

A state is better governed
which has few laws, and
those laws strictly observed.

THE CONCEPT OF STATE

State can be defined as a **legal and political entity**, endowed with authority to govern the people. **R.G. Gettel** (Political Science; 1949) defined political science as 'the science of the state'; it is study of the state in the past, present and future, of political organization and political function, of political institutions and political theories. The Concept of the state is a cornerstone of political science without which a discussion on political science is incomplete. Hence, it has captured the imagination of all the thinkers since Plato.

The contemporary concept of the state owes its origin to **Machiavelli** (1469-1527) who expressed this idea in early sixteenth century as 'the power which has authority over men' (The Prince; 1513).

Max Weber (1864-1920), a famous German sociologist, sought to evolve a 'sociological' definition of the state (1920): 'A state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory'.

R.M. MacIver, in his famous work The Modern State (1926), sought to distinguish the state from other kinds of associations in that it embraces the whole of people in a specific territory and it has the special function of maintaining social order.

Frederick M. Watkins (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences; 1968) defines the state as '**a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign**'.

ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

There are four important elements of state:

1. **Population:** The state is a human institution. The population is, therefore, an essential element of the state.
2. **Territory:** Territory is another essential element of a state. Other associations either exist within the state or they extend their sphere to several states; they do not need separate territory. But the state must possess a territory where its authority is accepted without dispute or challenge.
3. **Government:** Government is still another essential element of the state. According to J.W. Garner (Political Science and Government; 1928), 'government is the agency or machinery through which common policies are determined and by which common affairs are regulated and common interests promoted'. If the state represents an abstract concept, government is its concrete form.
4. **Sovereignty:** Sovereignty denotes the supreme or ultimate power of the state to make laws or take political decisions—establishing public goals, fixing priorities and resolving conflicts—as also enforcing such laws and decisions by the use of legitimate force. In fact, sovereignty denotes the final authority of the state over its population and its territory. This authority may be exercised by the government of the day, but it essentially belongs to the state from which it is derived by the government

THEORIES OF ORIGIN OF STATE

SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

- This theory suggests that state has evolved as a **result of contract between men**. It is not a natural institution, but a **contractual** entity.

- **Hobbes** suggested that there was no protection of rights of man before state, and therefore man enters into agreement. For the same reason, he suggests an overarching state with enormous powers (Leviathan).
- **Locke**, on the other hand suggest that the state is just an 'additional safeguard' to protect the rights of man & **advocates minimal state**.

HISTORICAL/EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

- It suggests that state is not a deliberate creation of man, instead a **natural development in course of history**. Just like language, culture, customs developed, state also evolved and continues to do so even at present.
- The formation of state is a **complex** phenomenon, and should not be reduced to a single factor. Numerous small and big factors like social instinct, religion, force, kinship, economy, development etc. have played role in formation of state.

MARXIAN THEORY

Marxists scholars like Engels argue that **state is not natural**. It was created at a point of time when society started dividing into two contending groups. It was created as an apparatus of a dominant class to protect their property and privileges and perpetuate the oppression of the marginalized section. And it would be better if humanity were to abolish the idea of state altogether. In other words, it advocated that state is the **executive committee of the bourgeoisie**.

THE EVOLUTION OF STATE

According to **Garner**, political science begins and ends with the state. State represents authority or a system of governance. City State in ancient Greece evolved into Roman Empire, which in period of time changed into Nation State. And now we are witnessing even supranational system (e.g., EU). **Sovereignty is the defining feature of modern nation state**. Inherent in the idea of sovereignty is autonomy (internal and external), territoriality and centralization of authority.

THEORIES OF SOVEREIGNTY

It is a modern concept, associated with the rise of modern nation state. **Hobbes gave the first complete theory of the sovereignty of the state**. Hobbes clearly established state absolutism. He ended the confusion of 'two swords', clearly defined that **law is command of sovereign, it comes with the power of punishment**.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVEREIGNTY:

1. **Absoluteness:** There can be no legal power within the state superior to it, and there can be no legal limit to the supreme law-making power of state.
2. **Universality:** The sovereignty of the state extends over every person and every association of persons in the state.
3. **Permanence:** The sovereignty of the state continues as long as the state itself exists. Only by the destruction of the state sovereignty be destroyed.
4. **Indivisibility:** There can be one sovereignty in the state. To divide sovereignty is to destroy it. The exercise of its power may be distributed among various governmental organs but the sovereignty is a unit, just as the state is a unit.
5. **Inalienability:** According to **Lieber**, "Sovereignty can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life and personality without self-destruction.

Monistic theory of sovereignty.

The monistic theory of sovereignty comes from Hobbes's theory; hence it can also be called as Hobbesian theory of sovereignty. It led to the evolution of the monistic theory of sovereignty. The best exponent of the monistic theory is **John Austin**. **Hence it is also known as Austinian theory**.

Evolution of monistic sovereignty theory

Monistic theory emerged out of the experience of the medieval age where sovereignty was fragmented. It led to the chaos and hence the idea was accepted that on a particular set of people, living in a particular territory, the authority of state will be absolute. Neither any association outside the state (Roman Church) nor any associations inside the state (local churches or communities),

can challenge the authority of the state. **Hence the entire power in a defined territory got centralized at one place. Hence it is called as the monistic view.**

The **theory of sovereignty of state is closely associated with the theory of law.** The monistic theory clearly established law as 'command of sovereign'. It is because of this attribute **Max Weber** described modern nation state as an institution having monopoly over the use of violence in a particular territory.

One of the most acceptable definitions of sovereignty (monistic theory) is given by John Austin.

"If a determinate (explicit/specific) human superior, not in a habit of obedience to the like superior, receives habitual obedience, from the bulk of the society, then that human superior is sovereign and that society is a political society... law is command of sovereign." -John Austin

Explanation of the above quotation.

1. Determinate human superior: In medieval times, there was confusion as to which authority is superior. Now it is clear that state is superior. Thus, the characteristic of sovereignty is superiority & determination. **2. Not in the habit of obedience to the like superior:** It means sovereign does not obey any other sovereign. There is a difference between being a state which is sovereign and being a colony or dominion. There is no authority over the state. Thus, the sovereignty means absolutism. **3. Receives habitual obedience:** State is an institution which majority respects because command of sovereign is law.

4. Political society means state.

WHY MONISTIC THEORY IS NOT DESIRABLE?

It is threat to international peace. It **concentrates too much power in the hands of the states**, state acquires autocratic dimension and it is anti-democratic as well. And it also does not give the real explanation of sovereignty.

According to **Laski** with emergence of federal form of govt. it has become an impossible misadventure to **locate the sovereign**. According to scholars like **Duguit and Krabbe**, state is not the only source of law, there are multiple sources of law, most important among them are customs and traditions (positive school of law vs sociological school of law). **Monistic theory ignores the growth of international organizations and international law.**

According to the historians like **Henry Maine**, there is no example in the history which can be put forward as an ideal example of Austin's theory of sovereignty. **Henry Maine** cites the example of **Raja Ranjit Singh of Punjab, who also could not exercise the sovereignty in the way Austin describes.**

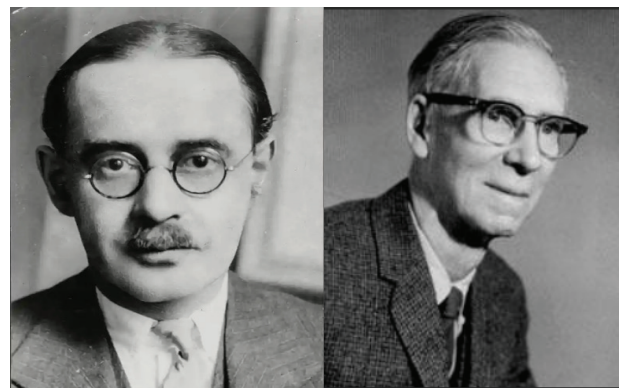
PLURALISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY:

Exponents—Laski and MacIver

Monistic theory dominated till Second World War. It was accepted that state has absolute power, there are no limitations internal or external on the powers of the state, not even international law. Adherence to such ideas led to the recurrence of wars in Europe. The consequences of first and second world war were unacceptable. **Hence it was realized that there is a need to modify the theory of sovereignty.** There is a need to give importance to international law and promote respect for human rights.

It has led to the experimentation of the ideas like European Union. It has diluted the sovereignty of the state and transferred the power of decision making from the state to new supranational institutions beyond the state. **Both after first and second world war, there is an emergence of international institutions, international law and it was realised powers of the states have to be made limited.** Thus emerged the idea of the pluralistic theory of the sovereignty.

Pluralist theory is a rejection of monistic theory. According to monistic theory, power is to be concentrated at one place whereas according to pluralistic theory, power of the state should be distributed among different associations. **According to pluralists, state is an association like many other associations.** Man has created various associations for fulfillment of his interest. State alone cannot fulfil all the interests of man. One of the best exponents of pluralist theory is Laski. According to **Laski 'since society is federal, authority should also be federal.'** **Krabbe held that** "The notion of sovereignty(monistic) must be expunged from political theory."



Philosophical basis of pluralistic theory of sovereignty

Laski has given the philosophical basis. Universe is multi-dimensional. Man is a part of universe, so man is also multi-dimensional personality. Man has multiple needs, and hence man has created multiple institutions. State alone does not fulfill all the needs of man; hence other associations also deserve share in man's obligation.

TYPES OF PLURALISTS

Moderate Pluralists e.g., Laski

According to moderate pluralists, state is one of the **associations among various associations**. However, state is more important than other associations. According to Laski, it happens because of the unique role played by the state. The role of state is of conflict resolution which is also called as equilibrium maker. Hence for Laski **state is the keystone of the social architecture**. It means society cannot continue without state.

Problem in Laski's ideas

- On one hand he is **skeptical** with respect to the power exercised by the state. So, he wants to limit the powers. Hence, he says that "Since society is federal, authority should also be federal." At the same time, he realizes the importance of the state and is forced to accept that the state is the keystone of the social architecture.

EXTREME PLURALISTS E.G., MACIVER

- Extreme pluralists do not give any primacy to the state. For them state is just one of the associations. Hence there is difference in their attitude. It is natural for Laski to give importance to the state. It is natural for MacIver not to give primacy to state as he is a sociologist, in contrast to Laski who is a political scholar.
- According to MacIver there are many institutions and associations which are prior to state, not dependent on state for their existence e.g., Church.
- MacIver gives the concept of 'service state'**. According to him, state commands because it serves. It means state deserves the respect only when it fulfills the useful functions. According to MacIver, state is both the guardian of law and the child of law. Means state's purpose is to maintain law and order and at the same time, state is also under the law. State cannot exercise arbitrary powers. State powers are limited (the concept of rule of law).
- According to MacIver, **the general will be not the will of the state, but will of the people for the state**. It means it is misunderstood as if state enjoys ultimate powers. Totalitarian rulers misused the concept.
- The concept of general will does not give ultimate powers to the state. It gives ultimate powers to the people. **It is people's wish, which is expressed through the general will**. State itself has to abide by the will of the people.

CRITICAL EVALUATION OF PLURALISTIC THEORY:

Pluralistic theory is more realistic explanation. In the age of federalism and growth of multiple associations like UN, ICJ, EU, we cannot accept the monistic view that law is just the command of sovereign. **Monistic theory is relevant for jurists' lawyers. It is a legal fiction.** On the other hand, pluralistic theory is sociological and has political explanation. However, it is also inconsistent. They are against the state, but they do not eliminate the state (this is also the major difference in anarchists and pluralists). When state exists, it automatically gains primacy over other associations. Thus, state has to be recognized as higher than other associations rather than just like any other association. **It is said that pluralists** want to keep the cake and have it too.

Conclusion

Even when pluralism is inconsistent, it does not mean it is irrelevant. Consistency is not the most important requirement of a sound theory. Pluralism is relevant because it is more realistic and more conducive for international peace.

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES

Kenichi Ohama has described Globalization as borderless world or de-territorialization. Historically nation state has been a territorial concept. Nation states have been carved out of the Roman Empire. The definite territory or border became the essential element. Sovereignty denotes that, the supreme power to make law lies with the state.

If nation state can be considered as a billiard ball with hard shell, the forces of globalization e.g., ICT (Information and Communication Technology), Market integration, International Organizations, International laws, Global civil society etc. have made this shell porous/penetrable. Thus, conceptually the territorial states and globalization are antithetical forces.

There is a lack of consensus among the scholars. Some believe that globalization has weakened the sovereignty, whereas others believe that state is in command of globalization. Hence, we can analyse the impact on the basis of three perspectives.

1. **Globalists perspective (Kenechi Ohame, Marshall McLuhan):** According to them globalization is real and it has diluted the sovereignty of the state, both internal and external.
2. **State centric perspective. (Robert Gilpin, Ethan Kapstein):** Globalization is on the losing end; the world continues to be state centric. States are controlling globalization.
3. **Transformationalist's view (David Held):** Globalization and sovereignty are not a 'zero-sum game'. In some contexts, state is winning and, in some contexts, globalization is winning.



VIEWS OF SORENSON

Globalization has not impacted all the states equally. Some are winning and some are losing.

Kenichi Ohmae, THE BORDERLESS WORLD

According to Kenichi Ohmae, world is turning into **global economy** with political boundaries becoming less important. Due to development of ICT people are able to access lifestyles across the world and want best of everything. People want global products and governments are becoming more and more powerless in controlling it. This is true especially for developed countries like USA, EU and Japan.

Individuals have become global citizens because of their consumption habits – and government can no longer control consumption habits for fear of vote bank. Also, transnational companies no longer see themselves as rooted in one country. All this have eroded ability of governments to control economies.

He also argues that globalization of economy makes use of military forces less likely since economies have become interdependent. Slump in another economy will also affect country's own citizens. Role of state has been limited to producing conditions conducive for business and welfare activities in general.

Criticism

It's not true that countries cannot control their trades. Recent tariff increase by USA on imported goods from various countries is good example for this. With economies becoming interlinked, governments across world might have reduced intervention in business but it does not reduce their power to do so. USA, Russia is using their military forces abroad too, contrary to what Ohmae proposes. According to global pessimists – he overstates power of consumers. While in reality, corporations and bankers have more power.

SUSAN STRANGE

According to her neither economist nor political thinkers have proper understanding of global financial market. Economist's understanding is poor since they rely too much on economic models and don't have proper idea of power. While understanding

that of political thinkers is woeful. Since they only think in terms of power and politics. One needs a balanced approach. A study of both economics and political science to have realistic understanding.

THEORIES OF STATE

1. Liberal theory
2. Marxist theory
3. Pluralist theory
4. Post-colonial theory
5. Feminist theory

LIBERAL THEORY

The liberal state **focuses on individual rights and freedom**. It also argues for a neutral and minimal state. It replaces the divine right theory of the state and argues that a legitimate rule must be based on the consent of the people.

States work for the common good of the society and its major activity is understood as to be maintaining law and order and ensuring that everyone is treated with equality without any discrimination. In other words, a liberal state regards individuals as moral and rational agents. State's role is seen as providing them with the conducive conditions for growth and prosperity.

Its **origin** and growth can be traced back to the political struggles that took place in **England** and **France** with the rise and growth of capitalism which had led to a free market economy. These struggles focused on individual dignity, self-respect, private property and, power and status particularly of the emerging middle class of the society.

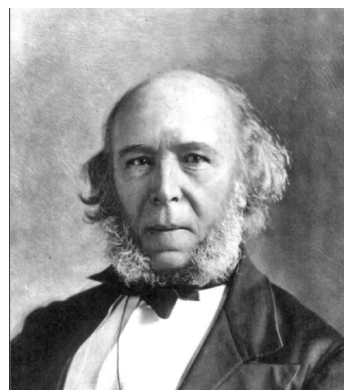
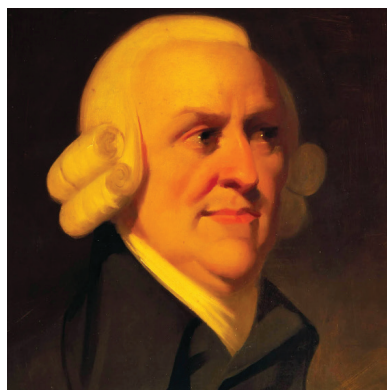
For liberals, the role of the state is to carry out a legal framework under which the market can function well. And, it should also maximise the opportunity and prosperity of everyone. State should thus focus more on adjudicative and legal roles. Liberals also argue that citizens have the right to overthrow a government if it does not fulfil the desired roles and functions such as creating conditions for human happiness and well-being.

Liberals wanted to ensure maximum freedom to individuals and therefore regard the state as a necessary evil. As per them, without legal authority in the form of state, individual lives and property would be under constant threat. And that would be detrimental to peace and prosperity of the society. Thus, State in a liberal framework should perform the minimum role of maintaining law and order and enforcing a contract.

Three distinct phases or streams of liberal tradition can be identified. These are:

- **Negative liberalism or theory of laissez-faire individualism** which is also known as classical liberalism
- **Positive liberalism or welfare liberalism**
- **Neo-liberalism or libertarianism**

Negative Liberalism or Theory of Laissez-faire



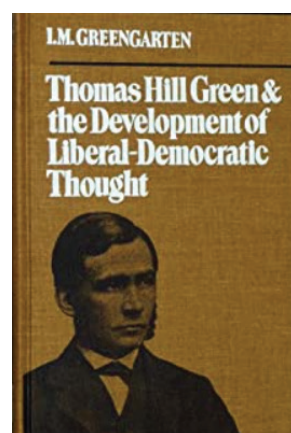
- **Exponents of the Theory:** Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and Herbert Spencer.

- It sought to argue that individual is endowed with the faculty of 'reason' which enables him to find what is more conducive to his interests. **Classical liberalism, therefore, advocate individual's right to freedom of trade, freedom to contract, freedom to bargain and freedom of enterprise.**
- It postulated **private property as the condition of progress**, because property is viewed as the product of individual's labour, ingenuity and enterprise. Since all freedoms of the individual ensued from the element of 'reason', they were regarded valuable for society.
- The profit motives of individuals and their open competition were, therefore, regarded as 'functional' and hence, conducive to social progress. The function of the government was to protect individual's freedom or liberty, to enforce contracts, to guarantee peaceful employment of property and to provide the external conditions of law and order.
- With its emphasis on the individual as the centre of importance, classical liberalism advocated the policy of laissez-faire, a French term which means 'leave alone'. This phrase was in common usage in mercantile and industrial circles in nineteenth century England, and in other parts of the world, to express a brief in the freedom of industry and economic activity from state interference.
- Laissez-faire **individualism** refers to an aspect of liberal political theory which regards to the property rights of the individual as a necessary condition of liberty, and seeks to set definite and circumscribed limits on the regulatory powers vested in the government over social and economic processes.
- **This theory dubs the state a 'necessary evil'.** It is evil because it imposes regulations and restricts the freedom of the individual, yet it is necessary because, without its regulation, freedom of the individual cannot be safeguarded.

Features of negative liberalism include the following:

- Inalienable natural rights of individuals' life, liberty and property.
- Sphere of individual action defined and demarcated in political and economic activity.
- Individual liberty as the absence of interference from the State or external regulation—negative liberty.
- Concept of an atomic or possessive individual—individual as a proprietor of their persons and capacity, self-sufficient and owe nothing to anyone or society (Hobbes, Locke and Smith).
- State as 'necessary evil' (Paine), utility provider for happiness of the greatest number (Bentham) with a minimal and limited role.
- Laissez-faire or economic liberalism—self-regulated economic activity by individuals as the best guarantee of general prosperity.
- Capitalist-market economy and liberal democratic political system.

POSITIVE LIBERALISM

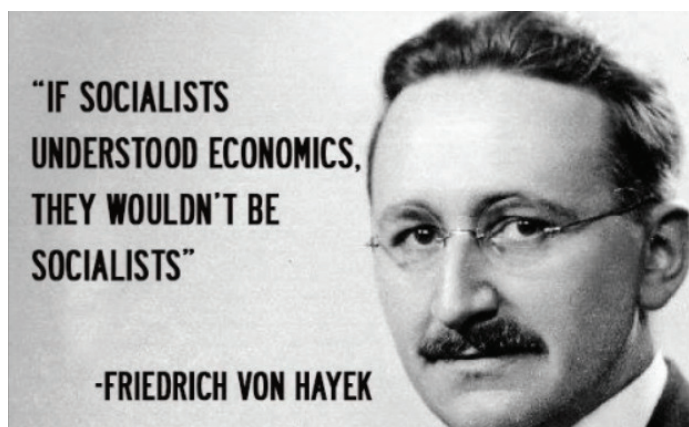


Exponents: J.S. Mill, T.H. Green, L.T. Hobhouse

Negative liberalism dealt with the issue of liberty, it neither thought of nor required to deal with the issue of equality. The condition and plight of the proletariat, the working class, was in no way an expression of their self-interest. They had neither economic freedom nor political liberty. **Thus, came positive liberalism, remorseful, espousing the cause of equality, morality and self-development of the individual and ready to compensate for the wretchedness that its earlier avatar, negative individualism, has created.** The **features** of positive liberalism include the following:

- Individual liberty not merely absence of interference and external regulation but the condition of self-development and moral development—positive liberty.
- Relationship between liberty and equality and economic freedom to be balanced.
- State not a necessary evil but an agency of common or public good and welfare.
- Interventionist government and social and economic regulation.
- More emphasis on 'moral freedom', 'distributive justice', Public Good and expansion of capabilities.

Neoliberalism



Exponents: Friedrich A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, Isaiah Berlin and Robert Nozick.

As a reaction to the growing thickness of the state as a welfare flag-bearer and interventionist mechanism in the economic sphere, a new stream of critique emerged. This is led by the neo-liberals or the Libertarians, chiefly amongst them are Friedrich A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, Isaiah Berlin and Robert Nozick. Their main opposition to the growing intervention of the state emerges from their concern for liberty and freedom. All of them support the negative view of liberty and argue for non-interference in the economic liberty of the individual. In short, they take the debate back to a possessive individual and laissez-faire state.

The features of Neoliberalism include the following:

- Minimalist and night watchman state
- Priority to economic liberty - economic liberty includes political liberty (Friedman, Nozick)
- Liberty as absence of coercion
- No relationship between liberty and equality or justice
- No welfare state.

Conclusion

To conclude, **liberal theory of the state overestimates the individual and conversely underestimates the potentials of the state.** In its zeal to protect and promote the individual in his rights, liberties and autonomy, it seeks to build a capitalistic system where the state is reduced to the position of an instrument serving the exploitative tendencies. The focus of liberal theory concerns the definition of individual rights and the state's role in protecting those rights, analysing such issues depends not only on how one views the source of individual rights but also on how one conceives the state itself.

MARXIST THEORY OF STATE

Exponents: Marx, Engels, Lenin.

Marxism is a critique to liberalism; hence Marxist theory of the state is a critique of the liberal capitalist theory of the state.

Origin of the state according to Marxist theory

Force theory – state is not the result of the contract but state is the result of the subjugation of weak by the strong.

Functions of the state.

State is an instrument of coercion. It works in the interest of capitalist class.

Nature of the state.

State is not neutral but class institution. It protects the interest of the dominant class. State is the executive committee of the bourgeoisie.

Of all the theories of state, **the Marxist theory can be treated as a scientific analysis of power structure.** It tries to correlate the forces of socio-economic trends in a society with the organized power structure i.e., state. According to this theory the interplay of socio-economic forces determines the state structure. The state is an artificial structure built on society. It will collapse when the hitherto suppressed social classes rise in revolt and grab the power. This theory had been developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Theories of State in Marxism

- Instrumentalists (Marx, Lenin, Ralph Miliband).
- Structuralist/Relative autonomy (Marx, Gramsci, Althusser, Nicos Poulantzas).

Instrumentalists theory (Book Communist Manifesto by Marx)

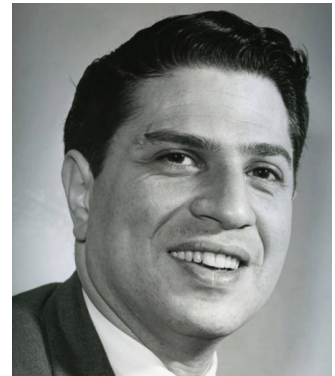
- Marx has analysed the nature of state in the advanced capitalist society e.g., Britain. In the word of Marx "State is the executive committee of the capitalist class." Executive committee shows that state implements the order. It means state does not even make laws. State in capitalist society represents the dictatorship of minority and in socialism, the dictatorship of majority. Thus, state is a class institution.
- State exists so long classes exist. State 'withers away' when classes end. In the words of Lenin, "State represents irreconcilability of class antagonism". It implies that state is not neutral arbitral, it is an instrument of dominant class. So long classes exist, state exist. The very existence of state shows that class conflict cannot be resolved. Hence the only way to get justice is by revolution, capture the capitalist state.

Ralph Miliband

He has analysed the nature of the state in 'post capitalist societies'. Laissez faire capitalism is capitalism whereas welfare state capitalism is post capitalism. Thus, **Miliband** in the book THE NATURE OF STATE IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY has analysed the nature of welfare state. He wanted to enquire whether welfare state has brought any significant change in the lives of poor/working classes. He found that there is no qualitative change in the lives of poor even after the introduction of the welfare state. He analysed western liberal democracies and found that despite welfare state, there is an inequitable distribution of wealth. Wealth remains concentrated in the hands of few.

Hence the class which controls the economic structure continues to control the political structure.

According to him bureaucracy, judiciary in these states continue to be highly elitist. Hence the decision making continues to be in favour of rich. He has exploded the myth of 'managerial revolution'. **Managerial revolution** is a concept given by **James Burnham** which suggests that the nature of capitalism has changed. Originally power was with the capitalist class, but now the decision-making power in the industry has shifted to the managerial class. It is an open class. Persons belonging to any social background can become managers. Even the son or daughter of working class can be a manager, hence all the decisions in the industry are not necessarily only in the favour of capitalists. **According to Miliband, managerial revolution is a myth.** It is extremely difficult for the sons and daughters of working classes to become managers until and unless they are exceptionally talented. Thus, there is no change in the nature of capitalism, no change in the nature of state.



Structuralist theory

This theory states that state is not just the reflection of the base; state is also a structure in itself. It means state is not just an instrument, it may have **relative autonomy from the base.** It is not completely independent, only relatively independent. It suggests that, there are instances when a state may not act on the instructions of the capitalist classes.

Marx's thesis of relative autonomy

Marx has given the relative autonomy theory in his book THE 18TH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE (Nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte). In this book, Marx has given the concept of **Bonapartism which implies the state where executive is strongest.**

What determines the nature of the state?

Nature of the state will be determined by the historical conditions. When capitalism is advanced, capitalists are organized, state becomes their instrument. However, in some societies, a single class may not be controlling the entire basic structure e.g., Strong feudal class exists. Strong capitalist class exists. **Workers are also organized.** In such situations single class will not dominate.

State ceases to be the instrument of a particular class. State becomes equilibrium maker among competing classes. Power will get tilted to whichever class state joins. It gives lot of bargaining power to the state.

BONAPARTISM

When a single class is not dominant, multiple classes are existing, it gives rise to Bonapartism. In such situation, **no class alone is able to dominate the economic structure** e.g., a country may have strong capitalist class, feudal class as well as organized working class. In this situation, single class will not be able to dominate.

In such situation, **state gets leverage**. State gets bargaining power over the classes. Since state gains bargaining power, it does not act as an instrument of a particular class. It goes for making strategic equations with different classes at different times.

It gives the illusion of autonomy which means neutrality. State appears to be an equilibrium maker. **Relative autonomy theory brings Marx's theory near to the liberal view on the state.**

Why state is not completely autonomous and only 'relatively autonomous'.

Here comes the basic difference between Marxism and Liberalism. Marx believed that economic structure is the basic structure. It implies that state is not fully autonomous. In normal situations state will appear neutral, but in crisis situations state will always intervene on behalf of the rich. Let us consider the following example.

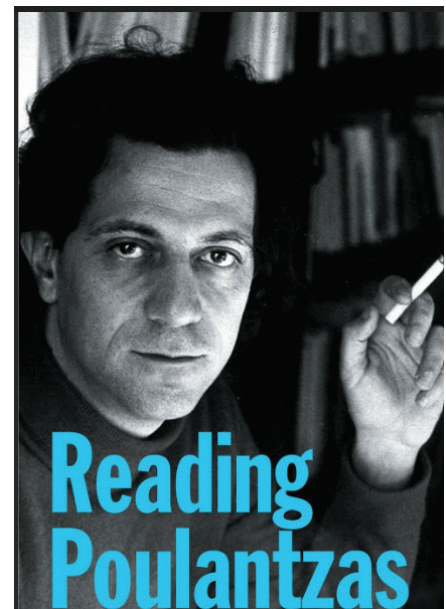
Example 1. The state in West Bengal led by communist party, projected itself to be the protector of the interest of poor, however in case of people's protests against Nano project, state ultimately used force on the people. The consequence has been communist party losing power and Mamata Banerjee, could project herself as the protector of masses.

Example 2. State under Obama in USA. Democrats are supposed to be pro-poor, however at the time of global financial crisis, state had bailed out the bankers whereas used force against people protesting against rising inequalities, in the form of the protest movement known as 'Occupy Wall Street' movement.

Further Nicos Poulantzas in his book "political Power and Social Class" has analysed the nature of states in western liberal democracies and concluded that welfare state in general does not exist as an instrument of a particular class because of.

1. introduction of universal adult franchise i.e. right to vote for poor.
2. competitive party system – there is a cut throat competition in politics and each party has to maximize its support.

Hence the manifesto of each party has something for every class. However, Poulantzas also believed that state is only 'relatively autonomous' because in crisis situations state will ultimately favour the rich.



Criticism:

Modern critics like **Robert Dahl** point out many inconsistencies in Marx's idea of state. Normally a state that is a democratic state functions on three presumptions.

1. There are always conflicting interests in all societies. All are not necessarily class conflicts. Groups articulate their interests and wants, in a pluralistic structure.
2. The state resolves these conflicts on the principle of majority interests.
3. The political majority would never be monopoly of a single group with the provision for freedom to form political parties and periodic elections conducted in free atmosphere.

All the above presumptions are absent in Marxist state theory.

PLURALIST THEORY OF STATE

Pluralist perspective portrays the state as a **mechanism designed to serve the interests of various groups simultaneously**. It has **descriptive** as well as **normative overtones**. On the descriptive side, it deals with the working of democratic state in the contemporary world. On the normative side, it prescribes that whether the interests of some influential societies in society get undue prominence at the expense of other sections, the situation should be suitably rectified.

A pluralist state repudiates a single centre of power in society. Such a state doesn't hold supreme power. It must act as an impartial arbitrator between the claims of several social groups for the allocation of scarce resources of the community. Only a democratic state, which provides right to freedom of association to its citizens, would be capable of evolving into a pluralist state.

Pluralism is basically an attack on the absolutist theory of state. Austin in his Monistic theory or legal theory of sovereignty provided a legal basis for his absolutism. According to him sovereignty of the state is absolute, unlimited, inalienable, and indivisible and can be clearly located. Pluralist theory is a direct attack on all these issues.

Power or sovereignty can never be absolute. There are many limitations on its exercise and effective use. No state can prohibit the natural forces from operating. There are customs, traditions cultural believes which would act as natural limitations on the exercise of state's power.

K.C. Hsiao argues "the pluralist state is simply a state in which there exists no single source of authority, no united system of law, no centralized organ of administration, no generalization of political will: on the contrary it is a multiplicity in essence, it is divisible in parts".

Robert Dahl in **DILEMMAS OF PLURALIST DEMOCRACY** conceded that pluralism cannot be treated as an open competition between truly equal political forces. In order to reduce the inequalities of these forces, Dahl recommended those policies which would promote redistribution of power in society. Thus, normative and descriptive sides of the pluralist perspective on the state come very close to each other.

CRITICISM

Many critics feel that the pluralist theory of state is unsuitable to the developing nations, where the state is required to play a major role in transforming the socio-economic conditions of its people. Leaving these things to some associations would only worsen the lives of the unorganized sections of the society. **C. Wright Mill argued how even in a developed democracy like America all group are not on equal footing.** Some groups are more resourceful, have very close access to the policy making machinery and get the things they want while the rest may be left far behind. It is like social Darwinism- the survival of the fittest. In such a system there would be no social Justice. When issues are not equal, the pluralist theory of state does not hold.

POSTCOLONIAL THEORY OF STATE



Exponents: Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak

- The states which have been under colonialism – imperialism, commonly known as third world countries are called post-colonial states. USA is not considered as a colonial state because, all post-colonial state is continuing with the legacy of colonialism described as neo-colonialism by the founding father of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah.
- It does not embody any new theory of the state. It denotes an attempt to analyse the problems of the newly independent nations, particularly against the background of their relations with colonial and neo-colonial powers. It must be based on the experience of post-colonial societies themselves.
- The new nations or the developing countries, which comprise the bulk of the 'third world', are faced with the gigantic task of nation-building and state- building. Nation-building stands for the process by which people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller tribes, villages or petty-principalities to the larger central political system.
- It involves developing the sense of community among the people within the jurisdiction of a political system and provides for a sense of identification, a common objective of their allegiance, an emotional bond and social solidarity.
- State-building implies a process whereby a common centre of power is evolved in order to establish law and order throughout the state and to extend the defensive and welfare services of the state to each and every part of its territory.

- Independence was followed by the multiplication of demands from a myriad of sections of people. With gradual disappearance of national stalwarts, new generations of political leadership hardly matched their calibre and character. Politics became a game of enlisting support of narrow sectional interests and negotiating for a share of power in govt.
- The result is overall deterioration of national life. However, new generations of non-political societies have contributed significantly to national prosperity and have created widespread awareness of democratic rights and human rights as well as the needs of social justice.

Post-colonial theory

The study of developing area has been the most important area of research in the field of modern comparative politics. Mostly two perspectives have been followed for the study of post-colonial states. They are namely:

- Modernization perspective
- Marxist perspective (discussed in the previous article)

Modernization perspective: This was given by western scholars, primarily World Bank economists. According to them, these countries **will prosper if they are integrated with international economy.**

Prominent scholars analyzing the nature of the states in developing societies are F W Riggs and Gunnar Myrdal.

F. W Riggs

F.W. Riggs used the term 'prismatic societies' for these states.

What does prismatic society denote?

Prismatic societies denote **societies in transition**. i.e., traditional societies/developing societies. The term developing societies is used instead of colony because it is a value loaded term. It also refers to a society moving towards modernization that has the features of both developed and developing societies. He has given eight features of prismatic societies.

1. Formalism: There is a big difference in theory and practice which means that rules are modern, practice is traditional.
2. Poly-communalism: a country is not yet a nation but different communities are co-existing. They are co-existing but don't trust each other.
3. Poly-normativism: Different norms (both rational and irrational) are followed while formulating laws.
4. Functional overlapping: It means lack functional specialization e.g. In most of the countries army and civilian administration is fused.
5. Attainment norms: Either by birth or by achievement. (How one will get position.)
6. Economic system: Bazaar Canteen model (some people get things at market prices and some get at subsidized rates)
7. Administrative system: Sala model – for some people system is based on rules and for some, on connections.
8. Heterogeneity: Simultaneous co-existence of modernity and tradition.

Theory of soft state Gunnar Myrdal (book: ASIAN DRAMA)

He is famous for the concept of soft-state used for India. Soft state is a state which has a poor capacity to implement the laws and is soft on law breakers. Consequences of soft state are that there is poor state of law and order which pose a distraction in the attainment of development activities. Even charismatic leaders are unable to fill the gap. He suggests that India will never be successful in eradicating poverty because India is a soft state.

India is a soft state, according to Gunnar Myrdal because

1. There is a corruption among bureaucracy and political class.
2. Gandhian legacy: Indians have won independence through Gandhian methods (disobedience to law or as suggested by Ambedkar as Grammar of Anarchy). Since Indians won independence by disobedience to law, there is an inherent legitimacy for not obeying the authority.
3. Indian culture: In India those persons are more respected to disobey the law rather than those who obey the law.

The outcome of soft state is lawlessness and corruption. Failure to implement the developmental programs. He mentions about Pandit Nehru that even charismatic leaders like Nehru could not enforce the land reforms.

Marxist perspective:

- Instrumentalist approach
- Structuralist approach

Instrumentalist approach/dependency theory

Given by the scholars of third world countries like Sameer Amin, Celso Furtado, A. G. Frank This theory is relevant to understand the nature of states in these regions. They can even be applied for middle east.

Exponents: A G Frank (LA), Sameer Amin (Egypt), Immanuel Wallerstein.

1. They categorize state into two groups. – Core State, Peripheral state.

2. These states are interlinked – they are interlinked because of capitalism becoming ‘world system’.
3. Core countries are advanced countries – They reflect the concentration of economic power, political power, technological power, cultural power, military power... The states in core countries are the instruments of their bourgeoisie class/capitalist class.
4. Peripheral states – These states are in the state of ‘dependency’. Dependency denotes a) Unequal exchange. b) uneven development
5. As a result of dependency, there is a development of underdevelopment (poverty). These states are not autonomous, they are instrument of the states in core countries, which in turn are the instruments of their own bourgeoisie class.
6. According to them, the only way these countries can achieve development is by de-linking themselves from the international economy controlled by core countries and focusing on ‘national autonomous development’.

Structuralist approach

This theory for post-colonial states is given by Pakistani scholar Hamza Alvi. His theory is applicable for the states in south Asia, particularly for Pakistan. According to Hamza Alvi, state in Pakistan is ‘**overdeveloped**’.

He believes that the instrumentalist theory will not be the right approach. The state in core countries can be called as the instrument of the bourgeoisie class, however states in these societies cannot be called as an instrument of a particular class. Specific historical condition has made the states in these countries as autonomous, most powerful class in itself.

The power in these societies is concentrated in the state (executive/civil services). e.g., Pakistan can be called as ‘military-bureaucratic’ oligarchy. Similarly, India was also known as ‘inspector raj’, though the change is taking place in India under the forces of globalization (rise of civil society and judicial activism).

Short note: Overdeveloped state is an evolution of modern nation state in developed countries.

States in western countries are equally developed. This is with reference to basic structure. e.g., When it was a state society, it was city state. When economic structure became feudal, the nature of state also became feudal. When economic structure became modern (capitalist), state also became modern. Two principal characteristic of modern nation state are fixed territory and centralized authority.

In post-colonial societies, modern state has not evolved naturally. It has been an imported institution by the colonial masters. Hence there is a mismatch in the level of development. Economic structure (basic structure) remains traditional, political structure (part of super-structure) became modern. Hence political structure is overdeveloped in comparison to the economic structure. e.g., India and China have been civilizational states. It was British who defined the boundaries of India and introduced centralized institutions. We can use the term Bonapartism (discussed earlier) to describe the nature of overdeveloped state.

FEMINIST THEORY OF STATE



Exponents: Catherine McKinnon, Sussanne Moller Okin

- Feminists of the liberal persuasion do not see any harm in engaging with the State and using the State as an ally to fight for their rights. **They see the State as a neutral institution from which women had so long been excluded and into which they should make an entry.**
- **Marxist-feminist** attitude of skepticism towards the welfare State is premised on the belief that the benign use of the State to provide welfare for its citizens simply represents the most cost-effective way of reproducing labour power. It also assumes and reinforces women’s domestic responsibilities and their economic dependency on a male breadwinner within the patriarchal family.

- The contention is, that far from freeing women, welfare provision has helped to maintain oppressive gender roles, and has led to increased surveillance of sexual and reproductive behaviour and of child rearing practices. **In the 1960s at the height of political radicalism, feminists argued that collaborating with the State amounted to a sell-out.**
- Today however there is a much more open-ended and less consistently hostile attitude to the State and to conventional political activity. The widespread exclusion of women from state power has still wider applications. It has caused environmental degradation as women by nature are nature-friendly vis-à-vis men. Moreover, men take pride in showing their valor in warfare while women are peace-loving by nature.
- With the exclusion of women from power, the state tends to build its strength on military power. This results in mounting tension among nations and the lack of active cooperation among them for securing the interests of entire mankind.

CRISIS OF MODERN NATION STATE

In the history of mankind various types of state systems were evolved in different ages, but none of them could provide for enduring peace and security to people. Today nation-state is also facing the similar problem. It has proved more efficient than the medieval empire to provide mankind with security and happiness, but under the changed conditions it seems unable to perform its role. Some of the factors that led to the crisis of modern Nation State are as follows.

In the modern age nation and state are generally regarded as concomitant, but many examples will prove otherwise. Some communities are scattered over different parts of the world who entertain a sense of unity on the basis of common race, common culture, common language and common religion and profess national consciousness on that ground, but they are unable to organize themselves as a single state. For example, the Kurds are scattered over Iraq, Iran and Turkey although they recognize themselves as one nation.

Also, there are states in which different ethnic groups live together but they have not been able to assimilate themselves into one nation. Countries like Lebanon and Cyprus remained afflicted with civil wars for very long. Former USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia have been divided into many parts due to such disruptive tendencies.

Many people have migrated to other countries in search of opportunities for advancement, and have become naturalized citizens of those countries. But they are so deeply attached to the language, culture, faith and customs of the countries of their origin that they are prepared to make sacrifices for the welfare of those countries. For examples, the Chinese who have settled abroad are still making substantial contribution to the advancement of China.

One major function of a nation-state is to provide for security to its residents. But due to the invention of lethal weapons and probability of their use by other countries, no nation-state has remained capable of providing full security to its residents. Thus, if a country resorts to a nuclear attack on others with the help of advanced missiles, it would prove disastrous to humanity far and wide. Further, it would cause so much atmospheric pollution that no part of the globe is likely to be spared by its effect.

Then information revolution all over the world has practically eliminated the distance between different countries in the matter of communication. The increasing intimacy of the people all over the world has converted it into a 'global village'. Unprecedented advancement of the means of transport and communication has paved the way for globalization of economy. Even criminals, drug traffickers and terrorists are making full use of the advanced means of transport and communication.

The above discussed situations call for a global effort to deal with the global problems. In this scenario, nation-state will have to play a new role for which it should concede necessary adjustment in its authority and sovereignty. This marks a crisis situation for modern Nation State as it undermines its authority and sovereignty.

PREVIOUS YEAR MODEL ANSWERS

Q. Feminist critique of the State .2021

Feminist critique of state emerged in response to the male centric domination of state. **Catherine McKinnon** in her book "Towards the feminist theory of state" had remarked that 'when I look at the state, it appears male to me.'

Feminist theory of state is not as profound as the other approaches as it is more about the tenderization of power'. It is based on the premise that "Personal is political". Feminist try to analyse state on the basis of 2 factors.

- Neutrality of state
- Concept of differentiated citizenship so propounded by IRIS MARION YOUNG.

Neutrality of state leads to unequal access to resources and position and women.

As suggested by SUSSANE MOLAR OKIN, without destroying the patriarchal family, we cannot get the neutral state. Various other scholars like CAROLE PATEMAN in her book "Sexual Contract" has highlighted the masculinist bias of the social contract theory of state. KATE MILLET has hinted about sexual politics. **Though different scholars have taken divergent views, yet the common concern of all feminist is to ensure the participation in woman empowerment.** In the contemporary times, HILLARY CLINTON talks about feminist foreign policy, wherein more humane approach to politics is envisaged.

Q. Post-colonial theory of the state .2020

Post colonialism deals with the present condition of the former colonies and have they interacted with the modern-day world. It has been in vogue mainly in 1970s. The major proponents of Post-colonial theory is **Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said.**

Post-colonial theory of state deals with condition of the former colonial states, who were nascently independent. It is majorly discussed via two schools of thought.

- Modernisation/Western Perspective
- Marxist Perspective

Modernisation/Western Perspective

The most prominent scholars of this school of thought includes **Gunnar Myrdal**. In his book "The Asian Drama", he has discussed the nature of post-colonial state. According to this school of thought, the post-colonial countries prosper only when they are integrated with the international economy.

Marxist Perspective

It is further divided into

1. Instrumentalist approach
2. Structuralist approach

Instrumentalist approach: It focuses the regions of Latin America and Africa. The major propounders of this theory was **Samir Amin and A.G. Frank.**

In this theory, the states, were divided into core and Periphery. The core states were the developed state and the peripheral states that is the third world countries are depended on the core countries for their development. This leads to Development of under development and thus perpetuating unequal exchange.

Integration with the world economy has caused more problem for the peripheral/status. So, the scholars of this school of thought suggested autonomous development and self-sufficiency.

Structural Approach/Relative Autonomy approach

This theory was applicable for the states of South Asia e.g., India & Pakistan. The major profounder of this school are Nicos Poulantzas, Hamza Alavi.

Unlike the Instrumental Marxist, who believe that state is the executive committee of the bourgeoisie, this school believes that in certain conditions, state becomes autonomous. At this juncture, it becomes difficult to verify state as the instrument of any one particular class.

Many dominant classes coexist and hence states get bargaining power.

Nicos Poulantzas, in his book " Political power and social class" have described that with the presence of catch all parties, universal adult Franchise and competitive electoral system, states become relatively autonomous.

Post-colonial theories faced its own set of criticism including lack of clarity, internal divergences. Yet, this theory of state has been one of the most useful theories to understand the development areas.

Q. Comment on: Pluralist theory of the State.2019

Pluralist theory of state is based on the pluralist theory of sovereignty. It emerged as a retaliation to monistic theory of state, which concentrated too much power in the hands of the state.

The source of inspiration of pluralistic theory of state was medieval Europe, where feudalism existed; there was decentralisation of authority.

The most prominent scholars of this school of thought are **Laski and Mclver**. Laski in his book "state via theory and Practice" has opined that it is possible misadventure to discover sovereign in a federal state. Further Mclver has suggested that states come into existence only where the interest of one group encroaches upon the other .

Some of the tenets of Pluralistic theory of state are as follows

- Universe is multidimensional; therefore, it cannot satisfy all the needs of man. It should be work in tandem with other associations.
- It allows multiplicity of demands and avoids dictatorship.

In spite of the above advantages, pluralistic theory suffers from its other set of inconsistencies. Some of them are:

Pluralist do not prescribe abolition of state yet advocates giving minimum powers to them. It **creates a paradox**. Laski considered state as the Keystone of social architecture, yet criticizes state sovereignty. In spite of the above flows, pluralistic theory of state is not only real, but also achievable. In the contemporary scenario, various non-governmental organisations and parastatal communities assists state in its some other functioning this validating the pluralist theory of state.

Q. Critically examine the neo-liberal theory of State .2018

Neoliberal theory of state rose in retaliation to liberal perspective of state propounded by modern liberalism. It advocates rolling back of state which is based on neoliberal principles. It is based on neoliberal principles. The main exponents of this theory are **Robert Nozick, Fredrich Hayek and Milton Friedman**.

Neoliberal state arose as welfare state became a nanny state. It was expected that state will take care of everything from cradle of a man to his grave. As a result, it resulted into fiscal deficits, balance of payment crisis and growth of black economy. Role of state is not to pursue goal in the name of community but protection of individual rights.

Father of neoliberalism like Hayek advocated that social justice is a mirage. State should ensure minimum income to the individual but itself should not become the instrument of distributive justice. He advocated that liberty is antithetical to equality. **Robert Nozick** in book "Anarchy state and utopia" advocated that progressive taxation is a bonded labour. Milton Friedman advocated that a state where capitalism doesn't exist, freedom is an illusion.

Britain was the first state to adopt neoliberalism under Margaret Thatcher. Further USA adopted it under Ronald Reagan. In 90's neoliberalism was advocated as a shock therapy in eastern Europe and in the form of structural adjustment in the developing countries. The highest point of success of neoliberal policies has been the **establishment of WTO**.

But neoliberalism has been facing legitimization crisis from Islamic fundamentalism and counter globalisation. It led to the revival of the concept of welfare state as per sociological liberalism. Amartya Sen advocated the balanced participation of every organ of state to ensure inclusive growth and human development.

Q. "Nothing against the State, nothing over it, nothing beyond it." - Mussolini 2018

This statement represents the fascist view of state. State is the keystone of social architecture, but has been debated by a variety of schools of thought.

The writings of Hegel provide impetus to the fascist station. The Hegelian perception of state as an end in itself was interpreted by Mussolini for furthering the fascist cause.

The fascist statism drew heavily from totalitarianism. He raised the nature of state as the "will of the wills", the "Good of the Goods" and the "soul of the soul". Fascist advocates corporate state, where state can give any order; demand any sacrifice and the people must obey and comply with the state. State cannot tolerate any resistance from any quarter. It is natural, that each individual has to perform the maximum service to the state.

It advocated elitism, single party and absolute centralization. This leads to dictatorship, where leader is considered as a superman. Power is concentrated in the hands of a small group of elites known as Junta.

Hence it was criticised as unsystematic doctrine by Laski. Marxist criticised the fascist nation of state as an attempt to protect capitalism in its decadent phase. In the contemporary times, there is a surge in authoritarian notion of state as evident in Iran and Venezuela.

Q. Neo-liberal perspective of State. 2017

Neoliberal theory of state rose in retaliation to liberal perspective of state propounded by modern liberalism. It advocates rolling back of state which is based on neoliberal principles. It is based on neoliberal principles. The main exponents of this theory are **Robert Nozick, Fredrich Hayek and Milton Friedman**.

Neoliberal state arose as welfare state became a nanny state. It was expected that state will take care of everything from cradle of a man to his grave. As a result, it resulted into fiscal deficits, balance of payment crisis and growth of black economy. Role of state is not to pursue goal in the name of community but protection of individual rights.

Father of neoliberalism like Hayek advocated that social justice is a mirage. State should ensure minimum income to the individual but itself should not become the instrument of distributive justice. He advocated that liberty is antithetical to equality. **Robert**

Nozick in book “Anarchy state and utopia” advocated that progressive taxation is a bonded labour. Milton Friedman advocated that a state where capitalism doesn’t exist, freedom is an illusion.

Britain was the first state to adopt neoliberalism under Margaret Thatcher. Further USA adopted it under Ronald Reagan. In 90’s neoliberalism was advocated as a shock therapy in eastern Europe and in the form of structural adjustment in the developing countries. The highest point of success of neoliberal policies has been the **establishment of WTO**.

But neoliberalism has been facing legitimization crisis from Islamic fundamentalism and counter globalisation. It led to the revival of the concept of welfare state as per sociological liberalism. Amartya Sen advocated the balanced participation of every organ of state to ensure inclusive growth and human development.

Q. Hobbesian notion of political obligation. 2017

Political science revolves around the state. The theories of political obligation aim to provide the rationale behinds man’s obedience to state. For e.g., Plato had stated that man is obliged towards state because state is a source of worship. Aristotle believes that man by nature is a political animal.

Hobbes belongs to the school of limited political obligation. His theory of political obligation has been described in the book “Leviathan”. Hobbes equates state of nature with wild animals. According to him, **life in the state of nature is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short**. It was a state of war of all against all. Man entered into covenant to translate their urge for self-preservation into reality. Hence, they surrendered all their natural rights to the newly created political authority that is the sovereign. Thus, surrender was final and irrevocable because any departure from this provision would result in the state of nature. Thus, he considered state as absolute where in a particular state more than one sovereign cannot exist.

Although Hobbes postulates unlimited political obligation, yet it is solely based on consent and is not imposed from above. That is why Hobbes contends that “a conqueror acquires dominion only if his vassals are understood, have tacitly promised obedience.”

Hobbes theory of political obligation was criticised by **C E Vaughan** as the scholar of possessive individualism. But his theory was not absolute. This theory of political obligation was also inclusive of the theory of revolution where he gave the individual the right to resist. Thus, Hobbes theory of political obligation formed the basis of future social contract theorist.

Q. “The Political Ideology of Globalization is Neo-liberalism.”. Comment. 2016

Neo-liberalism is based on the ideas of **Hayek, Milton Friedman and Nozick**. Market and individualism are the central pillars of neo-liberalism.

Globalisation refers to integration of market .It is based on ‘Washington consensus’ which is also the underlying principle of neo liberalism. Washington consensus offers trade as the solution for poverty. Poverty can be addressed by trade and not aid.

Neo liberalism was adopted in Britain in 70’s, USA in 80’s and later on around the globe in 1990’s. In 90’s it was induced as a ‘shock therapy’ in eastern Europe and in the form of structural adjustment program in third world countries including India. Thus, by 1990s, it became the global phenomena. The highest point of success of neo liberal policies has been the establishment of WTO.

Scholar like **Amartya Sen and Joseph Stiglitz** have painted out that neo-liberal policies have been anti-thetical to the ideas of globalization. But evidence shows that states that have been a part of globalisation have done better than who remained out. If states fail, then markets fail too. So even if globalization and neo liberalism are not synonymous, yet they complement each other.

Q. Gandhi’s views on State. 2015

Gandhian perspective of state is based on the social and political thought of Mahatma Gandhi. **The source of this thought is the** “Autobiography (My Experiments With truth; 1929)”.According to Gandhiji, state is the manifestation of power and law, which is based on coercion. State imposes its own will on the individual with the help of elaborate machinery of police force, law courts, prisons and military power.

It destroys the sense of self-reliance, stunts personality, deprives freedom and obstructs the progress of human society. State is a soulless machine and is therefore incompatible with the sense of Ahimsa.

Modern state is powerful, organised and more centralised and hence stronger than ancient and medieval state. State is devoid of human sensitivity which enforces rule but doesn’t have moral responsibility. In Young India Gandhiji highlighted Thoreau’s view that, that government is best which governs the least. He was influenced by Leo Tolstoy’s notion that the **kingdom of God is within oneself**.

State is the symbol of weakness which can be overcome with the attainment of Swaraj/self-control. He was convinced that if non-violence is adopted as the universal principle of human behaviour, political power and state will become redundant which will lead to ‘enlightened anarchy’.

He advocated Ramrajya based on oceanic circles of power. His views on state were **criticised** by **Ambedkar** who considered state as the means for enlightenment. In spite of it, Gandhian view of state forms the bedrock of grassroot democracy that allows substantial deliberation.

Q. Examine the challenges to sovereignty of the State in the contemporary world. 2015

Sovereignty is an essential element of State that is defined as the final authority of the state over its population and territory. It extracts obedience from people. But often state suffers from legitimisation crisis that poses challenges to sovereignty.

Some of the challenges to sovereignty are:

- Globalisation
- Internal revolt/external aggression.
- Loss of international recognition.

Relationship between sovereignty and globalisation is contradicted. The relationship between them has been debated by various schools of thought. Globalist like Kenichi Ohama and Sussanne Strange opines that globalisation has diluted the sovereignty of state. Whereas state-centric view forwarded by **Robert Gilpin** suggest globalisation is controlled by state. Transformationalist like David Held has given a balanced view where sovereignty and globalisation share a contextual relationship.

Similarly, internal revolt causes disruption in the sovereignty of the country. For e.g., 1992 fall of Communism resulted in the fall of USSR. Similarly, loss of international recognition can also lead to the loss of sovereignty as witnessed in the case of Palestine.

Though the challenges to sovereignty are multifarious, yet various new concepts have emerged like **Right to Protect (R2P)** and **'Pooled Sovereignty'** which has broadened the scope of sovereignty from being that of power to that of responsibility.

Q. Discuss the 'crisis of legitimacy' in capitalist societies. 2015

Crisis of legitimacy is defined as the decline in confidence in administrative functions, institutions or leaderships. The term was first used by **Jurgen Habermas** in his book "Legitimation Crisis". It is an identity crisis that results from the loss of confidence in administrative institutions, which occurs despite the fact that they still retain the legal authority by which to govern. In a legitimisation crisis, governing structures are unable to demonstrate that their practical functions fulfil the role for which they were instituted.

According to Habermas, within liberal democracies there are 'crisis tendencies' which exists between private enterprise (capitalist economy) and democratic political system on the other hand. **Anthony King** has referred this as 'government overload'. Capitalist societies, based on the pursuit of profit and producing class inequalities, have to sustain political stability by invoking a normal claim to rule. In such a system, legitimacy is secured by democratic processes, which lead to further demands for social welfare provisions, increased popular participation and social equality.

This in turn puts pressures on the state to expand its social responsibilities, and raises demands for state intervention for removing inequalities, forcing it to increase expenditure on welfare (non-profit) measures. These pressures lead to increase in taxation and public spending, and constrain capitalist accumulation by restricting profit levels and discouraging enterprise. Forced either to resist popular pressures or risk economic collapse, such societies find it increasingly difficult and eventually impossible, to maintain legitimacy. Some of the events that leads to legitimisation crisis are:

- Crisis if governability as suggested by **Atul Kohli**
- Rise of revolution.

In such scenarios of legitimisation crisis, the modern state, according to Habermas, takes recourse simultaneously to 'system steering' and ideological measures to legitimize and stabilize the existing structures. This involves an 'uncoupling' or dissociation of the economic (wage labour and capital relations) and the political spheres (institutions of governance).

Q. Examine the conception of State in the ideologies of Fascism and Marxism. 2014

State is the keystone of social architecture. It has been described by various ideologies ranging from Liberalism, Marxism to post Modernism.

Fascism advocates corporate state influenced by Hegel's ideology of "State is the march of god on earth". It believes in Totalitarian state. It focused on duty and discipline that results in complete regimented society.

Fascism rejected democracy as the luxury of the rich and Parliament as a mere talking shop. It believed in the economic doctrine of Autarky that believes in the minimal integration with the state. There is no scope of mediation between labour and capital. It advocated expansionist foreign policy.

Marxism on the other hand believes that state is the executive committee of the bourgeoisie. It believes that class who controls economic structure controls state. Marxist advocates instrumentalist theory of state according to which state represents the

irreconcilability of class antagonism. Class struggle is inevitable where state intervenes on the behalf of dominant class. Later Marxism also advocated relative autonomous view of state in case of post-colonial state. It discussed the degree of autonomy of welfare state.

Thus, Marxism and Fascism takes extreme view of state. In contemporary time, state has emerged as a neutral arbitrary to balance the competing differences of class antagonism.

Q. Discuss in what sense Marx's understanding of state can be considered as materialistic. 2013

Marx's understanding of state is mainly highlighted in his theory of Historical Materialism. It states that development in human history is due to change in material conditions in life rather than ideas.

Marx's argument in this behalf begins with the simple truth that survival of man depends upon his efficiency in the production of material things.

Production is the most important of all human activity. Society comes into existence primarily for the purpose of economic production. Men in association produces more than men in isolation. At every stage of historical development, the owners of the means of production constitute the dominant class and those left with economic power constitute dependent class.

It is for satisfaction of appetite that man enters into relation with other. The task of production is social. Hence for Marx, economic structure, the structure of production is the basic structure, society changes only when basic structure changes. Marx has shown that between physical labour and intellectual labour, physical labour is important.

Marx blames Philosophers like Plato and Aristotle for promoting false consciousness. Plato held the intellectual class in high regard. For Marx, intellectual class is the biggest enemy of the poor. Thus, Marx understanding of state provided a strong critic of capitalist mode of state.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

Comment in 150 words on:

1. Pluralist theory of state.
2. Neo-liberal theory of state.
3. Liberal theory of state.
4. Marxist theory of state.