegel thus holds philosophy as the highest point of development of human knowledge.

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## **4.7 NIETZSCHE: SUPERMAN / OVERMAN; WILL TO POWER**

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According to Nietzsche he claimed that the classic human being must skill one should create his either he/she. By creating his own identity through self-comprehension and do so shorn of depend on anything exceeding that life - such as Idol or a soul. This way of existing should be confirmed even were one to approve, most challengingly, an essential vision of perpetuity, solitary suggesting the "eternal recurrence" of all events. According to some commentators, Nietzsche forward-thinking an astrophysical theory of "will to power." But others read him as not actuality exaggeratedly concerned with occupied out a general cosmology. Interrogations concerning the unity of Nietzsche's views--inquiries such as whether these views might all be taken collected without illogicality, whether readers should dishonor any specific view if confirmed jumbled or discordant with others, and the like--remain to draw the consideration of current intellectual historians and thinkers. Man is "an experimental animal" here. Its truth has the seductive power of woman; While Nietzsche's grand philosophies are "experimental"

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or "temperament" oriented by God, one later comes to recognize Nietzsche under the name Dionysus.

Diversion disguises the all-important creative gestures that bring forth new cosmology as a supreme value: "This world is willpower and nothing more than that! —And when you yourself have this will power - And nothing but this! " This teaching, Nietzsche, left behind many obvious themes, such as whether the non-conscious item of the world can (or may not) be involved with power, or whether non-human life-forms are fully and equally. Participate in the movement of world forces. For Nietzsche, for perspective, it seems sufficient to participate in will power, but does this mean that non-human animals, who undoubtedly have attitudes, and participate in living life without, question, Is the human's ability (or any ability for that matter) to familiarity itself? Or, do trees and other types of vegetation? Apparently, they do not. Such problems include, again, the question of independence, which interests Nietzsche in a predominantly positive manner.

Some human forms of participation in power are noble, others ignorant. But, concerning these kinds of activities, Nietzsche emphasizes the difference between his own cosmology in *Beyond Good and Evil*, which at times seems to replace the nobility in nature and to reestablish the "hardcore" scene., Which emphasizes oneness of humanity with divine nature:

“what materialized in the past with Encourages transpires even today, as soon as any idea starts trusting in itself? It always harvests the formation in its double; It cannot do else. Attitude is this oppressive drive itself of the most spiritual will power, "for the development of the world", for the prima cause.”

### 4.7.1 Intellectual History and Cultural Critics

Nietzsche converted a legend even before he passes away in 1900. That was a very intricate the nature; He had countless imaginative aptitude and was one of the best of contemporary German writers. His style, equally in prose as well as in poetry, is obsessive, stirring and of countless literary beauty. His information and interest in pastoral culture amuse a major role in his thinking.

He understands very well that morality serves as the great 'antidote' for the nihilism that one is faced with. He argues that "every virtuously decent value classification ends in negativism. One still optimism to get laterally with a moralism without sacred family but that unavoidably leads to nothingness." Thought, it is was not enough that we try to be non-metaphysicians but it is required to be also active nihilists. If we are confronted with nothingness, what we should face it actively and affirmatively. Single one should not try to valuate something that is not there as passive radicals do. Rather we need to face actively the baseless, valueless world. This would indicate active or perfect pessimism. Toward entireness up, while most of his contemporaries looked on the late nineteenth century with unbridled optimism, self-confident in the progress of learning and the growth of the German state, he saw his age facing a fundamental crisis in values. He ends up with identifying in which others have failed to realize and respond to it actively. "Negativism literally has only one truth to declare, namely, that ultimately nothingness prevails and the world is meaningless."

### 4.7.2 The Concept Of Superman Theory / Overman

The term 'Overman' (Uber mensch) carries two meanings crucial to Nietzsche's revaluation of values. 'uber' signifies 'over' in the sense of height and self-transformation. It suggests the elevation of mankind's highest self into an experience of being that has no trace of moralism or the fiction of free will. It can also suggest 'across' or 'beyond' and he employs this second resonance to characterize 'man' as a bridge we must pass across

toward a life free of resentment and negativity. The term is never applied to an individual and considered neither himself nor Zarathustra, whom he often ridiculed an Overman. The transformation of man into Overman cannot take place without a 'going-down' or the destruction of man's reactive beliefs. The Overman is not the 'end' of mankind but a process that transforms reactive values into the active affirmation of power.

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## **4.8 FOUCAULT POWER AND GOVERNMENTALITY**

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Michel Foucault is one of the philosophers who achieved trans-Atlantic recognition and marked indelible contemporary Western intellectual ideas. Not only was he written to Time magazine of France as the "Philosopher of Power" of November 1981, but an examination also arose that he was, in fact, the most cited researcher in the field of people in the first round of the 21st Century Era.

Foucault was born on 15 October 1926 in the provincial city of Poitiers in France. He had two other siblings, an older sister and a younger brother. Carrying on this tradition in his family, Foucault was named Paul after his father and grandfather, both surgeons, as did his elder son. Her mother, nevertheless, accompanies Paul to Michelle, so that in the early years of her life, Foucault continued to be known as Paul-Michel Foucault. According to all accounts, Foucault was from an educated, thriving family, well connected. Both his parents were ambitious for their children and did not shy away from helping their offspring to help their children - a fact that by the time he had established himself, Michael Foucault the early years were quite easy.

### **4.7.1 Definition of Power According To Foucault**

The potential for knowledge production at any time gave rise to him the most important research on power in the humanities uncovers significant

lacuna and deformity. On the one hand, "the mechanisms of power in general have not been much studied since ancient times.

- History deliberately includes those who were in power - subjective histories of kings and generals.
- In comparison, economic development and organizations have a past.
- Apart from this, we have old times of institutions, seen as a super organizational level in relation to the economy.

But the implications in its policies, once general and detailed, and on its evaluation, have never been studied. Neglect in the study of how power meanings are complicated by a determined misunderstanding of the relation between affect and certainty. "What Foucault always says," what has been less studied, is the relationship between power and knowledge, the language of each over the other. A ritual has been performed for humanism in order to accept that one ceases to know once someone has gained power. Power drives men mad, and those who rule are blind; Only those who maintain their distance from power, who are not in any way occupied by tyranny, are locked into their Cartesian people, their rooms, their thoughts, only they can discover the truth.

### **4.8.2 What Is Govern mentality According to Foucault?**

"Governance" is a keyword, derived from the phrase "governmental rationality." A governmentality is, therefore, a logic by which a policy is governed. But this logic is for Foucault, according to his genealogical perspective (which he still affirms), not only ideal, but also includes institutions, practices and ideas. More specifically, Foucault defines govern mentality in Security, Territory, and Population as a complex form of "power that has the population as its objective, political economy as its main form of knowledge and security apparatus as its essential technical

instrument." However, confusingly, Foucault in the same breath also defines other meanings in which he will use the term "governmentality." He will use it not only to describe this recent logic of government, but as the longest trend in Western history that has led to and the specific process in the early modern period by which modern governmentality was formed. "Governance" is a slippery concept then. Still, it is important. Governance seems to be closely contemporary and functionally isomorphic with biopolitics, therefore, it seems to replace it in Foucault's thinking. That said, unlike biopolitics, it never appears in an important publication of his: he only allowed a crucial conference on Security, Territory, Population to be published under the title of "Government" in an Italian magazine. It is through the English translation of this essay that this concept has been made known in English, this Foucault essay, in fact, inspired a whole school of sociological reflection Foucault details two main phases in the development of governmentality. The first is what he identifies as a reason of state, literally "reason of state." This is the central object of the study of Security, Territory, and Population. The technology of the discipline is correlated, as an attempt to regulate society to its full extent, with what was simultaneously called "police." This governmentality gave way in the eighteenth century to a new form of governmentality, which will become political liberalism, which will react against the failures of government regulation with the idea that society should be allowed to regulate itself in a way natural, with the power of the police applied only negatively in extremis.

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## 4.9 ETHICS

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In 1980 he saw a turning point in Foucault's work, both in terms of the treatises that he and the terminology he used. In particular, he hitherto chiefly focuses on the antique texts of Greece and Rome, and prominently uses the concepts of "subjectivity" and "morality". None of these elements is wholly new to his work, but they deliberate the novel distinction and combination. Point. There is an object elsewhere in this encyclopedia about



Foucault's ethics. The question here is what particularly political import of this morality is. It is often believed that Foucault's ethics means withdrawing his earlier political assumed and thus focusing on a political project that is a concern with distinct action, retreating from political concerns. Such allegations have a grain of truth, but no more than a single grain. Foucault's own subject matter is original and quite different from existing accounts of subject matter, which he called his was rejected in earlier work. The theme for Foucault is a matter of people's ability to shape their own conduct. In this way, his account relates to his previous work on government, with the subject of self-determination. It is thus intimately connected with his political thought, which is a question of the power that penetrates the person's interior. "Ethics" is also understood in this context. Foucault does not produce "morality" in the sense that the term is traditionally used today to mean an ideal morality, nor does he construct "political philosophy" in the sense that that phrase Traditionally used, what is called an ideal is politics. "Morality" for Foucault is rather derivatively understood in terms of the ethics of ancient Greek reflection that is to say on character. Ancient Greek ethics was marked by what Foucault calls "self-care": it is essentially a practice of fashioning oneself. In such practices, Foucault sees a possible basis for resistance to power, although he is clear that no real practices exist today and it is by no means clear that they can be reestablished. Morality, by contrast, has been abolished by Christianity with its mortality attitude to itself.

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## **4.10 LET US SUM UP**

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In this unit we have tried to give an overall view of Contemporary Western philosophy. We tried to expose the two main philosophical traditions in Western world with its sub-divisions. In the last century, philosophy has grown more specialized and more distinct from the natural sciences. Much of philosophy in this period concerns itself with explaining the relation between the theories of the natural sciences and the ideas of the humanities. In the Anglophone world, analytic philosophy became the dominant school.

In the first half of the century, it was a cohesive school, more or less identical to logical positivism. In the latter half of the 20th century, analytic philosophy diffused into a wide variety of distinct philosophical views. On continental Europe, no single school enjoyed dominance. 20th-century movements such as phenomenology, existentialism, hermeneutics, critical theory, structuralism, and post structuralism are all included within this category.

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### 4.11 KEYWORD

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1. **Terminology:** Terminology is the language used to describe a specific thing, or the language used within a specific field.
2. **Liberal:** a liberal attitude toward anything means more tolerance for change.
3. **Spiritual will power:** The will is the directive and regulatory function in your life it balances and ... first step in developing the spiritual will is strengthening your personal will power.
4. **Gadamer:** Gadamer's aesthetics is deeply respectful of art's ability to disrupt and challenge customary expectations.
5. **Philosophical activity:** is an activity people undertake when they seek to understand fundamental truths about themselves, the world in which they live, and their relationships to the world and to each other.

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### 4.12 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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- In *A Companion to Continental Philosophy*, Edited by Simon Critchley and William R. Schroeder, Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1998, pp. 1-17. Jackson, Frank & Michael Smith, (ed).
- *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

- Peacock, Christopher. “The Philosophy of Language”, In philosophy 2, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 72-121.

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## 4.13 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- Q1. Explain the term ‘Overman.’
- Q2. What it means Death of God.
- Q3. Sketch out the main features of Continental philosophy.
- Q4. What is ‘will to power’ according to Nietzsche?
- Q5. Briefly state the main features of Analytic philosophy.
- Q6. Explain briefly the subdivisions of Analytic philosophy.

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## 4.14 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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I. 1. People are the main international actors: Liberals put the separate at the center of the world and all advancement is measured in terms of the interests of the individuals as the two are perceived as inextricably tangled. In other words, progress for liberals has always meant progress for individuals. John Locke, for example, is qualified with the creation of a legal state through a social indenture to guard the freedoms of the persons.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.1)

2. The liberal method for the study of politics around the world has its roots in the subversion of liberal political theory in the 17th era. Relative to the presence of the contemporary liberal state, the liberal tradition in general has a sensitive approach to human nature. Interestingly, by the mid-20th century some of the major contributors were not international relations scholars, but political thinkers, political economists, and people generally absorbed in international affairs. For example, John Locke massively measured the first abundant thinker of the 17th era, reducing a great latent to modern civic development and consumerist human progress, both of which,

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he whispered, could curl in those states Were those who guaranteed free independence.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.2)

II. 3 Enlightenment is not enough to reconstruct the rational content of modernity because the issue is not to affirm its universality, but its self-critical and exemplary potential. If the issue is the self-correcting capacity of enlightenment, then two questions arise: how is it underestimated? Where do we find out the practice of this ability? This is the "enlightenment problem", the solution of which is twofold: the realignment of human capabilities that have the sensitivity that is built into them and to tie the operations of enlightenment institutions to their successful practice conditions.....(answer for Check your Progress-2 Q.3)

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# UNIT - 5: MARXIST POLITICAL THINKING

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## STRUCTURE

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction of political thinking

5.1.1 Contribution of Political

5.1.2 The resistance and resurgence of Marxist

5.1.3 Changes and thought by Marxist

5.2 Marx: Historical Materialism –An outline

5.2.1 Focus on human societies and their development

5.2.2 The study and understanding of history

5.3 Neo Marxist Thinkers

5.3.1 Introduction of Neo-Marxism

5.3.2 Economic Growth

5.4 Ethics

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 Keyword

5.7 References and suggested readings

5.8 Questions for Review

5.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 5.0 OBJECTIVES

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- Marx began with Hegel's idea of civil society to construct his analysis of history, society, and the state. He originally differed from Hegel in his view of the state in that he argued that the state is a function of the conflicting forces of civil society and is not a fully inclusive political community created as a result of synthesis.
- According to him civil society was nothing else, but the existence of society in classes with the economic system and division of labor for production and exchange in the market system of capitalist society. He

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- argued that man has a history, but the history of civil society and civil society is nothing but economic relations and the structure of the state.
- Marx accepted the view that civil society was separated from private economic production in the feudalistic era by the isolation of the state. Marx said that civil society 'develops with the bourgeoisie'.
  - He stated that the civil society established in the free market capitalist is a non-socially inhumane as it is nothing but competition and conflict between the economic classes. civilized society in a capitalist society was a condition only for the exploitation of man by man - for the poor working classes by rich merchants or capitalists.
  - He argued that conflict resolution is achieved only when a class struggle begins and, in a revolution, the classless and stateless nation of proletarian class-free cooperatives overthrow the state controlled by the bourgeoisie to establish a lesser community.

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## 5.1 INTRODUCTION OF POLITICAL THINKING

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The Marxist approach to the study of internal relations contrasts sharply with the traditional paradigms discussed in earlier units. What makes the Marxist approach infinite is that it emphasizes the need for change. Unlike realists and liberals, this is not the status quo 'and stands for a radical change of the existing international/world order. Sharp unlike Realism and Liberalism, while the Marxist approach tends to be an unconstitutional view of internal relations. While the former imagines world politics as a "struggle for power" and many familiar components of "interdependence" or "complex interdependence" That is, Marxists want to go to the critique of world politics by exposing a deep underlying "hidden" truth. The numismatists, which came up with such a title, are rooted in the fact that all the familiar events of world politics such as wars, treaties, international aid programs, etc.

### **Check your progress 1**

Q1. How does a socialist society differ from a capitalist society?

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Q2. Write a short note on political thinking.

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Q.3 What is Socialism according to the Marxist.

### **5.1.1 Contribution of Political**

Socialism is a social system that comes into existence as a result of the socialist-proletarian revolution. It is a form of society that resulted from the overthrow of the capitalist system. No one can be a socialist before passing through the stage of capitalism. It is capitalism that creates conditions for the development of socialist movements and ideology and ultimately the creation of a socialist society. We will talk about this later when we discuss Marx's ideas. Socialist society destroys private ownership of the means of production and instead changes public ownership of the means of production. This means that all the resources from which wealth can be generated - land, factories, mines, banks - can no longer be the property of any person or group of people. They become the property of the whole people. It also means that no one can enrich themselves with these resources, and let others work on them. The workers who work are the owners of these resources, and they get them from the wealth created by their labor, because, now they own their resources. All societies prior to socialist society are class societies, which are based on opposition to class resources, who have resources and who also work on those resources. Produce wealth. Socialist society destroys this enmity, because now working people also have resources. Therefore, in a socialist society one class is not exploited by another, and, it is a society based on equality of all

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men. This equality is not only political and legal, as in capitalist societies, but also social and economic, because private property, which is the root of all inequality, has ended in a socialist society. Hence socialist society is a society characterized by social justice. However, this does not mean that people cannot do anything personally. In a socialist society, people have the opportunity to keep their personal belongings - household goods, vehicles, houses, bank accounts from their savings etc., only, they cannot own the things which are the means of production - whose They use to deprive others. For example: Human labor. In fact, as production increases in a socialist society, everyone has more and more personal goods and some people do not. In socialist society the increase in production occurs through planned production. You must have heard about the Five -Year Plans. In socialist societies it is a centralized scheme that takes into account all the needs of society, what is a priority in terms of the interests of all. A socialist society also establishes a state of the toiling masses in the interests of the toiling masses. This ensures that everyone works to the best of their ability and everyone meets according to their work. Socialist democracy ensures all people certain social rights - right to employment, rest and comfort, health protection, security in old age, housing, free and equal education, apart from the right to participate in the administration of state and public affairs.

### **5.1.2 The Resistance and Resurgence Of Marxist**

Socialism is a social system that comes into existence as a result of the socialist-proletarian revolution. It is a form of society that resulted from the overthrow of the capitalist system. No one can be a socialist before passing through the stage of capitalism. It is capitalism that creates conditions for the development of socialist movements and ideology and ultimately the creation of a socialist society. We will talk about this later when we discuss Marx's ideas. Socialist society destroys private ownership of the means of production and instead changes public ownership of the means of production. This means that all the resources from which money can be generated - land, factories, mines, banks - can no longer be the property of



any person or group of people. They become the property of the whole people. It also means that no one can enrich themselves with these resources, and let others work on them. The workers who work are the owners of these resources, and they get them from the wealth created by their labor, because, now they own their resources. All societies prior to socialist society are class societies, which are based on opposition to class resources, who have resources and who also work on those resources. Produce wealth. Socialist society destroys this enmity, because now working people also have resources. Therefore, in a socialist society one class is not exploited by another, and, it is a society based on equality of all men. This equality is not only political and legal, as in capitalist societies, but also social and economic, because private property, which is the root of all inequality, has ended in a socialist society. Hence socialist society is a society characterized by social justice. However, this does not mean that people cannot do anything personally. In a socialist society, people have the opportunity to keep their personal belongings - household goods, vehicles, houses, bank accounts from their savings, etc., only, they do not own the things that are the means of production - which they can use in others. A socialist society also establishes a state of the toiling masses in the interests of the toiling masses. This ensures that everyone works to the best of their ability and everyone meets according to their work. Socialist democracy ensures all people certain social rights - right to employment, rest and comfort, health protection, security in old age, housing, free and equal education, apart from the right to participate in the administration of state and public affairs.

All the numerical contributions are that the social world should be seen and analyzed as a totality. Transfiguration, they consider not only the numerical division of the social world as arbitrary, but also immoral in various fields of difference such as history, philosophy, political science, political science, sociology, internal relations, etc. They instead emphasize that it is not possible to understand one with the knowledge of the other because the social world can only be studied holistically. Mars on the need to adopt an

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interdisciplinary approach in any meaningful understanding of world politics. Emphasized in his caption. His suggestion in this context was to start social relations from the simplest and then turn them into a more complex picture. Thus, for numerical theorists, the political boundaries that characterize contemporary social science have to be crossed to have a proper understanding of the dynamics of world politics ... Another key element of the Marxist approach is the concept of history. The association argument here is that it is the economic development of society, which determines the processes of historical change. This means that economic development works effectively as the motor of history. Central to Marx is the tension between excellent production (land, labor, and capital) and the relations of production (the way the means of production are organized into a collaborative society) that together form the economic basis of a given society. Development in the economic base serves as a download for the wider transformation of society as a whole this is because. As Marx argues in his contribution / The Critique, "the method of production of physical life normalizes the social, political and intellectual life process". Like this. Legal, political. And cultural institutions and practices of a given society reflect and reinforce patterns of power and control in the economy. It logically follows. A change in the economic base leads to a change in the final and political superstructure. "Marxists attribute a special status to class in their analysis of society. Unlike liberals, there is a Marxist grip of essential secrecy between different social groups. This society systematically tends to class struggle. Marx: For example, argues in Communist, which he co-authored with Ang. Lass. "History of all current existing societies of class struggle is ". In capitalist society, the main axis. The conflict is between the capitalist (capitalist) and the proletariat (laborers). Some of the Marxist viewpoints in this section. Given the essential elements, let us now examine some important principles like imperialism. Tune for Work will like Colonialism, Neologism, and Subjectivism.

### 5.1.3 Changes and Thought By Marxist

All the numerical contributions are that the social world should be seen and analyzed as a totality. Transfiguration, they consider not only the numerical division of the social world as arbitrary, but also immoral in various fields of difference such as history, philosophy, political science, political science, sociology, internal relations, etc. They instead emphasize that it is not possible to understand one with the knowledge of the other because the social world can only be studied holistically. Mars on the need to adopt an interdisciplinary approach in any meaningful understanding of world politics. Emphasized in his caption. His suggestion in this context was to start social relations from the simplest and then turn them into a more complex picture. Thus, for numerical theorists, the political boundaries that characterize contemporary social science have to be crossed to have a proper understanding of the dynamics of world politics ... Another key element of the Marxist approach is the concept of history. The association argument here is that it is the economic development of society, which determines the processes of historical change. This means that economic development works effectively as the motor of history. Central to Mars is the tension between excellent production (land, labor, and capital) and the relations of production (the way the means of production are organized into a collaborative society) that together form the economic basis of a given society. Development in the economic base serves as a download for the wider transformation of society as a whole. this is because. As Man argues in his contribution / The Critique, "the method of production of physical life normalizes the social, political and intellectual life process". Like this. Legal, political. And cultural institutions and practices of a given society reflect and reinforce patterns of power and control in the economy. It logically follows. A change in the economic base leads to a change in the final and political superstructure. "Marxists attribute a special status to class in their analysis of society. Unlike liberals, there is a Marxist grip of essential secrecy between different social groups. This society systematically tends to class struggle. Mars: For example, argues in Communist, which he co-authored with Ang. Lass. "History of all current

existing societies of class struggle This is ". In capitalist society, the main axis. The conflict is between the capitalist (capitalist) and the proletariat (laborers). Some of the Marxist viewpoints in this section. Given the essential elements, let us now examine some important principles like imperialism. Tune for Work will Colonialism, Neo colonist, and Subjectivism.

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## **5.2 MARX: HISTORICAL MATERIALISM – AN OUTLINE**

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Political thought is a description of the political views of a host of political philosophers from beginning to end. It is the sum total of views expressed by thinkers on matters related to politics, state and government. It is historical in nature as it is described as history. It analyzes, tests and evaluates issues that are universally concerned and is of perennial interest, although each political theorist reacts to a particular political reality. It is written keeping in mind the large public and is not limited to Ivory towers to establish intimate relationships between political process, institutions, events and actors. Usually political theory thrives in times of crises that act as stimuli although it is necessary that all crises give rise to political theory.

Political difficulty is the description, analysis, expression, and evaluation of philosophers of a political tradition. It is a tradition as far as it comes to us as an idea. It is the sum total of what remains, and an accumulation of what has changed and what continues. It is one who responds to our circumstances. What becomes - Date is not a part of tradition.

Political ideas attempt to identify values and norms and form an inseparable part of a particular political tendency. Western political thought, if we want to identify its magic themes, develops and revolves around values such as liberty and libertarian, democracy and democratic tradition, equality and egalitarianism. In India it exists and / or exists, political thought, for

example, seeks to establish moral / ethical values in politics, spirituality, cooperative life and etc.

## 5.2.1 Focus on Human Societies and their Development

The two major streams along with which whole western political thought are known

- (i) political idealism as one may see political philosophy,
- (ii) political realism, or as one may call it political science. Plato represents political idealism, and is rightly described as the father of political philosophy; Aristotle represents political realism and is very aptly called the father of political philosophy.

Philosophies and science leave dominated the course of the western political thought. For a long time in the history of the west, philosophy retitled political thought until about the first half of the 19th Century. It was then that science, owing largely to the development made in oilier social sciences and the urge to make political phenomena relevant, captured the attention of the political philosophers, especially during the early years and the decades of 1 (950-1960) in the United States. Then came an era of debates between the normative political theory and the empirical one traditionalist and the behaviorist, the debate whether a political theory is dead or alive. These debates characterized nothing but the tussle between philosophy and science, between idealism and realism. All these testified nothing but change and continuity in the western tradition. Berlin, in an article in Gould and Thirsty, Contemporary Political Thorough, writes, "Neo-Marxism, neo-Thomism, nationalism, historicism, existentialism, anti- essential liberalism, and socialism, transposition of doctrines of natural rights and natural law into empirical terms... indicate not the death of a great tradition but, if anything, new and unpredictable developments." All political thought, as it has developed or evolved, has tossed between what it ought to be and what

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is at constantly moves between the two levels. Theorists of international relations in the West have for long maintained that orthodox Marxist theory contains anything of relevance on international relations. The terms of a theoretical analysis of international relations, all are of the view that Marx himself, did little to contribute. Such assertions may not be unfounded given Marx's preoccupation with the analysis of the structures of national capitalism, but it would be patently wrong to assume that he never reflected issues relevant to international relations. Although Marx was primarily concerned with analyzing the structures of national capitalism, and particularly the antagonistic relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, an international perspective was nevertheless in his work. This was evident in Marx's recognition that class loyalties cut across national divisions, which enabled him to proclaim, at the end of the Communist Manifesto, "Workers of the world! Unite!" In other words, whereas liberal and Realist theories hold that power is organized vertically, reflecting the division of the world into independence states, a Marxist organization based on international class. However, the implications of viewing capitalism as an international system were fully explored in Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Lenin argued that imperial expansion reflected domestic capitalism's quest to maintain profit levels through the export of surplus capital, and that this, in turn, brought major capitalist powers into conflict with one another: the resulting war (the First World War) being essentially an imperialist war in the sense that it was fought for the control of colonies in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. Before we get down to discussing the theories of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and hegemony we must be clear in our minds that Marx's ideas have been interpreted and appropriated in several different and contradictory ways, giving rise to several competing schools of Marxism. Underlying these different schools are several common elements that can be traced back to Marx's writings.

## 5.2.2 The Study and Understanding of History

It is impossible to imagine political thought of the West (for that matter, of any society without history, Political thought is related to politics, but it is history that affords political thought its very basis. We do not mean to say that political thought can be studied without politics, but we certainly want to insist that we cannot study political thought deprived of history, understanding political thought in the historical context is, in fact, empathetic political thought in the physical sense.' A political philosopher's political philosophy emerges in the age of philosopher breaths. In fact, his political philosophy an answer to the times the philosopher lives in. His philosophy cannot be detached from history of his eras. No political thinker builds up his political philosophy without taking an explanation of the age or his times. To put the point in another sense, it may be said that a political philosopher, understood only in his milieu. Plato, though an idealist, could hardly be separated from his soil. his classification of states depicted the classification as it prevailed then; his theory of education was draw heavily from what existed in Athens and Sparta then. Machiavelli's whole methodology depicted lies debt to history. The contractually - Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau-made history as the basis of their social contract theory. Karl Marx went all the way to advocate the materialistic interpretation of history. The objective conditions of history always provide the foundations on which the political philosophies have built their philosophy.

Furthermore, we can understand the political philosophy of a political thinker only in the historical context. Separate a political philosopher from his times, one will always find Popper condemning Plato as an enemy of open society. A contextual study is always a safer method of understanding a text. A text without a context is a structure without a base. Machiavelli is better understood in the context of renaissance. Hobbes and Locke, with their views as apart as the north-south poles, can be better studied in the background of the English civil war. Marx call be understood in the light of the growing capitalism of the European/ Western society.

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Western political thought is based on history, but its history, Professor Sabine rightly says, has no concluding chapter. It has grown and is growing, and in fact, will always keep growing or political ideas of an earlier philosopher, and in the process builds his own philosophy. It has grown in a typical way; each subsequent philosopher condemns/criticizes the philosophy Aristotle did so with Plato; Locke did so with Filmer; Bentham, with Blackstone; John Stuart Mill, with Bentham; Marx did so with Hegel, Adam Smith, Proudhon. So western political the days of Plato and Aristotle. No wonder if then it is said that all philosophy is a footnote thought has grown; it proceeds on polemics, it changes, but it continues. It is continuing since to Plato. Plato and Aristotle together gave the base on which stands the whole fabric of western political thought for political idealism and political realism are the two pillars of the western political philosophers from where rise numerous other related shades. It is not easy to identify what the western political thought contains. The attempt, indeed, would be arbitrary. However, major contents of the western political thought can, for the sake of making a point, be stated, to be:

- (i) political institutions and procedures;
- (ii) political idealism and realism.

### **Check Your Progress 2**

Q4. At what period of time did their ideas emerge?

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Q5. Why Western political thought is based on history?

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## **5.3 NEO MARXIST THINKERS**

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The policy of extending the power or rule of a state beyond its boundaries, imperialism in its earliest usage served as an ideology that supported the military expansion and imperial acquisition by drawing on nationalist and racialist doctrines. It was in this sense that the term was originally used as an invective against the expansionist policy of Napoleon I and a little later against the expansionist policy of Britain. Even though imperialism in its classical form for that it has become a thing of the past, it continues to remain a useful analytic category in explaining various phenomena in contemporary society. It is now more commonly used to describe the system of political domination or economic exploitation that the pursuit of such goals helped to establish. So much so that since the Second World War, the word imperialism has virtually become synonymous with the oppression and exploitation of the weak and impoverished countries by the powerful ones. In the Marxist tradition, imperialism is seen as an economic phenomenon that typically results from the pressure to export capital. Several contemporary Marxists are of the view, as would become evident later on in the Unit that far from being over the phenomenon of imperialism continues to thrive under new forms. For example, Neo-Marxists draw attention to a more subtle form of imperialism termed as neocolonialism, through which industrialized powers control foreign territory by economic domination while respecting the territory's formal political independence. However, the frequent use of the two terms--colonialism and imperialism-interchangeably adds to general confusion over their precise meanings. While "colony" is a people detached from a larger entity and settled in a distant place implying emigration, imperialism derived from the term "imperium" connotes exercise of command or domination of one person by a stronger people without implying emigration. In other words, imperialism describes the relations between a dominant and subservient society without the latter being necessarily reduced to a formal colony. J. A. Hobson, an English economist, is universally accredited with the task of formulating the scientific concept of imperialism in his seminal work *Imperialism: A Study* in 1902. Hobson's study focused on late-19th Century imperialism, which could be distinguished from previous forms of imperialism in two ways: the

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existence of several empires in competition with one another, and the predominance of finance capital over mercantile capital. The central argument of Hobson was that the accumulation of capital and saturation of internal markets led to the situation whereby it became urgent to seek outlets for investment abroad. The process of excessive accumulation of capital leading to a search for investment abroad is termed by Hobson as the "economic taproot of imperialism". Hobson believed that excessive accumulation of capital took place primarily because of over saving which in turn got a fillip from the unequal distribution of wealth. Following from this, Hobson prescribed the need for social reforms. He believed that the equitable distribution of wealth in society would increase the purchasing power of the people, which in turn would expand the markets. Expansion of markets thus would not only provide for increased internal capital investments but would also greatly ease the pressure for investment abroad. Several Marxist theorists, however, have expressed strong reservations about Hobson's prognosis. Different theories of imperialism as articulated by several Marxist theorists like Rudolf Hilferding (1877-1941), Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919), and V. I. Lenin (1870-1924) question and challenge the Rosa Luxemburg also viewed imperialism as "the last stage in the historical race of capitalism". Proceeding from a Marxist class analysis, she described the crucial role played by the unequal exchange between imperialist (capitalist) and colonized (pre-capitalist) countries in the accumulation of capital. The Accumulation of capital, she also emphasized the historical role played by militarism in capital accumulation and pioneered the study of the relationship between political domination, military occupation, and external debt. Moreover, in addition to describing how militarism is used to ensure the conditions of accumulation (through the subjection of colonies, as a weapon in the competitive struggle between capitalist countries, etc.), Luxemburg argued that militarism "is a pre-eminent means for the realization of surplus-value; it is in itself a province of accumulation", which would later form the basis of the 'military-industrial complex' of the great empires. Lenin is perhaps the first Marxist to offer a systematic analysis of modern imperialism. In *Imperialism, the*

Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin began his discussion of imperialism by asking what he called "the main question": "whether it is possible to reform the basis of imperialism, whether to go forward to the accentuation and deepening of the antagonisms which it endangers, or backward towards allaying these antagonisms". Pessimistic of the possibility of reforming capitalism of its imperialist tendencies, he rejected such notions by insisting that imperialism was the inevitable "highest stage" of capitalism, which could only be defeated by revolution. "Imperialism", wrote Lenin, "is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of all territories of the globe has been completed". Lenin thus distinguished modern imperialism from the old by pointing out that the special feature of modern imperialism was the export of capital rather than the export of ordinary commodities and/or a desire for new investments rather than new markets for goods as naively believed by Hobson. As he observed: "Imperialism is the direct continuation of fundamental properties of capitalism in general". He viewed it as a special stage of capitalism that developed by about 1900. Lenin was highly critical of Kautsky for his theory of "ultra-imperialism" on the ground that it was nothing more than a re-statement of Hobson's theory of "inter-imperialist". He attacked Kautsky for masking the true nature of imperialism by way of insisting that "a union of world imperialism, and not struggle amongst imperialisms", was possible, and that "a phase when war shall cease under capitalism" would come. Contrary to Kautsky's assertion that "the rule of finance capital lessens the unevenness and contradictions in the world economy", Lenin was of the view that "in reality, it increases them". Lenin further added: Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of the striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by an extremely small group of the richest or most powerful nations-all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism".

### 5.3.1 Introduction of Neo - Marxism

The Frankfurt School has become one of the most important proponents of employers' cynicism. It grew out of the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt Germany. Neo-Marxism is also known as an important principle in Germany where class division under capitalism is considered more important than gender or sexual division or issues of race and morality. Neo-Marxism exemplifies the common view of economic or class determination and encompasses a set of beliefs that believe in at least semi-autonomy of the social sphere. Neo-Marxists chose parts of the idea of the scar after looking at the noses of working-class revolutions in Western Europe after World War I that could clarify the social conditions that did not exist when the scar was alive. He filled what should be the ideas of other schools of thought in Marxism.

With criticism of Martin Heidegger's philosophy, Jürgen Habermas began his intellectual curriculum in the 1950s. In the 1960s Jürgen Habermas based his theories on theories, identifying a new level of critical knowledge in his knowledge and human powers, which differentiated it from the natural sciences or the humanities and oriented it to self-refinement and liberation. Jürgen Habermas considers his major contribution to the development of the concept and theory of communicative reason or communicative logic that distinguishes itself from the rationalist tradition by tracing rationality in the structures of scientific linguistic structures rather than in the structure of the universe. In 1981, Habermas published *The Theory of Communicative Action* in which he develops the concept and discourse of an ideal speech situation as well as ethics. Working with Frankfurt School colleague Carl Otto Appel, he proposes a model of communication rationality that takes into account impact power and considers the state of discourse and opposes the traditional idea of an objective and functional cause within social interaction there is a display of subjective and differential subjective Slavs, which is determined by other abilities of reasoning. Rationalization in

sociology refines the adaptation of traditions, values and sentiments, a kind of inclusion of bureaucracy in government with rational calculation as precarious for pragmatism in society because of high proficiency in architecture and urban planning. Jürgen Habermas has argued that to properly understand rationalization one needs to go beyond Weber's notion of logic and distinguish between device practicality including computation and efficiency and communicability that enhance mutual understanding or spectra in communication, reflective the ability to expand this understanding through discourse is included. Makes communication and social and political life subject to this clear understanding. Rationality in Habermas's belief means that the removal of barriers that distort communication systems, in which the idea is openly presented and reservations against criticism, develops an unconstitutional basis during the debate.

### **5.3.2 Economic Growth**

In other words, in a society's physical basis — the economic system, how they produced their means of living, and how they organized themselves to do it. Here you should know that it was Marx who analyzed and categorized various social systems. I showed that it was the material basis of life that determined the nature of society, and the class struggle resulted from these physical bases, which led to change and development in society. The driving and underlying causes of historical development and change were not human changing ideas, but class conflicts. The class struggle was, in turn, a result of the fact that some class people or classes were the privileged and ruling class, and others were the deprived, oppressed, and governed class. Their separate and conflicting position in turn was based on their relationship with their sources of income — whether I owned them or hired others to work on them, or whether they worked on them and others Used to produce profit. Naturally, the interests of the two were antagonistic and irreplaceable to each other. In short, Marxism showed that the prevailing economic system was the basis of society, which determined all other aspects of it, and that class struggle was an integral part of any society

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where resources were privately owned by the few, and, living became an instrument of the labor of others. Therefore, as long as private property existed, class struggle was inevitable in history, that is, it was an essential part of every phase of historical development until the Socialist Revolution, when resources would be collectively owned. These ideas formed historical materialism. Based on these ideas, he showed how each society went through the same stages of development - primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism - and how, although some characteristics may vary from country to country, any of them It was not possible to leave. Stages. But Marx and Engels not only developed an understanding of historical development, they were also particular about fully analyzing their phase of history. This is because they not only wanted to understand the world, they also wanted to change it. However, to change this, it was first necessary to understand the functioning of how things really were, as they existed. Hence his second major contribution was the intense and sharp criticism of capitalist society, especially in the manner that resulted in the exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie. We have already talked about how this happens earlier in the lesson. It was Marx and Engels who made it work. In this way he also contributed significantly to economic theory. He showed how a part of a Labor Day under capitalism covers the cost of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the rest of the day he works without remuneration, as he is now producing over and above Is what it will be. paid for. It is through this, that he creates surplus value, which is the source of profit for the bourgeoisie and through this the worker is denied the hit of his labor. Thus, capitalism is not just an economic system, it is also a definite set of social relations, that is, a specific relationship between the capitalist and the worker, which is against the interests of the worker, and which is socially unjust. Labor is an essential part of the system because nothing can be produced without labor, and labor cannot produce alone, so labor has a certain social organization. But this social organization is dominated by capital or money which is held by the capitalist, and which does not have labor.

In the understanding of Karl Marks must be conscious of how an ideology reflects and distorts reality and from which factors influence and influence false consciousness that represent particularly unifying forces of domination. Habermas has assumed that various theories and theories have a relative validity. He goes so far as to argue that the logic of socialization is plural and the mechanism of general principles. The most important approach is to bring all the different methods and principles in relation to each other. While natural and cultural or didactic science writings are able to remain hostilely indifferent to coexistence, social sciences must bear the stress of the divergent approach under one roof.

In his theory of transitive action, Habermas has molded critical social theory into an equally plural, yet unilateral way, and argued that the main existing theories have their own validity as evolving lines of empirical research and that it is important. The theory performs critical work to integrate the various. Principles and their adaptive methods and prior adaptation are most important. Critical social theory is not concerned with established lines of research as contestants, starting with their concept of the rise of modern societies; it attempts to explain the specific limitations and rights relative to those perspectives.

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## **5.4 ETHICS**

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For Gramsci, hegemony refers to the ability of a dominant class, which exercises power by winning the consent of those people, as a substitute for the use of subjugation. Unlike traditional Marxists, Gramsci emphasized the non-vigorous front of class rule. He believed that while this might be true of the possibility of coercion or coercion as the main reason for the exploited and isolated inability to overthrow the system, in the case of lesser societies like the former So much trouble. The situation was quite different in the case of revolutionary Russia, the more developed countries of the West. Gramsci believed that in the case of the developed vest, the system was maintained not only by coercion, but perhaps more importantly by consent.

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It is in this context that the principle of hegemony becomes important in understanding the nature of modern capitalist society. Thus, Hegel is generally understood, in the Gramscian sense, as a cultural or ideological process that operates and roughs the spread of bourgeois values and beliefs throughout society. Consent, according to Gramsci, is produced and reproduced by the hegemony of the ruling class in society. It is this domination, which allows bourgeois values — the moral, political, and cultural values of the dominant class — to spread widely throughout society and be accepted by subordinate classes as their own. In other words, the bourgeois ideology is so deeply internalized by the subordinate and exploited classes that it becomes part of unquestioned "common sense". The penetration of such bourgeois values is through institutions of civil society such as media, education systems, churches, voluntary organizations, etc. Gramsci's contribution to the general body of Marxist thought lies in the fact that IOS successfully shifting focus was successful. More towards super structural phenomena as Marxist analysis against the traditional obsession of orthodox Marxists with economic base. Following Gramsci, international relations theorists such as Robert Cox have attempted to "internationalize" their ideas in the global context by exchanging many of their key concepts, most notably hegemony. Drawing on the notion of Gramsci's hegemony and moving it into the international realm, Cox argues that Hagemann is perhaps as important as maintaining domestic stability at the international level. According to Cox, successive major powers in the international system have shaped a world order that suited their interests, and did so not only as a result of their tremendous capabilities. But also, because they have managed to generate widespread calls for an order that is also denied. Using examples from the two hedges, the United Kingdom and the United States, Cox demonstrates that the ruling, hegemonic idea of "free trade" is so widely accepted in the world today that it is almost "common sense". Has become a part. However, it adversely affects the peripheral states and only the major states benefit from it. Cox argues that the degree to which a state produces and reproduces its hegemony in the international system indicates its power in the system. The United States' success in



gaining near-universal acceptance for neo-liberalism, Cox argues, reflects the current Hem men's dominance in the international system.

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## 5.5 LET US SUM UP

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Marx not only contributed to the theory, but he also formed the first international working men's union on the basis of proletarian internationalism. In other words, it is recognized that! The interests of the entire working class of the world were the same, and therefore. They have to fight in solidarity. Hence the slogan of the International Working Men's Association - 'World's workers united!' The first successful revolution by the working class took place in Russia in 1917. Not only did I end the working class & this private property in the industry in 'alliance with the farmer', but it also nationalized all the land. It created a new state - a socialist state, based on the rule of the toiling people. It established a socialist democracy based on economic equality and social justice. You will read about it in a separate lesson. It becomes clear from the foregoing discussion that Mars's contribution to himself through theoretical analysis of international relations was minimal. Nevertheless: His ideas have been interpreted and appropriated in many ways, resulting in an issue in many competing schools of Marxism that will be explored at greater length in the next unit. However, there are many colonial elements inherent in these different schools that are often traced to the writings of Marx.

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## 5.6 KEYWORD

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1. **Neo-colonialism:** pressures to control or influence other countries, especially former dependencies.
2. **Hegemony:** especially by one state or social group over others.
3. **Imperialism:** a policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization.

4. **Hegemonic idea:** set of ideas and beliefs that act to uphold and justify an existing or desired arrangement of power, authority, wealth and status in a society.

5. **Socialist state:** A *socialist state*, *socialist republic*, or *socialist country*, sometimes referred to as a workers' *state* or workers' republic, is a sovereign *state* constitutionally dedicated to the establishment of *socialism*.

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## 5.7 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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1. S. Avineri, The Social and Political thought of Karl Marx
2. Sabine and Thorson, A history of Political theory
3. Alan Woods and Rob Sewell
4. David McLellan, The Thought of Karl Marx

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## 5.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) Bring out the core elements of Marxist approach to international relations.
- 2) What does Hobson mean by "economic taproot of imperialism"?
- 3) How is colonialism different from imperialism'? Also highlight the Marxist views on colonialism?
- 4) What do you mean by neo-colonialism?
- 5) In what ways, do you think the Marxist theory of hegemony helps in enriching our understanding of the dynamics of international politics'?

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## 5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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I. 1. The capitalist economy is characterized by less market intervention in the free market and economy with the highest preference for capital. As opposed to a socialist economy, refers to the organization of society, which is characterized by the abolition of class relations and thus gives more importance to the people. Therefore, here we have presented to you all the differences between capitalism and socialism, which can help you to decide which system is the best. An economic system is essentially based on private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. An economic system in which the means of production are privately owned and producers compete to maximize their profits.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.1)

2. The study of internal relations contrasts sharply with the traditional paradigms discussed in earlier units. What makes the Marxist approach infinite is that it emphasizes the need for change. Unlike realists and liberals, this is not the status quo 'and stands for a radical change of the existing international / world order. Sharp unlike Realism and Liberalism, while the Marxist approach tends to be an unconstitutional view of internal relations.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.2)

3. Socialism is a social system that comes into existence as a result of the socialist-proletarian revolution. It is a form of society that resulted from the overthrow of the capitalist system. No one can be a socialist before passing through the stage of capitalism. It is capitalism that creates conditions for the development of socialist movements and ideology and ultimately the creation of a socialist society. We will talk about this later when we discuss Marx's ideas. Socialist society destroys private ownership of the means of production and instead changes public ownership of the means of production. This means that all the resources from which money can be generated - land, factories, mines, banks - can no longer be the property of any person or group of people.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.3)

II. 4. He sharply criticized the capitalist society. He showed in his writings how this was an unjust and unequal society, and also that, its main result, was a refutation of the good life for the vast majority of people - although, as he pointed out, capitalism created tremendous possibilities were

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Production increased. But it is. It is important to remember that he was not satisfied with the criticism of capitalist society with only Marxist and socialist ideology. Each of them also worked, in minimal detail, their vision of an ideal society — i.e. Society should be as it should be. In this, he surpassed the 18th century enlightened thinkers. Enlightened thinkers had said that everything should be analyzed and judged on the basis of logic and logic and that a proper government was one that works according to rational law, and granted political and civil liberties to its citizens. He emphasized fundamental rights of the individual, such as freedom of expression. Religious law, equality before the law, etc., because these things were fair and everyone should have authority over them.....(answer for Check your Progress-2 Q.4)

5. No wonder if then it is said that all philosophy is a footnote thought has grown; it proceeds on polemics, it changes, but it continues. It is continuing since to Plato. Plato and Aristotle together gave the base on which stands the whole fabric of western political thought for political idealism and political realism are the two pillars of the western political philosophers from where rise numerous other related shades. It is not easy to identify what the western political thought contains. The attempt, indeed, would be arbitrary. However, major contents of the western political thought can, for the sake of making a point, be stated, to be: (i) political institutions and procedures; (ii) political idealism and realism. . ....(answer for Check your Progress-2 Q.5)

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# UNIT 6: THE EUROPEAN UNION IN WORLD AFFAIRS

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## STRUCTURE

6.0 Objectives

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 The role of the European

6.1.2 The Decline of Europe

6.1.3 Existing strength

6.2 Trade agreement with the United State

6.3 Ethics

6.4 Let Us Sum Up

6.5 Keywords

6.6 References and suggested readings

6.7 Questions for Review

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 6.0 OBJECTIVE

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- The European Union has been established with the aim of ending persistent and bloody views among neighbors, culminating in World War II. By 1950, the European Union and the Nepalese community begin to unite economically and politically European countries to secure lasting peace.
- The six founding countries are Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.
- The 1950s dominated the Cold War between East and West. Protests against Communist rule in Meena were carried out by Soviet tankers in 1956. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome forms the European Economic Community or Market Common Market.

## Notes

- The European Union is the political and economic organization of European countries. It has developed at various levels, that is, the establishment of the European Union is not by any one agreement or treaty, but after various treaties and amendments. The "Treaty of Paris (1951)", "Treaty of Rome (1957)", "Treaty of Maastricht (1993)" and "Treaty of Lisbon (2009)" have contributed significantly to its development.
- At present, only 27 members will remain after Britain gets out of the union. The European Union has played an important role in the political and economic development of European countries, due to which this organization represents about 22% of the world's economy. The European Union has its own Parliament, Commission, Council of Ministers, Courts and Central Banks which are also known as the principal organs of the Union.

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## 6.1 INTRODUCTION

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The European Union's common currency is the euro, which has been adopted by only 19 member states of the union. Through the Schengen Treaty (1985), the union gave citizens of its member countries the right to travel to any country in Europe without a passport. Although this right was also given to some members late, such as Romania and Bulgaria, who became members of the union in 2007 but they did not have this right till 2014, but Norway, Sweden and Iceland have this right even without being a member of the union. Various changes have been made to the Union by amending different treaties and treaties, of which the Treaty of Maastricht is the chief by which the European Community was renamed the European Union. Its capital is in Brussels. Currently, the European Union's Regional Cooperation Organization - European Union is also counted among the emerging centers of economic and political power in the world. This is the most successful example in the world of establishing an economic community of countries at the regional level. The European Union is currently an organization of 28 countries. Although it was established in its present form in 1993, but this association is the result of many efforts made

for cooperation between European countries after World War II. This is the result of four decades of gradual development after 1950. It is the only successful example of regional integration and economic community in the world. Efforts are being made to build community in other areas of the world on the same lines. Motivational elements of economic integration in Europe - European Union are the embodiment of European countries' desire for economic cooperation and integration. The most devastating effects of World War II appeared in Europe itself, as the main site of the war was Europe. This war not only caused widespread economic and human damage to the countries of Europe but also affected their influential position globally. After the war, the center of world power was no longer Europe, but was replaced by America and Soviet Union. European leaders and intellectuals held mutual differences and disputes responsible for this adverse situation.

### **6.1.1 The Role of the European**

- To promote peace, values and the well-being of all EU citizens.
- Provide freedom, security and justice without internal limitations.
- A highly competitive market economy with sustainable economic growth, full employment and social progress and environmental protection based on balanced economic growth and price stability.
- Combating social exclusion and discrimination.
- Promote scientific and technological progress.
- Enhance economic, social and regional cohesion and unity among EU countries.
- Honor its rich cultural and linguistic diversity.
- Establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro.

The European Council is the highest-level policy making body in the institutional architecture of the European Union. The European Council was established in 1974 primarily because it felt that it had failed to respond

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adequately or quickly to new or increasingly difficult challenges. The "head of state or government" started regular summit meetings in March 1975. The community became an informal part of the institutions until it was legally recognized by the Single European Act (1987). Treaty (2000) gave the European Council the status of de jure, whereby the Council nominates the person for the post of President of the European Commission.

The Council consists of the head of state government of all member states of the European Union and the chairman of the European Commission. He is assisted by his foreign ministers and another member of the European Commission. The President of the European Council informs the European Parliament on the conclusion of each European Council meeting. Since the mid-1990s, the European Council has held at least four summits each year: twice during each six-monthly rotating presidency. Extraordinary meetings can be called in exceptional circumstances. As of 2001, twice-yearly summits at the end of the Presidency were held in the Presidency's country. However, since 2002, the Presidency Summit ends in Brussels. Other summits may be held by the President wherever he wishes.

The activities undertaken by the Council vary according to the priorities of the Member States, the emphasis given by the Presidency, as well as the changes and requirements. The Council sets the overall framework and initiates key policies, but leaves the implementation and execution to the 'Council of Ministers and the European Commission. It deals with issues related to the constitutional and institutional withdrawal, expansion and nomination of the Chairman of the Commission and the President of the European Central Bank.

The Treaty of Maastricht gave the European Council some operational responsibilities in relation to foreign and security policy as well as the economic and monetary union. It essentially works along inter-governmental lines. It deals with difficult issues on which the Council of Ministers has failed to agree. However, due to the increasing reliance on qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers, the Council does not



in fact often serve as the final court of appeal, but serves more in terms of providing policy guidelines and taking initiatives. The Council discusses contemporary world problems. It seeks to speak in one voice on international issues while developing the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

Since the European Council consists of the heads of state and / or governments of all EU member states and the President of the European Commission, its meetings are large media events and, attracting global attention. These 'summit' meetings determine the overall EU policy and resolve issues that cannot be resolved at the lower level by ministers' in General Council meetings.

The European Union owes its success to its institutions. These institutions do not seek to become ubiquitous national institutions; rather they aim to strengthen national institutions. They only act when it is felt that efforts at the European level will be more beneficial than efforts made at the national level. Thus, the national institutions of the member states and the institutions of the European Union are not rival but complement each other. In this unit we discuss the constitution, functions and roles of 8 institutions of the European Union.

Presented by the Maastricht Treaty, the co-decision process is the most commonly used procedure for most regions that have EU capabilities. The Treaty of Amsterdam has simplified the co-decision process, making it quicker and more effective and strengthening the role of Parliament. It also extended it to new areas such as social boycott, public health and the fight against fraud affecting the financial interests of the European Community. The Treaty of Ness expanded the scope of the co-decision process, supplementing the voting of a qualified majority in Council.

As defined in Article 251 of the EC Treaty, the co-decision process is the legislative process that is central to the community's decision-making

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system. It is based on the principle of parity and means that neither the European Parliament nor the Council can adopt the law without the assurances of the other.

In the co-decision process, the council jointly shares legal responsibility for legislation with the European Parliament. The process involves one, two or three readings. This has the effect of increasing contact with Parliament and Council, co-legislators and the European Commission. If the Council and the European Parliament cannot agree on a particular item of proposed legislation, the Council and Parliament hold an equal number of delegates and negotiate a "Reconciliation Committee". Once this committee reaches an agreement, the legislative text is once again sent to Parliament and Council so that they can discuss it and finally adopt it as law. If a joint text is not approved by a reconciliation committee, the act does not become law. In other words, the co-decision enables the European Parliament to veto any resolution which is within its scope. Intergovernmentalism considers the states as the basic actors in the process of European integration, and EU institutions implement the collective will of national governments as mere facilitators or agents. In this state-centered perspective, states act together to realize common objectives and states' willingness is expressed through national governments. The Heads of State are free to decide on internal and external issues and no external decision can insist on them. States are centers of people's identity and loyalty and no international organization can replace states, including the European Union. Therefore, intergovernmental consider the 1966 Luxembourg Agreement; Negative votes as a sign of their position in the cumbersome negotiations, compromise results and referendum on the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty, as well as their position in the 2005 EU Constitutional Treaty on Referendum. He suggests that the EU can only move forward if member countries allow it for a general benefit indicating the centrality of states in the EU integration process.

Inter disciplines, however, is a broader ideology. From the basic premise that member states are the driving force of the UN Act without the unification of the European Union and the surrender of the immeasurable sovereignty of the State Act, inter-governmentalism itself combines diverse perspectives. For example, neo-realism looks at the structural arrangements that shape the functions of states. Others hold different perspectives on inter-state relations, the role of non-state actors, and the importance of domestic politics in shaping EU policy of member states. Despite this, the centrality of the state in relation to the integration of the European Union is the hallmark of intergovernmental interpretations.

For example, Stanley Hoffman, an American academic, argues that this was a politico-economic and security idea in the post- ii period of World War I, but was followed by a supranational / integration argument that allowed European states to adopt a regional approach has inspired. The European Community was; therefore, a limited system serving general purpose and did not alter the basics of nation-states because cooperation was limited to only a few regions ("less politics") that were not important to the core of nation states were rediscovered. For him, historical heritage, cultural and linguistic differences and various purposes outside are difficult and the EC technical knowledge prescriptions given for the creation of the European Union countries are impractical. Therefore, any attempt to leave the nation states of Europe would be futile exercise because the nation states were obstinate rather than obsolete players in the game of international politics.

The centrality of the state continues in the definitive concept, but domestic politics is seen as having a significant impact on the functions of the state. In this perspective, EU policy decisions are seen as the consequences of a "two-level game" in which domestic politics is linked to state centrality. This "two-tier game" concept, most famously R. D. is advanced by Poonam, argues that political leaders at the international level engage in bargains with other states that enhance their position domestically by meeting the demands of key domestic constituents. This implies a consistent bargaining

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and harmonizing of competing domestic (national) priorities within EU governance. This notion of a two-level game reduces the boundary between domestic and international domains, providing a practical description of the integration process rather than grand theorization or moral positions. Nevertheless, states in this perspective are still important in determining integration outcomes, but the rigor associated with the state is relaxed.

In favor of a cooperative politics which is not inter-generational but inter-governmental in making decisions based on hard bargaining.

**Check your progress 1**

Q1. What is the role of European Union?

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Q2. What is the responsibility according to Maastricht?

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**6.1.2 The Decline of Europe**

The EU as a whole "reflects the difficulties that SAARC is discussing on political issues, and the SAARC member countries are not Europe". However, the Commission feels that it can "help strengthen the integration process through its economic impact in the region, has its own experience in tackling diversity, and has an interest in crisis prevention".

**THE LESSONS OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS FOR SOUTH ASIA CAN BE:**

1) Compromise. One of the lessons that SAARC can learn from the European Union is that there is a need to build on common interests to

promote common good harmonious interests in order to reduce the chances of conflict and increase the mutual benefits of cooperation.

2) Uniform distribution of benefits. The process of European integration suggests that even though there have been repeated conflicts between member states over equal distribution of benefits, more affluent states such as Germany have voluntarily accepted a redistribution of resources that are at least higher than those of South European countries are. Through instruments such as regional and structural funds to reduce inequalities and accelerate the process of economic development in poor areas. Some of the smaller SAARC member states have urged a similar shifting to weak economies as some other trade blocs to mitigate the adverse effects of more liberal trade.

3) Spillover Apex. Regional cooperation in Europe has fueled a positive spillover effect: the gradual cascading of slowly increasing economic cooperation will promote greater political cooperation. However, while spillovers can soften adverse conditions, they are unlikely to dissolve directly and quickly.

4) Procedural innovation. Although the complex structures of EU institutions cannot be reproduced in other areas, SAARC can gain some insight and knowledge from EU experiences in institutional integration as there are some common elements such as guiding principles, flexibility and practice Power, in national and regional handling issues, formulation of proposals, which are of general benefit to the region और, and economic integration and political consultation can strengthen each other. The European Union has always avoided finding innovative, creative solutions to problems. It has sought to institutionalize consulates and agreements and adopt two new instruments. Open Mode of Cooperation (Intergovernmental) and Reinforced Cooperation (Schengen, Euro).

5) Role of civil society. Europeans often emphasize the benefits of diplomacy, which has been quite successful in Europe. Cross-border

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connectivity and cross-community linkage have been of considerable importance as more contacts mean more dependencies. But, people-to-people contact also has its limitations. They are useful, but by themselves they cannot trigger fundamental changes.

The law and regulation of the European Union is to make its countries an economic unit, so that goods flow freely across the borders of its member states without charge, with the ease of a currency, and in the creation of an enlarged labor pool. Maybe, which uses more favorable delivery and labor. There is a pooling of financial resources, so member countries can be "bailed out" or lent for investment. Union expectations have political implications for member states in areas such as human rights and the environment. The union can give a heavy political cost such as severe cuts and a hard budget on its members as a condition of giving aid.

It is a great experiment, in fact, in cooperation between nations, who aspire to be economically integrated, cursing as little political and national power as possible.

**TRADE:** Free trade among its members was one of the founding principles of the European Union. It is possible for single market. Beyond its borders, the European Union is also committed to liberalizing world trade.

The European Union is the world's largest trade bloc. It is the largest description of manufactured goods and services in the world and the largest import market for over 100 countries.

Humanitarian Assistance the European Union is committed to helping the victims of man-made and natural disasters worldwide and supports more than 120 million people each year. The European Union and its constituent countries are the world's major donors of humanitarian aid.

**DIPLOMACY AND SECURITY:** The European Union represents an important role in diplomacy and works to maintain, promote security and prosperity, democracy, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law at the international level.

### **6.1.3 Existing Strength**

Since the late 1970s, the European Community has been growing rapidly to encourage and strengthen relations with other regional economic groups. However, external member states of the Proteas have preferred the European Community to maintain its bilateral agreements rather than develop a regional basis for future cooperation. Prior contacts between the European Union and SAARC were initiated in 1988, but the first attempt to reach the European Community was made only in 1992. Cooperation between the European Commission and the SAARC Secretariat was envisaged in commitments (10 July 1996). Three main areas, i.e. Exchange of information on issues of mutual interest, staff training to strengthen the functioning and technical support of SAARC institutions. However, internal problems within SAARC have prevented any effective steps of commitment despite being committed to cooperation in some areas.

SAARC held an informal ministerial-level dialogue with the European Union on the lines of the United Nations General Assembly in 1998 and 1999. But the Indo-Pak tension and the deployment of troops along the border have increased tensions in the region. Following the withdrawal of troops in October 2002, the Dutch President sought to resume negotiations in 2003, but could not hold it due to "logistical reasons". Thus, political interaction between the European Union and SAARC was, at best, a lack of advertising. There was no mechanism to develop it on the lines of EU-ASEAN dialogue.

Despite the EU's deep desire to enter into more concrete areas of activities such as free trade zones, banking and development of rules and standards,

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WTO-related issues, transit and maritime issues, and the environmental sector, etc., the EU is expected to The SAARC dialogue will become a regular feature and will help identify new areas of economic and social cooperation and support. In agreed areas of cooperation with Mr. projects and programs will proceed to implement effectively, both groups who have taken certain measures, it has not made much progress.

There has been very limited cooperation between the European Union and SAARC. Apart from the inclusion of SAARC in the generalized system of forecasts cumulative segment of the rules of origin (w.e.f. 1 October 2000), there are not really any EU-SAARC projects which are being funded by the European Commission. The lack of political cohesion among the SAARC members themselves, particularly the relationship between India and Pakistan, makes the organization "published as a political dialogue name". The European Commission feels that "internal divisions" within the Proteas have prevented very effective cooperation with the European Union.

SAARC felt at the 12th SAARC Summit (January 2004) (Operations 1 January 2006), SAARC, European Commission, SAFC adopted new dynamics, thus, giving itself a clear economic integration agenda, which can be provided. The basis of close cooperation with the European Union. "Although the implementation of SAFTA remains cloudy. At the time, as long as South Asian regionalism is underdeveloped and there is not much growth in near-term economic cooperation, an inter-regional Europe-South Asian relationship does not appear to have bright prospects.

Seventh, Western Europe is characterized by a spread of strength in Europe. In the European Union, despite differences in size and population of member states, there is no single member that is as large as India, or the only unifying or divisive factor. There are at least four in the European Union, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy, as relatively equal population and equal economic strength. No member state has the capacity to rule the region late. On the other hand, South Asia is characterized by



several major states due to size, population, resources, economic development potential, military power and no common boundaries between them. While India's borders are bordered by the five SAARC member states, its neighbors are nonexistent. This basic identity colors the perceptions of India's neighbors, who have countered Indian influence by seeking 'participation and support' of external powers in the region. A major motivating factor behind the establishment of SAARC was the general fear of all small countries dominated by India and it is hoped that Indian ambitions for regional hegemony may be contained within the framework of a regional group. South Asian ruling oligarchs are more concerned about domination than building a functional relationship with India as has been the case in ASEAN despite Indonesia's overwhelming status.

Eighth, national laws in the European Union have more advanced laws and institutions than those present in them. The member states of the European Union have found various and constructive ways of sharing sovereignty and common interests and policies. Unlike the European Union's constantly expanding sector of competence and the creation of supernatural institutions, South Asia has no desire to do so, except for a general desire to veil elements of sovereignty in most regions.

Ninth, in contrast to Western Europe, South Asia lacks economic complementarity. Thus, despite a common civilizational heritage, shared history and potentially integrated eco-systems, SAARC member states have still been unable to cooperate meaningfully and effectively in promoting greater economic development in trade, industry and investment. South Asian economies are competitive rather than complementary and depend to a large extent on the same product categories. Unlike the European Union, where intra-regional trade is more than 65 percent, intra-regional trade in South Asia accounts for about 5 percent of its global trade and intra-SAARC investment is only 1 percent of its total investment.

Tenth, contrary to the principle of consensus or majority voting, which is increasingly being followed in the European Union, all formal decisions in SAARC, issues to be discussed and areas to cooperate in should be unanimous.

Eleventh, there is no formal institutional process for the discussion of bilateral political disputes between member states within the current framework of SAARC. Political discussions have taken place, including on some bilateral issues, directly between the countries concerned, informally and during summit and council meetings. These meetings have contributed both to the spread of tensions and to resolve some disputes.

The development of the European Union and the SAARC are important in identifying the problems of geopolitical milestones, how policies are made, and what means are used to implement those policies. Therefore, there is a natural difference in their priorities and institutional structure. The comparison can therefore be misleading. Thus, given the structural differences in the conditions and institutional framework for the European Union and SAARC, it clearly cannot compare to the incomparable as the former is perhaps the most successful experiment in human history and the most advanced and complex agglomeration and the latter the other is the end of the spectrum. The goal of SAARC is neither political nor economic integration; It seeks closer economic cooperation. The above discussion demonstrates the limitations and possibilities of inter-regional comparative analysis.

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## **6.2 TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATE**

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United States - External Union. None of these internal or external factors were major movers of regional cooperation in South Asia. Variations in SAARC member states' security perceptions handicapped and dampened regional integration. South Asian regionalism was neither super power-sponsored nor born to deal with external threat. Political-security concerns were completely absent from the concerns of South-Asian elites in the

formation of SAARC, which arose out of purely economic logic. The United States as an external federation was determined to promote the economic and military integration of Western Europe so that it would not fall under Communist influence. However, in the case of South Asia, there was neither an external catalyst nor a similar perception of external threat. Conversely, India was considered a threat to the security and territorial integrity of small states against which protection was necessary (which usually took the form of soliciting the involvement of external powers in subcontinental affairs) while India as its neighbor was integral to our own safety. Variations in SAARC member states' security perceptions have enhanced regional economic cooperation. The urge to form a regional economic group was internal, without direct or indirect involvement of any external power. The justification of globalization lies in the rationalist logic that worldwide equity and growth can only be ensured through the common liberal framework of border flows across trade and goods, industry. It is further being argued that the open market economy is favorable for investment, employment, currency and labor exchange, flow of goods and expansion of services. Industrial production becomes increasingly complex where the components of the productions are drawn not from one but different regions. The intraframe trade has received a boost. This has been made viable mainly due to the rapidly changing global production system, on the one hand due to the interconnection of trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) and on the other the growth of knowledge intensive and tech-savvy industries. However, the most dramatic element of economic globalization is the rapid integration of financial markets. Capital account liberalization expands capital mobility, which defines policy approaches in trade and investment. Equity and money markets along with banking are the direct beneficiaries of liberalization and globalization. The institutional terms of the global financial system include-

i) Introduction of a new multilateral trade system under the supervision and regulation of the World Trade Organization, which in many cases is more democratic than the World Bank or IMF "Its decision-making structure does

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not reflect the financial power of the members. prevailing. The rule is one. One vote, each member has the right to decide on what basis consensus builds. A formal meaning Switch to, Benin to the United States and have the same vote as Bangladesh. "

ii) The emergence of a new global production system in which approximately 65,000 multinationals with about 8,50,000 foreign collaborators are the key actors behind these global production systems. They coordinate global supply chains, which work with all countries, including the local subcontinent. Formal factory system and outsourced to house workers. "

iii) Major players of the world financial system now include private actors and agencies such as 'banks, hedge funds, equity funds and rating agencies.' As a structural change, lending to a country and its financing are heavily determined by stock- assessors, data managers, and IT professionals.

iv) Multilateralism in trade has completely changed the perception of national administration, where trade negotiations do not wait for parliamentary legislation and approve first to proceed and conclude on foreign economic relations. Now each government department has its own international office which coordinates and deals with their counterparts in other countries. The lion-fox public administration system is now being replaced by a broad, decentralized and multi-actor and multi-specialty system of governance in place of governance at both the national and international levels. It is no surprise that globally "the number of intergovernmental organizations in 1909 has seen an explosive growth of about 300 in 1919 - whose activities are the financial responsibilities of national government departments reflecting everything that is embracing finance for flora and fauna. Formalities like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Health Organization (WHO) In addition to the organizations, there is a plurality of high-level working groups of officials, conferences, conferences and conferences and high informal contact and

coordination. A century ago, some international summits were held, today these are more than 4000 annually.

## **TRADE AND ENVIRONMENT**

The WTO rules clearly recognize the essential relationship between trade and the environment. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992 writes, "Environmental and trade policies must be mutually supportive. An open multilateral trade system makes possible the more efficient allocation and use of resources and thereby increasing production and income and contributes to the reduced demand on the environment. This is how additional resources needed for economic development and better environmental protection Provides. A sound environment, on the other hand, provides the ecological and other resources necessary to sustain growth and reduce the continued expansion of trade. "As a matter of fact, trade under World Trade Organization Regulations Accessibility should be consistent with the objective of sustainable development without any form of discrimination.

Article XX of the GATT provides as follows: "Subject to the requirement that such measures are not implemented in a manner that would constitute an instrument of arbitrary or unjust discrimination between countries where equal conditions prevail, Or a disguised prohibition in international trade, there is nothing contemplating an agreement to prevent the adoption or enforcement by any contracting party of the measures Shall be:

- (i) necessary to protect the life or health of human, animal or plant; [and]
- (ii) such measures as relate to the conservation of vast natural resources. In conjunction with restrictions on domestic production or consumption. Made effective." In pursuance of these objectives, the Doha Declaration 2001 underscores the mutual cooperation of trade and the environment. The action program adopted by this announcement entrusted the World

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Trade Organization's Committee on Trade and the Environment (CTE) to pay particular attention to:

- a. "the impact of environmental measures on market access, particularly in relation to developing countries, particularly least developed among them, and in situations in which the elimination or reduction of trade restrictions and distortions will benefit trade, environment and development;
- b. related provisions of the agreement on trade related aspects of intellectual property rights;
- c. labeling requirements for environmental purposes “. Information exchange and capacity building has been cited as another important objective of the World Trade Organization on trade and the environment. In fact, trade regulation is considered one of the important mechanisms of protecting the environment. It has introduced the important notion of certificate trading in the world economy.

One of the important objectives of the WTO is to secure more transparent, stable and predictable positions among member states for cross-border investment, particularly direct foreign investment (FDI) such as reinvestment of equity capital in both forms, corporate Reorganize Joint ventures, and set-lending through the company or affiliates. It has been said that the volume of trade and economic development is directly proportional to the nature, extent and amount of money flow and investment in core areas of industrial growth and development. "FDI typically flows as a bundle of resources, including capital, production technology, organizational and managerial skills, marketing address, and even market access through the marketing network of multinational enterprises. FDI leads to a proportionately greater growth in domestic investment than the domestic investment in the host country. Donations can be expected. "(World Trade

and Development Report 2003, p.44) Given the complexity of the issues, the WTO is also looking for "enhanced support for technological development and capacity building in the region for the least developed countries. "And for needs", including policy analysis and development. They can better evaluate development policies and objectives, and the implications of closer multilateral cooperation for human and institutional development "(Doha Declaration, 2001).

The TRIMS (Trade-Related Investment Measures) Agreement applies only to the trade of goods, and is designed in a way to provide for the level filed in foreign investment. Internal taxes and subsidies are beyond the scope of the TRIMS agreement. It prohibits local-material requirements (local sourcing by an enterprise), trade balance requirements, and restrictions on the amount of imports in the amount of foreign exchange flows, and restrictions on exports in proportion to or value of local production. In fact, TRMs are generally concerned with liberalizing trade and investment by quantitative restrictions and local content requirements. It allows discretion in the applicability of Member States in the areas of "local equity requirements, export obligations, participation of local employees in foreign firms, remittance restrictions on the benefits of foreign FM, foreign exchange restrictions, controlling the use of imported inputs" "Product marketing requirements, and transfer requirements, use of specific production technology, specified Import restrictions restricting the import of products .. .." It would not be out of place to refer to the fact that the WTO's efforts are directed towards the balance of host's interests. Transparency in trade and investment and Country and country through various measures of accountability. For this, WTO negotiations typically define binding obligations on the parts of stakeholders and are directed towards redefining and regular information exchange, technology transfer, restrictive trade practices, consumer and environmental protection, disclosures etc. between them on such important components of trade and investment.

It is in this background, and precisely for this reason, that competition policy has emerged as one of the important issues of trade liberalization. Competition policy "includes a variety of anti-, including pricing and other cartel agreements, misuse of a dominant position or monopoly, supply and supply agreements challenging distributors and agreements between distributors affecting the market for new competitors. Attempts to measure antagonistic behaviors. " (World Trade and Development Report).

In other words, competition policy should aim to harmonize with core legislation, procedural requirement and enforcement practices with institutionally supportive organizations.

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## 6.3 ETHICS

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The European Commission has four main roles:

- To propose legislation to the European Parliament and the Council: The Commission has the right of initiative. It alone is responsible for drawing up proposals for new European legislation, which it presents to Parliament and the Council. The Commission will propose legislation at the EU level only when it is sure that the problem cannot be solved at the national or local level. This principle is called the "subsidiarity principle". If the Commission concludes that EU legislation is needed then it drafts proposal for legislation.
- To manage and execute EU policies and the budget: As the EU's executive body, the Commission is responsible for managing and implementing EU policies and programs, and the budget. Most of, the actual spending is done by national and local authorities, but the Commission along with the Court of Auditors supervises it. The European Parliament grants the Commission discharge for implementing the budget only when it is satisfied with the annual report of the Court of Auditors. The Commission has to manage the policies adopted by the Parliament and the Council, such as the Common Agricultural Policy, Competition policy, etc.



- To enforce European law (jointly with the Court of Justice): The Commission acts as "guardian of the treaties". The Commission together with the Court of Justice is responsible for making sure that EU law is properly applied in all the member states. If it finds that an EU country is not implementing an EU law and therefore not meeting its legal obligations, the Commission adopts corrective measures. First it launches a process called the 'infringement procedure'. This involves sending the government an official letter, stating why the Commission considers the country is infringing EU law and setting a deadline for sending the Commission its reply. If this procedure fails, the Commission must then refer the matter to the Court of Justice, which has the power to impose penalties. The Court's judgments are binding on the member states and the EU institutions.
- To represent the EU on the global forums: The Commission represents the EU on the international stage. It enables the member states to speak with one voice on global forums such as the World Trade Organization. The Commission also has the responsibility of negotiating international agreements and treaties on behalf of the EU.
- In order to simplify and replace all existing treaties with a single treaty, the Heads of State Governments of the EU Member States established the 108-member Convention on the Future of Europe and was headed by former French President Valery Giscard D'Estaing. The Convention began its work in February 2002 and deliberated for over 18 months, with the concluding session held on 13 June 2003. The draft "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe" was adopted on 18 June 2004. It sought to replace the overlapping set of existing treaties, to codify and evolve uniform human rights and usher in democratic principles throughout the EU, as well as to streamline decision-making in the enlarged EU of 25 Member States.
- The constitutional treaty was signed by representatives of the member states on 29 October 2004, and was in the process of ratification by the member states until the rejection of the treaty in referendums in France (29 May 2005) and the Netherlands (1 June 2005). The failure of the

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Constitution to win popular support in these countries caused other countries to postpone or slow down their ratification procedures. Had it been ratified by all Member States, the treaty would have entered into force on 1 November 2006.

- The EU constitution defined the powers of the Union and states where it can act, what it can and cannot do and where the member states retain the right of veto. The key provisions of the EU Constitution, among others, include the following:
  - a) The creation of a new post of an EU Foreign Minister. This post combined the existing posts of External Affairs Commissioner and the High Representative for CFSP. The Foreign Minister would be a member of the Commission, but would be answerable to the Council of Ministers.
  - b) Instead of the current system wherein each member state holds a rotating presidency for six months, the Constitution would have replaced it by a permanent president (with a term of two and a half years; renewable once) for the Council of Ministers. The president would chair the Council and "drive its work forward and ensure, at his level, the external representation of the Union".
  - c) The EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights became Part II of the Constitution. The Charter outlined "rights, freedoms and principles" which included a list from the right of life to the right to liberty as well as the right to strike.
  - d) The powers of the European Parliament were strengthened. It was accorded the powers of "co-decision" with the Council of Ministers for those policies requiring a decision by qualified majority.
  - e) The EU constitution replaced the old system under which countries got a specific number of votes since it failed to represent a fairer balance between large and small countries. It introduced a "double majority". A qualified majority was defined as at least 55 per cent of the members of the Council, comprising at least 15 of

them and representing Member States comprising at least 65 per cent of the population of the Union.

- f) Member states retained the right of veto in key areas like foreign policy, defense and tax.
- g) The constitution provided that each member state shall have a Commissioner for its first term of five years starting from November 2004. After that, it would be slimmed down to "a number of members ... corresponds to two thirds of the number of Member States, unless the European Council, acting unanimously, decides to alter this figure". It was finally agreed to reduce the number of commissioners to 17, starting in 2014. These commissioners would be selected on a rotating basis and would serve for five years.
- h) For the first time, the draft constitutional treaty laid down an exit clause and prescribed the procedure for leaving the Union.
- i) It contained a new suspension clause whereby member states agree to suspend a country which violates the basic principles of the European Union.
- j) The EU constitution added new areas of cooperation into justice policy, especially asylum and immigration.
- k) There was some controversy amongst member states on whether a reference to Christianity or Judaeo-Christian tradition ought to be included in the preamble to the constitution. The final text stipulated that the EU "draws inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe".

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## **6.4 LET US SUM UP**

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What we have learnt from above analysis that globalization multilateral governance and regional integration are mutually reinforcing processes converging on the establishment of equity and justice through trade liberalization in the world society. And it is in this aspect that EU has emerged as key player in the WTO system. EUs trade liberalizing efforts

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and special targeting of development cooperation policy has multiple advantages for its import-export promotion and emergence of it as probably one of the powerful political and economic blocks in the world. Linking of trade with environment, democracy and human right standardizes globalization as positive process wherein meaning of governance takes a quantitative and qualitative leap. Working of monopoly, as one has witnessed, with the working of Breton Woods Institutions is being democratically tempered and replaced with the notion of equity and justice in the emerging liberal-global order. Spread across Europe, the institutions of the European Union form the framework for cooperation between EU member states. Apart from the Council, the European Parliament, the European Commission, and the European Central Bank, the European Union relies on a number of smaller bodies to keep it running. In addition, there are various other agencies dedicated to every aspect of European life. '

The success of the EU depends upon the success of its institutions. If this criterion is adopted, we can say that institutions of the EU have succeeded in attaining the goals for which they were created. They have also smoothed and expedited the process of European integration and have provided a mechanism to promote the welfare and prosperity of the European citizens.

The European Union's decision-making process in general and the co-decision in particular involve three main institutions, viz., the European Parliament, which represents the citizens of the EU and is directly elected by them; the Council of the European Union, which represents the individual member states; and the European Commission, which seeks to uphold the interests of the Union as a whole. This institutional triangle produces the policies and laws that apply throughout the EU. In principle, it is the Commission that proposes new laws, but it is the European Parliament and Council that adopt them. Apart from these three, the other two important institutions of the EU are the Court of Justice, which upholds the rule of European law; and the Court of Auditors, which examines the

finances of the EU. The powers and responsibilities of these institutions are laid down in the EU treaties. These treaties also lay down the rules and procedures that the EU institutions must observe. The EU treaties are agreed by the head of the state or governments of all the EU countries and ratified by their parliaments by people.

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## 6.5 KEYWORD

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1. **Intergovernmental:** an interacting network of institutions at national, provincial and local levels, created and refined to enable the various parts of government to cohere in a manner appropriate to our institutional arrangements.
2. **Ratify:** Ratification is a principal's approval of an act of its agent that lacked the authority to bind the principal legally. Ratification defines the international act in which a state indicates its consent to be bound to a treaty if the parties intended to show their consent by such an act
3. **Embodiment:** A flag is the embodiment of a country. When you talk about embodiment, you're talking about giving a form to ideas that are usually not physical: like love, hate, fear, justice, etc
4. **Globalization:** *Globalization* has grown due to advances in transportation and communication technology. With the increased global interactions comes the growth of international trade, ideas, and culture.
5. **Neo-functionalist:** Neo-functionalism describes and explains the process of regional integration with reference to how causal factors interact with one another. According to *Neo functionalism*, certain functions are best performed at a level higher than the nation state.

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## 6.6 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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Groom, A.J.R. and P. Taylor, eds., *Frame works for International cooperation*, London: Pinter, 1994.

Hoffman, Stanley, "Obstinate or Obsolete: The Fate of the Nation-State and the case of Western Europe," *Daedalus*, vol. 95, 1966

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## 6.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) Critically discuss the emergence and evolution of the European Union's institutions and their role in the European integration.
- 2) Critically examine the composition and role of the European Council and the Council of Ministers in the European Union.
- 3) Describe the main provisions of the EU Constitutional Treaty?
- 4) Describe the importance and uses of integration theories.
- 5) Critically examine federalism as a theory to explain the process of European integration.
- 6) Discuss intergovernmentalism as a theory of European integration.
- 7) Critically examine the neo-functionalist theory of European integration.
- 8) How relevant do you think is the neo-realist explanation of the process of European integration?

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## 6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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- I. 1. The centrality of the state continues in the definitive concept, but domestic politics is seen as having a significant impact on the functions of the state. In this perspective, EU policy decisions are seen as the consequences of a "two-level game" in which domestic politics is linked to state centrality.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.1)
2. The Treaty of Maastricht gave the European Council some operational responsibilities in relation to foreign and security policy as well as the economic and monetary union. It essentially works along inter-governmental lines. It deals with difficult issues on which the Council of

Ministers has failed to agree. However, due to the increasing reliance on qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers, the Council does not in fact often serve as the final court of appeal, but serves more in terms of providing policy guidelines and taking initiatives. ....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.2)

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# UNIT 7: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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## STRUCTURE

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 What is Sustainable development?
- 7.3 Global issue and challenges
- 7.4 Poverty and the Environment
  - 7.4.1 Issues and Controversies
  - 7.4.2 Redistribution of Monetary System
  - 7.4.3 Population & Technology
- 7.5 Sustainable Development and Economic Growth
- 7.6 Sustainable development
  - 7.6.1 Study of new approach
  - 7.6.2 Basics
- 7.7 Principal and Concept
- 7.8 World Summit on Sustainable development
- 7.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.10 Keywords
- 7.11 Questions for Review
- 7.12 References and suggested readings
- 7.13 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 7.0 OBJECTIVE

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- The first is to introduce methodological issues about definitions and measurement of sustainable development.
- The second objective is to define a set of macro-flags that can be used to monitor sustainable development and analyze their dynamics during the past two decades. The third objective is to better



understand what are the factors that explain why some countries tend to make more intensive use of their natural resources base.

- This is a topic that has received little or no attention in the empirical literature, and yet is important for the assessment of sustainable growth. The World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the need of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland Commission – see World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

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## **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Sustainable Development Today it is the most politically cached of international developmental conferences and programs. what does this mean? As we address this question at the beginning of the unit. You will find that it is a multidimensional concept and its interpretation and understanding are often content and specific. Continued growth has come out of fears of declined.

Natural resources and the subsequent slow down or even shutdown of most of economic activities and production systems. This is the result of misuse of the precious and limited resource base of the earth by those who had control over their production systems. This concept has emerged as a comprehensive framework for debating and deciding on the desirable direction of change at national, community or individual levels in social and economic systems, policies, programs and actions. It developed in the 1960s when people came to know about the harmful effects of modification on the environment. You need to understand the context in which it came about to appreciate why it has become so important to all of us.

Relaxing citizens without bringing down their standard of living. This has led people and governments to start thinking and designing their

development programs and projects. There is a new reverence for governance at the grassroots level that promotes development by providing land; water and forest form three basic information in any form of modification. Thus, continued development is also a sign of 'planning from bottom to top of the Ivory Tower from the income angle, in which the grassroots ecosystem was driven by technological systems. As a result, the grassroots ecosystem began to fade away because they were not able to document and purify high volumes of flow, pollution and excessive use of resources.

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## **7.2 WHAT IS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?**

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Nature provides human societies and economies with a complex life support system, air, water, food and a climate suitable for survival. It also provides the material resources that are necessary for the sustenance of economies. Nature supported and has maintained life on earth since ancient times and should continue to do so in future as well. This is known as the sustainability of nature or ecosystem or environment.

However, we continue to interfere with the sustainability of natural systems through our traditional activities and if we continue on the same trajectory, not only other life forms but also the existence of mankind are threatened. Nature's ability to absorb effects has limitations. Once the initial state of nature changes, if this happens, it cannot return to its initial state quickly. Nature has limited ability to withstand rapid changes. Thus, today, the challenge before mankind is to set the stage in which we want to live within the carrying capacity of nature, within the limits of inherent birth processes.

### **Stability**

The term sustainability is variously defined, such as:

- Stability refers to a process or situation that can be maintained indefinitely.

- Natural resources should be used in ways that do not create ecological debt by overflowing the earth's carrying and productive capacity.
- A minimum necessary condition for stability is the maintenance of total natural capital stock at or above the current level.

The term 'term sustainability' is also used to denote the temporary and livelihood context of development policies. The temporal context refers to the chronological perspective in which communities maintain their cultural and economic integrity. Livelihood reference of development policies is preservation of existing values. The collapse of a fragile natural resource balance is threatened by external economic forces. The Strategy for Sustainable Living (1991) by the International Union of Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) states that able sustainable.

Use means the use of an organism, ecosystem, or other renewable resource at a rate within its capacity for renewal '. Economist Herman Daly has offered specifics to maintain stability. He is of the opinion that:

- The rates of use of renewable resources should not exceed the regeneration rate.
- The rates of use of non-renewable resources should not exceed the rates of development of renewable options.
- The pollution must not exceed the capacity to absorb the emission rate.

### **Environment**

These results convinced me to abandon the use of a social welfare function and opt instead for a measure that could be more transparent, and enjoy almost universal acceptance. In his work on common values, Bok argues that a minimalist set of social values is needed for societies "to have some common ground for cross-cultural dialogue and for debate about how best to cope with military, environmental, and other hazards that, themselves, do

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not stop at such boundaries" Common values are not simply the values of the majority. Rather, they are a set of minimal values that nearly everyone in a society recognizes as legitimate for their own, but that have never been universally applied in society. Minimal values constitute a set of values that can be agreed upon as a starting point for negotiation or action. They represent the "chief or more stable component" of what individuals can hold in common accumulation of wealth. This wealth has three components: the stock of produced capital, the stock of natural capital, and the stock of human capital. The main difference with this approach and Solow's is that a sustainable path needs not only to preserve productive capacity, but also access to a minimum level of environmental services and ecological diversity. The term 'development' means social and economic reform in the broadest sense. There is a need to create opportunity, prosperity and choices for all the inhabitants of the world and it should move in a way that leaves the options available for the future Generations too. It refers to the overall development of human and natural environments towards autonomy and independence. It indicates a developmental pattern that forms a nation More decisive in their internal and external environments continuous development. The concept of sustainable development was envisaged to bring environmentalists Consideration of the central theme of economic development policy. It was sought to be revised the way unstable development strategies were going. Continuous Combines the two terms of 'stability' and 'development' to indicate growth in a pattern of development that strengthens both national capacities for their care of People are in relation to their total connection with the earth's resources. The most widely used definition of sustainable development was given by Brundtland.

The Commission gave its report in Our Common Future (1987). It defined Sustainable Development as without development, which meets the needs of the present without Compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. Since then, for example, several interpretations of sustainable development have emerged:

- Improve the quality of human life while staying within the carrying capacity Supporting ecosystems.
- Economic development that provides fairness and opportunity for all people, not only few are privileged, without destroying the finite natural of the world Resources and carrying capacity.
- Sustainable development includes economic and social development Protection and enhancement of natural environment and social equity.

Thus, sustainable development focuses on a relationship between humans and them to indicate an environment and a warning that humans cannot push the development, which is always nature as an end against nature, which is going to win. Continuous Development encourages conservation and conservation of natural resources Management of environment and energy, waste and transportation.

### **MAJOR CHALLENGES**

The concept of sustainable development is not just about the environment, but about the economy and our society as well. Sustainability is a concept, which deals with mankind's impact, through development, on the environment. Today's environmental problems are largely the consequence of the unsustainable consumption of natural resources and the mismanagement of waste products. Sustainability is about environmental protection, sustained economic growth and social equity. Sustainable development focuses on improving the quality of life for all. It also offers different things to different persons. From sensitive environmentalists to liberal marketers the concept has been interpreted and used to suit their needs. It is like the concept of democracy and justice, which are never contested but are interpreted, to suit ideologically opposed groups. However, the baseline agreement which is undulated in its meaning can be given in a nutshell as sustainable activities are those which:

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- Use materials in continuous cycles.
- Use reliable sources of energy continuously.
- Use the positive and just side of human personality.
- Want growth to last longer without being slower.

Activities are unsustainable when they:

- Overuse natural resources in a wasteful manner.
- Consumption is faster than renewal.
- Overkill life forms leading to the extinction of species.
- Cause cumulative degradation of the environment.

### Check your progress 1

Q1. Outline the various dimensions of sustainable development.

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Q2. What led to the origin of the concept of sustainable development?

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Q.3. What are the indicators of unsustainable activities?

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## 7.3 GLOBAL ISSUE AND CHALLENGES

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The challenge of sustainable development is the challenge of achieving environmental conservation and resource management without compromising the targets of growth and development. It is therefore a process of making human and environmental regeneration not only an end of economic growth but also a means. It redefines wealth and restructures

qualitative development in economic growth policies. Sustainable development is in itself revolutionary since it replaces exchange value by intrinsic value, market regulation by self-regulation and capital accumulation with deaccumulation. It is an effort and a design to raise poor countries of the world from social decadence, exploitation, global inequity and waste. Many questions intrigue the concept of sustainable development: Is economic growth possible without destroying our environment? What supports sustainable economic growth? What are the major contentious issues involved in sustainable economic growth? Does sustainable economic growth affect stock market gains? Can developed countries continue with their consumption patterns without damaging the planet's ability to sustain life?

### **Inequities**

The new indices, e.g., Human Development Index (HDI) developed by the United Nations Development Programmed (UNDP) to study the quality of life have brought into focus the widening gap between the countries of the North and the South. On one hand, a wealthy minority of the world's population is consuming at an unsustainably high level, causing disproportionate damage to global Eco's systems, while protecting only their local environment. On the other hand, a poor, larger and rapidly-growing proportion of the world's population is being forced by poverty to degrade the natural resource base on which it is directly dependent. In addition, a vast global 'middle class' is emerging by continued economic growth and globalization. The key issues are how to add value to agriculture and cottage industries produce at the production site itself as also how to provide welfare funding to institutions catering to the poor children, destitute women and Dalits who have remained marginalized and reduce the gap between the haves and the have-nots that is increasing in the process of economic globalization.

There are serious challenges to economic growth in present times, which may be described under following points:

**1. FROM QUANTITY TO QUALITY:**

The quantitative aspect of growth had settled upon the simplistic tendency of cost-benefit analysis about the worth of a productive process. However, the intangibles in nature are difficult to quantify. Thus, new forms of accounting techniques are being developed to quantify the value of flora and fauna in nature so that the material and monetary scarcity can be assessed in real terms. Incentives other than money have been found to be more welcome by communities in a large number of cases.

**2. HUMAN SELF-DEVELOPMENT IS THE CORE OF SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH:**

It draws connection between individual and social change. It also encourages symbiosis between humanity and nature. The dominant industrial system survives upon various forms of mental slavery, which leads to material dependence. Under this system unhealthy relationships are tolerated and creativity and simplicity are suppressed.

**3. FROM PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY AND MALE SUPREMACY TOWARDS A HOLISTIC PARADIGM OF EQUITY:**

Unsustainable economic growth is based upon male domination, beliefs in racism, subordination of nature, suppression of women and other weaker sections of the society. Excessive and single-minded emphasis on efficiency in the productive processes ignores these factors and encourages accumulation of surplus to very few. A feminist theory of science, on the other hand, deconstructs, lays open and criticizes embedded assumptions that result in the domination of nature and aims at developing alternatives towards a more benign relationship within the society and between society and nature.



#### 4. FROM TINA APPROACH TO A STRATEGY OF DESIGN:

TINA stands for 'There is no alternative' approach. It was the suggestive approach to generate conspicuous technology in colonial industrial societies. Though forces of domination still exist and are growing simultaneously, the pool of knowledge in the form of awareness of alternative approaches is also growing and this has a high liberating potential. Sustainable economic growth has reprioritized economic goals to move societies out of the 'commercialization trap' and provide need satisfaction in a more elegant, comprehensive and efficient manner.'

#### 5. POLLUTER PAYS PRINCIPLE:

Sustainable economic growth strategies recognize that producers have a genuine responsibility towards people and the labor they employ. Producers who damage conditions of good living and environment must also pay and bear the cost of damage to the society. This is possible in two ways: One, by internalizing the cost of damage in the productive process and the cost of the object produced and two, by a regulatory mechanism such as public liability or insurance acts which may prevent obsolete and polluting technology or hazardous systems from being used in a poor region.

6. Appropriate technology and community-owned firms: Appropriate technology refers to technologies that do not necessarily require large capital and resource intensive industrial systems. It is also need based. Community firms or community owned firms or municipally owned enterprises work not only for profit but also to protect and represent community interests such as local developmental issues that are often termed as 'Non-Profit Organization's'. They are also referred to as 'Community Corporations' and provide alternatives to large capital and resource intensive industrial systems

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## 7.4 POVERTY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

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You will agree that the major problem faced by the world today is still the intractable problem of poverty and hunger. Achieving food security requires more than just production of food. Overall perspectives of economic development are being increasingly seen as a better promoter of food security than food production alone. But this cannot be achieved without firm knowledge. Action upon land and water is an unavoidable part of any economic policy. Thus, economic development and food security require knowledge-based firm action upon land and water and indeed on all-natural resources. Accordingly, Natural Resource Management (NRM) is one of the biggest issues in sustainable development. For example, phenomena like land degradation, desertification, loss of wetlands and deforestation are the real constraints to the future sustainability of good agriculture everywhere in the world.

However, as we enter the 21st century, we have begun to face a new sustainability challenge in business and trade, namely, the growth of Trans National Corporations (TNCs), which have taken control of resource policies in the world. These TNCs have changed the contours of the welfare state and Keynesian economics. Since the TNCs bring Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), the poor countries are making extensive regulatory changes in their economic resources and policies to make themselves appear as attractive investment areas for FDI. Policies that might ensure sustainable use of resources are being changed for better business and FDI. This large company and TNC based development have been so rapid that by mid 1990s we were faced with an alarming and stupefying statistics. In 1995 the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) study found that 40,000 corporations, in all, controlled two-thirds of the total world trade in goods and services.

**According to a report:**

- Of the world's largest economies, 51 are corporations. Only 49 are countries. The budget of Mitsubishi Corporation is larger than that of Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country and a land of enormous natural wealth.
- The combined sales of the world's top 200 corporations are equal to 28 percent of the world's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).
- These same 200 corporations employ only 18.8 million people; less than one third of 1 percent of the world's people and the downsizing continues.
- In 1995 the total value of mergers and acquisitions for the world exceeded the preceding year by 25 percent.
- While the rich nations consume the largest share of resources the poor countries bear the cost of this consumption in the form of pollution, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), deforestation, global warming and loss of fisheries, wilderness and animal resources.
- It has been debated between the rich and the poor nations that forests of the third world countries are sinks for the pollution mostly generated by the developed countries. Thus, while the developed countries are trying to restrict the exploitation of forests by the poor countries, they are not at the same time willing to restrict their own production and consumption systems to meet the demands of sustainable economic growth.
- Biotechnology and Genetically Modified (GM) foods are a threat to the indigenous agriculture and rural economy of developing countries, besides also disturbing their village institutions and local economy.
- There are different perspectives on Climate Change conventions or the Kyoto Protocol under which the United States, Canada and other developed countries would have to reduce greenhouse gases by 5 % from the 1990 levels. This is presently the hottest debate in international politics since the developed and the developing countries have all been taking different positions on Kyoto obligations. The following five themes became the center of concern at the Tenth Session of the United Nations Commission on

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- International Governance These themes set up certain priorities for the developed and the developing countries and all future collaboration between the countries would largely depend upon their willingness to explicitly incorporate these priorities in their national policy agenda and actions taken towards them.

**The following main themes focus upon the agenda of governance for sustainable development:**

- experiences of countries implementing sustainable development,
- institutional arrangements for implementing sustainable development,
- the role of governance and public administration in the achievement and implementation of sustainable development, and
- the role of Regional Organization's in promoting good governance for the implementation of WSSD outcomes.

There is a continued need to support efforts by the developing countries to integrate themselves into and derive benefits from the multilateral trading system. At the same time, attention is given to enhancing the contribution of the multilateral trading system to sustainable development. Agenda 21 of the Earth Summit calls for a supportive international climate for achieving environment and development goals by

- (a) promoting sustainable development through trade liberalization,
- (b) making trade and environment mutually supportive,
- (c) providing adequate financial resources to developing countries dealing with international debt and
- (d) encouraging macroeconomic policies conducive to environment and development.

A closer integration of trade and sustainable 42 Introduction to Sustainable Development can play a major role in achieving sustainable development and poverty eradication.

**Environment:**

About 900 million people in the world live in absolute poverty. Their livelihoods essentially depend upon the production of natural resources and natural products. People from the least developed countries are the most vulnerable to tradeoffs in their natural produce. Their livelihood depends upon the export earnings from their primary products such as agricultural and forest products, mineral, fish etc. consumed by others. For increasing consumerism demands rapid exploitation and over exploitation causes depletion of resources. Yet any commodity crash in the international market worsens the terms of trade for them. At present 80 percent of poor in Latin America, 50 percent poor in Asia and 50 percent poor in Africa live on marginal lands, which are already highly susceptible to environmental degradation. Desertification and various forms of land degradation affected the livelihoods of more than 135 million people in 1984, which had increased from the 77 million in 1977. This increasing pressure on land and other natural resources prevents sustainable livelihoods of people in both the poor and the developed countries also like the United States and Japan. The attainment of sustainable livelihoods is related to the sustainable economy of nations. A highly indebted country, which is suddenly made to repay debt, speeds up production of primary commodities pushing the prices further down. Between 1980 and 1999, the weighted index for a group of 33 primary products declined by half from 105 to 57 and the export commodity prices of the Third World fell by 20 percent. Uganda alone suffered a loss of 122 million on exports from just two primary commodities tea and coffee. In Tanzania poor people derive half of their cash incomes from the sale of forest products such as charcoal, honey, firewood and wild fruits. The same is true of other poor countries including the transitional countries like India, Brazil etc.

An empirical analysis of sustainability shows that Japan and Indonesia accumulate man-made capital stocks at a high rate. An industrially

developed country like Japan has small stocks of natural capital and consequently the amount of stock it depletes is 44 Introduction to Sustainable Development also very small so that the country is regarded as very sustainable. On the other hand, Indonesia, with large stocks of natural capital, depletes its stocks by a large amount (due to exports), so that the country is regarded as marginally non-sustainable. Sustainability within each country implies that the countries should reinvest natural resources in proportion to their resource consumption. Sustainable livelihood is a mode of protecting and improving the management of 'the natural and physical environment'. The 1997 White Paper on International Development commits Department for International Development (DFID) to promoting 'sustainable livelihoods. The White Paper defines sustainable livelihood as 'A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource capital asset'. Transnational business shifts operations from a high cost production area to a low-cost production area and introduces production systems that have no linkages with the local communities and their resource use methods and styles of livelihoods. These communities are alienated from their own land and assets. International agreements reduce possibilities of asserting their claims and access to resources. The framework currently in use classifies five types of capital assets from which the individual draws his/her livelihood:

- 1. Natural:** The natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful for livelihoods are derived (e.g. land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources).
- 2. Social:** The social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society) upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.

3. **Human:** The skills, knowledge, ability to work and good health important to the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies.
4. **Physical:** The basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, energy and communications) and the production equipment and means, which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.
5. **Financial:** The financial resources which are available to people (whether savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions) and which provide them with different livelihood options.

### 7.4.1 Issues and Controversies

#### **PROBLEM OF ACCOUNTING ENVIRONMENTAL LOSSES:**

Authoritative studies to reveal the economic costs of damage caused by environmental pollution are not available although. Since the mid-eighties many such studies have attempted to reveal the costs. For example, costs of damage to health of society, historic monuments and biological systems. The economic cost of pollution and global warming include the cost that nations would have to bear due to the impact of sea level rise such as the cost to deal with the migration of coastal area population as 'ecological refugees. Some studies estimate the cost of pollution abatement and control in the developed countries at 0.8 to 1.5 per cent of annual GDP a figure much lower in developing countries. Following this, in the past two decades some attempts have also been made to adjust national income accounts to register both the direct cost inflicted by environmental degradation and the 'depreciation' of natural resources capital to allow for losses in future production potential. Although the national accounts record the income earned from harvesting resource stock such as fish, timber and minerals, the loss of future income through declining resource stocks and deteriorating environmental quality is excluded. When such depreciations are included into natural capital stock, the net contributions of resource degradation to national income are much lower and more accurately reflect the impact on economic reforms. Take for example Japan, which attempted to correct its

Gross National Product (GNP) for many factors including, environmental. It was found that instead of the GNP growing by a factor of 8.3 percent per year between 1955 and 1985; it grew by an average of only 5.8 percent per year. Similarly, if the physical depletion and petroleum price increase, forest, soil and water assets are taken into consideration most of the developed and developing countries face a sharp drop in their GNP ratings. However, accounting for the loss of stock resources is complex and remains a contested debate in international politics. The task of adjusting national accounts becomes a political task when no national government likes to reveal the drop in its GNP rise.

### **7.4.2 Redistribution of Monetary System**

Problem of fixing responsibilities and making them pay: The global balance of environmental use suggests a redistribution of monetary resources to the poor countries to improve their human capital by investing in health, education and nutrition. This presently is a major battle in the economic and the environmental forums. It demands a change in the life styles of the rich nations and a reduction in their consumption patterns. Because the environment has been treated as a free resource, the rich nations have taken advantage of this to emit most of the world's pollution. It has been suggested that the environment be correctly priced and tradable permits were issued to all nations (50% on the basis of GDP and 50% on the basis of population). If this was done, then it has been estimated that the rich nations might have to transfer as much as 5% of their combined GDP to the poor nations to 'buy' environment 'permits' from them. The Human Development Report suggests that the developing countries are a home to the world's tropical forests and it is in everyone's interest to preserve them to counter global warming and preserve biodiversity.

Similarly, protection of the ozone layer demands global restraint in the production of CFCs. The industrial countries have been responsible for most of its production and the issue of transfer of this polluting technology to the developing countries should be prevented. This would be possible only if the poor countries are duly compensated and helped in investing into



alternative technology. A corollary to this principle is that countries which pollute atmosphere should be charged for such irresponsibility or revoking the 'polluter pays principle'. This could be the basis for an international market for tradable permits for various forms of pollution. This should be treated as a payment for services by the rich nations and not as an aid to the poor countries.

### **EFFICACY AND AUTHORITY OF INTERNATIONAL LEGAL SYSTEM IN SOLVING ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS:**

Like most national societies even the international societies allocate rights of access to and control of resources through certain rules broadly analogous to property rules. In international law these property concepts are treated in terms of national sovereignty, territorial rights or jurisdictions. While international law recognizes the right of a nation to exercise jurisdiction within its territory, it may not allow so outside it. Because the concept of sovereignty or jurisdiction over resources involves the right to exclude others from access to its use, it has become a very debatable issue in international law. The 1973 Oil Embargo by Arab states is one such manifestation of this exclusive right possessed by a nation. In contrast to this is the principle of common access to natural resources such as the freedom of the high seas. This is now severely modified to exclude the exclusive economic zones. The debate raises 'labyrinthine issues. The question arises about the fairness of the international rules. How equitable or rational are the basic assumptions upon which the international system currently distributes resources? It is not only a question of protecting the resources directly being affected but also regulating the international investment system, for example, through FDI made by the trans national companies, in the natural resources sector such as mining, fishing and timber logging etc. In the past decade at least two important cases have been decided by the International Court of Justice in favor of India and Pakistan who were the petitioners against the United States of America (USA) for the protection of their coastal fisheries. The negotiations on the signing of the

Climate Change Convention or Kyoto Protocol and the Biodiversity Convention expose the myth of 'interdependence' and reveal the use of the dominance theory by the USA and other developed nations.

### 7.4.3 Population & Technology

**THE EVER-GROWING POPULATION:** Paul Ehrlich in his book *The Population Bomb* (1969) had given a threatening description of the population growth which was reminiscent of Thomas Malthus's prediction in the late 18th century that the growth in human numbers would outstrip the growth in food supply and this would lead to poverty and hunger. The conventional school, which is mainly Western in origin, treats population growth as the main contributor to environmental degradation but another school mainly emerging out of India treats the growth of population as irrelevant to this debate. The Centre for Science and Environment in its *Second Citizen's Report* (1982) has claimed that it is the callous mismanagement of country's natural resources that is responsible for hunger and poverty in India. The Human Development Report of 1995 has shown that developmental policy of increasing education and employment of women has brought a sharp fall in the population growth of some South East Asian countries. Therefore, population growth is a consequence of imbalanced and non-sustainable development rather than its cause.

**APPROPRIATE OR ALTERNATE TECHNOLOGY:** Appropriate technology is designed with the purpose to meet a need and a community objective. The purpose is generally development without destruction. Technology is appropriate when it is in harmony with the objectives and patterns of development. Most existing technologies in industrially advanced countries are capital intensive as well as 'resource capital' intensive. Appropriate technology presents an alternative to such technology. It is one of the best manifestations of attempts at living in harmony with nature.

The following conditions are needed for a technology to be appropriate:  
Issues and Challenges

1. Relevance to the factor endowments of the nation,
2. Optimum utilization of natural and human resources,
3. Maximization of output, of basic consumption goods and services and of the rate of growth,
4. Reduction of balance of payments deficits and unemployment,
5. Greater equity in the distribution of income,
6. Improvement in quality of life,
7. Promotion of political development and stability,
8. Contribution to regional development,
9. Ability to solve or avoid environmental problems, and
10. Relevance to cultural environment and social tradition.

This technological strand of environmental movement strives for a working synthesis of agriculture and industry, big and small units and Western and Eastern (or modern and traditional respectively) technological and production traditions. It is a promising sector for solving the problem of entrepreneurship in rural areas and preventing the marginalization or elimination of traditional handicraft worker or a cottage industry due to expanding Transnational and capital resource intensive technology. Gandhiji's Charkha and Khadi Udyog are the prime examples of appropriate technology that also promoted political development namely to fight subservience to a foreign rule.

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## **7.5 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH**

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You will agree that the major problem faced by the world today is still the intractable problem of poverty and hunger. Achieving food security requires more than just production of food. Overall perspectives of economic

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development are being increasingly seen as a better promoter of food security than food production alone. But this cannot be achieved without firm knowledge. Action upon land and water is an unavoidable part of any economic policy. Thus, economic development and food security require knowledge-based firm action upon land and water and indeed on all-natural resources. Accordingly, Natural Resource Management (NRM) is one of the biggest issues in sustainable development. For example, phenomena like land degradation, desertification, loss of wetlands and deforestation are the real constraints to the future sustainability of good agriculture everywhere in the world.

However, as we enter the 21st century, we have begun to face a new sustainability challenge in business and trade, namely, the growth of Trans National Corporations (TNCs), which have taken control of resource policies in the world. These TNCs have changed the contours of the welfare state and Keynesian economics. Since the TNCs bring Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), the poor countries are making extensive regulatory changes in their economic resources and policies to make themselves appear as attractive investment areas for FDI. Policies that might ensure sustainable use of resources are being changed for better business and FDI. This large company and TNC based development have been so rapid that by mid 1990s we were faced with an alarming and stupefying statistics. In 1995 the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) study found that 40,000 corporations, in all, controlled two-thirds of the total world trade in goods and services.

According to a report:

- Of the world's largest economies, 51 are corporations. Only 49 are countries. The budget of Mitsubishi Corporation is larger than that of Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country and a land of enormous natural wealth.
- The combined sales of the world's top 200 corporations are equal to 28 percent of the world's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

- These same 200 corporations employ only 18.8 million people; less than one third of 1 percent of the world's people and the downsizing continues.
- In 1995 the total value of mergers and acquisitions for the world exceeded the preceding year by 25 percent. The saga of transnational or multinational corporations in parallel to the 'better business & FDI' narrow view, since the Earth Summit, sustainable development has been faced with many contentious issues, which are being debated and are still to be resolved. You may like to know about them.
- While the rich nations consume the largest share of resources the poor countries bear the cost of this consumption in the form of pollution, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), deforestation, global warming and loss of fisheries, wilderness and animal resources.
- It has been debated between the rich and the poor nations that forests of the third world countries are sinks for the pollution mostly generated by the developed countries. Thus, while the developed countries are trying to restrict the exploitation of forests by the poor countries, they are not at the same time willing to restrict their own production and consumption systems to meet the demands of sustainable economic growth.
- Biotechnology and Genetically Modified (GM) foods are a threat to the indigenous agriculture and rural economy of developing countries, besides also disturbing their village institutions and local economy.
- There are different perspectives on Climate Change conventions or the Kyoto Protocol under which the United States, Canada and other developed countries would have to reduce greenhouse gases by 5 % from the 1990 levels. This is presently the hottest debate in international politics since the developed and the developing countries have all been taking different positions on Kyoto obligations. The following five themes became the center of concern at the Tenth Session of the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD10) in May 2002, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in August 2002:

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- Stewardship and Conservation
  - Innovation and Partnership
  - Sustainable Communities
  - Health and the Environment
- International Governance These themes set up certain priorities for the developed and the developing countries and all future collaboration between the countries would largely depend upon their willingness to explicitly incorporate these priorities in their national policy agenda and actions taken towards them.

**The following main themes focus upon the agenda of governance for sustainable development:**

- Experiences of countries implementing sustainable development,
- Institutional arrangements for implementing sustainable development,
- The role of governance and public administration in the achievement and implementation of sustainable development, and
- The role of Regional organizations in promoting good governance for the implementation of WSSD outcomes.

Intergenerational equity has become integral to international law dealing with environmental protection, resource utilization and socio-economic development. It contains elements which have inter-temporal implications regarding the utilization of resources. The fairness in the utilization of resources between human generations present and future-also requires that a balance be attained between meeting the consumptive demands of existing societies and ensuring that adequate resources are available for future generations. The inter-temporal aspect of resource distribution and consumption has become an increasingly important issue, especially in view of growing threats of environmental degradation and resource depletion arising out of current consumption patterns and technological advances. A telling example of neglect of inter-generational equity consideration is that of a small island state in the Pacific, Nauru, which is a close neighbor of big countries like Australia and New Zealand. Nauru had rich phosphates in its soil but could not use it due to lack of knowledge and technology. Citizens

took to drugs and the mafia ruled. Intergenerational equity is included in the substantive part of Article 3 of the Climate Change Convention (CCC). It states that ‘Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities’. However, the lacuna is that the statements do not tell how this is to be done. Changes in life-styles and behavior different from what presently prevails are required to protect the interests of future generations. No legally binding international instruments suggest how the interests of future generations should be considered, or how the interests of future generations may differ from those of present generations with regard to access and utilization of natural resources.

Natural resources are now exploited in unprecedented quantities and rates of consumption are continuing to increase. In relation to their population sizes, the ‘Northern’ industrialized countries are responsible for a vastly disproportionate amount of the natural resources being consumed or adversely impacted. Issues concerning the access to and consumption of global resources, and responsibility for the resulting environmental degradation and depletion, have become focal points for much current thinking on intergenerational equity and have taken on a distinctly ‘North’ versus ‘South’ dimension. A great deal of environmental debate on issues of global scale damage like ozone depletion, global warming, biodiversity, forests and biotechnology has taken on a North-South polarization. Some developing countries have coined the term ‘green imperialism’ to refer to the efforts of outside countries to limit the use of their native rain forests, or to ask the countries to forego the advantages of using Chlorofluoro carbon (CFCs) when the rest of the world has taken advantage of these for decades. The World Trade Organization (WTO) backfired at the Seattle Meet in December 1999 and later at the Geneva Conference which indicates that intra generational equity is becoming center stage in the design of all trade agreements internationally. Globalization today has to confront the serious challenge of intra-generational equity. The developing countries have

sought to rectify perceived asymmetries in international law regarding resource access, distribution and consumption calling for the creation of a 'New International Economic Order' (NIEO). Within the South, the key environmental problems are poverty and underdevelopment and other issues directly related to these two phenomena. More recently, developing countries have emphasized the link between Third World poverty, environmental degradation and Northern consumption. For developing countries, resource control and unequal distribution through financial and other structural levers by the 'North' to maintain industrialized countries' lifestyles are perceived as the major sources of the widespread poverty and underdevelopment in the 'South' as well as major contributors to environmental degradation. The developing and the developed countries are on logger heads on what should be solved first; ozone layer depletion or climate change or biodiversity conservation or the asymmetries of the international financial system which have deep ecological linkages with the environmental problems of the South.

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## **7.6 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

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Industrialization based on quantitative growth of mass production triggered off economic development in developed countries. Non-sustainable development is seen. What is Sustainable Development as the failure of growth-oriented policies, which focus only on quantitative production as against the qualitative and holistic production benefiting people. Traditionally the growth of a nation has been calculated in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP), which do not indicate the fact that the nation is actually rich in culture and progressive in human values. These indicators focus mainly on the tangible products and fail to calculate the value of the intangibles such as pollution effect on health, value of the forests, loss in terms of their animal and plant biodiversity and maintaining the ground water recharge shed etc. Studies made since the last phase of the United Nations (UN)-declared first development decade has shown that gross income growth is not always



translated into poverty reduction. By the end of the last century there were more than 1.3 billion people living in developing countries who survived on less than US \$ 1 a day with increasing malnourishment, homelessness and deprivation. The growth model has not taken care of the distribution of income in the world. As a result, the poor have become poorer while the precious wealth has got locked up with the top 20% richest. Various forms of disparities such as inequitable production, distribution and consumption have grown into massive proportions making the poor people vulnerable to the policies framed by the few rich at the top.

### **7.6.1 Study of New Approach**

The Industrial Revolution began in England sometime after the middle of the 18th century and transformed Great Britain from a largely rural population making a living almost entirely from agriculture to a town-centered society engaged increasingly in factory manufacture. A series of inventions transformed the manufacture of cotton goods in England and gave rise to a new mode of production - the factory system. During the years from 1750 to 1830, other branches of industry effected comparable advances, and all these together, mutually reinforcing one another, made possible further gains on an ever-widening front. The abundance and variety of innovations may be included under three principles: (1) The substitution of machines - rapid, regular, precise, tireless- for human skill and effort. (2) The substitution of inanimate for animate sources of power, in particular, the introduction of engines for converting heat into work, thereby opening to man a new and abundant supply of energy. (3) The use of new and far more abundant raw materials, in particular, the substitution of mineral for vegetable or animal substances. Other European nations underwent the same process soon thereafter, followed by others during the 19th century, and still others (such as Russia and Japan) in the first half of the 20th century. The Industrial Revolution was no mere sequence of changes in industrial techniques and production, but a social revolution with social causes as well

as profound social effects. The Industrial Revolution implied that man now had not only the opportunity and the knowledge but also the physical means to completely subdue nature. But, while it brought its blessings, there was also much misery. If we can thank the Industrial Revolution for giving us internal combustion engines and laser guided radial arm saws, we can also condemn it for the threatening effect it has had on social and ecological relationships. The Industrial Revolution needed the resources, especially the raw materials, which were concentrated mainly in the now poor nations. While the resources were extracted from the Southern countries (presently the developing countries), the value addition was done mostly in the Northern countries (presently the developed countries), thus creating an economic imbalance. The colonization process also was responsible for exploiting natural resources of 'South' for export, and established large monocultures and opened up a largely unexploited domain. After independence, the newly established governments frequently paid more attention to rapid economic development than to fair and equitable access to natural resources. From the 1950s onwards, Northern countries sought fast economic growth through state-managed industrialization plans that led to excessive resource use and waste. The legacy of these forms of industrial production in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has not only seen economic dislocation but also daunting environmental problems such as the death of the Aral Sea, nuclear contamination, and high levels of air and water pollution. Since 1989, most such regimes have begun to move towards market-based systems of economic organization and economic liberalization, often accompanied by democratization. While market systems have been inherently efficient at economic organization, environmental costs have traditionally been excluded from the decision-making process. This has allowed unsustainable exploitation of natural resources as well as unsustainable demands on natural pollution sinks, like the tropical rain forests. In 1991 the annual 'product' of the global economy was valued at \$29,000 billion, which meant it produced, in just 17 days, the equivalent of the entire annual global product a hundred years before. This has increased all forms of industrial activities such as energy generation,

transportation, mechanical equipment's and chemicals in agriculture, waste and effluent discharges and release of harmful and hazardous gases in the air. This has led to high pollution levels and extinction of several species from the earth. The United Nations Environment Programmer's (UNEP) Red Data Book estimates that 25 percent of species are about to face extinction as more than 100 species are becoming extinct every day. Unmindful industrialization has also led to fatal accidents as seen in Bhopal, Chernobyl and Exxon Valdez. Sustainable development, therefore, is a reaction to the threatening speed of industrial activity undertaken by states, both rich and poor.

### **7.6.2 Basics**

The four major resources of this earth, which are taken care of by every nation individually, as well as through international agreements are land, water, air and forests. The industrialized countries such as the G8 (United States [US], Japan, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Canada and Russia), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and European Union (EU) which have less than 23 percent of the world population have been consuming resources that are several times more than that being consumed by the whole of Asia, Latin America and Africa taken together. There are three distinct types of poor urban dwellers; the homeless, those living in slums, and squatters occupying illegal shantytowns. The basic services such as water supply and sanitation remain inaccessible to the urban poor. The lack of these services along with malnourishment and diseases like diarrhea and tuberculosis etc. keep them in ill health. Cities often have become dump yards of garbage and industrial waste. This has given rise to environmental problems like air and water pollution with fatal consequences sometimes. Today, there are serious social, economic and environmental problems within cities. The impact of urbanization is that the cities consume raw Material Is from surrounding regions and generate waste and pollution. For example, fuel wood

consumed in Delhi comes from the forests of Madhya Pradesh. Thus, the commercialization and greater demand of fuel wood in a city leads to deforestation in a far-off area. The untreated dispersal of the wastes generated by the cities into river water sources results in their contamination. This has serious repercussions on the aquatic life as well as downstream human settlements. The vegetation of the surrounding areas is also affected. For example, the acid rains, which are detrimental to the vegetation and aquatic life in Europe, are the result of severe air pollution caused by the industrialization of the neighboring countries. Further, the proximity of rural settlements to urban centers results in spin-offs for the rural economy. The migration of labors and entrepreneurial skills to the city, and industrial towns and commercialization of the land in these rural areas may have positive outcomes in terms of employment, but it also results in the change of type of productive activities and even expulsion of farmers from their lands.

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## **7.7 PRINCIPAL AND CONCEPT**

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The Industrial Revolution began in England sometime after the middle of the 18th century and transformed Great Britain from a largely rural population making a living almost entirely from agriculture to a town-centered society engaged increasingly in factory manufacture. A series of inventions transformed the manufacture of cotton goods in England and gave rise to a new mode of production - the factory system. During the years from 1750 to 1830, other branches of industry effected comparable advances, and all these together, mutually reinforcing one another, made possible further gains on an ever-widening front. The abundance and variety of innovations may be included under three principles:

1. The substitution of machines - rapid, regular, precise, tireless- for human skill and effort.

2. The substitution of inanimate for animate sources of power, in particular, the introduction of engines for converting heat into work, thereby opening to man a new and abundant supply of energy.
3. The use of new and far more abundant raw materials, in particular, the substitution of mineral for vegetable or animal substances. Other European nations underwent the same process soon thereafter, followed by others during the 19th century, and still others (such as Russia and Japan) in the first half of the 20th century.

This is the reason of adopting the concept in different areas of human activities. Numerous international organizations have been involved in implementation of the concept, while it has found positive implementation locally, but it did not produce significant results on a global scale. This fact proves environmental problems which, 30 years after the introduction of the concept, are still ongoing. Contemporary understanding of the concept of sustainable development is considered through the United Nations Millennium Development Goals focused on a complex global situation, such as population growth, hunger and poverty, wars and political instability, and further degradation of the environment. Many countries are not even close to sustainable development and the gap between developed and underdeveloped countries has deepened. Fundamental constraints of the implementation of the concept of sustainable development are the degree of socio-economic development that many countries have not yet achieved, associated with a lack of financial resources and technology, but also the diversity of political and economic goals on a global scale.

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## **7.8 WORLD SUMMIT ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

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The last decade and a half, sustainable development has been the catchword in most of the policies and programs of nation states all around the world. The Rio Earth Summit has been hailed as a landmark meeting aimed at augmenting efforts towards achieving sustainable development and

environmental protection. We often hear or read about global warming, environmental degradation, depletion of resources and scarcity of water, pollution of air, water and land, melting glaciers, or mass migration of people from rural to urban areas in search of livelihood means. Why have these issues become so prominent? Why has it become so important for the nations to incorporate the sustainable development dimension in their policies and governance? India, for its part, has also been playing an active role towards this end through various multilateral agreements apart from making it one of the core themes in its governance matters. The management of resources is easier said than done. It needs massive efforts not only at the Central but also at the State level to meticulously work out the modalities of integrating the goal of sustainable development with governance and decentralized governance, in particular. From a positive angle, decentralized governance can help a great deal in accomplishing these constructive goals in tandem with the national policy. It is an on-going process in India. It would definitely take a considerable length of time to measure its impact on the nation. Therefore, the key to development is welfare of the people with a simultaneous nurturing of natural resources. There exist two dimensions of human needs: (1) the fulfilment of basic needs like food, clothing, shelter and a clean environment; and (2) the option of pursuing a chosen lifestyle, in terms of materialistic possessions. The developed countries were successful, through early industrialization, in providing these comforts to their population. The developing countries have not been able to secure the advanced technologies that would ensure a better life style to their citizens. To this day, they are in need of technical knowledge that would not only give them a good life but also an economically viable one. These countries have abundant natural resources but they lack the know-how to convert them into environmentally sustainable technologies and tools. In this context, the second option, that is, the option of choosing one's own life style becomes a subjective option. A good governance strategy promises a better standard of living and how this can be realized depends on the integrated approach adopted by the

government. Thus, an intermittent linkage has been established between both the aspects.

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## 7.9 LET US SUM UP

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- Sustainable development emerged as a concept in the early sixties when the ruthless industrialization in the developed countries started showing visible signs of natural degradation and problems of pollution and ill health.
- Sustainable development became a wholesome word after the Brundtland Commission Report of 1987. It has three fundamental principles of intergenerational equity and justice, intra-generational equity and justice and that of the respect for the carrying capacity of land.
- The industrialized and the less-industrialized countries have defined the term sustainable development to suit their own requirements since the definition given by the report fails to define the processes underlying the complexities and contradictions within which international decisions are taken. However, there is a basic value inherent in this concept, which everyone agrees to, and that is the respect for human needs only in relation to the environmental capability to support the largest number of people to the longest possible time frame.

Sustainable Development is the process of improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems. It carries the premise of development that can be achieved without an undue exploitation of the natural resources. The management of resources is easier said than done. It needs massive efforts not only at the Central but also at the State and District levels to meticulously work out the modalities of achieving the goal of sustainable development in tandem with the national policy. It is an on-going process in India. The governance for sustainable development should include an integrated approach of economic and environmental concerns in the development strategy, keeping in view not only the quality of life that has to be offered to its citizens but also an equal distribution of it with 'social equity' as its goal. Governance should also safeguard a citizen's right to develop simultaneously holding the

environmental concerns at a high pedestal. There are numerous challenges to sustainable development in India such as loss of biodiversity, depleting natural resources, pollution of land, water and air as also poor health, poor literacy rate and environmental sustainability. The decentralized governance helps in promoting human and environmental concerns alike. For this the pace of integration of the functions, functionaries and finance machineries needs to be accelerated so as to ensure sustainable human development.

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### 7.10 KEYWORDS

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1. **Social equity:** Social equality is a state of affairs in which all people within a specific society or isolated group have the same status in certain respects, possibly including civil rights, freedom of speech, property rights and equal access to certain social goods
2. **Decentralized:** Decentralization is the process by which the activities of an organization, particularly those "A decentralized system is one which requires multiple parties to make their own independent parties.
3. **Modality:** A *modality* is the way or mode in which something exists or is done. You might often see it used with reference to diagnostic *modality*.
4. **Efficacy:** Efficacy is a more formal way to say effectiveness, both of which stem from the Latin verb *effacer* "to work out, accomplish"
5. **Nuclear contamination:** If *radioactive* material is not in a sealed source container, it might be spread onto other objects. *Contamination* occurs when material that contains *radioactive*

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### 7.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) What is sustainable development? How can effective governance help in ensuring sustainable development?
- 2) The integration of governmental strategies at the State and local levels results in good governance towards human development. Justify the statement.



- 3) What led to the origin of the concept of sustainable development?
- 4) What are the indicators of unsustainable activities?
- 5) What problems confront a country's desire to live in harmony with nature?

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## 7.12 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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## 7.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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- I. 1. Nature provides human societies and economies with a complex life support system, air, water, food and a suitable climate for survival. It also provides the physical resources that are necessary for the sustenance of economies. Nature has supported and maintained life on earth since times immemorial and should continue to do so in the future. This is known as the sustainability of nature or ecosystems or environment.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.1)
2. The concept of 'Sustainable Society' emerged at a study conference on Science and Technology for Human Development, convened by the World Council of Churches (1974). 'Sustainable Society' also involved the concept of democratic participation, which became important nearly twenty years later at the Rio Earth Summit (1992). Sustainable development was defined in the World Conservation Strategy report as 'the integration of

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conservation and development to ensure that modifications to the planet do indeed secure the survival and well-being of all people'.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.2)

3. Obtain information about the current programs of UNEP related to environment and sustainable development. Analyze their relevance for your own society. The concept of Sustainable development was envisaged to bring environmentalist ideas into the central theme of economic development policy. It sought to modify the kind of unsustainable development strategies that were being pursued. Sustainable development combines the two terms of 'sustainability' and 'development' to indicate a pattern of growth, which strengthens both the national capabilities to care for their people in relation to their total relationship with the resources of the earth.....(answer for Check your Progress-1 Q.3)