POLITICAL SCIENCE
• Question. 1) Critically examine the nature of concept of Ideology from different perspective?

• Question. 2) What is end of Ideology thesis and how it differ from history thesis?

• Question. 3) Critically examine postmodernist view on Ideology?
In general, Ideology can be understood as:

A) Set of ideas or worldview to explain the Reality.

B) Ideologies act as the basis of political Mobilization.
For conceptual purposes it is necessary to Make Difference Between

1. Ideology and Religion
2. Ideology and Propaganda
3. Ideology and Political Culture
1. Ideology and Religion

- Religion belongs to the sphere of god and Ideology to sphere of politics.
- However in politics we see the ideological views of religion.

2. Ideology and Propaganda

- Ideology has some truth but propaganda is nothing but myths.

3. Ideology and Political Culture

- Culture is a broad term that includes the entire society.
Emergence of concept of ideologies and evolution of Ideology

The term Ideology was coined by a French scholar a Count de Tracy.

He was contemporary of Napoleon.
How He Define Ideology?

- He define Ideology as a systematic scientific study of ideas.
- Purpose-
  - To understand ideas scientifically and to base the society on scientific rational ideas
Different Perspective of Ideology

1) Marxist Perspective

Marx call Ideology as false consciousness he called earlier theories as Ideology and Marxism as science.

2) What does it imply

Contrary to the wishes of Tracy.

Science and Ideology become 2 opposite terms.
Different Perspective of Ideology

1) Marxist Perspective

Role of Lenin

Role Of Gramsci
Role of Lenin

Lenin established that Marxism is the Ideology of the working classes.

Workers need to energy for mobilization.

Consequence - Marxism become Ideology
Role Of Gramsci

He called Liberalism as a Hegemony and socialism as counter Hegemony.
2. Non Marxist Perspective

Hannah Ardent

Karl Popper
Hannah Ardent

Hannah decide Ideology because it becomes the instrument for totalitarian State.
Karl Popper

Criticize Ideology in general and marxism in particular call it is the closed system of thoughts Ideology cannot fulfill the criteria of falsification.
He has given the concept of "Sociology of knowledge" means every knowledge has its social context or classes base that is every Ideology serves the interest of particular class.

Hence it is not Neutral.

He make a distinction between Ideology and Utopia.
What is Ideology?

- He calls liberalism as an Ideology according to him the idea of dominant class can be called as an Ideology.

What is Utopia?

- He calls marxism as utopia according to him Ideology of the exploited class is utopia.

Is Utopia Bad?

- Even utopia has important because it is a source of inspiration for the exploited class.
D. OAKESHOTT

- Neo conservative school of thought.
- Context ➔ Ideology claim to tell the reality.
What is his View?

It is not possible to understand the reality of world of politics.

Why?

In politics we in bottomless and borderless sea.
Post-Modernist Perspective

- Post-modernist Scholars like Lyotard, Foucault, Derrida.
- Believe that nobody can tell the truth.
- We do not discover the truth we invent the truth.
Lyotard

Foucault

Derrida

Post-Modernist Scholars
• Lyotard calls ideologies as meta-narratives.

• Lyotard suggests post-modernism as rejection of meta-narrative. Foucault gives the concept of discourse and suggests that Knowledge Is Power.
Derrida has proposed to apply the disconstruction.
Conclusion

• Thus Ideology remains a contested context.
What is the Post -Modernism?

What features of Modernity?

• 1. Modernity is an Age of Science.
Features of Scientific Approach

1. Source of knowledge is observation.

2. We need to be objective in our approach. Science believes that there are observable truth which can be known objectively.

3. Modernity has introduced centralization order and hierarchy.

4. Modernity has led to the rise of materialism, capitalism, colonialism, World Wars, nuclear bombs.

5. Modernity has undermine the importance of community and culture.
Origin of Post-Modernism

• Postmodernism is both a Social Movement as well as an intellectual Movement.
Origin of Post-Modernism

- Postmodernism as a social movement has challenged some destructive aspect of modernity as a way of life. Postmodernism has given rise to new social movements like movements for world peace, disarmament, LGBT rights, protection of environment etc.
Origin of Post-Modernism

- Postmodernism as an intellectual movement first emerge in the field of art, architecture, literature, and philosophy.
- PM is comparatively new concept in Political Theory.
1. They challenge the view of science that there can be objective truth which can be known objectively.

2. For postmodernist even scientific theories are not objective everything is returned from a particular part of view.

3. There can be different perspectives about the reality and each perspective may have relevance.
4. There cannot be one way of doing things postmodernist report diversity.

5. Postmodernism support democracy.
Friedrich Nietzsche is called as Father of Postmodernism.
Prominent aspects of his Thinking

1. God is Dead.

2. Will to Power.

3. Concept of Superman.
What is the implication of the God is Dead?

• It means Friedrich Nietzsche suggest to reject morality there is a no ultimate criteria to determine what is right & wrong.

• For Example –
  • In most of the societies homosexuality is considered as a immoral or unnatural.
  • However there is nothing moral or Immoral it all depends upon choice of person.
2) Will to Power

- There is a will to power in every person.
- Will to power is the reason behind all of human actions.
- People perceive power even at the cost of their life.
- Hence for Friedrich Nietzsche no theory is free from the influence of power.
3) Superman Concept

- One of the most misunderstood concept it is misunderstood because it has been manipulated by fascist leaders to justify to the supreme authority of the leaders however Friedrich Nietzsche in a person who is able to challenge conventional morality is Superman.
What is the essence of Friedrich Nietzsche Idea?

- There is no ultimate criteria of right and wrong. No Theory is free from Phenomena of Power.
• Thus Friedrich Nietzsche is known as father of postmodernism because he challenges the claim of objectively.

• From Friedrich Nietzsche point of view those who claim to know the ultimate truth are the biggest liars.
• Basic exemption of postmodernist we cannot have fixed knowledge is a dynamic concept it keeps on changing.
• Why according to postmodernist universe is not static universe is expanding it is in the State of motion.
2. They reject the view of scientist that there is some structure in the universe or order in the universe which can be understood objectively according to post modernist universe is in the State of Chaos.

- We cannot have fundamental or foundational knowledge because there is no structure in the universe and secondly universe is not static.
Essence Of The Assumptions

1. We cannot have fix concept and fixed meanings

2. What we think is right is the limit of our knowledge and not the limit of knowledge.
Modernism

1) Believes that objectivity is required and objective knowledge is possible.

2) Believe that there is a structure in Universe.

3) Believe in the hierarchy of Science as a mode of knowledge. *Modernism believes in centralization authority and control.
• 4) Believes observation is a source of knowledge.

• 5) Believes in homogenization.

• 6) Believes in foundational of truth one meta-narrative or grand theory.
2) Post-Modernism

• 1) Believes that objectively is neither possible not desirable.

• 2) Believes that universe is in the State of chaos.

• 3) Does not believe in the hierarchy of any mode of knowledge.

• 4) Believes in localisation, freedom and democracy.
2) Post-Modernism

- 5) Believes experience is the source of knowledge and experience of people will differ and vary.

- 6) They recognise diversity.

- 7) Believes in multiple narratives and rejects one grand theory.

- 8) Be democratic and accommodative.
Ideas which led to the evolution of postmodernism

1. Karl Marx-

- He made a difference between base and superstructure.
- We should be able to look beyond what is Apparent.
2. Gramsci-

- Concept of Hegemony of Common Sense.
3. Althusser-

- Concept of Interpellation
Interpellation is the diffusion of dominant cultural values by ideological State Apparatus so that there is a minimum resistance.

It is like creating an environment, a person does, what other person wants him to do. Since methods are invisible there is least resistance. Althuser as a structural Marxist emphasized on the way Bourgeoisie class value have been interpellated.
4) Einstein-

- **Theory of Relativity**-
  - There are no transcendental truth it depends upon time and space phenomena will appear different to different persons depending on time and space.
  - perspective of the person from Berlin will vary from the perspective of person of Baghdad.
5) Karl Popper-

- Concept of Falsification.
- Theories must be open for Critical Examination.
6) Thomas Kuhn

- **Book** - *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.
- He has given the idea as to how theories emerge in neutral science.
- Thomas Kuhn has given the concept of paradigm come the so-called theories are actually paradigm.
1. Preparadigmatic Stage-

- Old paradigm is existing old paradigm is acceptable because it is able to address most of the queries.

2. Crisis Stage-

- It is a situation when existing paradigm is unable to answer most of the questions hence the search for new paradigm begins.

3. Emergence of new paradigm
### Essence of Idea-

- There cannot be a finality of knowledge; theories are relative to time and space.

### Thus postmodernism as a philosophy challenging to fundamental principles of modernity.

- 1. Foundationalism
- 2. Universalism
• It means some foundational principles universally applicable. Postmodernist reject this view give it can be seen in the context of attempts by the Western world for imposition of Western way of life on the belief that it is superior the resistance against Western value by non Western society in Middle East, south east Asia etc.
1. Lyotard

- First person to use term post modern in his book *postmodern condition* he defines postmodernism as incredulity towards metanarratives means disbelief in metanarratives.
- We are living in the age when metanarratives failed to satisfy us. there is a need to listen to multiple and local narratives.
Metanarrative

What is a Metanarrative?

• A metanarrative is either a narrative that talks about another narrative, or a narrative which refers to itself and the way in which it is being narrated. It is a term that is often used with reference to postmodern fiction, but can also be applied to any work of fiction that comments upon its status as a literary text.

• To what extent could WH be considered an example of metanarrative?
What is Narrative?

- Narrative is a story so theories are stories and philosophers or scientists or storytellers.
There is not a single truth.

Truth is a matter of this world.

We do not discovered truth we construct the truth.

There are multiple truths.

Every person has its own experience, has its own story and has its own truth.
Concept of Discourse is given by him.
• For him Theories are Discourses.
• Discourses emphasize on the speech Act.
• It tells about telling things in manner that other accept the Statements as a truth.

• Discourse are the ways in which we are being told and we talk about the world.
Foucault believes in Friedrich Nietzsche's view that Knowledge Is Power. At times Foucault uses knowledge or Power purposefully to show knowledge power connection. According to him no theory is free from the exercise of power and no exercise of power is possible without pressing it in the theory.
• Hence discourses can be called as power Foucault has shown how discourses on sexuality, criminality, abnormality has been built.
• Discourses are not just present in the language we talk but also in the values culture and identity we carry,
• Hence focault also suggest that power is productive.
• It means power produce person's identity.
• Foucault has also analyzed the disciplinary Institutions like a school, asylums, prisons and Clinic and how this institution seek to impose the discourses.

• In the world of Foucault Discourse is the system of thoughts composed of Ideas, altitudes, courses of action believes practices that systematically construct the subject and the world in which they live and the language which they speak the purpose of power is to make a person productive member of the society.
Foucault has given the concept of bio power and have shown how people are able to discipline their body and mind on the basis of discourse.
In later works he started using the terms “govern mentality” it means the techniques by which the government is able to produce the citizen suitable to them.

He mentioned discourse which are internalize by individuals which guide their behaviors.
According to Foucault truth is ritual truth belongs to this world. Truth is Construction.
• Thus so-called knowledge is not a means of Liberation but means of control or enslavement.
• He has shown how to exercise of power has changed over a period of time.
• Initially the coercive powers was employed later on exercise power has been replaced by disciplinary power. Discourses have role in establishing the disciplinary power.
To conclude we can say that Foucault also believed that there is no ultimate truth which can be discovered.

The so-called theories are discourses and purpose of discourses is established the powers.
Example of use of Foucault Theory-

- One of the best example of used Foucault theory is the concept of orientalism given by Edward said.
- According to him the study of orient east by Colonial Masters was a project.
- In the name of scientific anthropological research they produced the literature which had purpose to justify colonialism and theories like white man's burden.
Eaward said has mentioned about the dominant discourse on Islam.
The dominant discourse led by west has created Islamophobia.
The purpose of discourse is to fulfill its Geo economic Geo political interest.
Edward said's work led to the emergence of the new school known as post colonialism.
What is Post Colonism?

- It is the perspective of The Scholars from III world countries on post colonial societies.
- They believe that the hegemony of west on the rest is being mentioned not just by the military or Economics means.
- It is maintained even by ideological means.
According to Edward said knowledge has been the formidable Ally of capitalism. Hence postcolonial Scholars aim at the decolonizing the field of Academics
Gayatri Spivak

• One of the prominent.
• Post Colonial Scholar in Gayatri Spivak in her book “can sub-alters speak puts forward 2 questions”
  • 1. Weather west will even listen to the perspective of people from the east
  • 2. Weather sub alterns have capacity to speak.
Homi Bhabha

- Another prominent postcolonial Scholars Homi Bhabha in his book the location of culture.
- Has challenge the description of East and West in binary terms.
For Example-

- East is feminine child-like uncivilized.
- West is masculine mature and civilized.
- Bhabha given the concept of hybridity it means no culture is entirely free from the influence of the others even East has influenced West.
Derida
He gave the Concept of this Deconstruction.
What is Deconstruction?

It is a method of interpretation of text.

According to him human language is not develop enough to express all our emotions.

It is not necessary that other person exactly understand what the other person aims to communicate.

Hence there is a huge probability of possibility that what we understand may be over misunderstanding.
Hence he suggest to deconstruct the theories and reconstruct the meaning.
When applied on the interpretation of text it means that can be multiple interpretations.
In order to understand the text we have to understand the context of both the writer and reader. the meanings of text are not static.
Postmodernism opposes foundationalism or fundamentalism.
Question

• End Of Ideologies?

Answer

• The end of Ideology thesis emerge during 50s and 60s.
• It was given by some Scholars from Western countries it could not generate use appeal in the field of Academics
After II World War world has witnessed cold war one of the defining feature of cold war was ideological battle between East and West.

Some Scholars suggest that we are living in the time when ideological battles have lost their relevance.

According to them similar type of political economic and administrative development have occurred in both East and West.
What Is The Idea

For example in both blocks bureaucratic, technocratic State has come into existence.

In both the blocks priority has been on development.

In western countries welfare State has ended the contradiction between labour and capital.

Thus ideological rivalries have lost their significance.
Exponents

1. Daniel Bell
2. SM Lipset
According to him we are living in the age where politics has taken backseat and economic issues are in the front.
Lipset has suggested that there is no question Marx on the view that liberal democratic political system is the best way of life.
• The end of Ideology thesis got support from Rostow thesis of Stage of Economic Growth.
• According to him every society passes through similar Stages of Development.
• It implies that it does not matter whether the country it Liberal or Socialist.
Rostow’s 5 Stages of growth

- **Stage 1 Traditional Society**: subsistence, barter, agriculture
- **Stage 2 Transitional Stage**: specialization, surpluses, infrastructure
- **Stage 3 Take Off**: industrialisation, growing investment, regional growth, political change
- **Stage 4 Drive to Maturity**: diversification, innovation, less reliance on imports, investment
- **Stage 5 High Mass Consumption**: consumer oriented, durable goods flourish, service sector becomes dominant

Demographic research requirement using Rostow’s model prior to Product Launch

Dr. Krishnan Umachandran
1. Could not appeal socialist scholars
2. Had no appeal in communist bloc or III world.
Wright mills held that it is wrong to believe that western societies have ended the conflict. CB Macpherson he held that western society remains in egalitarian.
Alas Dair Mac Intyre

- Held that end of Ideology is itself and Ideology.
- It indirectly justify western way of life from the perspective of these scholars ideological conflict will not relevance.
- End of Ideology thesis re-emerge in the form of end of history in context of the end of cold war.
What is the difference between end of History and End of Ideology?

1. In End of Ideology scholars held that both ideologies have lost the relevance and prime question in development and end of the history is arrogant claim that liberalism has won the history battle of ideologies instead of end of Ideology fukuyamd suggest liberalism as the end point of man's ideological evolution.

2. In one way both are defense for liberalism but end of Ideology is indirect defense where is end of history is open claim of superiority.
Theories of State
Theories of State

- Liberal
- Neo liberal
- Marxist
- pluralist
- feminist
- postcolonial.
Theories of State

Introduction

- It is said that political Science beings and ends with the State does the most important concept in Political Theory is State.

What is State?

- State represent authority it is an institution to govern collectively State is an abstraction government is the concrete manifestation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. City State</th>
<th>• Ancient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Roman Empires</td>
<td>• Medieval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nation State</td>
<td>• Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Supra-National</td>
<td>• Governors Postmodern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nation State is a Historical Concept

Nation State is the most Universal institution in present times Around The World.

The former recognition of nation States goes back to the Treaty of Westphalia 1648
this Treaty also Marx the beginning of International politics.
What are the characteristic of Nation State

1. territorial Entity

2. In mediaeval Europe authority for distributed among different Institutions like Roman Kings, emersions, feudal Lords however in nation State we see the concept of centralize Authority.
By definition, a national state has 4 elements:

1. Territory
2. Population
3. Government
4. Sovereignty.
1. Political theory meaning and approaches
2. Theories of the state: Liberal, Neoliberal, Marxist, Pluralist, Post-colonial and feminist.
4. Equality: Social, political and economic; relationship between equality and freedom; Affirmative action.
5. Rights: Meaning and theories; different kinds of rights; concept of Human Rights.
6. Democracy: Classical and contemporary theories; different models of democracy - representative, participatory and deliberative.
7. Concept of power, hegemony, ideology and legitimacy.
8. Political Ideologies: Liberalism, Socialism, Marxism, Fascism, Gandhism and Feminism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sovereignty</th>
<th>What is Sovereignty?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Principle of sovereignty became the recognized principle of international law by Treaty of Westphalia.</td>
<td>• It is a Supreme Power of the State in domestic sphere and freedom to pursue external policies in international sphere.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The core focus was to answer one question: who bears the right to make absolute decisions for a nation within the territory of a nation?

Is it the King of the Nation? Or is it the Pope, who is the spiritual leader?

It was an attempt to answer these questions, and establish a clear answer which would hopefully quell any further wars,

that two treaties were signed in the German cities of Munster and Osnabruk in 1648 and were collectively referred to as the Treaty of Westphalia or the Peace of Westphalia.
There are two theories of Sovereignty:

1. Monistic
2. Pluralistic
Monistic Theory

Few major points about this sovereignty is:

- The power of the determinate human superior is sovereignty.
- The determinate human has no rival of equal status in the state and nor does he obey the order of anyone.
- The determinate human superior is the only law maker. His commands are laws and without him the state can have no laws.
- The bulk of the people obey sovereign’s command as a matter of habit.
- A society without sovereignty can not be called a state.
Monistic Theory

Exponents:

1. Hobbes
2. Bentham
3. John Austin
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of the Theory</th>
<th>• It is a legalistic theory.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What does it Imply?</td>
<td>• The theory aims to end the confusion in the field of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which Confusion?</td>
<td>• Among different traditions of law which law will have Supremacy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is the view of theorist of Monistic Sovereignty?

- According to this school, positive law is Supreme.
- Thus legalistic theory is written from the perspective of Justice.
Contribution of John Austin

- "If determinate human superior not in a habit of obedience to like superior, receiver habitual obedience from the bulk of the society.
- That human superior is sovereign & the society is political and Independent........
- Law is the command of the Sovereign."
Characteristics of Sovereignty

1. Determinate means Identifiable
2. Supremacy
3. Enforceable
1. **Determinate means Identifiable**

- Hence, neutrallaw is not recognized as proper Law Because, Source is not Identifiable.

2. **Supremacy**

- State will be Supreme over other Association external and internal.

3. **Enforceable**

- Dictates of sovereign has to be enforced and sovereign has power to Permanence.
4. Permanence

Sovereign cannot be transferred, divided, sovereignty is inalienable, it is a condition of Independence.

2 Pluralist Theory (originated after 2 world war)

Condition of recognition AS independent entity.
VIEWS OF LASKI

- He was critic of Monistic Theory.
1. Monistic Theory concentrates too much power in the hands of the State.
- It undermines int. Law and int. organization.
- We are living in an age when war can become determinantal to the survival of human race.
- The theories which suggest that State is Supreme, such theories are not in the interest of peace and humanity.
2. Laski believe that State exercising all Powers is a legal fiction in practice sovereignty of State is always compromised.

3. According to Laski Monistic Theory becomes irrelevant is in the context of rise of federalism. Federalism represent:

- Divided authority and there is no single centre of power.
In the words of Laski "it is impossible mis-advantages misadventure to discover sovereign in Federal State."
• 3. According to laski society is Federal (i.e., Society is made up of many association and State is not the only association).

• Thus, he suggest that authority should also be federal.
In the words of Laski..." it would be of lasting benefit to the discipline of political science in the entire concept of sovereignty is monistic is expunged out of the discipline".

Above Statement of laski is rejection of monistic theory and establishes the case for {pluralistic society }. 
Sovereignty - It is the historical concept organized in 17th Century.

Hobbes was the First thinker in whom we get complete theory of State Sovereignty.

John Austin further developed Monistic Theory.
Laski supports pluralistic theory and considers monistic theory neither real nor desirable.

III Para ... Arguments of Laski

IV...Para .. Conclusion like all concepts sovereignty remains a contested concept.
What does Pluralistic Theory suggest?

1. State is an association like other associations.

2. Authority should not be concentrated in one Association rather it should be distributed among different associations.
Why

• Give Laski's arguments neither real nor desirable.

Source of Inspiration

• Medieval Europe when sovereignty was not concentrated at one place where multiple centres of authority.
According to pluralist, universe is multi-dimensional.

- Man is part of the universe and has a multi-dimensional personality.
- Man has multiple means; the state cannot fulfill all of the needs of man.
- There are many associations, some are even prior to the state like the Church, that do not depend on the state. These associations fulfill different needs; hence, they also deserve a share in the authority and obligation.
Que. It is advisable to reject monistic view in favor of pluralistic view?

• Why...
  • 1. In reality cannot be exercise in absolute sense.
  • 2. State cannot have expertise in all fields.
Que. Since society is Federal authority should also be federal. - Laski

- 1. Above Statement is justification of pluralistic theory of sovereignty.
- 2. Pluralistic theory organised after WWII.
- 3. Based on realisation of the determinantal consequence of monistic theory
Que. Define Pluralistic Theory?

- State is an association like other Association.
- Authority should always be divided.

Pluralist Theory of Flanders (1970)

This theory is also known as Oxford Model. According to Flanders, conflict is inherent in an industrial system. Collective bargaining is central to the industrial relation system.
Sources of Inspiration

- Medieval Europe

Basis of Arguments

- Philosophical justification
  Laski suggest that it is of lasting benefit.
- Then put II Statement.
- It is impossible misadventure.
Pluralistic Theory Of Sovereignty

- CRITICISM OF PLURALISTIC
  - Man will come under the control of various associations.
  - Wrong and narrow view regarding the functions of the state.
  - Laws are not independent of the state authority.
  - Different associations will come into existence for bad purpose.
  - Pluralists lead to anarchy.

CRITICISM OF PLURALISTIC THEORY
- First Pluralistic Theory is criticized for being Inconsistent.
1. Pluralistic are not analyst which means pluralists do not abolish State but want to give minimum powers to the State, it is said that pluralist want to keep the cake and have it too.

2. Incest inconsistency emerges in Statement of Laski itself on one hand he is a critic of State sovereignty on the other hand he admits that State is the keystone of social architectures.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Why State Is Key Stone.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Why</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• It is true that social architecture is made up of various associations it also true that State is one such Association however State gives primacy over other associations.</td>
<td>• Unique function performed by the State.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What Unique Function?

State is a balanced State is a arbiter above conflicting interest. Hence State automatically gains Supremacy it is because of State what social architecture remains intact.

Though inconsistent, it does not undermine the relevance of pluralistic Ideas in contemporary times it is noted that consistency is not the supreme virtue of the theory.
Question. Discuss the impact of globalization on the sovereignty of the State on the status of nation State.

The relationship between globalization and sovereignty is a matter of debate among political scholars.

Before, looking at the view of scholars we have to understand the relation between the two ideas.
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Question. Discuss the impact of globalization on the sovereignty of the State on the Status of Nation State.
IDEAS OF GLOBALIZATION

• Globalisation means {de Territorialisation}.

• It is defined as Borderless world By “Kinichi Ohame” and "Global Village " by Marshall Mackluhan.
• Sovereignty a Westphalia idea it represents the centralization of authority and creation of boundaries or it represents Territorialisation.

• Both sovereignty of the State and globalization are historical concepts. Sovereignty became prominent in the 17th century, and globalization after the end of the Cold War in the 20th century. Both sovereign Nation States can be represented conceptually as billiard balls with hard shells.
Impact of Globalization
Impact of Globalization

• Forces of globalization {that is Information and Communication Technology expansion of Markets Global challenges}.

• Have penetrated inside the shell making it Porous.

• Ability of State to control or surveillance has declined considerably.
Globalization has also given rise to new values norms where people are developing global consciousness entering into trans National networks.

That impact of globalization on the sovereignty has been analysis by different scholars.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Globalist - Kenichi Obama Marshall McMillan and Susan strange</th>
<th>• &quot;According to them globalization is real and it has increasingly diluted the sovereignty State both in external and internal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. State - Centric</td>
<td>• Robert Gilpin, Etham Kopstilm despite globalization States are commanding the globalization means globalization is controlled by the State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Transformationalist - Devid Held</td>
<td>• Globalization and State sovereignty is not a zero Sum game in some context globalization is running in some context State is not losing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Sorenson “globalization has not impacted all States in equal proportion it has given greater power to the States like India Brazil then they used to have before globalization. It has adversely impacted the poor State in Middle East or Africa.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility to Protect</th>
<th>What is Original Idea?</th>
<th>Recent idea /New Idea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introduction</strong></td>
<td><strong>Original idea is sovereignty is the power of the State.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sovereignty is not power but responsibility</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>• It redefines the concept of sovereignty of cold war.</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Why this idea was necessary?

• 1. After Cold War the nature of conflicts have changed from inter State to intra State.
• 2. Where is a State failed to protect the leaf of the people or State itself violating the rights example Serbia under slogan machine big.
• ARTICAL 2 CLAUSE 7
• Reason- UN principal based on West phalian world order.
Key Principles of Westphalian Order

• 1. Soverignty of the State it means external intervention is not permitted without consent of the State.

• Since UN charter does not allow intervention in domestic affairs it caused unnecessary delay in exciting the invention by Int. Community.
Key Principles of Westphalian Order

• Example. In Rwanda resulting into loss of life.
• Since members will not argue for performing the UN charter a Resolution was adopted to show the Global consent behind such actions.
Que. What does resolution suggest?

1. Sovereignty is not power but responsibility.

2. The primary responsibility of the protection is of the State.

3. In case State fails to protect itself violates then it becomes the responsibility of Int.community.

4. In case force is to be used it should be used as last option and use of the force should be proportionate.
1. Example- Libya (2011)-

UN Security Council authorized NATO for the action: The mandate was to impose no fly zone however NATO went beyond mandate entered into offensive action, More No. of people lost their lives then it would have been the absence of action.
2. Countries like Russia and China suggest -
Countries like Russia and China suggest that in the name of protection of human rights west aims at regime change. Hence, in case of Syria, Russia and China have applied VETO it resulted into further loss of life in Syria.
Proposal by Brazil

- It had proposed to establish the accountability of those who are executing the mandate.
- They should be penalized incase they go beyond the mandate.
1. LIBERAL THEORY

Contain

1. Origin of State.
2. Function of States.
1. Origin of the State.

A. Social contact {Note refer John Locke for Library Theory}.

B. Idea of Social Contact
State is created by Man

1. It is a product of the will of the Man.
2. Function of the States
State is the neutral Arbitrary among Conflicting Interest.

We can divide liberal into School

1. Night watchman State
2. Welfare State
3. Nature of the State
2. Marxist Theory

• Answer-
  • In Marxist, there are two schools of thought with respect to nature of the State.
    • 1. Instrumentalist.
    • 2. Relative autonomy
Origin of State.

- Force theory of origin of the State is not the product of will rather it is product of force
- origin of State lies in the subjugation of weak by strong.
Functions of the State.

- State is a executive committee of the bourgeoisie class.
Nature of the State:

- According To Marxist State is a class institution
What is the theme of Instrumentalist Approach?

- It suggest State as an instrument of the capitalist class.
On which Theory of Marx Instrumentalist view is Based?

- Historical Materialism - Marx say State is a part of superstructure and the class which controls basic structure also control superstructure.
- "State is an executive committee of the Bourgeoisie Class" ~ K. Marx.
It is said that political science begins and ends with State however like all concept State remains a contested concept.

Marx theory of State contradict Hegal theory Hegals has established State as Institution of Universal Altruism Marx however proves that State is a class institution.

He calls State as executive committee of the bourglois class.
Considering the size level of development in society the approach of Constitution is the best approach.
What message he want to Convey?

Worker should not trust the State rather Revolt against the State it is our false consciousness if we believe that State is natural.
Conclusion

The nature of State remains a matter of debate. State is an instrument remains a discourse of K Marx.
"State represent (irreconsiabiality....) of class antagonism."
-Lenin.
Above Statement tells about nature of State from marxist perspective. State is a class institution.

Basis to say

Historical materialism
1. Economic Structure is the basic structure has Three Concepts.

A) Means of Production.

B) Source of Production

C) Relation of Production
2. There are Two Types of Relation

A) Haves

B) Have not.

3. The relation will be insane essentially dialectical.
Link with Statement

- Answer-
- To Lenin very fact the State exists show that class struggle exist
- In a divided society class struggle is invertible and State inter once on the behalf of dominate class State is a class institution becomes clear become one classless society comes into existence State withers away.
Conclusion

• Nature Matter of Debate.
THE NATURE OF State IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY

- Contribution of Ralph Miliband.
- Book- The Nature of State in Capitalist Society.
INTRODUCTION

• Miliband has analysis the nature of State in post capitalist post industrial society.
• he has analysis the nature of welfare State.
• Miliband has conducted empirical studies to understand whether there is any ruler change in the nature of the State in post capitalist society.
1. No qualitative change in the situation of worker.

2. The entire economic wealth of society remains concentrate in the hands of few.

3. Those who control economic power also control political power.

4. "Managerial revolution" is a Myth.
His conclusion-
Even welfare State is an instrument of the capitalist class.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer-</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Why Welfare State is an Instrument?</td>
<td>• The Institution of the State like Bureaucracy, Judiciary remains dominated by the elite class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>western countries do not have a representative bureaucracy or judiciary. hence the policies</td>
</tr>
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<td>and discussion are favorable to the dominant class.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER NAME / TOPIC

Question

• What is Representative Bureaucracy?

Answer-

• When there is a representation of all sections in bureaucracy it is called representative bureaucracy.
Advantage

Interest of all section can be taken care of in western countries bureaucracy is elitist.

However, in India the system of reservation insures the show the representation of different section.

However in India higher judiciary remains elitist.
WHAT MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION?

- This term was given by James Burham
To show the nature of capitalism has changed because of managerial revolution.

A new class has emerged in industry known as the managerial class.

Decision making power has shifted from capitalistic into the managerial class of class.

What is the Purpose?
Anyone can join to become manager if that person is talented even though children of working class can join the managerial class when persons with different background including from the working classes from the managerial class their decision will take into account the interest of all section including workers.

What is the Purpose?
Managerial Revolution is a Myth it is not resulted into any real change in the situation of workers.
Even managerial class is not representative dominated by the children coming from the rich classes.

Management education is extremely costly, unaffordable hence, until and unless the children from working classes are exceptionally talented they will not be able to join.
2. Relative Autonomy (Structural School)

Karl Marx book The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.
Que. What is the idea?

• Answer
  • In normal situation when capitalism is fully developed State act as an instrument of capitalist class
Meaning of State as an instrument?

- It means State having no auto money or independence of choice State has to act according to the decades of the dominant class however Marx suggested that in short historical conditions State becomes "Relatively Autonomous".
Que. What does it imply?

- State gets some autonomy.
- State gets some form of Independence.
- State gets some amount of bargaining power.

Que. What Does It Imply?

- In such situation it becomes difficult to identify that State is instrument of a particular class thus State gives impression of neutrality.
Above view of Karl Marx comes closer to liberal view of the State.
WHY LIBERALS PORTRAY State TO BE AUTONOMOUS?

• Que. Is still there some difference in Marx view and liberals views?

• Answer- There is a difference because of liberals State is completely autonomous or neutral but for Marx it is only "Relatively Autonomous."
WHY LIBERALS Portray State TO BE AUTONOMOUS?

• Que. What are the conditions which allows State to become a relatively autonomous?

• Answer- When capitalism is fully developed which means economic structure is controlled by the capitalists.
SITUATION FOR RELATIVE AUTONOMY?

- When there are more than one dominant class.
SITUATION FOR RELATIVE AUTONOMY?

• For Example
  • A. It may happen that capitalists as well as workers are equally organized and Powerful.
  • B. It may happen that along with capitalists class exist feudal class on any other economic class which is organised. eg.. Worker.
SITUATION FOR RELATIVE AUTONOMY?

- Since no class is dominant, the State causes to be the instrument of a particular class.
- The State appears to be neutral, giving the State some bargaining power.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Why Marx uses relative autonomy rather than complete autonomy?</td>
<td>• 1. Since economic structure remains the Basic Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 2. In a situation of crises States State real characters comes into picture State will use power in the interest of economically dominant class.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question:

- Why this theory is called structural approach?

Answer:

- Since State has some amount of autonomy it is not appropriate to call it as an instrument or just the reflection of the base it again the nature of the structure that is it also become structure.
- Relative autonomy theory structural approach is further developed by orders Scholar 1. Gramski
  - 3. Hamga Alyi
1. Antonio Gramsci
2. Louis Althusser
3. Nicole Poulantzas
Contribution Of Antonio Gramsci

Gramsci is also structuralist. State is not just a reflection, State is also a structure.

Gramsci Uses the concept of integral State comprise of civil society and political society. State appears neutral because of the presence of civil society. civil society generate soft power when soft power failed State uses instrument of coercion.
Contribution Of Louis Althusser

Althusser is also structuralist who has given the idea of multi structuralism.

He has given the concept of interpellation which is quite near to Gramsci's concept Hegemony.

Bourgeoisie Class applies 2 Type of Apparatus.
1. Ideological State \{IAS\}

2. Repressive State \{RSA\}
Contribution of Nicos Poulantzas

Nicos Poulantzas
POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL CLASSES

- BOOK- "Political Power and Social Classes."
- He has analyzed that nature of State in the post capitalist societies which means welfare State
- He supports relative autonomy theory.
- State cannot be called as the instrument of particular class.
1. Introduction of Universal Adult Franchise.
2. Growth of Catch all Parties.
3. Competitive Electoral System
1. Introduction of Universal Adult Franchise.
2. Growth of Catch all Parties

- Note... (Catch All Parties)
- Parties have to make appeal to the product section to be able to form the govt. hence, there programs are such that they have something for every class.
- catch all parties also represent decline in the importance of ideological and growth of real politic.
- Example- BSP in India is one of example of catch all party.
3. Competitive Electoral System

- 3. Competitive Electoral System - Polandza also believe that State is only relatively autonomous State in the time of crisis always favor the economically dominant class.
- Example - Obama Administration held out the banker responsible for subprime crisis and has used force on the people protesting at a wallstreet in occupy Wall street movement.
3. Pluralist Theory

- It is based on pluralistic theory of sovereignty, the view on State are-
  - 1. State is an Association.
  - 2. Authority should be Federal.
Exponents

1. Laski
2. Mac Iver
Laski is known as Moderate Pluralist.
WHY LASKI KNOWN AS MODERATE PLURALIST?

- Wants to give minimum power to the State that he also recognize the importance of the role of the State.
- He called State as key stone of Social Architecture.
Mac Iver is known as Extreme Pluralist
WHY MAC KNOWN AS EXTREME PLURALIST?

• 1. He treats State like any other Association.
• 2. Does not give preference to State over other associations.
• 3. He believes there are many Association which are prior to State and are not depended on the State.
• 4. State is not the only source of law customs and traditions are also very important source of law.
WHY MAC KNOWN AS EXTREME PLURAL LIST?

- 5. He gives the concept of service State.
- according to which State command because it serves.
- 6. State is both the guardian and child of law.
- 7. General will is not a will of the State but will of the people for the State.
4. New Library Theory

- They are Critique of Welfare State and supports of night Watchman State.

- NOTE- REFER IDIOLOGY
5. Feminist Theory

- Scholars.
- Catharine A. MacKinnon" There is No Feminist Theory of State."
Why feminism deals with Gender and Patriarchy.

Though Catherine suggests that there is no feminist theory of State that we can mention the feminist perspective on the State, the Feminist Theory of State is based on the idea “personal is political”.

It suggests that State is an Institution of patriarchy.
TOWARDS THE FEMINIST THEORY OF State

• Catharine A. MacKinnon in his book Towards the Feminist Theory of State suggest that when she looks at the State.
• State appears male to her McKinnon is lawyer by profession, has analyzed the laws made by State for women according to her it appears as if these laws are made by men for men she has analysis the loopholes in the laws and specifically the rape laws in USA. it becomes extremely difficult for women to get justice.
Feminists have an ambivalent position towards the State. On one hand, they consider the State as an instrument of patriarchy. On the other hand, they believe that improving the status of women requires positive intervention by the State. 

Marion Kong has given the concept of differentiated citizenship and recommends affirmative action. It is feminist need more sophisticated analysis of State.
Post Colonial Theory

- It is about State in post colonial societies.
- what are post of colonial States?
- Which had colonial past which are still under some form of colonialism coined by former president of Ghana Thus,
- Indian Brazil South Africa will be regarded as post colonial but USA New Zealand Australia are not regarded as postcolonial because they have overcome colonial legacy.
What does colonial Legacy implied?

- Colonialism is associated with Marxist, Leninist discourse to the discourse in the inter. exchange countries of north are at advantage and Countries Of South Africa at disadvantages.
- even after formal end of imperialism those countries continue to be in similar relation with each other.
Theories of Post Colonial State?

Introduction?

• The study of developing areas has been the most important area of research in the field of modern comparative politics. The nature of State has been studied by western as well as Marxist perspective.
The methodology adopted by Scholars include:

a) Political development

b) Political modernization

c) Political culture

d) System approach

e) Structural functional approach.
Agrarian Society (combined white ray of light)  Prismatic Society (diffraction process)  Industrial Society (diffraction result)

(Fused stage)  (Prismatic stage)  (Diffracted stage)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prominent works from western perspective include.</th>
<th>What is Domestic Society?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• 1. Prismatic society model by riggs “traditional society, modern society development society”.</td>
<td>• Terms coined by riggs to describe the nature of societies found in developing areas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Prismatic society is one which possesses the features of both undeveloped and developed societies.
• In the words of Rudolph and Rudolph, the coexistence of modernity and tradition read has given following features of Prismatic society.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Formalism</strong></td>
<td>There is a big gap in theory and practice of rules.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. Poly Communalism</strong></td>
<td>Communities coexist but do not trust each other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Poly Normativism</strong></td>
<td>Means, various norms exist both rational and irrational with respect to law and policy making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Functional Overlapping</strong></td>
<td>Means high level of functional specialization does not exist in many countries army is involved in civilian administration.</td>
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<td><strong>5. Economic system</strong></td>
<td>• Bazaar canteen model, it means some people get things at Market price and some people get it at subsided rates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Administrative system</strong></td>
<td>• SALA model, For some person system is based on rule and for some it is shaped by family Kinship Norms.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>7. Attainment norms</strong></td>
<td>• Birth achievement</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>8. Heterogeneity</strong></td>
<td>• Existence of Modernity and Tradition.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. THEORY OF SOFT States

- Book Asian Drama
- The concept applies Primarily for India
QUE. WHAT IS SOFT State?

• Answer.
  • The State Soft on criminals. State having poor capacity to implement the laws.
Consequence of Soft - State

1. Poor law and order.

2. Failure to achieve developmental objective.

3. Myrdal mention that even charismatic leaders like ...Nehru failed to achieve the goals of Land reforms.
QUE. WHAT IS SOFT State?

• Answer.
  • The State Soft on criminals State having poor capacity to implement the laws.
Que. Why India is a Soft State?

1. Corruption
2. Gandhi
3. Indian Culture
Q. Why India is a Soft State?

1. Corruption - It is a colonial legacy
Q. Why India is a Soft State?

2. Gandhi-
Gandhi has developed the cultural of disobedience towards the authority.
Indians have gained their independence by Gandhian methods enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of the people.
Q. Why India is a Soft State?

3. Indian Culture-
   In Indian culture those who disobey a law get more respect than those who obey.
MARXIST APPROACH ON POST COLONIAL States?

- Marxist approach has origin in the works of Lenin.
- Focus of Marxist approach:
- Analysis of the phenomenon of Neo colonialism
School in Marxist Approach

1. Instrumentalist
2. Structuralist
Instrumentalists

- was prominent in 1960’s -70’s given by scholars of Latin America and Africa primarily applies for States in Africa and Latin America.
Dependency school is inspired by Lenin theory of imperialism the scholars of dependency School classified countries into two categories first.

- 1. core
- 2. Peripherals
Though in recent times there is also an Emerge of 3 category know as Peripheries.

1. Core - Countries
1. INDUSTRIALIZED

- Economic power, military and technological power states in core countries are instruments of the Burgouise class in these countries.
- To quote Noam Chomsky - The State in USA is ready to go for war for the advancement of Geo economic interest of its Burgoise class.
2. Peripherals-

• Suppliers of raw materials and Markets of the finished products.
According to the Two dependency School, there is:

A. Unequal exchange between the countries of North and South.

B. Unequal development, unequal exchange results in development which means prosperity in the North and poverty in the South.
In the words of AG Frank..." the development of underdevelopment". Thus, for dependency School poverty in South is a not just indegenous or home grown it is linked to the prosperity in North.
Que. What is the Solution for Poverty in South?

1. acc. To these scholars more closely the countries in Periphery are integrated to the international economy poorer it will be analysis apply for the countries in Africa and Latin America.

till 80 s with the exception of few countries it is still applicable these scholars proposed National autonomous development.
Que. What is the Solution for Poverty in South?

2. Fortunately after independence India has opted for autonomous development and self sufficiency unfortunately we have not been successful in eradicating poverty because of poor implementation and corruption which earned India the title of soft State."
Question

• Nature of State in Peripheries

Answer

• Acc. To this school State in peripheries
• Which in turn are the instrument of the State in core countries which is term are the instrument of Borgeouse in this country is most of the State of the third world have been limited by puppet rules and Client regime.
Political Science

27/10/2018
Structuralist School

Exponents

- Hamza Alvi
• History applies for the State of Pakistan in 70’s and 80th.
• However it is also applicable to understand to nature of State in other South Asian countries including India.
• Hamza Ali calls State in Pakistan as overdeveloped State.
1. State in post colonial societies is not just the imitation of the State in the western countries

State in western countries can be called as the instrument of the capitalist class

However, State in post colonial societies cannot be called as the instrument of their own capitalist class or even the capitalist class of core countries {Metropolitan Bourgeois}. 
Applying the Analysis of State by Marx As given in 18th broumaire of Louis Bonaparte where has suggested that under specific historical circumstances State class to be instrument of the particular class State gains relative autonomy.

Marx has also given the concept of bonapartism so strong executive Hamza Alvi has shown that State in Pakistan is military bureaucratic oligarchy he has shown that State intervals behalf of 3 classes.
2. Hamza Alvi

Has called State in Pakistan as overdeveloped which means political system is modern, where economic system on society remains traditional, there is mismatch in the stage of development between political and economic structure.
Situation In Western Countries

- There is a simultaneous development of economic structure and political structure on the basis of base and superstructure model
- Marx shown that when economic structure become capitalist than political structure become modern.
- Nation State means having fixed territory and centralised authority.
Situation In Post Colonial Societies

- There is mismatch in the level of economic development and political development.
  - b. Nature of Political System
- Modern State has been introduced by colonial Masters they have determined the territory and established centralised authority.
3. State in this societies is most powerful for Three Reasons.

A. Even after independence cities continued with colonial laws and system of Administration. Colonial master introduced a strong State to protect colonial interest give lot of powers into the hands of Bureaucracy involve in maintaining law and order.
3. State in this societies is most powerful for Three Reasons.

B. The party which played a major role in the freedom movement came to power after independence it kept on increasing its power there was a little resistance by the people because party enjoyed legitimacy in the eyes of the people.
3. State in this societies is most powerful for Three Reasons.

C. The nature of development model adopted by this states has put economic resources in the hands of Executive thus, further straightening the Power of the State.
3. State in this societies is most powerful for Three Reasons.

Above analysis can also be applied to India before 1990 at times India used to be known as Inspector Raj however since 1990 with the deepening of democracy growing consciousness of Human Rights judicial activism civil society activism there is a change in the institutional practices.
Theories of Power

1. Liberal Theory
2. Marxist Theory
3. Elitist Theory
4. Pluralist Theory
5. Feminist Theory
6. Gramscian Theory
7. H. Ardent Theory
8. Post modern (Foucault) Theory
Power is core concept of Political Theory. Political science is defined as the study of the shaping and sharing of power. Power remains constructed concept, scholars have studied phenomena of power from various perspectives. Steven Lukes has summarised different theories in the form of a three-dimensional view of power.

**I Dimension**

- Power as decision making means study of Institution shaping power.