

POLITICAL THEORY

BASIC POLITICAL CONCEPTS

1. Authority

Max Weber defined authority simply as a matter of people's belief about its rigidfulness, regardless of where that belief came from and whether or it is morally justified.

2. Civil Society

- Hegel viewed civil society as a sphere of universal egoism.
- According to Edmund Burk civil society consists of what we called little pantloons.
- According to Gramsci, civil society is school, church, universities and trade unions.

3. Ideology

- The term ideology was coined by Destutt de Tracy.
- Marx termed ideology as false consciousness.
- End of ideology was propounded by Daniel Bell

4. Law

- John Locke put it, 'without law there is no liberty'.
- The classical interpretation of this position was developed in JS Mill's 'Harm Principle'; the idea that the only legitimate use of law is to prevent harm to others.

5. Legitimacy

The neo-Marxist such as Jurgen Habermas have identified legitimation crisis in capitalist societies.

6. Politics

- Hannah Arendt defines political power as 'acting in concert'.
- David Easton considers politics as the authoritative allocation of values.

- According to Kate Millet (author of *sexual Politics*) politics is defined as the power structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another'

7. Liberty

- Isaiah Berlin in his *Two concepts of liberty* sought to give a new turn to the distinction between negative and positive liberty.
- F.A Hayek, in his *Constitution of Liberty* used the terms liberty and freedom interchangeably. He argued that a man possess liberty or freedom when he is not subject to coercion by the arbitrary will of another.
- Milton Friedman defines freedom as the absence of coercion of a man by his fellow men. (*Capitalism and Freedom*-his book)
- Herbert Marcuse put forward the concept of one dimensional man.
- CB Macpherson put forward the concept of creative freedom and possessive individualism.
- *Law, legislation and liberty* was written by F.A Hayek.
- Amartyya Sen wrote *Deveolopmet as liberty*.
- CB Macpherson talks about creative freedom.
- Charles Taylor talks about purposive freedom.
- Aung San Suki wrote *Freedom from fear*.

8. Equality

- The doctrine of equality is sometimes dubbed as philosophy of poverty.
- Rousseau in his *Social Contract*, observed that extension of legal equality to all citizens was the primary characteristics of civil society.
- Will Kemleka talks about multiculturalism.
- An ideal condition of socio-economic equality was expressed in Louise Blanc's classic formula, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need'.
- Indian constitution talks about equality of status and opportunities.

- According to Hayek, “We should not divide the cake of freedom to ensure equal shares for all, but according to each individual’s potential to secure social progress”.
- Michael Walzer talks about complex equality.
- First person to talk about political equality is Jeremy Bentham-1person 1 vote.
- Hayek declared social justice to a ‘mirage’, hence an unrealizable principle.

9. Power

- Keith Boulding has put forward three ways of influencing decisions; The stick, The deal and The kiss.
- Thomas Hobbes put forward the assertion that the basic human urge is to seek ‘power after power’.
- It was Machiavelli who first talks about Political Power.
- Foucault says power as knowledge.
- Marx Weber identified three types of authority; Traditional, charismatic and legal rational.
- According to Abigail Adams, “All men would be tyrants if they could”.
- The opening sentence of Communist Manifesto; ‘The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle’
- Communist Manifesto gave a clarion call; ‘Workers of all countries unite!’
- The concluding lines of communist manifesto reads, ‘The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win’.
- Vilfredo Pareto in his *The Mind and Society* used the term ‘elite’ to indicate a superior social group.
- Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto talks about circulation of elite.
- Robert Michels propounded his theory of ‘Iron law of oligarchy’. He ruled out the possibility circulation of elites.
- Max Webber redefine democracy as a ‘competition for political leadership’.
- C.Wright Mills preferred the term ‘power elite’ to ruling class.

- Alex de Tocqueville observed that the absence of intermediary groups in France was responsible for French revolution.
- Steven Lukes has pointed to a third –dimension of power. He is also associated with A&B concept of power. He gave a radical view on power.
- Hannah Arendt views political institutions as manifestation and materialisation of power.
- Hannah Arendt warns; “Where genuine power is absent, violence may emerge to fill the gap”.

10. Sovereignty

John Austin’s doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty viewed as the ‘Monarch in Parliament’.

11. State

According to Marx Webber, state has a monopoly of the means of legitimate violence.

12. Democracy

- It is in the Gettysburg Address (1864) Lincoln called democracy as the govt of the people, by the people and for the people.
- Anthony Downs talks about economic theory of democracy

13. Freedom

- G.C Maccallum proposed a single, value free concept of freedom in the form; ‘X is free from Y to do or be Z’.
- According to R.H Tawney, ‘The freedom of the pike is death to the minnows’.

14. Toleration

John Locke defended toleration, particularly religious toleration, on the grounds that, state has no right to meddle in ‘the care of men’s soul’.

15. Authoritarianism

- Authoritarianism traits can be identified in democratic regimes too. Examples of this include, the Maccarthyite, 'witch hunts' of the 1950s in the US.
- The classic contribution of authoritarianism was the idea of the 'authoritarian personality' developed by Adorno.

16. Collectivism

All soviet enterprises were set planning targets ultimately by Gosplan (The state Planning Committee)

17. Corporatism

It set out to establish what Mussolini called a corporate state.

18. Liberal Democracy

In the view of 'end of history' theorists such as Francis Fukuyama, liberal democracy is the final form of human government.

19. Totalitarianism

- The idea of totalitarianism originated in fascist Italy.
- A different theory of totalitarianism was developed by Herbert Marcuse, who identified totalitarian tendencies in advanced industrial societies, viewing them as 'one dimensional societies' in which rising affluence helps to subdue argument and debate and absorb all forms of opposition.

20. Bill of Rights

The first ten amendments of the US constitution, which specify a collection of individual rights and freedom, thus came to be known as bill of rights, with 14th, 15th and 19th subsequently being accorded the same status.

21. Constitution

Uncodified constitutions are found in only two liberal democracies, Israel and UK.

22. Hegemony

In the writings of Antonio Gramsci (*Prison Notebook*), hegemony refers to the ability of a dominant social class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugates, as an alternative to the coercion.

23. Justice

- Aristotle used the term righteousness for complete justice.
- Currency of distributive justice was written by Rober Cohen
- According to John Rawls self is prior to end.
- Robert Nozick wrote the book *Anarchy, state and utopia*.

24. Political Culture

- The classic work in this respect was Almond and Verbas's *The Civic culture*, which used opinion surveys to analyse political attitudes in democracy in five countries; The USA, The UK, West Germany, Italy and Mexico.
- Almond and Verba's sleeping dog theory of democratic culture emphasises the importance of passivity and deference

25. Political Party

- Kirchheimer classified most modern parties as catch-all parties, emphasising that they have dramatically reduced their ideological baggage in order to appeal to the large number of voters.
- Lenin advocated the construction of a tightly knit revolutionary party, organised on the basis of democratic centralism, to serve as the vanguard of the working class.

26. Prime Minister

A prime minister is called as Minister –President in the Netherlands.

27. Separation of Power

- The principal of separation of power can be found in the writings of Locke but was fully elaborated by Montesquieu.
- Richard Neustadt described the US system as 'separated institutions sharing power'

28. Internationalism

Immanuel Kant is often seen as the father of one-worldism

29. Nation State

According to Mazzini, 'Every nation a state, only one state for the entire nation

IDEOLOGIES

1. Anarchism

- Collectivist anarchism is rooted in the idea of social solidarity or what Peter Kropotkin called mutual aid.
- 'Property is theft' is an assertion put forward by Joseph Proudhon.
- 6 important anarchists in the world history: Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Sorel and Tolstoy.

2. Communism

- In the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx thus summed up the theory of communism as the abolition of private property.
- Dialectical Materialism is a term coined by Plekhanov.

APPROACHES

1. Behaviouralism

- Concept of behavioural approach can be traced back to the works of Graham Wallas and Arthur Bentley, both published as early as 1908. Bentley is the pioneer of group approach.
- Charles E Marriam is the founder of famous Chicago school and father of behaviouralism. He wrote the book *New aspects of politics*.
- According to Vernon Van Dyke, 'The student who takes a behavioural approach is not likely to ask broad and vague questions like what caused the decline and fall of Roman Empire.'
- David Easton announced a new revolution in Political Science –a post behavioural revolution.
- David Easton lamented that behavioural political scientist are taking refuge in their ivory tower. He put forward 7 principles of post behaviouralism.
- David Easton's 8 intellectual foundation stones of behaviouralism are: Regularities, Verification, Techniques, Quantification, Values, Systemisation, Pure Science and Integration.
- Karl Deutsch put forward the communication theory. He particularly introduced the concept of cybernetics in the sphere of political analysis. He regarded political system as 'a network of communication channels'.
- Behaviouralism is the belief that social theories should be constructed on the basis of observational behaviour as opposed to behaviourism, which is the school of psychology that holds that human behaviour can be ultimately explained in terms of conditioned reflections and reflexes.
- The so-called behavioural revolution started in 1950s in US
- Prisoner's Dilemma-It is a standard example analysed in game theory. It was originally framed by Merrill flood and Melvin Dresher.
- Decline of political theory was first coined by Alfred Cobban.
- Karl Popper, the first fascist, propounded the theory of falsification.

2. Empiricism

- Empiricism was evident in John Lock's belief that mind is a *tabula rasa* (blank tablet) on which instructions are imprinted by the senses in the form of sense-data.
- Empiricism can be seen in Montesquieu's sociological theory of government and law.

3. Idealism

Emmanuel Kant put forward the concept of transcendental idealism.

4. Positivism

The term positivism was introduced by St. Simon and popularised by his follower, Auguste Comte.

5. Utilitarianism

JS Mill held that he would rather be 'Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfies'.

JOHN RAWLS

1. Rawls is a liberal thinker who treats liberty as the central problem of justice.
2. Rawls based his theory of justice based on 3 principles; *Principle of equal liberty, principle of fair equality of opportunity and Difference principle.*
3. Rawls introduced the concept of chain connection. It brings him closer to communitarianism.
4. Rawls has discovered a method for making procedural justice an instrument of meeting the requirement of social justice.

ROBERT NOZICK

1. Nozick in his *Anarchy, State and Utopia* sought to advance an alternative to Rawl's theory of justice.
2. If Rawls is known as *left liberal* advocating a substantially redistributive welfare state, Nozick may be described as a *right liberal* advocating a laissez-faire state.
3. Nozick identifies three principles on which the entitlement would confirm to justice;
 - Initial acquisition which is similar to Locke's Second treaties of government.
 - Voluntary transfer which is similar to moral principle enunciated by Emmanuel Kant.
 - Rectification which is precisely the area where the state or the international community will be justified to intervene in order to restore justice.

COMMUNITARIANS

1. Against the concept of *isolated self*, *communitarianism* introduces the concept of *situated self*.
2. Alasdair MacIntyre ridiculed the liberal notion of individual as *autonomous moral agents* operating in an atmosphere where they are disconnected from social context.

3. Michael Sandel argues, "Is anything left of the person when we subtract all this from his personality?"
4. Michael Walzer in his celebrated work *Spheres of Justice*, enunciated a communitarian theory of justice.
5. Communitarian view differ from liberal view of Rawls on the respective status of right and good in determining the principles of justice.

MISCELLANIOUS

- The term possessive individualism was coined by CB Macpherson
- The usage state as necessary evil was coined by Tom Paine
- The Hungarian Marxist Georg Lukács (1885–1971) was one of the first to present Marxism as a humanistic philosophy.
- Former US president Bill Clinton put it, giving people 'a hand up, not a hand out'. This has led to support for what has been called a 'workfare state',
- The French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (see p. 381), for instance, developed what he called 'mutualism'.
- Green politics therefore reflects concern about the damage done to the natural world by the increasing pace of economic development.
- One of the most influential theories in this field is the Gaia hypothesis, advanced by James Lovelock.
- Cosmopolitanism has only been treated as an ideological tradition in its own right since the 1990s.
- At the Bandung Conference of 1955, when 29 mostly newly independent African and Asian countries, including Egypt, Ghana, India and Indonesia, initiated what later became known as the Non-Aligned Movement